

THE
POLITICAL,
COMMERCIAL, AND CIVIL,
STATE OF IRELAND.

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HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES.

BEING
AN APPENDIX

TO
"UNION OR SEPARATION."

[The attention of the House of Lords was called by the
Marquis of Lansdowne, to "Union or Separation,"
as "containing more sound sense, more knowledge,
"and more experience of the world, than volumes
"which had been written on the subject."]

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WE should cautiously guard against the condemnation of a great and important measure, before we have examined it in all its bearings, with the sound and deliberate exercise of unprejudiced reason. For, however sublime the range of genius may be, or however high the cast of authority, they should not be admitted with assertions as arguments, nor unsupported opinions as proofs.—We should try them by the unerring touchstone of facts and common sense. Genius may dazzle, but not elucidate; and authority may impose, if not err—it often does so. But facts cannot mislead, common sense cannot deceive. And, if by these two guides the people be suffered to judge for themselves, we are convinced they will judge justly.

Having thus exercised their understanding fully and fairly, if they find an Union pernicious to the welfare of Ireland, then, in the name of common sense, let them reject and oppose it to the last extremity. But, if on the contrary, they perceive, that it is the only hand which pours oil into the

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wounds of their bleeding country, and binds them up for ever; if it be the only means to heal *particular* grievances, and to promote *general* welfare, let them in God's name embrace it. And judging of it, let them coolly and dispassionately direct their views to the *whole* interest of Ireland, which must, unavoidably include their own *particular* welfare; let them also consider well the state of Ireland to day: the state of the Empire and of Europe, the cast of the times, and the awful condition of the civilized and bleeding world, —and then they will judge justly.

On a subject so comprehensive, should any arguments be advanced, which have been more ably enforced before, we trust we shall be excused: at the close of a long discussion, perhaps, it is not unpardonable, as it is not unwise, to refresh the memory of conviction.

One ground, however, remains yet untrodden—it is that of commerce. And on *this important ground* we hold it our duty, so far as full and authentic documents enable us, to instruct our fellow subjects in Ireland, and to warn them with anxious concern as they value their country, and almost their existence as a nation, to think wisely, and act justly.—For this purpose we shall lay before them a body of evidence on Commerce, which is incontrovertible by the highest, and we doubt not, will prove conclusive to the meanest capacity, on the subject of an Union.

It has, however, been asserted, that though the wisdom and expediency of an Union were manifest, it is not lawful. Now, in the very assertion, there is a plain contradiction to the point advanced. The essence of all power and all law is *necessity*: which necessity is in other words an imperious principle, called the *good of Society*. Whatever, therefore, is wise and expedient, contains that eternal principle, and is the essential basis of all laws whatever, whether they be *fundamental* laws or laws of regulation.

But,

But, without dragging an heavy load for contest, we shall, like David when he would not encumber himself with the weighty armour of Saul, enter the conflict in a different manner. We assert, therefore, that the Parliament is fully competent to enact an Union: and our authority is—that of Coke, Hale, Blackstone, the great and honest Lord Somers, and the four present Chief Judges of Ireland. And who can be more personally affected *against* an Union, from their official situation, than the last named authorities: and what authority stands higher for discernment, than that of Lord Clare; what one more pure or exalted, than that of Lord Carleton;—more able than that of Lord Yelverton;—or more profound than that of Lord Kilwarden?—Beside, if the Parliament of Ireland be not competent to this act, then the great and essential powers of Parliament are blasted, and its best authority is no more. What is the Catholic Bill reduced to by this argument?—A public infringement on the rights of individuals. What the proposed reform?—An unlawful abrogation of corporative franchises. What the repeal of the Declaratory Act, of the 6th of George I.? A nullity—an act of usurpation; and the Parliament of Ireland is still bound by English laws.—But we need no stronger test of the invalidity of an opinion, than the absurdity of its consequences. Beside, if the Prerogative of the Crown, the Privileges of the People, and the Constitution of Parliament, be not subject to its control, how, in the name of common sense, did we, the subjects of the King of Great Britain, attain the invaluable blessings of that Constitution we enjoy so eminently above other nations? Such crude assertions really deserve no answer. For if Parliament had not this competency, we had been stationary in bondage, like the other slaves of Europe. But, thank God, every thing is within the power of the Parliaments of these realms, which is for

the good of their respective nations, and Parliament has no other fundamental law nor limitation.

The question then is, whether the proposed Union be for the *good* of the *Irish nation*, or not?

As this question includes the benefits derivable by the people of Ireland, from her *present* system, and those from an *incorporative* Union, we shall, in order to bring the matter to a clear issue, consider the present Political, Commercial, and Civil state of Ireland. And under these three general heads abundant proofs will concur, to enable us to decide accurately and fully which of the two systems, the *present* or the *proposed* one, ought to prevail, with a view to the good of the people.—Unfortunately, the happiness of the people of Ireland, is according to the opinions of many, found wanting in the balance of present good. If so, humanity, however, weeps over the folly of pride, and sometimes pardons the weakness and ambition—but can the mean dread of losing authority blind particular men to the common utility of their nation—do not its wounds cry unto them,—or can they be deaf to an awful sentiment of their own individual condition? The great voice of nature surely cannot be drowned, in these times, in silly prejudice or calamitous error.

POLITICAL STATE.

The political state of a country may be considered internally and externally. The internal state includes its government and powers; the external state its relations, in point of enmity or friendship, with other nations. In those two views let us consider Ireland.

First: As to the government of Ireland, the policy of its arrangements in 1782, marks the imperfection of its practical

tical powers; and that skill which so nobly attempted to cure political complaints, introduced but new disorders. For from the great object of that arrangement, which was independency, arose the idea of distinctness, and through this distinctness between the two bodies of the Empire, as well as the two bodies of the Irish nation, the contagious poison of the times has infused that of separation. And against this deadly consequence to all parties there is no antidote, nor resource left, but an incorporative Union.

Here however independency rises against the proposition, pleading with all the force of honourable pride. To this manly principle, therefore, we bow and answer, that Irish independency does not, can not exist, save under an incorporative Union. If it did *really* exist, what must follow? Ultimately and unavoidably a separation of the two kingdoms, through jealousy and variance: If Ireland be *nomi- nally* independent, the separation is so much the more inevitable, when one Parliament in the most powerful kingdom, is *really* independent, and the other in the weak kingdom is *practically* subservient.—That this is the case, every law of Ireland announces under the *great seal of Britain*: which is a record of the dependency of its connexion, and an attestation of the inferiority of its state. Remove that inferiority, and separation ensues: embrace equality, and the Union may be immortal.

The Parliament of Ireland is *ipso facto*, in a dependent state, as we have shewn before: the Crown of Ireland is by law dependent on that of Great Britain, and the commerce of Ireland, is by necessity; and it must with gratitude be acknowledged as a favour that it is permitted to be dependent upon the bounty of the British Parliament: as we shall incontrovertibly shew hereafter.

Thus then we see that the Union removes at once all these dependencies, and makes Ireland completely independent and equal to Great Britain. She will then become po-
litically

politically free, whereas her government and powers are now politically dependent.

Next : with respect to its Political Relations, that with Britain is a dependent one, not only in Crown and Commerce, and under the seal of its laws, but under the shield of its protection : and that with other nations, is but through absolute dependence. For it wears again this badge in the signs and seals of all treaties, and diplomatic arrangements, entered into by Great Britain with other Powers. And if it be not thus included, and dependently connected, it has neither political relation, nor rank amongst treating nations.

Were she not thus dependently connected with Great Britain, what must be the obvious result ? It is remarked by Machiavel, that war should be the only study of States, and says Hobbes, war is the state of nature. These two men demonstrate to us the melancholy history of Political Societies. The leagues of nations are confederacies of interest ; that interest originates and ends in views of power. What then is the power of Ireland ? where is her portion, to secure friendship by leagues, or repel enmity by arms, were she independent ? This want of power must, necessarily and ever, make her dependent in the wildest schemes of fancied independency, either to become wholly unconnected, or remain connected as at present by a federal Union. The proofs are evidently before her. But had she ample power for independence, would the proposition of Union now exist ? Most indubitably not : she had long since been independent. But her diminutive strength and relative position on the globe deny this independence, therefore, she can only be conjunctively independent ; and through no other conjunction, that all the wit of man can devise, can she be independent, than through an incorporative one. We defy the most profound judgment, or sharpest ingenuity, to point out any other mode, whereby Ireland can be in reality and practically independent, than through an Uni-
on

on of the Legislatures. She has neither population, territories, revenues, nor commerce, to be separately independent; but, by incorporation and identity with Great Britain, she acquires all these: and, therefore by Union, and with Great Britain alone, can she, or will she ever be independent.

As to Union with France, it is Union with despotism and robbery. That murdering nation has twice renewed her vast armies, which have been swept off the face of the polluted earth. She has twice publicly robbed her own subjects, giving them for their plundered property, paper of no value, under the name of Assignats and Mandats.—She has, unceasingly and without distinction, since the revolution, stripped her people, after she had robbed her throne and sacked her altars. Not glutted with the slaughter of above two millions of her unhappy subjects, she plucked the sword from the bowels of her own people, to plunge it into the bosom of foreign nations. She has vexed both elements: the earth and the sea bear witness against her havock of the human species: and Heaven itself had not bounds for her crimes—she has insulted the Majesty of the Creator upon his throne.

The whole globe was unequal to her horrors: even one small portion of it has been plundered by her rapacity of 1,691,757,354 *l.* sterl. [see table A.] And we believe it might with great truth be asserted, that tigers and wolves have not collectively committed such havoc upon their respective species since the creation, as the French upon their own, since the revolution. Now that these men should with such qualifications set up to be legislators of the world, is somewhat strange. But it is more strange, that Ireland or any other nation, in its senses, should unite with them. For have they not punished virtue with chains, banishment, and death? do they not regard their *own people* as an herd of cattle, to be butchered for their purposes? have they not
treated

treated the people of other nations in the same manner, or sold and transferred them as beasts to other masters? It was the case in Venice: Have they not destroyed old and free republics to convert them into new, and load them with chains and oppressions? It is the case in Switzerland. Will Ireland then unite with them to become independent and a republic, that is, to bleed under their chains, guillotines, and tortures? or will she *unite with Great Britain*, to become as *free* as Britain in her *Crown* and *commerce*, in her *Parliament* and *political Relations*; to become as *powerful* as Great Britain herself, and, we trust, a joint instrument of Heaven to stay the *scourge of humanity*?

COMMERCIAL STATE.

Let us now consider, what is the nature and extent of the commercial advantages of Ireland under her present system, and what are those derivable from the proposed system of an Union?

Here we shall fully and fairly see, upon the plain and unequivocal evidence of figures, whether the opinion of all those who oppose an Union on the *ground of trade*, is sound or not, and if their testimony be as true and disinterested as they pretend.

Since the commerce of Ireland depends on British connexion, as will obviously be shown, it is reasonable to ask what is this connexion? It is one which subsists through the Sovereign of both countries being the same. But it is asserted by Ireland, that the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, in all their functions, legislative and political, are distinct and separate from those of Great Britain. Consequently, whatever is distinct, separate, and independent of each other, must indisputably be without contact, and of course

course without * connexion. Where, then, is the basis for Irish commerce? where the cement to preserve from dissolution this system of British concession?

It is true, an Act of Parliament has fixed the Crown of Ireland on the brow of a British King; but as that King and his Parliament of Ireland are separate and distinct in all functions of authority from those of England, this Act of Parliament does not invalidate the consequences resulting from their being distinct, separate, and independent of each other; namely, that they are indisputably without contact, and of course—without connexion. Beside, what one Act of Parliament has done, another Act of Parliament can undo. We see nothing but confusion here; yet this is the connexion upon which the commercial existence of Ireland depends: this is the state of separation upon which British courtesy and British concession stand;—and of what value and extent these concessions are, in the common commercial calculations of loss and gain, between the two nations, let us now inquire.

Such

* The fallacy of the present relation between Great Britain and Ireland, has been most fully and ably discussed by Lord Grenville, under every possible relation of State, Church, Finance, Army, &c. whereby his Lordship made it appear, that there was really *No Connexion* between the two countries.

Irish Commerce with Great Britain.

(The following statements are founded upon the Public Accounts laid before the House of Lords, 25th of February, 1799, by Thomas Irving, Esq; Inspector General of the Revenue.)

1799.

On an average of four years preceding the 5th of January, 1799, the annual IMPORTS from IRELAND into Great Britain amounted to

£.	s.	d.
2,812,383	5	5

On

On an average of the same period the British and <i>Foreign exports</i> to Ireland amounted to - - - - -	2,733,870 16 2
On an average of three years (the last year, 1798, not being yet made out in the account given in), the <i>imports</i> from the world amounted to - - - - -	16,734,541 11 7
On an average of four years preceding the 5th of January, 1799, the <i>exports</i> to the world - - - - -	30,053,664 17 10

Observe that the above values are computed agreeably to the ancient estimates in the Inspector General's Office, which estimates are upon an average about 70 per cent. beneath the real and present value of the articles.

