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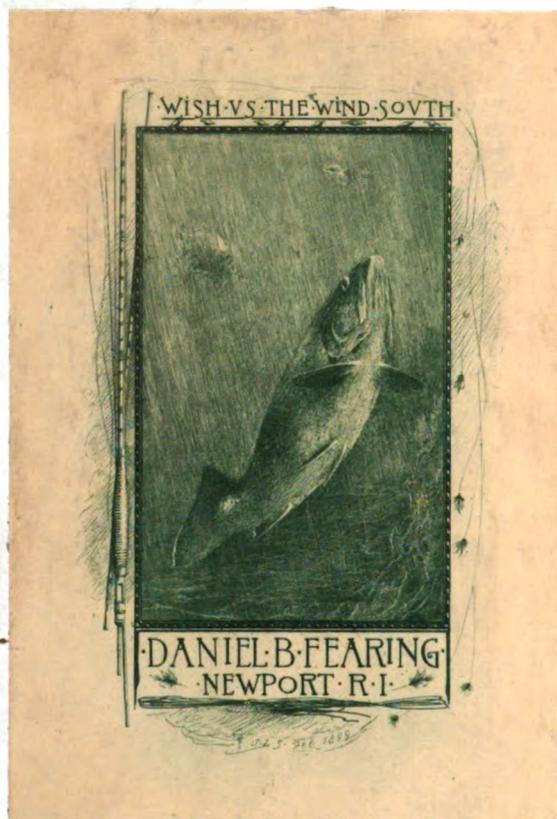
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AN  
ACCOUNT  
OF  
IRELAND.

VOLUME II.

1911

AN  
ACCOUNT  
OF  
IRELAND,  
STATISTICAL AND POLITICAL.

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By EDWARD WAKEFIELD.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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# PRESENT STATE OF IRELAND.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### COMMERCE.

MONTESQUIEU observes that England, through a jealousy of Ireland, on account of its situation, its fertility, and the excellence of its ports, notwithstanding that she established there, her own laws, imposed on it such restrictions, that while the people enjoyed individual liberty, the country itself was kept in a state of political slavery.\* Another celebrated writer says nearly the same thing;† and, however mortifying it may be to the pride of a nation which, on many occasions, has manifested a spirit of liberality worthy of a great and independent empire, it must be allowed, when we consult the page of impartial history, that these reflections are too much founded in truth; but that the system which gave rise to them should have been pursued a century and a half ago, excites less surprise than that it should have been so long continued. Living in a more enlightened age, instructed by the experience of preceding generations, and being much better acquainted with the true principles of political economy, it might be uncandid to examine the measures of former statesmen, by applying to them the modern standard of political justice and wisdom. As they were guided in their conduct by motives which we see only at a distance, and, perhaps, through a different medium, we ought to be sparing of our censure; and, if blame is due, to let it fall chiefly upon those who, in days more favourable to the acquirement of knowledge, suffered themselves to be influenced by considerations unworthy of the period in which they lived.

\* *Esprit. des Loix*, lib. xix. ch. 27. *Œuvres*, tom. ii. p. 205.

† “The provinces of absolute monarchies are always better treated than those of free states. Compare the *Pais conquis* of France with Ireland, and you will be convinced of this truth; though this latter kingdom being in a good measure peopled from England, possesses so many rights and privileges as should naturally make it challenge better treatment than that of a conquered province.” *Hume's Essays*, vol. i. p. 30.

But, although the general legislative system of England in regard to Ireland seems to have been tinctured with a spirit of jealousy, and fear of rivalry in manufactures and trade, it is not thence to be inferred that the interests of the latter were uniformly neglected, or that assistance was always denied her in the hour of distress. So far is this from being the case, that it is acknowledged by some of the most respectable of the Irish writers, that Britain, for a long series of years, made effectual exertions to repair the evils arising from the restraints by which her commerce had been checked and confined. She opened her great markets to part of the linen manufacture of Ireland; and she encouraged it by granting bounties on its exportation, to the amount, taking an average of twenty-nine years, of nearly £10,000. per annum.\* It is admitted, also, that she has made important sacrifices for the protection of the country; and that, on some occasions, she has defended it at her own expense, generously bestowing, for that purpose, out of her own exchequer, considerable sums of money.†

It is to be observed, also, that even if England has not at all times behaved to Ireland with that impartiality, tenderness, and affection, which she had a right to expect, or which her misfortunes demanded, it would be ungenerous to ascribe to her the whole of the evils she has suffered. If we inquire minutely into the domestic history of the country for the last century, it will be seen that many of them arose from causes which, depending on natural events, no human prudence could foresee or prevent. Others were produced not by public measures, but by the injustice or misconduct of individuals, oppression of the poor, and speculations entered into without due reflection or the means of conducting them with success: We should be cautious, therefore, in listening to the clamour raised by party writers, whose favourite object is to impress the Irish with an idea that connexion with England has been the bane of Ireland, and the source of all her misery and distress. The dissemination of such ideas is attended with the most pernicious effects; it creates an ill-founded jealousy, inimical to national concord, and has a tendency to increase discontent among the people; who, unfortunately, not being able, on all occasions, to discriminate falsehood from truth, or to separate public grievances from private wrongs, blindly allow themselves to be misled by principles which are the offspring of ignorance and prejudice.

It does not appear that the commercial jealousy of England was so far excited as to impose restraints on the trade of Ireland till a long period after the colonization of that country, under Henry II.; and it was only when the increase of the English commerce rendered it an object of particular attention to the parliament, that a spirit of monopoly began to be manifested, and Ireland to be considered as a competitor rather than an integral part of the empire.‡ In the whole statute roll, down to the

\* Commercial Restraints, p. 32.

† Ibid, p. 219.

‡ Knox's Extra Official State Papers, p. 59.

fifteenth of Charles II., a single act for laying any duty upon the manufactures, produce, or merchandise of Ireland, when imported into England, is not to be found. On the contrary, all the laws respecting trade, passed in the several reigns antecedent to the restoration, convey to the people of Ireland the same advantages which they confer on the people of England. But, without adverting to all these laws, I shall quote only a few of the most precise, as they will furnish a sufficient proof that, at the time they were passed, England and Ireland were considered as one and the same country.

The first of Henry VII. enacts that no Gascon or Guien wines be brought in but by English, Irish, and Welshmen.

By the fourth of the same king, it is enacted, that no person, of whatever degree, shall convey or bring into this realm, Ireland, Wales, Calais, or Berwick, any manner of wines or Thoulouse wood, but in ships owned by the king, or some of the subjects of his realm of England, Ireland, Wales, Calais, and Berwick, and the master and mariners being Englishmen, Irishmen, Welshmen, or of Berwick or Calais.

The act of the third of James I., for enabling all His Majesty's subjects to trade freely to the dominions of Spain, Portugal, and France, has a preamble which expresses, in the clearest manner, the sense the parliament then had of the common right of the king's subjects to a free trade, and the abhorrence they entertained of a monopoly: "Whereas divers merchants have of late obtained from the king, under the great seal of England, a large charter of incorporation for them and their company to trade into the dominions of Spain and Portugal, and are most earnest suitors to obtain the like for France; whereby none but themselves and such as they shall think fit, shall take benefit of the said charter, disabling thereby all others, His Majesty's loving subjects of this realm of England and Wales, who ought indifferently to enjoy all the benefits of this most happy peace, and also deterring them from that free enlargement of common traffic into those dominions, which others, His Majesty's subjects of this realm of Scotland and Ireland do enjoy."\*

Such were the political sentiments which prevailed at this period; and it appears that from the time that King James established a regular administration of justice in Ireland, it continued to make considerable advances in improvement till the rebellion in 1641, by which the country was thrown into a state of confusion; but it revived in the succeeding reign, and its commerce seems then to have been in a thriving condition, since we are told "that the customs amounted to almost four times their former sum; that the commodities exported from Ireland were twice as much in value as the foreign merchandise imported; and that shipping was found to have increased even an hundred-fold."†

\* Knox's Extra-official Papers, p. 58.

† Leland's Hist. of Ireland, quarto edit. vol. iii. p. 41.