Such is the comparative commerce of Great Britain with Ireland, on a fair average of four years, and of the commerce of Great Britain with the world.—We shall now take another view of it under those two heads during the last year, whereby the advantages, and disadvantages will appear beyond the power of contradiction in the self-evidence of figures.

The TOTAL <i>imports</i> of 1798 into Great Britain not being yet made out, we shall take the value of the preceding year,	
1797 - - - - -	£. 21,013,956
Total <i>exports</i> , 1798, - - - - -	£. 33,655,396
Whole trade with the world, - - - - -	£. 54,669,352

<i>Imports</i> from Ireland into Great Britain during 1798, ; - - - - -	£. 2,734,362
Exports during do. to Ireland	
British manufactures - - - - -	£. 1,676,648
Foreign merchandize, - - - - -	£. 1,316,218
Whole trade with Ireland, - - - - -	£. 5,727,229

Valued according to the ancient rates, or about 70 per cent. beneath the present value.

Thus we see clearly what is the value of the Irish commerce, and what is the value of the whole commerce of Great Britain. It now remains to consider the Revenues arising

arising to Great Britain from these respective sources of commerce.

By the Inspector General's account, it appears that the amount of the revenue of customs collected from that part of the trade of Great Britain carried on with Ireland, was in the year ending the 5th January, 1799,—47,542 *l.* The amount of the revenue of customs, collected from the total trade of Great Britain 6,899,835 *l.*

Hence therefore it is obvious and incontrovertible, that, while Ireland enjoys more than a ninth part of the commerce of Great Britain, that commerce, which it might be supposed would contribute a proportionate (that is a ninth) part to the revenues, does not contribute an hundred and forty-fifth part.

Consequently, by comparing the British commerce with Ireland, and with other nations, and by comparing the customs paid respectively by them to Great Britain for that commerce, it appears obviously, and beyond the possibility of doubt, that Ireland has an advantage over other nations as 145 to nine; a superiority unexampled in all the systems of jealous commerce since time began. For Britain loses so much in her revenues; she has sacrificed so much to foster and favour Ireland; to elevate her near herself in commercial rank, and now she would unite her in her unparalleled greatness. She has not only sacrificed a sixteen-fold loss in her public revenues, which she might have gained by the same trade with other countries; but, in the view of commercial purchase and individual calculation, she pays 25 per cent. more to Ireland for those articles, than she might procure the same for from other nations. Therefore, the balance of the account stands thus:—the public revenue of Great Britain sustains a loss in the trade of Ireland, on the comparative proportion of its commerce, as 145 to 9; that is, she receives an hundredth forty-fifth part, where a ninth part is the proportion; or, to make it still more

more clear, she receives about one thousand out of every sixteen thousand that might be expected. Further, this is not merely so much gain to Ireland, but a source of *incalculable gain* through its *results*, on her productive labours. —It goes however further: the *private* consumer in Britain pays 25 per cent. more to Ireland than he need pay, were the same articles for his consumption taken from other nations, and which form the *chief* and almost entire trade of that country. What then is the additional result of this gain throughout its effects on the industry of Ireland?

But the advantages of British commerce to Ireland go still further.

On an average of the three last years, the annual imports of the *products* and *manufactures* of Ireland into Great Britain, amounted to 5,510,825*l.* whereas on a like average, the exports of the *products* and *manufactures* of Great Britain, amounted to but 2,087,672*l.* Here then is a balance of 3,425,153*l.* in favour of Ireland, operating upon the great system of national industry.

But the advantages of British commerce to Ireland go still further.

British protection and connexion have opened to Ireland new channels for her manufactures; in return for which she imports foreign articles, and then exports these foreign articles to Britain. On an average of the three last years, she has supplied Britain with foreign commodities to the annual amount of 101,864*l.* and in return for those she has taken from Britain, articles of the nature of raw materials, which are the elements of internal industry in Ireland to the amount of 447,477*l.*

But the advantages of British commerce to Ireland go still further. We may, however, be interrupted and asked —Does not Ireland take, beside these *raw* materials, (which she cannot get elsewhere) the woollen and cotton manufactures of Great Britain? Granted: but it is a feather in the
balance

balance of her trade. Let us see what is the relative proportion of these branches, without comparing them with the whole of her other trade ?

Total value of woollen manufactures exported in one year, preceding the 5th of January, 1799,	-	£. 6,836,603
Ditto to Ireland,	- - - -	£. 580,723

Thus then without heeding fractions, we may say that there is but a *twelfth* part of her woollen manufactures exported to Ireland. Now let us see the value of the cottons :

The <i>Total Export</i> of cottons during one year preceding the 5th January, 1799, amounted to	-	£. 3,497,197
Ditto to Ireland	- - - -	£. 107,293

Thus then the exports to Ireland are about a thirty-second part of the whole. And what has been given for those by Ireland ? her native products, and the manufactures of her industry. Beside, where else than in Great Britain could those articles of woollen and cotton have been procured, of so good a quality, and at so cheap a rate ? No where on the globe. Whereas the linens taken in return for them could have been procured at a much more moderate rate, from various countries. What proportion, too, does the value of these two branches of woollen and cotton bear to the value of Irish linens ? So little (as will appear hereafter) that Ireland takes further from Britain, in order to make up the balance, and as stated by the present Speaker of the House of Commons of Ireland, “ Salt for *fisheries* and *provisions* ; hops, which she *cannot grow* ; coals, which she *cannot raise* ; tin, which she *has not* ; and bark which she *cannot get elsewhere* ; and all these without reserving any duty, or a power to impose any on them, though her own subjects pay two, three, or four shillings a *chaldron* for coals,

sent

sent coastways, and in London ten shillings." (Mr. Foster's speech—Woodfall's report, p. 110). Such is the present Speaker's statement of the trade. And as to the foreign produce which she takes from Great Britain, the *whole* during one year ending the 5th January, 1799, amounts to 1,412,504 *l.* according to the *real* value, and which she could not possibly procure from any other market at so moderate a rate. This will be perceived when it is stated that four of these articles are tea, muslins, pepper, sugar, and amount to about 900,000 *l.* of the foregoing sum. But it should not be lost sight of, and therefore it may be repeated, that all these articles were not only procured in Great Britain cheaper than elsewhere; but were also taken in return to balance the extensive exports of Irish products and manufactures. But the advantage of the British commerce to Ireland goes still further.

It is of such importance, that in Mr. Foster's words (p. 109) "It is almost *necessary* to her existence." The linen trade of Ireland is by much the greatest portion of its commerce—and of that trade, about nine-tenths depend upon Britain. What then are the dangers, which menace this trade, without an incorporative Union? They are inevitable ruin. Without political separation, without rebellious commotion, or without civil shock in Ireland—commercial consequences must alone dissolve the trade of that country.

Its own prosperity prepares its death warrant under its present relations; every further advance to success is a step nearer to the grave.

The watchfulness of Great Britain over her trade and navigation, which constitute the sources of her power and her splendor, was sufficiently marked for Ireland, by the Committee of the Lords of Trade. It was this commercial vigilance that appointed them to investigate the Irish *Act for granting BOUNTIES on the EXPORT of the linen and hempen manufactures*

manufactures of that kingdom, and for repealing the bounties on flax seed imported; and for encouraging the growth thereof in that kingdom. For so long as the kingdoms are distinct and separate, save by a parliamentary dependence of one crown upon another, we may reasonably conclude that Britain will always be awake to her own interests, and in obedience to these interests, will turn the balance of Irish trade, by either withdrawing her bounties on Irish articles, or diminishing the duties on the same articles from foreign nations. Thus she can always say to the tide of Irish commerce, under the present connection, “so far shalt thou go:”—but under an Union, she can never say—“no further.” Her own interests, as well as the terms of the compact, will bar the sentiment. Whereas, under the existing connexion, what was the opinion of Mr. Foster, p. 108. “The Honourable Gentleman,” says he, alluding to Mr. Flood) *complains* of the report of the English Privy Council, who say that to put Ireland and England on a footing of *exact reciprocity* as to linens, *Ireland ought* to give a bounty on the *exportation* of *English* linens, because England gives a bounty on the exportation of Irish linens.—CAN ANY THING BE MORE JUST?” Such was the sentence of Mr. Foster. “Yet, (adds he) England makes *no such demand*, but is ready by this adjustment,” which is precisely applicable to this present measure—“to give additional security to OUR LINEN TRADE FOR EVER.”

Now, in order to ascertain what is the power of Great Britain at present, over the linen trade of Ireland, we must also mark what is the influence of her Bounties on that trade; and thus we shall clearly see how to calculate; first, what must be the effects of the final adjustment of an *Union*, whereby probably all foreign competition in *import*, and consequently *export* with Irish linen, would be prohibited; and next, what must be the effect of success *without* an Union, when commercial contests must ensue, and “the war

war * of bounties, wherein Ireland cannot cope with Britain?"

Effects of an Union on the Linen Trade.

The effects of an Union, in counteracting foreign competition against Irish trade, may be viewed through the effects of those Bounties, which have already operated on that competition.

The first Bounties on Irish linen exported from Great Britain, took place in 1743, and the export under the bounty was,

In the year 1743,	-	-	40,907 yards;
———— 1753,	-	-	1,039,967 ———
———— 1763,	-	-	2,588,564 ———
———— 1773,	-	-	2,832,246 ———

This increase through bounties has been also aided by duties on the import of foreign linens, but these duties have certainly operated to the prejudice of the woollen manufactures of Great Britain; as foreign powers consequently laid on them reciprocal duties and restrictions. The effect however of those bounties on Irish linens, and of accumulated duties on foreign linens, swelled the import of the former considerably. For

In 1743 there were imported	6,418,375 yards;
— 1773,	17,876,617 ———
Increase 11,458,242 yards.	

That this increase arose from the operation of bounties and duties, will appear obviously from the decrease in the import and export of foreign linens, compared at the same periods.

* Mr. Foster's speech.

Foreign linens *imported* into London and the outports were,

In 1743,	-	15,584,504 ells;
— 1773,	-	8,954,649 —
		Decrease 9,629,834 —

Foreign linens *exported* from London, and the outports were,

In 1743,	-	9,894,837 ells;
— 1773,	-	4,385,276 —
		Decrease 5,509,561 —

But there is now a second period whereby we may ascertain the effects of British *connexion* and *commerce*, as we did in the foregoing period of British *bounties* and *duties*, in favour of the Irish linen trade.

The Irish linens exported from Great Britain entitled to bounty, were,

In 1743,	-	40,907 yards;
— 1773,	-	2,832,246 —
— 1789,	-	3,587,848 —
— 1792,	-	5,598,446 —
— 1795,	-	7,482,147 —

Here then is an *increase* of exports on Irish linens, from 40 thousand yards, to nearly seven million and a half in 1795.

The imports of Irish linen as we have seen were in 1743, above four millions of yards—in 1773 above 17 millions; but,

In 1789,	-	30,044,960 yards;
— 1791,	-	36,232,888 —
— 1794,	-	38,018,102 —
— 1797,	-	39,869,965* —

* Ireland supplies other countries with about four millions of yards; or one-tenth; the other nine depend on British commerce.

That this astonishing increase, from *FOUR millions to nearly FORTY*, has been the effect of the *extended* * commerce of Great Britain will obviously appear, since the foreign linens have *not decreased* during the second period 1789, as they did during the first from 1743, as has been just stated.

The value of foreign linens imported, £.			
In 1789,	-	-	433,884
— 1796,	-	-	456,679

Thus we see that they *increased*, which is in itself a proof of the effects of the increased commerce of Great Britain; but on the whole, it may be said that they have preserved their level in the imports. As to the exports, their value was,

£.			
In 1786,	-	-	122,731
— 1796,	-	-	132,822

Here we behold the same effects from the same causes, and the same arguments are applicable.

The Irish linens have an advantage over the foreign, to the amount of 25 *l.* per cent.—And to this system of bounty and duty, they first owed their increase; and to the unparalleled extension of British commerce, they now owe their extraordinary augmentation.

The linens imported from Ireland, on an average of the three years preceding January 1798, amounted to 2,600,421 *l.*

Whereas the value of foreign linens imported during the same period, amounted to but 414,719 *l.*

Of these also there were exported to the amount of 119,263 *l.*

Therefore there were consumed in Great Britain; but, 299,456 *l.*

* See Tables D & E.

Whereas

Whereas there were consumed in Great Britain Irish linens to the amount of about 2,410,421*l.* As on the average of three years, about 190,000*l.* is exported.

Such is the superiority which the Irish linens have over the foreign in the British market; beside on exportation, the Irish linens enter a foreign market, with all the benefits of a large bounty paid to *them* in Britain, and of English capital which can afford long credit. Whereas foreign linens enter the same market after having left behind them in Britain, a certain part of the duties paid on importation, and after having paid some other custom-house charges; so that before they can be unshipped, there is a disadvantage against them, equivalent to from five to six per cent.

But the importance of British connexion, and the growing magnitude of Irish commerce through that connection, must be obvious to every man who reflects that the TOTAL value of the linen trade in Ireland, was,

		£.
In 1741,	- -	480,516
— 1751,	- -	751,993
— 1761,	- -	803,258
— 1771,	- -	1,691,787

Whereas the linen trade, including yarn, with Great Britain alone, upon an average value of the three years ending 1798, amounted to 2,844,402*l.* If, indeed, the Union which with respect to the linen trade of Ireland, is precisely the same in substance as the adjustment whereon Mr. Foster used those emphatic words, (p. 108) “ if it were to take away the benefit of the linen trade from Ireland, it would be a good cause for rejecting it: but as it for EVER CONFIRMS ALL THE ADVANTAGES we derive from the linen trade, and binds England from making *any* laws that can be *injurious* to it: surely gentlemen who regard that trade, and whose *fortunes* and rent depend on its *prosperity*, will not entertain

entertain a *moment's* doubt about EMBRACING THE OFFER." And as the linen trade much exceeds all the rest of the commerce of Ireland, and as nine-tenths of it depend solely upon Britain, what then must be the result were the system of bounties and duties, which constitute almost the principle of its existence, to receive a shock? If the public revenues of Great Britain suffer by this system, if the private consumer suffers, by paying 25 per cent, more than he need; if the manufactures of Britain suffer by reciprocal duties and restrictions laid on by foreign nations—if the interests of Ireland be different, and separate from those of Britain, is it reasonable to suppose that the people of Great Britain will not insist on the support of *her* separate interests? They have long and loudly demanded why they should be charged with this 25 per cent. on the consumption of Irish linens; the linen trade, nay, I may say, the entire trade of Ireland (as will appear hereafter) must be destroyed, if this blind policy of separate interests be forced upon the British by the Irish nation. Ireland should at least reflect that the British market would, if the operation of bounties and duties ceased, soon be cheaply filled, not only with foreign linens, but that Britain herself would soon supply her own market, as in the case of the sail cloth manufacture, *which* Ireland *lost*. The foreign linens at this moment, with even 25 per cent. against them, not only support a competition with the Irish linens, but undersell them in some branches. Three Provinces of France also, which manufacture more linens than all Ireland together, might struggle for this market; but as the home consumption of Britain would soon increase, so must the home produce. And what the extent of this manufacture is in Britain, may be calculated upon the following comparative view of the exports of linens entitled to bounty.

In

IRISH.			BRITISH.	
In 1743,	40,907 yards	-	52,779 yards	
— 1753,	1,039,967 ———	-	641,410 ———	
— 1763,	2,558,564 ———	-	2,308,310 ———	
— 1773,	2,832,246 ———	-	3,279,808 ———	

Thus it appears, that while the Irish manufacture increased from 40 thousand yards, to two millions, the British increased from 52 thousand yards, to three millions, leaving out fractions. And this increase of the linen manufacture is daily becoming more considerable in Great Britain.

The increase in the exports of British linens *not* entitled to bounty, has also been as great in value, as that entitled to bounty. And the foreign linens also, which pay duties on exportation from Great Britain, have been able, beside the competition in the British market, to maintain a competition in the foreign markets with Irish linens, which receive a bounty on leaving the English ports for those markets. Thus, then, stands the case of the Irish linen manufacture, with the whole system of bounties and duties in its favour. But what would follow were that system to cease?—Commercial death. And this system must be broken and destroyed, if instead of Union separate interests exists; whereas new force must be given to that system by Union, and identity of interests. One plain and obvious question will shew to every man of what importance and benefit an Union must be to Ireland. It appears that the principal market for Irish linens is Great Britain, and that four-fifths of the quantity imported, and those of the highest price, are consumed there; consequently the other one-fifth has been exported: Now we ask, has the *Irish* bill of bounties been able to direct the export of this *one-fifth* into her own direct commerce? Surely no stronger proof can be adduced

duced of the superior advantages of British commerce and British capital; and, consequently, of an incorporative Union, with all those advantages. For, though the Irish exporter has at present an obvious superiority over the English one (which is the case, though the bounties in both countries be equal) of five and a half per cent. paid for freightage, commission, warehousing, wharfaging, and other incidents attendant on the import of Irish linens into the British ports, for the purpose of export from thence; still there is not a decrease, but an astonishing *increase* in the exports of Irish linens *from Great Britain*. Even in the last year, which was a confused period of rebellion, the increase above the preceding year, amounted to 149,059 *l.* This then, is an obvious test of the effects of capital, which can afford long credit—of well assorted cargoes, of India goods, foreign linens, Manchester, Birmingham, Norwich and Sheffield manufactures; all of which have resisted the operative advantage of five and a half per cent. in favour of the Irish exporter. Since here, then, is an unequivocal and clear conviction of the benefits of *English* trade, it may be asked—Is Ireland disposed to surrender those benefits at home and abroad, or to secure them for ever?

Those advantages are no less numerous and extensive, than they are singular in their nature. For, in order to establish a reciprocity, “Ireland *ought* to give a bounty on the exportation of English linens, because England gives a bounty on the exportation of Irish linens.”—*Can any thing be more just?* said Mr. Foster. But what is actually the case? The annual bounties paid to Ireland by England, on an average of the four last years, amounted to 34,000 *l.*; and the annual revenues from the trade of Ireland, during the same period, amounted to 40,000 *l.*: therefore, the annual balance for the gain of the British revenue, or for the ninth part of its trade, was 6,000 *l.*, which bears a proportion to its whole revenue, during that period, (5,734,525 *l.*) as one

to

to 850. Thus then England obtains one, where eight hundred and fifty are its due: such is the rate of *favour* above other nations, or of benefit to Ireland arising from *British bounties*. And further: the benefit obtained by Ireland from the loss sustained in the *British revenues*, amounts to above 700,000 *l. per ann.*: which Britain must receive, were Irish linens taxed equally with those of foreign countries. These extraordinary advantages however, Ireland cannot hold under the present system of things. Not only separate interests must produce a separation of connexion, but without separation of connexion, this commercial system so long and loudly murmured against in England, must finally be dissolved, and consequently the trade of Ireland be no more.

Commercial effects without an Union.

One of two events must follow, *without an union*; either Ireland will sink under the *ruin* of the present commercial system, or under the *success* of it.

The *ruin* of it will be founded on the loss to the public revenues of Great Britain; on the advanced price paid by the private consumers in Great Britain; on the detriment to the general manufactures of Great Britain; on the universal murmurs in Great Britain; and hence that "war of *bounties*," predicted by Mr. Foster, and the inevitable dissolution of the system, because the interests of both countries are not *one and the same*.

The further *success* of Irish commerce, under the present system, also unfolds the inevitable *ruin* of this system, and that success is tolerably evident. For, notwithstanding the enumerated causes of *English* success, contrary to the Irish Bill of Bounties, are as so many embarrassments which bear upon the Irish exports; however, means of palliating them will gradually develop themselves; and it must unavoidably ensue, that an existing operative advantage

tage

tage in favour of any branch of trade, will ultimately, though perhaps not rapidly, effectuate its establishment.

What then must follow? The commercial intercourse between the two countries must be ruined by a *success* which will operate to the diminution of the export trade of Great Britain, to the diminution of the returns of that trade; and consequently to the prejudice of her navigation and commercial interest in general. For can it reasonably be supposed that one nation will uphold another, by fostering its trade at an immense expense to herself and her subjects, and at a loss to her revenues and manufactures, her navigation, and commercial interests?—No: Ireland is too just.—— Or, can such a trade be continued, while the interest of the two countries clash, and insisted on as separate, are made to war for separation? No: Britain is too wise. Let the Irish well observe that the Lords of Trade have considered such a revulsion of commerce, as that just pointed out and provided against it. They have told the committee of council “ that in such a case, a *reduction* in the duties on *foreign* linens MUST take place; that the kingdom of Great Britain would thus be enabled to supply herself as cheaply as ever; that she would do it with *advantage* to the *revenue*; and that she would probably too obtain *larger* consumption of *her woollen manufactures*, and *other goods* upon the continent of Europe.”

But suppose that such mischiefs to the navigation and commerce of Great Britain were not to ensue, at least suddenly, or to a great extent; *success* in commerce is, however, a death-blow to the linen trade of Ireland, under her *subsisting* connexion with Great Britain: for, the consequences of improving commerce, is increased opulence. The consequence of increased opulence is increased price of land, provisions, labour, and consequently manufactures. Therefore, as soon as the price of linen be augmented, its importation into Great Britain will decline, and that of foreign

reign linens proportionately increase, *without any lowering* of the duties. *Now* the foreign linens are able to stand the market with Irish linens; *then* they would beat them out. The import of fine linens for home consumption, would suffer particularly; the import of table linen, &c. would be wholly lost: and if the low-priced linens should take another channel by direct export from Ireland, then, through want of a suitable assortment for the English market, all the branches of the Irish trade would be considerably diminished in their imports into Great Britain. This would unquestionably follow, *without* reducing the duties on foreign linens. And, as to the Bounties on British linens, either they must be *continued*, or they must be *changed*. If they be continued, inasmuch as the demand for the Irish branch of the trade diminishes, that for the English must increase: this demand increasing, the produce will increase proportionately, and then the same results will follow, as formerly, in the sail cloth branch: For it should be remarked by the Irish, that, though Great Britain is at this moment subject to great disadvantages in the linen trade, yet she is supposed to manufacture more than is exported from Ireland: consequently, she is in that improved state of the business, that it requires but mere will to advance rapidly; and this must result from any further *success* of Irish commerce, under the *continuance* of British Bounties. But, on the other hand, can it be required that these Bounties should be *changed*; that is, that they should be raised for the *benefit* of Ireland, in order to *check* the foreign imports, and consequently charge the British consumer with the *double* increase, of foreign duty and Irish price, to diminish the public revenues; to injure the national manufactures; and to violate all the principles of commercial policy? Yet, if this be not done, the *success* of Irish commerce, is the tomb of its linen trade.

What

What then must follow *without Union*? Waving the certainty of separation and ruin from political and civil causes, either Ireland must remain as it is, with one solitary manufacture, which cannot be improved; and with an unfortunate peasantry, who are not virtuous, because they are NOT HAPPY, but are seduced into sedition through poverty, and afterwards made tools of rebellion through despair. Or, in the next place, should Ireland be successful in commerce, then that very success becomes self-destruction, under the existing system, and the doctrine of separate interests.

The friends of Ireland therefore, will do well to consider a plain and simple statement arising from the two views, which we have taken of its commerce.—Ireland, without an incorporative Union, stands exposed to private poverty—to public calamities—to desperate and immoral convulsions—to SEPARATION. Ireland, without an incorporative Union, is barred by her DEPENDANCE ON ENGLISH BOUNTY, and by the power of Great Britain over that bounty, from attaining any high eminence in commerce. Or we shall suppose, against all probability, that Ireland, without Union, may become successful in commerce: therefore, in so much must she injure the trade and navigation of Great Britain in all its direct consequences, and all its collateral relations: and consequently, their commercial intercourse must be hazarded, their concord broken, and their present connexion be dissolved. Or finally, suppose the connexion be not thus hazarded, and that she be successful:—then, since the interests of both countries are not one and the same, irreparable mischiefs must ensue to Ireland; its trade will be lost by a very *small rise* upon her commodities, that *must* follow her success; for Great Britain will not, on the principle of separate interests, and on the claims of her manufacturers, and on the grounds of commercial policy, *increase* her bounties; Ireland, therefore, must fall from a pinnacle not lofty, into ruin the most profound!

However,

However, that we may ascertain fully, what she must suffer, by the *loss* of British trade, either through *separation*, which must follow *non-incorporation* of parliaments and interests, or through the consequences of *success without incorporation*; and further what she may *gain* by an incorporation of legislatures and interests, let us review the state of her whole commerce. And in order to investigate this matter fairly, we shall not take a *single year*, but an average of three years; whereby we may see, beyond doubt or deception, what is the real nature and full extent of the Irish commerce with Great Britain.

On an average of the LAST three Years.

CATTLE TRADE.

Cows and oxen, 6 <i>l.</i> each,	-	-	-	-	£.	144,550
Horses, 10 <i>l.</i> each,	-	-	-	-		13,610
Swine, 30 <i>s.</i> each,	-	-	-	-		10,181
						<hr/>
						168,242

CORN TRADE.