## COMMERCE.

After the restoration, Ireland made a rapid progress in improvement, notwithstanding the turbulence which had before prevailed; and from the time that the acts of settlement and explanation were fully carried into execution till the year 1668, it continued in a prosperous condition. Lands every where improved, rents were doubled, towns and cities increased, and manufactures were established in various parts of the country. It had, indeed, suffered severely through the fury of civil and religious discord; yet, having been blessed with a succession of five mild sovereigns, it recovered from its misfortunes, and began to acquire new energy and life. This prosperity, which is ascribed, in a great measure, to the wise administration of James, Duke of Ormonde, received a severe check in consequence of a clamour raised in England on account of the exportation of live cattle to that country, which for several years, had been the principal trade of Ireland,\* and which was erroneously supposed to have the effect of lowering the rent of land. To obviate this evil a law was passed in England, in 1663, to restrain, and afterwards, in 1665, to prohibit entirely, the exportation of cattle from Ireland. The Irish, deprived of their principal source of trade, and reduced to the greatest distress, had now no resource but to improve their breed of sheep and to manufacture their produce, a branch of industry to which they applied with the utmost ardour. At the same time, the Duke of Ormonde, who, on this as well as on every other occasion, shewed himself a steady friend to the interests of the country, as an indemnification for the loss it had sustained, procured from Charles II. a letter, dated March 23, 1667, by which all the restraints on the exportation of commodities to foreign parts were removed, except so far as the abolition of them would have interfered with the plantation laws, and the charters which had been granted to trading companies.† The lord-lieutenant, also, by His Majesty's permission, prohibited the importation from Scotland of linen and woollen, and other articles, as drawing large sums from Ireland, and impeding the increase of its own manufactures. Lord Strafford had introduced that of linen, but its progress was suspended by the troubles which afterwards took place.‡ What that nobleman had left unfinished respecting this branch of industry, was completed by his successor. Anxious to promote every thing that seemed likely to advance the national prosperity, while he revived the linen manufacture he encouraged the woollen, not only by his exertion and influence, but by advancing money from his own private fortune, towards their support; and there is little doubt, that to the zeal and indefatigable attention of the Earl of Strafford, Ireland was chiefly indebted for the increase in wealth which she experienced from that time to the period of the revolution.

Under the short, but inauspicious reign of James II., Ireland fell into a state of

\* Cartes' Life of the Duke of Ormonde, vol. ii. p. 318, 319.

† Ibid, ibid p. 332.

‡ Ibid, ib. vol. ii. p. 342, 344.

decline,\* and the many oppressions which the people suffered during the revolution, reduced it almost to the brink of ruin.† The money, however, which that event brought into the country for the support of the army, as it furnished capitals for carrying on the trade of the kingdom, seemed in some measure to inspire it with fresh vigour. The exports increased, while the imports did not increase in the same proportion, so that the balance in favour of Ireland in 1698 amounted to £419,442.‡

But this agreeable prospect was soon obscured by a new law made in England, in 1669, for restraining, or rather prohibiting the importation of all woollen manufactures from Ireland. The author of the *Commercial Restraints*§ considers this law as originating in a system of colonization, the principle of which was, that the colonies should send their raw materials to England; and take thence her manufactures, and that the making of these in the colonies should be prohibited or discouraged. However this may be, it was the more injurious to Ireland, as the linen trade was not yet thoroughly established, and as the woollen manufacture was the staple, and wool the principal raw material of the kingdom.

For several years after this period, Ireland seems to have been reduced to a state of great poverty and distress. The reign of Queen Anne was distinguished by great military achievements, the splendour of which was sufficient to dazzle a people fond of martial glory; but the spirit of party was never carried to a greater height, and the parliament at that time was too much occupied with its own dissensions to attend to the interests of a remote part of the empire.

During the reign of her successor, things continued nearly in the same languishing condition; and little seems to have been done to revive trade or encourage manufactures, except an attempt made to establish a national bank by voluntary sub-

\* Lawrence, who wrote about 1682, enumerates the high interest of money in Ireland as one of the causes which retarded the progress of its trade: "The fourth impediment is the height of the interest of money; for Holland, that hath money at three per cent, and England at six, cut up traders in Ireland, where money is difficult to be procured at ten; whereby the one will undersell the other at his own doors, and run them down in manufactures at home, and markets abroad; having also the advantage of better and cheaper workmen. The dearness of provisions necessitating their poor to work, the same necessity moves them to inure their children to act from their cradles, whereby they will perform more and better in one day than ours in two." *The Interest of Ireland Considered*, by Richard Lawrence, Esq. Dublin, 1682. part. i. p. 7. A more modern writer also remarks that, "the lowering the rate of interest of money in Ireland, is no less necessary for the prosperity of the island than a general freedom of trade.—Public credit in Ireland has not yet put on the fetters of monied men; therefore, the legislature of that island, by a most constitutional expedient, may easily reduce the legal rate of interest to three or four per cent, which would be attended with many happy consequences, both to the landed gentleman and merchant, and soon give additional vigour to the state." *Comparative View of the Public Burdens of Great Britain and Ireland*, London, 1772, p. 54.

† Hutchinson's *Commercial Restraints*, p. 22.

‡ Dobbs's *Hist. of the Trade of Ireland*, p. 5, 6, 7, 19.

§ P. 155.

scription; but as this scheme did not meet with proper countenance or support, it was soon after abandoned.\* That trade was low at this period† appears not only, from a petition of the woollen-drapers, weavers, and clothiers of the City of Dublin, praying for relief,‡ but also from the deficiency of the revenue, which in the year following amounted to £100,000.§ The great scarcity of corn which took place in 1728 and 1729, and which became so general as to expose thousands to the danger of perishing by famine, added greatly to the distresses of the country; and though the linen trade seems to have been in a flourishing state, numbers of house-keepers, deprived of employment, were obliged to beg for bread in the streets of Dublin.||

While the poor were thus suffering, from one of the severest scourges with which a nation can be afflicted, much alarm was excited by the emigration of great numbers of the people to America.¶ Agents from the colonies, had for several years, it is said, been in Ireland, and masters of ships had gone about the country, deluding the poorer classes with tales of abundance and estates, which might be obtained, if they would transport themselves to that part of the world. These emissaries were more successful, and better able to seduce the ignorant populace, in consequence of their necessitous condition; and it is stated, that, in the course of three years, above 4,200 men, women, and children, had been shipped from Ireland to America, 3,100 of whom had gone off in the summer of 1727. This propensity to emigration spread like a contagious disorder; it prevailed most among the protestants in the north, which was then the chief seat of the linen manufacture: it created, therefore, a considerable ferment, and, as some of these adventurers had purchased goods on credit, and absconded without paying for them, trade was thrown into a very unsettled state, and no dealer would transact business but for ready money.

Various measures were proposed to counteract this spirit of emigration; and as it was conceived that the employment of force might be attended with very serious consequences, it was resolved that a subscription should be set on foot in Dublin, to buy corn in Munster, where it was cheap, that it might be sent to the north,

\* Journals of the Irish Commons, vol. iv. p. 832.

† 1723.

‡ Journals of the Irish Commons, vol. iv. p. 136.

§ Commercial Restraints, vol. i. p. 44.

|| Boulter's Letters, vol. i. p. 20.

¶ Dr. Boulter, in a letter to the duke of Newcastle, dated Nov. 23d. 1728, says: "The people that go from hence, make great complaints of the oppressions they suffer here, not from the government, but from their fellow-subjects of one kind or another, as well as of the dearness of provision, and say these oppressions are one reason of their going." *Letters*, vol. i. p. 209. In another letter to the same, dated March 13th, 1728, he tells his grace, "There are now seven ships at Belfast, that are carrying off about 1,000 passengers, and if we knew how to stop them, as most of them can neither get victuals nor work at home, it would be cruel to do it." *Boulter's Letters*, vol. i, p. 231.