Barley, 17 <i>s.</i> per quarter,	-	-	-	-		17,579
Oats, 14 <i>s.</i> per ditto.	-	-	-	-		205,391
Oatmeal, 7 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> per boll,	-	-	-	-		24,884
Wheat, 40 <i>s.</i> per quarter,	-	-	-	-		35,436
Flour,	-	-	-	-		5,710
						<hr/>
						289,000

PROVISION TRADE.

Beef, 3 <i>l.</i> 15 <i>s.</i> per barrel,	-	-	-	-		388,522
Butter, 3 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> per cwt.	-	-	-	-		784,654
Pork, 3 <i>l.</i> 15 <i>s.</i> per barrel,	-	-	-	-		674,981
Bacon, 2 <i>l.</i> 5 <i>s.</i> per cwt.	-	-	-	-		106,056
						<hr/>
						1,954,213

LINEN

LINEN TRADE.

Plain shirting and sheeting, at 1 s. 5 d. per yard,	-	2,600,101
Other linens,	-	320
Linen yarn (raw)	-	243,981
		<hr/>
		2,844,402

TOTALS.

Cattle,	-	168,242
Corn,	-	289,000
Provision,	-	1,954,213
		<hr/>
		2,411,455

Thus it appears that on the average of 1796, 1797, 1798, the linen trade alone amounted to 2,844,402 l.

While all the branches of provision, corn, and cattle, produced 2,411,455 l.

* Therefore the linen trade alone exceeds all these, by 432,947 l.

And as her whole produce and manufactures imported amount on the same average to 5,510,825 l.

And as her cattle, corn, provision, and linen trade, which she could not find a market for but in England, amount to 5,255,857 l.

Consequently there remains out of her whole trade, for which she might perhaps find another market beside Great Britain, 254,968 l.

It must also be observed, that there are articles of *foreign* produce, for which probably she would not find a *foreign* market, but which Great Britain now takes from her, with her other imports, to the amount of 101,864 l.

Therefore, it may with great truth be asserted, † that *the commercial existence of Ireland depends upon Great Britain.*

The advantages might appear more striking, were we to detail the Irish articles favoured by Great Britain on *importation*, and the British articles favoured by Great Bri-

* Her linen trade alone is more than all the other branches collectively, carried on with domestic and foreign produce.

† See Mr. Foster's Speech.

tain on *exportation* to Ireland. This, however, shall be only given in some instances, that we may not intrude too much upon the reader's attention.—Bacon is admitted into English ports FREE, from Ireland—from other countries it pays 2 *l.* 7 *s.* 6 *d.* per hundred weight: Beef *free*, from Ireland; and from other countries PROHIBITED—Cattle in *like* manner. Linens FREE, from Ireland—from other countries 25 *l.* per cent. We shall not enumerate any more of the *imports*, but specify a few of those favoured on exportation to Ireland—Coals, 1 *s.* 2 *d.* the chaldron—to any other place in British ships, 15 *s.* 5 *d.*—and in foreign ships, 1 *l.* 7 *s.* 6 *d.*—Sugars in loaves, 1 *l.* 6 *s.* per hundred weight Bounty, when *destined* to foreign countries, &c. &c.—Goods *permitted* to Ireland, but PROHIBITED to other countries,—Coin of gold and silver.—Tools or utensils in the cotton, linen, woollen, silk, iron, and steel manufactures, &c. &c. Beside *all Bounties* given by *Parliament*, on *British ships* in the Greenland fishery, are allowed to *ships* from Ireland. And ships from Ireland are allowed *all the numerous* privileges of British ships.

Thus we have obviously before us the nature and extent of the Irish commerce with Great Britain, which constitutes almost the whole of its trade,—we see also what has been its wonderful increase, and the causes of that increase; first, the *repulse* given to its competitors, by accumulated *duties*, and the *support* given to Ireland by extensive *bounties*; though both operate to the loss of the British revenue, the expense of the British consumer, and the injury of British manufactures.—In the second place, we observe, that the cause of this increase of Irish trade, is the unparalleled and astonishing extension of British commerce. (See Table, E.)—We behold also, that while Ireland by her connection enjoys more than a ninth part of that commerce, Britain does not derive a ninth part of the customs, but a 145th part—that is, she favours her above other nations, and

and to her own disadvantage, in the proportion of 145 to 9, —Hereby Great Britain sustains a sixteen-fold loss, and gives Ireland a sixteen-fold gain, or infinitely more in the results.—She now offers Ireland further, the key of her treasures, and the security and increase of that commerce,—to clothe the naked peasants of that country, feed their hungry offspring, and give their families comfortable dwellings.—But it is said they are indolent. And why are they indolent? From moral effects, which we could easily trace, to civil causes, that must wither under the influence of the Union. Be it granted, however, that they are indolent: but are they not indigent? Is the severity of labour softened by due rewards? For if they be *thus* indigent, they must be idle. The case is ever the same, where labour and industry are not animated by proportionate returns.—It is true policy, and alone true, which supports a reciprocal advantage; which rouses, animates, and spreads abroad, a spirit of industry amongst the poor;—let us be assured, that the happiness of mankind is at once a liberal and a selfish principle.

It appears throughout the commercial support given by Great Britain, for the amelioration of the state of the labourers and manufacturers of Ireland, that there is a balance of nearly four millions annually, for the direct produce of the lands, and their labour. Great Britain invites forth, animates and remunerates Irish industry by 5,610,825*l.* per annum; whereas the British peasantry and manufacturers receive in return from Ireland but 2,087,672*l.*

She holds out also to the industrious manufacturers of Ireland, all the improvements of genius and discoveries in the arts, to facilitate their skill, their success, and opulence, —while she prohibits this communication to other nations around her.

She

She even renders less detrimental to the poor of Ireland the luxuries of the rich, by supplying, at a cheaper rate than it could be procured elsewhere, that quantum of foreign productions which indulgence deems necessary.

She pays the manufacturers of Ireland 25 per cent. more for their linens, than she could purchase them for from others.

She has, by her wise and liberal protection, fostered this great trade of Ireland, in so much, that she has augmented industry amongst its manufacturers ten fold.

She has thrown open her ports, free, for the produce of Ireland; while she has prohibited the like articles from other countries.

She supplies the wants of Ireland, at a less revenue, than she supplies the wants of her *own natives*. She imparts to her almost the necessaries for commercial existence. She gives her the means of carrying on her manufactures, and of vending her manufactures; and she sends her the raw materials, these elements of her industry, while she strictly refuses them to other nations.

She has thrown open to Ireland, the commerce of the world: And, as it is trade and commerce that have broken the iron yoke of bondage in other countries; so they will in Ireland exalt the humble, and bring down the high, to that point of civil morality, where BOTH will be happy.

But is this large cup of blessings which is preparing both for the poor and rich of Ireland, to be dashed by the wickedness of cabal, or weakness of party? There is a standard whereby we can measure sound policy, and it is an unequivocal one:—it is facts; against which all assertions are but an idle waste of words. Then to these *facts* we appeal:—Are the *peasants of Ireland* BADLY CLOTHED, ILL FED, and WORSE LODGED than the peasants of *any part* of Europe? It is asserted by numbers that *they are*. And whence this? Is it owing to the *form* of Government? No—

It

It is the *British form of Government*, and none can surpass it. Is it owing to the *climate*? No; none is more happy. Is it owing to the *soil*? No; none is more fertile. Is it owing to the *nature* of the individuals? No; for, by nature, none are more active, more zealous, or more strong. To what, then, is it owing?—To *practical defects* in the political, commercial, and civil state; which can never be remedied, but by an Union alone—and without which, all that is now good in the state of Ireland, must be diminished and gradually lost; and all that is evil retained and gradually increased, until civil dissolution follows.

It is a really a blind policy which has pursued separate interests in the civil community of Ireland, but it is something worse which would now pursue them in the two great political communities of the Empire.

If this doctrine of separate interests prevails, the merchants, artificers, landholders, farmers, and cultivators of Ireland must be ruined. However, before misconception, or worse ambition sacrifice so many victims, let men pause! Let them consider well before they refuse to establish as a right, that commerce which is now a courtesy. In reality, they are destroying every possibility of its continuance, even as a courtesy, when they may convert it into a lasting security.

But they assert, that the minister's object, in this measure, is taxation—That no taxes will or can bear upon the poor of Ireland, we have already * shown beyond the power of dispute. And upon other classes, only a certain portion will be fixed; beyond which portion, no power of taxation can go, let the increase of the sources of revenue be ever so great, without a total dissolution of the compact of Union. Ireland, most certainly, will be rendered *rich* and *productive* by *commerce*, but *cannot*, under *the Union*, be rendered *poor* by taxation.

* See Union or Separation, p. 5.

Beside, the present commercial system between the two countries cannot hold *without* an *Union*; it is altogether impossible. The Members of the House of Commons, who are concerned with the great manufacturing places, urge loudly* that there is no reciprocity:—for, English manufactures are loaded with duties, while Irish manufactures are not only exempted from them, but are encouraged by Bounties, to the domestic cost of the people of England, and to the detriment of their foreign trade. The revenue foregoes, as has been shewn, above 700,000 *l.* per ann. in the duties which are *not* levied on Irish linen; and the subjects of Great Britain pay at least a million more for their linens, than they might do if the importation of foreign linens were on an equal footing with those of Ireland. Is it reasonable, in policy or conscience, to suppose that they will thus give their treasure to Ireland, and for the purpose perhaps, of separation, or for the benefit of an enemy, against whom they protect Ireland even with their blood?—In some future moment of wanton pride and accumulated power, Ireland might conceive her existing connexion insulting, and separate.

Beside those arguments for Union on the part of Britain, surely on the part of Ireland, if she wants industry, as has been urged, and wants capital, as is known—where can these be found, but in Union with Britain? Without the connexion of some other state, Ireland CANNOT exist—and unless that connexion be British *Union*, she cannot exist as a commercial Nation: for, if Britain, impelled by the motives already stated, suppress a trade in those commodities whereby she can raise the value of her own; and if the exports from Ireland to Great Britain be discouraged, as the exports from England to Ireland: what must become of the Irish trade?—Can she turn for a market to Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Germany, Holland, Poland, France, Spain?

* See Mr. Peel's Speech on the Union.

Where will she find vent for her linens, cattle and corn? Can she undertake an East India trade, and for those articles? Can she, in this abandoned and impoverished state drive a West India trade, when she cannot even * now?—Will she look for encouragement to America?—Will she turn for the lost trade to Africa?—There is demonstrably no security, no resource, for the vent of her products and manufactures over the globe, but through Britain; because, whether they be natural or artificial, the other nations of the earth can furnish them cheaper. What then must follow if Ireland were separated and independent? She might sink into her Brehon barbarity, † or fall back into that Gothic government, characterized by feuds, murders, and depredations.

We have before shewn ‡ the absurd and short-sighted fears of Dublin—Wherever commerce is accumulated, its influence must pervade the whole country, animating industry into life and action. It is certainly true that the trade of Dublin is now greater than that of any other commercial place in Ireland; but it by no means follows that it will not preserve the same proportion in the increase, which it now holds in the present partition of commerce §. But if it

* Notwithstanding the free trade of Ireland, she has not faculty to carry it on. Britain supplies her with seven-eighths of her West Indian consumption.

† The *Brehon Law* was the ancient code of the Irish; whereby murder, treason and robbery were punished with a *Fine*, which was called an *Erick*.

‡ See *Union or Separation*.

§ Present state of trade, by a view of the tonnage 1797.

Belfast	-	-	-	4,630 Tons.
Cork	-	-	-	4,904
Youghal	-	-	-	6,434
Galway	-	-	-	1,353
Dublin	-	-	-	15,092

While

it did not, is the whole nation to be sacrificed to a part? In fact, however, that part must be benefited by the whole; the capital is as the heart through which the blood must flow.

But unhappily throughout the course of public affairs in Ireland, the highest points of general interest have been sacrificed to particular views. The principles have been partial, and the calculations founded upon the arithmetic of *self*. It is surely sufficient, however, if particular views be suffered to produce particular injuries; but what Machiavel will assert that a whole nation, and all its people,—that a whole empire, and all its subjects—that all Europe perhaps, nay the globe itself, should be delivered to destruction, for the sake of individuals, whose designing ambition has duped some, or whose ill founded authority may have imposed upon others? The existence of the whole nation of Ireland, the blood, the subsistence of its people, their already indifferent food and worse raiment, are about to be sacrificed by such superabundant zeal. If these men be so ardent for *public good*, in God's name, why are the peasantry and mechanics of Ireland so long suffered to remain in the same state? Surely, where the complaints have been so long and so loud, on the condition of the lower class in Ireland, some safe and radical remedy should be adopted. And since those complaints have come down, detailed to us by such authority as that of Sir John Davies, from the time of Henry II.; as of Swift, from the time of the Revolution; and of Adam Smith, and Dean Tucker in our own times; and since,

C. 2

whether

	Tons.
While the total tonnage of Ireland (1797), was	53,181
That of London alone was	449,017
That even of Newcastle	128,294
But while the tonnage of Ireland was, in 1797, but,	53,181
That of the Empire was	1,565,651

By this we may estimate the capital that each brings into a joint commercial flock if they unite.

whether the complaints of the people of Ireland be true or false, they have been uniformly the passage to their passions, to make them pioneers of *Rebellion*; were it not wise, on the part of the high and powerful in Ireland, to close this avenue for ever, by the consequences of Union? Were it not wise both for the exalted and the humble, to silence for ever such complaints, as that “when Esau came fainting from the field, and at the point to die, he sold his birth-right for a mess of pottage.”—Were it not wise to check too long continued emigrations,* by checking the causes, if real, and by checking the complaints, if artificial, and both by the consequences of an Union?

The zeal of humble industry, and the splendor of exalted talents, have passed from Ireland into foreign lands, to eat even the bread of honest and independent poverty among an unoppressed people. We do not say however that the people of Ireland were oppressed by the Government. We protest against the assertion. The barbarous spirit of feudal times looked *down* upon the cottage, and looked *above* the throne; therefore the government was governed, and the subjects were vassals. But as commerce enriched, and knowledge enlightened mankind, the lordly yoke of feudal tyranny has been broken throughout Europe, kings freed from slavery, and people from oppression. Thus, through *commerce*, will the barbarous spirit of feudal power finally depart from Ireland, and the old and corrupt body of civil defects find a sepulchre in the Union.

With its present boasted trade, however, the lower classes of Ireland are poor, as will hereafter be shewn on parliamentary authority, beyond human condition in other countries :

* The emigrations from Ireland have not ceased since Swift's time. In the year 1797, families to the amount of some hundreds passed over to America.

tries: it is evident, therefore, that the trade is not yet extensive enough to reach the poor. And as that boasted trade may perish at the nod of Britain, the question is, Will the Irish reject at once, not only security for that trade, and the means of its unbounded extension through English capital, skill, and commerce; but all the *incalculable benefits* of an UNION upon the WHOLE BODY of the Irish nation?

It is this Union that will bring comforts to the people, and convert the bogs of Ireland into smiling corn fields and meadows; that will clothe her naked mountains with woods; dig her mines, and explore her treasures; cut her canals to convey them to the ocean; pour forth abundance from her now half-cultivated fields; and, instead of herds of cattle, raise up numerous and industrious bodies of men. Thus, as remarked by the able and eloquent Bishop of Landaff, *Ireland will be enriched, and England not impoverished, but the empire be increased in opulence and strength.* Sixty millions of acres, so fertile by nature, if improved by art, will maintain much more than thirty millions of men: out of these thirty millions, five millions may bear arms; and out of these five millions, one million may be always in arms without prejudice to agriculture or commerce, to protect the other twenty-nine millions in peace and industry. With such a body of united Britons, with the commerce resulting from this Union, with a navy thus supported, with riches and resources thus secured, with such strength from Nature and from *Union*, we may bid defiance to the world. Then we may look down in calm and supreme dignity upon the little disputes and wars of Continental Princes, wholly uninterested in their artificial balance of power. Our confederacy will be then at home—in Union: our balance of power will be then—the population, the riches, the resources of Great and United Britain. God and Nature have befriended us much; and, unless we be *enemies to ourselves,*

selves, we may be the happiest and strongest empire in the world—INVINCIBLE.

At a moment, then, when a desolating fiend stalks over the earth, ravaging all states and conditions, should we not *unite* against this monster? It has however been gravely advanced in Ireland, that connexion with Britain is an advantage, but Union destruction. If British connexion be an advantage, Union, which is but closer and stronger connexion, must be closer and stronger advantage: unless Britain be considered as a physical body in flames, whose warmth is genial at a distance, but which burns by contact, and consumes by Union. Is this however the case? Ireland is in truth, as was eloquently described by the able Prelate whom we have just quoted, a graft, which has just grown up and flourished on the British stock: separate it, and it will neither strike root downwards nor bear fruit upwards, but will wither under the shadow of the British oak, or be poisoned by the pestilential vapours of the tree of liberty.—Unite it then with Britain, and it will become a sound and vigorous limb of the empire; unite it with France, and it will become a poor shrivelled excrescence, which will be cut off as caprice or convenience points out.

CIVIL STATE.

This point of national Policy may be considered in two views: First, with respect to civil, next with respect to moral economy. Civil economy comprehends the support of individuals, and consequently of a State: moral economy regards religion or the manners of a People.

First:

First : the system of civil œconomy which regulates the support of the great body of individuals of Ireland, is obvious as to its nature by its consequences. A statement was made to the House of Commons of Ireland, and which was before cited, (p. 10 Union or Separation) that “out of three millions, there are two millions one hundred thousand excused on account of *poverty* from paying yearly *four-pence* each to *the State*.” Where there is such personal poverty, the state must ever be in danger, through dissatisfaction within, and want of support and power without.

Having clearly before us, at this awful period, the nature and consequences of this system, we have been led to consider what is the remedy for this civil condition. Our solemn and deliberate opinion is, that there is no other remedy whatever, but an Incorporate Union.

As to Utopian cups with the waters of *forgetfulness*, prescribed by some men, they must have certainly been emptied by themselves. Such men reason upon topics without remembering these particular and important circumstances, which totally change the nature of a case. And while some reason too generally, others reason too particularly; such, for instance, are foreign and domestic Traders, who look not beyond local or personal concerns, and never enter into a combination for the general benefit of national commerce; and, next, Political Traders, who consult only for themselves, and not for the Public at large.

Hence the crude absurdities and gross misrepresentations, which have been diffused upon this occasion. They are too numerous for any one man to undertake to expose them; and they are indeed too glaring to require it. The authors and abettors, however, of all manner of villainy could not have found more zealous dupes or more apt instruments for the projected ruin of mankind in a Nation.—But if it be true, as Swift said, that “general calamities are allowed to be the great UNITERS of mankind,” we have solid ground

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for hope. The individual and public condition in Ireland, and the general calamity which has desolated Europe and menaced the globe, will upon this reasoning cause the Empire to be united, consolidated, and strengthened. With respect to Ireland, is it not a glorious and honourable invigoration which results from private poverty being changed into public opulence, and individual abjection into National elevation? "The picture," said Mr. Dundas, "which I draw of Ireland, is of a gloomy and *lamentable* aspect; but, in proportion as it is so, it becomes the duty of every well-wisher to both countries to devise some remedy by which he may destroy the hopes of the enemy, and give *new life* and *new vigour* to the Sister Kingdom." For independent of *commercial* advantages through increased capital and skill; independent of *civil* advantages through *improved agriculture* and *manners*; independent of *improved industry and condition*, and the termination of *civil feuds*; independent of all these advantages, the question is, as Mr. Pitt stated it, *not what Ireland is to GAIN, but what she is to PRESERVE*; *not merely how she may best improve her situation, but how she is to avert a pressing and immediate danger.*" When the assassin lifts his knife, the first act is, Natural impulse, for instant safety: the next is, sound thought, for future security. Rob nature, however, of this impulse against domestic traitors in Ireland; strip the mind of this thought for security against a rapacious foe, who had declared war against Kings and enslaves all Republics; remove all those loud pleas on the present occasion,—and exclusive of such inevitable dangers, if the two countries do *not* unite, they *must* separate: and ruin follows. Whereas let the two countries unite, and if reason, founded upon wise experience, have any claim on certainty, it may be maintained as a truth, that a termination of Civil misery in Ireland will ensue from Union, and a rapid growth of individual opulence augment the stock of National happiness, common
power,

power, and imperial strength. Thus then she may despise every foreign danger, and enjoy and pursue her domestic improvement.

According to the acknowledged* principles of Civil œconomy, it is agreed that, for the advantage of individuals, and consequently of the State, for it is impossible to separate them, each labourer should be enabled to rear four children.—Whatever therefore is the average weekly expense of supplying five individuals with comfortable dress, dwelling, and diet, should be the earning of the father of a labouring family. If the weekly expense be valued at two shillings each, his labour should procure ten; for, the mother's work is computed to be equal to her own support. These being the principles universally received in the systems of Civil œconomy for the good of the individual and of the State, it may fairly be asked, do the fathers of labouring families in Ireland earn ten shillings each? For we believe no individual can have comfortable dress, dwelling, and diet, under two shillings on an average per week. This point we shall not push farther. Without laying open the wound more deeply, we have no doubt but an Union will radically heal it.

The same standard hold goods not only for all places, but all persons concerned in industry and the arts; marking that due gradation, whereby remunerations and rewards rise with the rank of talents or employment.

With respect to Farmers, their portion is accurately ascertained, which is to reward their skill or application. It is two-thirds of the price of the produce of the land: one belongs to those who live by rent, or the proprietors: another third belongs to those who live by wages, or is for general cultivation: and the other third is for those who live by profit and stock, or the farmers. The two last thirds therefore

* Cantillon, Lord Chief Justice Hale, King, Davenant, Adam Smith, &c.

therefore are the farmer's portion, for himself, for his labourers, and for his expenses. Such being the principles universally adopted as wise and just, after ages of experience, it may not be unfair to ask, does this system prevail in Ireland? Does the farmer who cultivates a considerable tract of land, or the cottager who tills a single acre or a single rood of potatoes, does he receive two thirds of the value of the produce? If the potatoes of the cottager be worth three pounds, is the landlord satisfied with one pound for his rent? If not, he violates the first principle of Civil œconomy, he is unwise towards the state and himself, and he is highly unjust toward the cottager his tenant. That this system, however, will grow out of the consequences of an Union, there can be no doubt; and that it must be for the advantage not only of the lower order but the upper orders of men we refer to demonstration and experience in Britain and elsewhere.

The reason too is obvious. Liberal rewards invite industry: industry promotes population: and population and industry increase each other. For as the liberal wages and rewards of industry produce plenty, plenty gives subsistence and invites population; and increased population demands increased subsistence and forces industry. Thus it is that the wise and just returns of labour, giving plenty and strength, promote industry and population; and, giving animation and a hope of bettering man's condition, rouse the peasant, the farmer, or the manufacturer, to exert his strength, or stretch his talents to the utmost. And then the charge of indolence and indigence is heard no more.

However, where there is not much agriculture in a country, little stock for trade, and a tolerable population, the wages will, through competition, be low, and the people be partly idle, or emigrate. But it must be granted that Ireland is not populous, though its tendency to population is extraordinary and unequalled in Europe. For, when Sir
William

William Petty wrote his Political Arithmetic, he said “England is *five* times better peopled than Ireland.” Had therefore the progression of population been *equal* in both countries since that period, since Ireland contains at this moment above four millions of people, and England is one-third larger, the latter should have at least twenty-seven millions: and as the population of England falls short of this, in the same relative proportion has the population of Ireland gained upon that of England. Still, however, Ireland is not populous in proportion to the actual number it may have, but to the numbers it can feed. And what a view might be given here of the natural capacities of Ireland in soil, now neglected; in fisheries, somewhat known but little heeded; and in position on the globe, not to be surpassed for the great benefits of commerce. It is to draw all these wonderful resources into action, that we anxiously support an Union: for that nation possesses means of opulence, power, and consequence, which have been too long and shamefully neglected. If men, however, be wise at this moment, the time is not far distant when internal industry and home trade will change the export of provisions into that of manufactures. Instead of dreary solitudes for grazing will be seen smiling corn fields and joyous population; and the Island be transformed into a peaceful granary, or resound with the animated din of manufactures and workshops.

There is a great and important truth, which the Merchants, Manufacturers, and Landholders of Ireland should hold constantly in view—the VALUE of the produce of *land* or *labour* can be increased *only* by *population* or *skill*. *Population* cannot increase without increased funds to support it, which is *Capital*: *skill* cannot increase without increased funds to reward and apply its discoveries, which is also *Capital*. Ireland has not that Capital. But Union with Great Britain will give that Capital:—consequently it will
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give an increased value to the produce of land and labour ; it will give increased agriculture, increased manufactures, increased population, increased commerce.