with a view of keeping down the markets. This measure, it was hoped, would, in some degree, give a check to the spreading evil, by allaying the dread of those who preferred leaving the country to the horror of perishing by famine. About £3,000. was, therefore, laid out in the purchase of oats, oatmeal, and potatoes; but the inhabitants of the southern districts, fearing that they also might be exposed to want, assembled in a tumultuous manner, at Limerick, Cork, Waterford, Clonmell, and other places, to prevent this beneficent plan from being carried into execution. At Limerick and Cork, in particular, they proceeded to the most outrageous acts of violence; broke open the warehouses and cellars, and distributed the provisions, setting upon them whatever prices they thought proper. These riots rendered the calamity still more severe; for the farmers being deterred from bringing their corn to market, the scarcity became greater, and it was at last found necessary to call in the assistance of the military to preserve the peace and restore good order.\*

In a country where commerce and manufactures are in their infancy, and where paper is circulated without capitals adequate to its support, an individual misfortune is sufficient to produce, in the operations of trade, a derangement, which, under more favourable circumstances, would scarcely be felt. This was the case in Ireland in 1792. In that year the credit of paper sustained a very severe shock, by the failure of a bank which had been carried on under the firm of Benjamin Burton, Francis Harrison, and others; and as the bankrupt laws were not then established in Ireland, it became necessary to have a bill drawn up for the relief of the creditors, which was sent over to the privy council of England to be passed. Dr. Boulter says, that, at this time, there was so little specie in the country, not, perhaps, above £500,000., that without paper credit, neither trade could be carried on, nor rents paid; and that so much depended on this bill, that had it miscarried, the public credit of the kingdom would have been in danger of being completely overturned.†

These evils, though sufficiently great of themselves, were accompanied by others, which could not fail of having a prejudicial influence on the prosperity of trade; but more particularly on that carried on in the interior of the country. So great a scarcity of silver and other coin prevailed, that the manufacturers and common classes could, with difficulty, find money sufficient to enable them to purchase necessaries in the market.‡ This deficiency arose chiefly from the disproportion which existed between the value of silver and that of the Portugal pieces then current in Great Britain and Ireland, there being a profit of two and a half per cent. by bringing Portugal gold into Ireland rather than silver, and the same loss by carrying gold from it instead of silver; so that the whole silver, almost, in the country was drained, and the return for Irish exports was always made in gold.§ This evil was attended with such alarming consequences, that a representa-

\* Boulter's Letters, vol. i. p. 230.

† Ibid. vol. i. p. 91.

‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 93.

§ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 170.

tion of its effects was drawn up, and presented to His Majesty, by the government and council of Ireland; and a remedy was applied, under the administration of the duke of Devonshire, by reducing the value of silver to the same standard as that of foreign gold.\*

In the years 1740 and 1741, the horrors of scarcity again returned, and thousands of the poor people are said to have perished through absolute want, and the use of bad provisions.† This misfortune occurring so soon after the former calamity of the same kind, occasioned considerable embarrassment to trade; but an influx of money, after the peace which took place in 1748, and the success which had attended the linen manufacture, increased the wealth of the country, and enabled it to reduce, by degrees, and afterwards to extinguish, the whole of the national debt.‡

About this time, however, delusive ideas of public prosperity, or the improvident spirit of speculation, induced many persons to circulate paper to a very great amount, not only beyond their capitals,§ but even far exceeding that just proportion which the quantity of paper ought to bear to the national specie. By these means, individuals, who possessed little or no property, became importers to a great extent; commercial transactions were carried beyond their just limits, and the consequence was, that in 1754 and 1755, three of the principal banks in Ireland failed;|| a circumstance which spread no little consternation, and gave a severe blow to the prosperity of the country.

A period of much misery seems to have ensued; and so great was the distress of the people for food, that one of the first steps of the duke of Bedford, on assuming the reins of government in Ireland, was to obtain the king's letter, dated March 31st, 1757, for £20,000., to be expended as he should think most likely to relieve the wants of the suffering people.¶ Credit, which had been drooping ever since 1754, was now completely overturned; three more banks failed,\*\* and, at a general meeting of the merchants of Dublin, in April 1760, which was attended by several members of the House of Commons, the inability of the former to carry on business, not from want of capital, but from the stoppage of all paper circulation, and the refusal of the remaining bankers to discount the bills of the most respectable houses, was fully established. A petition was, therefore, drawn up by the merchants, representing their misfortunes, and praying for relief, which was presented to the House of Commons. The house referred it to a committee, and the committee resolved, that they had ascertained the truth of the matters alleged in

\* Boulter's Letters, vol. i. p. 170.