Want of Capital may be one, amidst other material reasons, for the backward state of agriculture in Ireland. But this reason cannot apply to great Proprietors. Experience, however, in all countries shews that *great Proprietors* are seldom *great improvers*. It has been also found in Ireland, as well as in that ancient state of Europe, to which Ireland bears too much resemblance at this day, that *less* improvement took place under those who occupied the land than *under the Proprietors*. But least of all has improvement ever taken place, while *those employed* were either really, or what is eventually the same thing, supposed themselves to be slaves. A man, who is without all hope or expectation of acquiring property, will labour as little as possible, provided he can subsist. He has no interest beyond his maintenance, and so far only will he think of labour. Man is always the same creature under the same circumstances, and the great cast of Nature is uniform, however different the climate or the time. In antient Italy, the decline of agriculture remarked by Pliny, and in ancient Greece by Aristotle, and in the West Indies the lash of a slave-driver—prove that when *man* has *no interest* in his *exertions*, nor possibility of civil elevation, and bettering his condition, *he will do as little as he can*. Now we ask, *Are the People of Ireland indolent?*

If so: indolence and indigence are unsure cements for a civil system; whereas due rewards conferred upon labour animate industry, produce comfort, and give solid security to a state. If the people be happy, they will be virtuous. He, who requires a proof of this, has only to contemplate the state of Great Britain to-day,—of the rest of Europe—of Ireland itself!!! But the whole civil condition of Ireland will be improved by the consequences of Union with
Great

Great Britain, both with respect to the support of individuals and the state; and with respect to the present cast of national manners, which forms the *second* part to be considered.

An inquiry into the causes of the manners of Ireland might afford, if judiciously traced, one of the most novel pictures perhaps ever presented to the human mind. Such a combination of Brehon* barbarity forced upon their moral habits during ages, by our ill-judging forefathers; such a mixture of allodial authority exercised with tyranny, by the conquering proprietors of lands; such a feudal bondage, without the formalities of law, or feelings of Nature—sunk, embittered, and depraved the human heart. After ages of such horrid policy, England at length communicated its government and laws to Ireland. But as our ancestors had established themselves by force, the Government of Ireland has ever since partaken of force. It was an error however, which, though the Government saw, constituted as it has been, it was unable to correct. Most unquestionably force was not a remedy for evils which grew out of the civil and religious differences of the country. The true remedy was another species of connexion—it was Union. And that remedy Molyneaux, the great champion of Ireland's rights and liberties, saw, and ardently desired; but despaired of the blessing. Unhappily this sound and radical policy, which might have closed all the wounds of hatred and hostility, was neglected for a species of quackery, which, in political as well as physical disorders, but makes bad worse. Thus through ages the barbarous cast of Irish manners was kept up by oppression. In after-times it was

* The nature of this code of laws, and its effects upon civil society, may be collected from the following historical fact:—When Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam told Maguire that he would send a Sheriff into Fermanagh—“Your Sheriff,” said Maguire, “shall be welcome to me, but let me know his *Ericke* (or price of his head) before-hand, that if my people cut it off, I may put the *Ericke* upon the country.”

aggravated by the addition of civil vices, and the loss of savage virtues, which resulted from hatred and intermixture with their conquerors. And in nearer periods, their whole mind and manners have been empoisoned by the cunning cant of plausible men, and inflamed by the dark doctrines of traitors, until maddened, brutalized, and made ferocious by the contagious barbarity of the day.

The state of Ireland has been truly peculiar in many points. The Protestants, who were least numerous, had the property and power; while the Catholics, who were most numerous, had neither power nor property. It was deemed necessary therefore to support the Protestant, lest the Catholics should get the power, and consequently the property: and hence a great oppression had arisen in former times. And though it be now removed, a deep-rooted jealousy has passed down to this day, and has embodied with it a legion of more corrupt passions to desolate the hearts and affections of men. Such things cannot go on; there must be an end to these disorders, or an end to civil society. And against civil death in Ireland we know of no protection that the utmost stretch of human faculties can form, but an incorporative Union. This measure will give in substance what both parties desire—namely, security to the Protestant for his present property and future power; and emancipation to the Catholic, or three millions of subjects, from the shackles of hideous distinction. Under an incorporative Union, all suspicious fears of losing eight-tenths of the property of the island must be removed for ever from the breast of the Protestant: and all well-grounded hopes of gaining legislative power and civil rights may, and will beyond doubt, be confirmed to the Catholic without dread, and with considerable advantage. Thus the gall of civil jealousy will no longer embitter the minds and manners of men, nor the flame of religious animosity kindle up the torch of frantic barbarity. But rebellion, crushed amidst
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its expiring crimes, will die after a reign of horrors, which is beyond the reach of record or description. For the first effort of Irish history was a page of traditional rebellions, and it has never ceased since to dip its pen in human blood.

But if, notwithstanding all the well-grounded expectations of rescuing men and manners from a gulph of immorality, through the unquestionable results of an Union on the civil state of Ireland, it be asked, who are the advocates, or what authority pleads for this measure? We proudly answer, that our supporters are some of the most wise, the most virtuous, and most revered characters, that have done honour to human nature in different ages and nations. And now we ask, who are the opposers of Union?—One man indeed we see, whom we have been taught to respect, and therefore by his own words we judge him:—“When gentlemen argue on bad ground, even their own arguments often make against them.”—(Woodfall’s Report of Mr. Foster’s Speech, p. 106.) But are the opposers of this Union anxious on the score of Irish independence? Molyneux, the advocate of Irish liberty, wisely points to independence—for it exists solely—*in Union*. Are they desirous to put down the mighty load of fundamental grievances in civilization, ignorance, superstition, manners, poverty? Let them then embrace commerce,—for to commerce, and all its consequent civil blessings, Sir William Petty, Sir Josiah Child, Decker, Munn, Adam Smith, Dean Tucker, and all other able political writers and œconomists, have pointed out the road—*through Union*.

If, beside the authority of opinion, that of example can have weight in support of an Union, we have the full benefit of experience before us in the Union after the Heph-tarchy, and in the Union of Wales, and Counties Palatine. We have also two other examples perhaps more striking, because more near to our own times and circumstances. In the reign of Charles II. Carolina, like Ireland on the
conquest,

conquest, was given up to some Englishmen, both in *property* and jurisdiction. Locke, who was certainly a friend to popular liberty, though by no means a politician, perhaps because a metaphysical philosopher, was employed to compose a body of laws for their government. But notwithstanding the code of such an advocate for the people, distinctions, parties, and intestine commotions arose under this *secondary* jurisdiction, as the vicerojal and legislative government of Ireland now is. In order, therefore, to prevent the last ruinous consequences of these troubles, it was thought advisable to place the country under *the immediate care and inspection of the Crown*: and the like immediate care and inspection is a direct consequence of the present Legislative Union. The other example is that of Scotland, whose distractions, divisions, and clanship ceased but with the amelioration of its government under Union, and whereby the industry of the inhabitants was awakened. So rapid and successful has its progress been since, that English ability, which surpassed Scottish ability at the period before the Union as *twenty-eight to one*, now exceeds it only as *eight to one*.*

Consequently, therefore, if Ireland looks to *Political* power, to *Civil* happiness, and *Commercial* opulence—her great charter for national and individual independence, as well as diffused riches, is Incorporative Union.

We have seen the consequences of Union in several instances with respect to the British Empire; let us now recur to a memorable instance of *Disunion* in the Roman Empire.

Peculiar circumstances of state, and the concealed views of the Sovereign, caused Augustus to establish a line of *disunion* between the *great mass* of the *Roman People*. But from this plan flowed the *miseries of the state*; and it finally occasioned what may be termed different sovereignties in

* See Tables B & C.

one empire under Dioclesian. This *disunion* and division produced civil wars, which did not cease till all was again consolidated into *one Union*, and *under one sovereignty*. But *disunion* again took place under Constantine, when he formed two capitals. "There seemed to be two empires, and *in effect there were two*," says the historian; "*for they had SEPARATE INTERESTS, and were therefore no longer parts of ONE WHOLE.*" Thus the empire languished by degrees, sunk into nothing, and *died* of DISUNION. All things, continues the historian, had united for the grandeur of the Romans, and they re-united for its *fall*: *religious disputes*, and *civil wars*, and *corruption of manners*, and a *loss of the love of public good*, and the *defects of government*, and the *multitude of enemies*. Does not this picture of *disunion*—this separation of interests, these religious disputes, these civil wars, these corrupt manners, the *practical defects* of Irish government, and the multitude of enemies, exist in our case? God grant that the like consequences may not follow. We have indeed but one resource, one sure mode of preventing like effects; it is obviously—by dissolving like causes of destruction.

On a review of the Political, Commercial, and Civil state of Ireland, we perceive that the nature of its Imperial connexion is such, that all the art and policy of mankind have not been able to correct its vices, but have introduced new mischiefs and aggravated the old. The whole system has been an attempt to *force nature* into a compliance with prejudice, by little artificial regulations, and to overturn the great principles of policy and truth by a system of obvious, and now of experienced folly. Hence the horrid picture which the page of Irish history presents, stained with blood, and blotted by rebellions. Yet some men were lulled into a momentary dream; others too were awake in the vigil of power; but all were in a state of political subjection, and without independence. Had there been independ-

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ence, and not a connected and commanding superiority over them, one party had long since crushed to pieces the other—as would have lately been done even by the greatness of its own ruin. For though the object held out to inflame the passions of the middle classes, and the madness of the multitude, *was apparently* the overthrow of aristocracy—in reality the object was to establish those leaders of rebellion, into a *complete aristocracy*: which they would have done even under a republic. Both, however, are despotisms.

It may not be amiss to lay before uninformed persons some short instruction on this point of aristocracies and republics.—All ARISTOCRACIES are despotisms, except in name: and are worse than any single despotism, because *every individual* of an aristocracy is a tyrant. In a despotism there may be an horrible and blood-thirsty Nero to-day; but to-morrow there may be a Vespasian, whose “POWER is but an *opportunity* of doing good”—(Pliny). But in an aristocracy it is not *one* heart, nor *one* head—nor *one* blow that defeats the monster: it is *many headed*; and one grows up as the other is cut off. Hence the people, in order to escape *numerous* calamities, uniformly cast themselves into the arms of a *single* despot: it was the case in Denmark.

But in REPUBLICS it is even *worse*; for there the monster has still *more* heads to devour the subjects. And the people under republican governments are not *politically* but PERSONALLY enslaved: it was the case in Poland. The PEOPLE are not only *enslaved*, but enervated and *corrupted* by *debauchery*, to make them willing but *base sacrifices* to TYRANNY: it was the case in Venice.

So likewise in *modern republics*, the people are held fast, and furnished with *sensuality*, as pigs in a *filthy sty*, who wallow before slaughter.

But

But if it be said there MAY BE exceptions to this tyranny of republics—we demand where are they, throughout the range of time and place since the creation, from the most diminutive to the greatest—from that of Lucca or St. Marino in Italy, or from that one in Switzerland, which contained about 1500 subjects, to Rome herself, the blustering mistress of the world. Men unfortunately take words for things. The word republic excites and bears with it the idea of freedom; but examine the thing, and it is a compound of all the elements of tyranny. If example be proof, look to the proud boast and glory of republics, to the models which all imitate, but none have equalled: and what did the refinement of a Grecian, or the solidity of a Roman republic produce? A series of tyranny and horror that disgrace the character of human nature, and which no other species of despotism but republican despotism can parallel. It was a *republic* that brought forth the *monster* who wished his *people* to have but *one neck*, that he might destroy them *all* at one blow. In *republics* the PEOPLE have, in name, general political *freedom*, but in *reality* they are *no part* in it. And as to *those* men, who are *already exalted* by nature, to greatness, and the rare *rank* of *talents*, what do they seek in *republics*, but dangers proportionate to their success? Let the Roman Agricola, counsel them if they be virtuous; let the chiefs of the French republic who have fallen by the dagger and the axe; let Condorcet, the miserable victim of hunger and poison, warn them if they be otherwise.

What man then so weak, or politician so wicked toward human nature, as to stand up for ARISTOCRACY or REPUBLICANISM, which are *governments* calculated but to *curse mankind*? Bondage and oppression, slave and tyrant, can alone be counteracted in a monarchy, where there is eagle against eagle, and *lion against lion*. By vigilance against vigilance, and power *against* power, there arises a wise mixture of modes, which corrects and balances their authority;

they cannot be separately exerted for evil, but may jointly for good. But that they should be jointly exerted for evil is a confederacy hardly possible: for it were a joint madness for separate suicide.—It were a triumph for mourning.

There may, however, be a bedlam of a system; for such is that of Ireland, not only politically considered, but commercially and civilly. With respect to the civil state, a remedy has been proposed, by forming establishments for the education of the lower orders. This, we fear, is erroneous, and hope it may not prove dangerous. Ameliorate the condition of the people, and instruction will follow: whereas if their condition be not ameliorated, and their minds be enlightened, what ensues? They will then study those inflammatory papers which they have been desired by the United Irishmen to hang up in their cabins; and will reflect on, and be roused by such aggravated descriptions of oppression, as might make a wise man mad. Whereas, let Union open to them the sources of *national wealth*, and *individual happiness* will follow. Riches also promote public virtue, which promote private happiness; but riches, which oppose the public happiness of a people, oppose private virtue.

The source of riches instrumental to national virtue is agriculture and the arts. The quantity necessary to individual happiness, is that sufficiency arising from the daily application of eight or ten hours to procure comfortable dwellings, warm clothing, and wholesome food for themselves and families: and where the quantity of circulating cash is not, through deficiency or excess, contrary to the enjoyment and preservation of their state of prosperity.

Riches oppose the private virtue of a people, where there is excess of opulence and excess of misery; for it condemns one part of a nation to idleness, another to indigence, and both to misfortunes and vice. The people thus lose all energy, their minds become depraved through their civil state,
and

and are brutalized by ignorance. Ignorance prepares them as victims for error, and error darkens and confuses whatever is good or evil for them. Ignorance first renders them insensible to advantages proposed, error next makes them abhor them, and perpetuates their misfortunes. But begin to remedy those misfortunes by changing their state, and the people will no longer through ignorance or error be instruments of civil death; but their force become a source of inexhaustible happiness, if *then* directed by reason.

Whereas to begin instruction before civil abjection be removed, is, if not dangerous, we conceive erroneous. Render the people happy, and that instruction which suits their station and capacities, will naturally follow. The man must be wholly ignorant of the progress of the human mind, who knows not the relations between public and private instruction and public opulence. Writers will inform him, that where the history of knowledge and science began, there arose the monuments of this truth. The first germs of science, natural, moral and political, developed themselves in the rich Monarchies of Egypt and Assyria. In the history of the Phœnicians, we find that this commercial people became the depositaries of the knowledge of the East, after having been the depositary of its productions. The history of Greece, and the Grecian Colonies in Italy, shews that they were the seats of commerce when they became the seats of learning. And if we pass to Rome, we shall find that the country of Fabricius had risen from its ancient poverty to hold up the great examples of a Cicero, an Horace, and a Virgil. If we return to the East, during a period nearer to our own times, we shall find that the rapid progress of knowledge under the Caliphs was in the moment that its commerce secured it a great portion of the riches of Asia, Europe, and Africa. To the Arabs we owe chymistry and medicine, and these remedies more salutary and mild than those transmitted to us by Hippocrates

or

or Galen. To them we owe too algebra, and the immortality of Newton: who, inspired by their first geometric measurement of the earth, scaled the heavens, lived amidst its stars, and sent down to us the laws of their revolutions, and his own immortality.

Since the beginning of time KNOWLEDGE has kept pace with wealth, extended with industry, and flourished with commerce. Such has been its progress since creation over the globe: it has thus pervaded Europe; always abandoning the poor or impoverished, and uniformly abiding and flourishing with the nations which are rich.

This is the evidence of history and example: what says reason?

The cultivation of the mind supposes a moral elevation, but there can be no such elevation where there is moral abjection; or, in other words, there can be *no* general improvement of mind or manners where there is not *happiness* and *civil independence*. Where there is poverty there will be ignorance; where there is ignorance there will be error; and where there are poverty, ignorance, and error, there will eternally be misfortunes and vice. Make the people happy, and it is easy to make them virtuous and wise; let the great be virtuous, and they will be both wise and happy.

But what is the picture presented to us in Mr. Johnson's admirable letter on the proposed Union—(p. 5, London edition)—“The history of this country, as long as its annals can be traced, furnishes no other spectacle than such as humanity must deplore, and philosophy regret.”—He then draws, with a vigorous pen, a view of the different classes in Ireland: and adds—“All the national evils, which might be supposed to flow from *such conditions*, overspread a seemingly devoted land.”—Let us now cast our eye on a similar state of Scotland before the Union. “I think I see,” said Lord Belhaven on the Union, in the true spirit of oppression, “the peerage of Scotland *divested* of their followers

followers and *vassalages*, and put on an equal footing with their own *very vassals*." But, remarked Mr. Dundas* on this passage with a wisdom at once honourable to his head and heart—"if the *Union* has *broken asunder* the BONDS of *feudal vassalage*, wise and virtuous men will not be disposed to consider this as an *evil consequence*." And on another prophecy of his Lordship's, Mr. Dundas observes, with a sentiment of sound policy—"Now I do see the mere *ploughman* enjoying TREBLE WAGES and TREBLE COMFORTS, while the *farmer* reaps such *profits* as enable him to live almost upon an equal footing, in every point of *social enjoyment*, with even the hereditary landed gentleman, the possessor of the soil itself."

"If it be true," (says Mr. Dundas in another passage) "as generally acknowledged, that the POOR of Ireland experience all the *miseries* concomitant to a state of *wretchedness*—that *liberty* which *awakened* the *commercial* enterprize of Scotland—that *liberty* which expanded its *genius* in the most *honourable* pursuits—that *liberty* which confirmed every sentiment which can *dignify* human nature, will, I am sure, have the *same happy influence* on the *people* of Ireland, connected with us by the dearest reciprocal obligations."

"If it be true," (says Mr. Pitt also) "that this measure has an inevitable tendency to admit the introduction of that British capital which is most likely to give life to all the operations of COMMERCE, and to all the improvements of AGRICULTURE; if it be that which *above all other* considerations is *most* likely to give SECURITY, QUIET, and internal REPOSE to Ireland: if it is likely to *remove* the *chief bar* to the internal advancement of WEALTH and CIVILIZATION, by a more intimate intercourse with England; if it is more likely to communicate from hence those habits which distinguish this country, and which, by a *continued grada-*

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* See Speech on the Union.

tion unite the HIGHEST and the LOWEST orders of the community WITHOUT a CHASM in any part of the system; if it is not only likely to invite (as I have already said) *English capital* to set COMMERCE in MOTION, but to offer it the use of NEW MARKETS, to open *fresh resources* of WEALTH and INDUSTRY; can *wealth*, can *industry*, can *civilization* increase among the whole bulk of the people, without *much more* than counterbalancing the *partial* effect of a *removal* of the *few individuals*, who for a *small part* of the year would follow the seat of legislation? If, notwithstanding the absence of parliament from Dublin, it would still remain the *centre of education*, and of the *internal commerce* of a country *increasing in improvement*; if it would still remain the *seat of legal discussion*, which must always *increase* with an increase of *property* and *occupation*; will it be supposed, with a view even to the *interests of those* whose *partial interests* have been most successfully appealed to; with a view either to the respectable *body of the bar*, to the *merchant*, or *shopkeeper* of Dublin, that *they* would not find their *proportionate* share of advantage in the general advantage of the state? Let it be remembered also, that if the transfer of the seat of legislature may call from Ireland to England the MEMBERS of the united parliament; yet, after the Union, *property*, *influence*, and *consideration* in Ireland will lead, as *much* as in Great Britain, to *all the objects* of imperial ambition: and there must consequently exist a NEW INCITEMENT to persons, to acquire *property in that country*, and to those who possess it, to *reside* there, and to cultivate the good opinion of those with whom they live, and to extend and improve their influence and connexions."

"But we can on this question refer to experience. Look at the metropolis of Scotland: the population of Edinburgh has been more than doubled since the Union, has increased in the proportion of between five and six to one: look at its progress in manufactures; look at its great advantages, and

and tell me what ground there is, judging by *experience*, in aid of theory, for those *gloomy apprehensions* which have been so *industriously* excited."

With respect "to the commercial privileges *now* enjoyed by Ireland, and to which it owes so much of its prosperity, that they would be *less secure* than at present, I have given an answer to already, by stating, that they are *falsely* imputed to the *independence* of the Irish parliament, for they are, in *fact*, owing to the exercise of the *voluntary discretion* of the *British parliament*, UNBOUND by COMPACT, prompted only by its natural disposition, to consider the interests of Ireland as its own."

"I have seen it under the *same* authority (that of Mr. Foster, the Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, to which I am sorry so often to advert,) that the linen trade would be injured, and that there will be *no security* for its retaining its *present* advantages. I have already stated, and with *that very* authority (Mr. Foster) IN MY FAVOUR, that those advantages are *at present* PRECARIOUS, and that their *security* can *only* arise from *compact* with Great Britain. *Such a compact*, *this measure* would establish in the most SOLEMN manner: but besides this, the *natural policy* of this country, not merely its *experienced* liberality, but the IDENTITY of INTERESTS after an Union, would offer a *security* worth a thousand *compacts*."

I wish for the maintenance of connexion between the two countries, with a peculiar regard to *every thing* that can give to Ireland its *DUE weight* and *importance*, as a great member of the Empire. I wish for it, with a view of giving to that country the *means* of improving *all its great* natural resources, and of giving it a *full participation* of all those blessings, which this country so eminently enjoys."

"God grant that in this instance the same favour of Divine Providence, which has in so many instances protected this Empire, may again interpose in our favour; and that the attempts of the enemy to *separate* the two countries, may

may tend ultimately to knit them more closely together, to strengthen a connexion, the *best* pledge for the *happiness* of *both*, and so add to *that power* which forms the chief barrier of the *civilized world*, against the *destructive* principles, the *dangerous* projects, and the UNEXAMPLED USURPATION of *France*."

" This connexion has been attacked not only by the *avowed* enemies of *both* countries, but by *internal* treason, acting in concert with the designs of the enemy: internal treason, which engrafted Jacobinism on *those diseases*, which necessarily grew out of the *state* and *condition* of Ireland."

" We see the point, in which that enemy thinks us the most affailable—Are we not then bound in policy and prudence to *strengthen* that vulnerable point, involved as we are in a contest of LIBERTY against DESPOTISM—of PROPERTY against PLUNDER and RAPINE—of RELIGION and ORDER against IMPIETY and ANARCHY? There *was* a time, when this would have been termed declamation, but those calamities are *attested* by the WOUNDS of a *bleeding world*."

" A measure then, which must communicate to such a mighty limb of the empire as Ireland, *all the commercial* advantages which Great Britain possesses, which will open the markets of the one country to the other, which will give them both the *common use of capital*, MUST, by diffusing a *large* portion of *wealth* into Ireland, considerably increase the *resources*, and consequently the *strength* of the whole empire."

" But it is not merely in this *general* view that I think the question ought to be considered. We ought to look to it with a view *peculiarly* to the *permanent* interest and security of Ireland. When that country was threatened with the double danger of hostile attacks by *enemies without*, and of *treason* within, from what quarter did she derive the *means* of her *deliverance*?—from the *naval* force of Great Britain, from the *voluntary* exertions of her *military* of every description—

description—not called for by law—and from her *pecuniary* resources, added to the *loyalty* and *energy* of the inhabitants of Ireland itself: Of which it is impossible to speak with *too much* praise, and which shews how well they deserve to be called the BRETHREN of BRITONS.”

What, then, are the advantages derivable from this measure to Ireland?—“They are, says Mr. Pitt, the *protection* which she will *secure* herself in the HOUR of DANGER—the most *effectual* means of *increasing* her COMMERCE, and *improving* her AGRICULTURE; the *command* of ENGLISH CAPITAL; the *infusion* of ENGLISH MANNERS, and ENGLISH INDUSTRY, necessarily tending to *ameliorate* her CONDITION, to *accelerate* the progress of *internal* CIVILIZATION, and to *terminate* those FEUDS and DISSENSIONS, which now *distract* the country, and which she does *not* possess within herself the POWER to extinguish. She would see the avenue to HONORS, to DISTINCTIONS, and EXALTED SITUATIONS, in the *general seat of Empire* opened to ALL those, whose ABILITIES, and TALENTS enable them to indulge an *honourable* and *laudable* ambition.”

With an anxious wish, therefore, for the exaltation of Ireland, in *independence*, *commerce*, and its *civil* state, we conclude by giving it as our deliberate opinion, on the grounds before stated, that if an *Union does not take place*, the nation will be reduced to a most wretched condition. Their only manufacture of linen will be inevitably lost; their corn trade will be at an end; and the gentlemen of estates will consequently turn off their tenants, because they will not be able to pay their rents. They will then become *farmers* themselves to feed their own sheep and cattle; there will then be left but a few miserable cottagers to watch those cattle, and Ireland will soon become a country like that of the *savage Tartars*. The farmer must rob, beg, or leave the country; the merchant must become poor and bankrupt, and the shopkeeper must break and starve. Therefore, may

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our fellow subjects in Ireland *be wise*, and stand to this measure of an Union one and all—Protestants and Catholics, it is the *great charter* of your *political salvation*—you are bound to it by the love which you owe your country, your religion, and yourselves: you are bound to it by the laws of God and nature, and by ALL your DUTIES as men. The staunch and approved friends of *Irish liberty*, such as *Molyneux* was, have been friends of this measure. The majority of the most WISE and VIRTUOUS men of *past* ages and the *present* day, and the well-known friends of the *poor* of Ireland, have been and are the advisers of this Union. Those also, who have the greatest interest at stake in the welfare of Ireland, and those who have the greatest property in land, are decidedly the supporters of it. The great majority of the peers, and nearly an equality of the commons, except about half a dozen, may well be called the *majority* of the *property* and of the *parliament* of Ireland: and these, together with his GRACIOUS MAJESTY, the FATHER of his PEOPLE, are the *friends* and *advisers* of this Union. With such authority and support as this, and with all the proofs which we have brought forward upon this question, we caution you that your *farmers* may not be forced to *beg, rob, or leave the country*; that your *manufacturers* may not *perish*; that your *merchants* may not become *bankrupts*; that your *shopkeepers* may not *break and starve*—we caution you as you love your religion and your country, and as your wives and children are dear to you, to *beware* of being made *tools* by such men *against an Union*, as would for their *own purposes* dupe and deceive you into *ruin*. We caution also the cabinet of Great Britain, as they value the fate of Ireland, not to be deceived by the clamours and complaints of those men.

A P P E N D I X.

T A B L E A.

Estimate of the losses sustained by Europe through the means of
the French Republic.

[The losses of men and the expenses of the war are not included here ;
as England alone has spent many million pounds sterling.]

	Livres.	£. Sterling.
Total amount of requisitions and contributions, as specified - - - - -	3,582,267,681	143,290,707
Loss of the Dutch by the Bankruptcies of the Great Nation - - - - -	1,920,000,000	76,800,000
Unvalued property; as plate of the churches, maintenance of the armies, palaces, houses, national domains, property of the emigrants in the conquered countries, fortifications, ceded territories, their regular revenues, &c. &c. - - - - -	20,000,000,000	800,000,000
Enormous amount of assignats, mandats, &c. poured out amongst mankind, whereby millions of credulous people were deceived.—Fifty milliards of assignats; whereof (including what was lost by foreigners in the public funds one-third may be taken in calculation - - -	16,666,666,666	666,666,667
A great number of large and small American vessels, taken without a declaration of war, by piracy, which amount in number to more than one thousand; and valuing each with its cargo at only one thousand pounds, the amount is - - -	25,000,000,	1,000,000
A number of vessels taken from the other neutral powers together - - - - -	100,000,000	4,000,000
N. B. We do not reckon the losses of Great Britain and Ireland in commercial vessels, as the French have lost more than their amount in ships of war.		
Total loss of Europe in money, goods, and territory* - - - - -	42,293,934,347	1,691,757,374

* ROME, Oct. 8, 1798.—A new forced Loan of 600,000 Piaftres was levied by the new government; which is about three millions of Livres, or 125,000 l. sterling.

Should any one find this calculation over-rated, he will please to consider that all the countries conquered by the French nation were the most rich, populous, industrious, and fruitful parts of the Continent, and that this turbulent Republic has at present nearly a third part of Europe under her command. She has so rounded and fortified herself, that she is enabled to keep all nations in a state of perpetual agitation.

TABLE B.

General Trade of Scotland.

Year.	Imports.			Exports.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1697	91,302	16	10	73,203	6	0
1699	86,309	19	1	66,303	15	8
1701	73,988	18	11	56,802	2	2
1702	71,428	18	11	58,688	2	2
1703	76,448	8	3	57,338	15	5
1704	54,379	16	8	87,536	9	8
1705	57,902	12	0	50,035	13	2
1706	50,309	0	10	60,313	3	7
1707	6,733	1	8	47,779	0	1

Thus then stands the account of the last memorable year :

Imports,	-	-	6,733	1	8
Exports,	-	-	47,779	0	0
			<hr/>		
			£. 54,512	1	9

Whereas now the single town of Paisley, sends to Leipzig fair, about nearly eight times that amount; and the trade of Scotland, as before stated, produced in 1796, above fifty times that amount. Such is Union! But let men examine also, whereto is the trade of Ireland; is it not almost solely to Great Britain? And whereto is the trade of Scotland, at this moment? —To all the universe. Union has presented her with the key of British Commerce, and opened for her the harbours of the globe. So will union of interests, capital, and skill, operate in favour of Ireland.

TABLE C.

An account of the Commerce with those places whereto Scotland has traded, during one year, at various periods, since the Union.

<i>Places.</i>	<i>Year.</i>	<i>Imports.</i>	<i>Exports.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
Denmark & Norway	1765	£ 34,204	£ 47,502	£ 81,706
Sweden	1792	49,063	5,261	54,324
Russia	1796	465,243	43,611	508,854
Poland	1784	57,739	2,294	60,033
Prussia	1795	69,617	3,808	73,425
Germany	1796	89,703	80,225	169,928
Holland	1744	110,015	421,617	531,632
Flanders	1782	92,300	65,559	157,859
France	1772	3,313	472,175	475,488
Portugal	1796	59,934	5,507	65,441
Madeira	1791	2,875	14,474	17,349
Spain	1774	10,785	67,478	78,263
Canaries	1766	2,620	437	3,057
Minorca	1770	—	2,059	} 12,707
Majorca	1778	648	—	
Gibraltar	1795	43	5,398	5,381
Italy	1791	19,777	15,095	34,772
Ireland	1790	370,449	328,230	698,689
Ile of Man	1795	1,044	6,228	7,332
Alderney	1772	—	—	20
Jersey	1782	1,230	—	1,230
Greenland	1787	—	—	34,520
New England	1765	29,754	17,404	47,158
New York	1796	21,059	171,502	192,561
Pensylvania	1771	20,048	18,725	38,773
Maryland & Virginia	1771	548,528	303,400	851,928
North & S. Carolina	1789	43,071	41,667	84,738
Georgia	1780	—	28,092	—
				Newfoundland

<i>Places.</i>	<i>Year.</i>	<i>Imports.</i>	<i>Exports.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
Newfoundland	1793	1,352	23,262	24,614
Canada	1794	2,240	35,493	37,733
Nova Scotia	1797	1,457	126,136	127,593
Island of St. John's	1770	1,208	562	1,770
Bermudas	1783	3,861	9,089	12,950
Bahamas	1795	20,005	16,959	36,964
Turk's Island	1769	812	—	—
Florida	1779	—	104,219	—
Honduras Bay	1774	29,444	108	29,552
Antigua	1770	65,660	8,141	73,801
Barbadoes	1791	64,434	22,015	86,449
Dominica	1793	3,817	6,112	9,929
Grenada	1792	111,518	120,372	234,890
Jamaica	1794	86,034	304,283	390,317
Montserrat	1764	8,344	1,800	10,144
Nevis	1793	17,610	—	—
St. Kitt's	1780	45,049	99,030	144,079
St. Vincent	1792	38,206	5,989	44,195
Tortola	1782	32,097	24,098	56,195
Tobago	1796	35,211	7,895	43,106
St. Lucia	1782	16,606	54,778	71,384
St. Cruze	1775	19,847	—	—
Guadaloupe	1763	9,924	3,190	13,114
Cuba	1779	25,896	—	—
St. Eustatia	1781	22,221	—	—
Martinico	1794	18,039	8,745	26,784
Hispaniola	1779	7,448	—	—
St. Martin	1790	1,315	—	—
St. Thomas	1792	17,651	—	—
Curaffoa & Demerara	1792	10,318	—	—
America, in general	1760	475,704	350,540	815,244
Africa	1766	—	4,088	—
Trinidad	1796	17,259	8,685	25,944

Let Ireland examine well this detail of Commercial intercourse.
Let the aggregate amount of this Commerce, during one year at each

each place, be duly considered. These are proofs which bring home conviction upon facts, and display through the incontrovertible evidence of figures, what have been the results of Union to Scotland. Since, therefore, such are the consequences to a country, without those natural capabilities from local advantages, or from animal, mineral, and vegetable resources; what has not Ireland solid reason to expect, being so eminently distinguished with such extraordinary superiorities, if once enjoying an equality of civil and political capacities? Madness, indeed, and not simple prejudice must rule the hour—did not some mental contagion prevail, of which the great philosopher Bacon speaks, men could not pause a moment upon the measure of an Union. In our conscience, we think that those who oppose it, are downright enemies to Ireland; they are enemies to its suffering cottagers, its starving poor, its miserable manufacturers: they are enemies to the landholders and the merchant: they are enemies to their torn and bleeding country, and to themselves,—though not intentionally to any of these. But we do believe them to be eventually, and radically, overthrowing the throne and the altars of their country.

*Comparative View of Scotland before and since the Union, on
Shipping, Trade, Revenues, and Populations.*

(Taken from Mr. Dundas's Speech, page 20.)

SHIPPING.	In 1692	8,618	Tons.
	1792	162,284	—
	In Leith 1692	1,702	—
	do. 1795	18,468	—

LINEN TRADE.	1700	1,000,000	Yards
	1796	23,000,000	—

REVENUES.	Customs at the Union	£. 34,000
	In 1798	284,577
	Excise at the Union	33,500
	In 1798	851,775

POPULATION.	In 1755	1,265,000
	1795	15,34,000
	In Glasgow, from the years, 1701 to 1710	14,790
	In 1798	77,042

Progression

TABLE D.

*Progression of the Commerce of Ireland with Great Britain,
during a Century.*

TOTAL AMOUNT.

Years.	£.	s.	d.	
1697	475,175	12	2	} Before Independence, or free Trade.
1730	826,855	3	9	
1763	2,706,352	8	6	
1777	3,854,775	5	2	
1782	3,415,472	7	6	} After do.
1784	3,412,553	7	6	
1789	4,719,500	9	8	} Since the present Ad- ministration.
1792	4,999,599	19	11	
1794	5,230,376	11	1	
1796	5,661,949	16	8	

The trade of Ireland has increased, in one century, about fifteen fold. From 1777, which was two years before the date of Irish Independence, to 1784, being a term of seven years, and which comes down *lower* than the date of her independence and Free-Trade, her commerce did *not* increase. But, its rapid augmentation *since* 1784 has arisen from another cause, totally distinct from her Independence or Free Trade, and which the latter would have never procured, more than the former. That cause was the wonderful growing commerce of Britain, since 1784, which we shall shew hereafter. Ireland has prospered with the prosperity of Great Britain, and appears bright by a reflected light—but which so dazzles the weak-sighted, that they mistake its original and true source. It is not Irish Independence, however: it is not her Free Trade—make her as free as she came out of chaos, cut asunder every filament of connexion—Where will then be her millions of Trade? What will she then

find in her theoretic independence or practical freedom? Short sighted, indeed, are those men, who do not distinguish the true source of Ireland's aggrandisement—It is British connexion—it is British prosperity, under whose beams Ireland has thriven. We may view further proofs of her prosperity under a connexion, which no other nation on the Globe could afford her, by the progressive increase of her Shipping, during the last century.

In 1698	-	120,728 tons
— 1745	-	181,805 do. the middle space.
— 1793	-	678,530 do.

Thus we see that the increase in the first half is about sixty thousand tons; whereas, in the last half, it is near 500,000 tons. And here we should observe also, that this extraordinary increase dates itself from the increase of British Trade since 1784.

It appears above, that the tonnage was

In 1698	-	120,728 tons
— 1783	-	413,827 —
— 1793	-	678,530 —

Consequently the increase since 1783, approaches nearly, during the last ten years, to the increase, during the whole preceding period of the century. And that this did by no means whatever arise from Independence, or the Free Trade of Ireland, we have incontrovertibly shewn before, by proofs drawn from the Linen trade of Great Britain with Ireland and other countries, and to which we refer.

It appears also, from the universal trade of Britain, that Ireland has, since her Free Trade, kept but a *general* pace of increase with other countries, and therefore, that she has no *particular* cause in herself for that increase; but that it exists solely and altogether, in the unparalleled augmentation of *British* commerce since that period. We shall refer, for further proof, to the scale of British commerce, whereby Ireland will perceive, that the barometer of Irish prosperity is British prosperity.

TABLE E.

*Comparative Sketch of the Commerce of Great Britain,
during a Century.*

In the year 1697.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Imports,	3,482,586	10	5				
Exports,	3,525,906	8	11				
	<hr/>			Total	7,008,492	19	4

In the year 1783.

Imports,	£. 13,122,235		
Exports,	14,681,494		
	<hr/>		
	Total	£. 27,803,729	

Thus it appears, that the *increase* of Commerce, from before the close of the last century, to the year of the commencement of the present administration, amounted to about, we may say, *twenty millions* and an half. Now let us see, what is the Commerce at this day.

In the year 1798.

Imports,	£. 25,654,000		
Exports,	33,800,000		
	<hr/>		
	Total	£. 59,454,000	

Hence, therefore, it is manifest, beyond the possibility of doubt or contradiction, that the Commerce of Great Britain has increased, since the year 1783, to the amount of above twenty-one millions and an half: that is, since the commencement of the present administration, English commerce has INCREASED a *million more* than in the whole *preceding* period of the century.

The

The amount of the Commerce of 1798, is stated above according to the *official* value; but the *REAL* value as *given in and paid for*, on account of convoy, by the Merchants, is as follows:

	£.
Imports,	46,963,230
Exports,	48,000,056
Commerce of 1798,	94,963,286

☞ The benefit of this unparalleled Commerce, and the participation of all its happy effects upon National Opulence, Agriculture, and Manufactures, are now open to Ireland by Union.

THE END.