† Commercial Restraints, p. 47. Smith's Kerry, p. 77.

‡ Commercial Restraints, p. 49. § Journals of the Irish Commons, vol. ix. p. 818.

|| March 6th, 1754, Thomas Dillon and Richard Ferral failed; 3d. March, 1755, William Lennox and George French; the same day, John Wilcocks and John Dawson.

¶ Commercial Restraints, p. 60.

\*\* Clements', Dawson's, and Mitchell's.

the petition, that the quantity of circulating paper was not nearly sufficient to support the trade and manufactures of the kingdom; and that Parliament should engage, till the 1st of May, 1762, for the solvency of the then subsisting banks in Dublin, to the amount of £50,000 for each. To these resolutions the house fully agreed, and they were attended with a very beneficial effect.\*

In the year 1762, a new evil made its appearance, which all the exertions of government and the legislature were not able to suppress; and which, as it affected chiefly those parts of the country where manufactures were not established, was a proof of the general poverty of the people, and of their idleness from the want of employment.† This evil was occasioned by the risings of those deluded men called White Boys, the original cause of which was as follows: Some landlords in Munster let their lands to cotters at rents far above their value, and to lighten their burden, they agreed to allow commonage to their tenants by way of recompense; afterwards, in despite of their contracts, and contrary to every principle of justice, the landholders enclosed these commons, and precluded their unhappy tenants from the only means of making their bargains tolerable. These ignorant people resenting, as might be expected, the ill usage they had experienced, betook themselves to violence; and having no prospect of redress, did all the mischief they could, but particularly to the clergy, against whom their chief vengeance seemed to be directed.‡

These insurrectional commotions were followed by others of a similar nature, though the causes which produced them were different. In the year 1764, the people in the manufacturing parts of the province of Ulster rose almost to a man, in consequence of their being obliged to work on the roads; and from the oak branches which they wore in their hats, acquired the denomination of White Boys. They were, however, soon dispersed by the military, and the next session, parliament taking the matter into consideration, wisely repealed the old road act, and provided for the repair of the highways by means more equitable, and less calculated to excite discontent.

Another party known by the name of *steel boys*, were goaded on to acts of violence by the rapacity of some landlords, who, according to a mode practised in Ireland, and unfortunately, too common, let their land by taking large fines and small rents.

The occupiers of farms, though willing to give advanced rents, were unable to pay excessive fines; they were, therefore, dispossessed by the wealthy middle men, who, not contented with moderate interest for their money, racked the rents to an extent

\* Commercial Restraints, p. 66.

† Ibid. p. 49.

‡ Campbell's Phil. Survey of Ireland, p. 304.

above the reach of the old tenant.\* The helpless peasants being thus abandoned gave way to the impulse of their ungovernable passions, and vented their fury on those whom they considered as their oppressors. These commotions, so unfavourable to the prosperity of trade and manufactures, afford a striking and melancholy proof of the state of the country at the time they took place; and, as two of them arose from causes unconnected with public measures, may convince those who ascribe every evil they experience to government, that national misfortunes depend more on the conduct of individuals, than is generally believed or admitted.

In 1765, the crop of potatoes failed throughout the whole country; the spring corn had also failed, and the price of grain became so high, that the most alarming consequences followed, the people being every where reduced to a state of the utmost distress. With a view to remedy this evil, two acts were passed early in the session of that year, for stopping the distilleries, and preventing the exportation of corn for a limited time. In the following spring it appeared, that the fears which had been entertained, were too well founded; several towns experienced great misery from the want of corn, and it, therefore, became necessary to issue money from the treasury, to purchase grain for the use of such places as should apply for relief.

In 1770 and 1771, the distress, on account of the high price of corn, again recurred; and the bad effects which these years of scarcity had on the general state of the country, seem to have continued for some time after; for, in 1778 and 1779, though corn was abundant, the manufacturers were not able to purchase, and thousands of them were supported by the liberality of the public. The consequence was, that corn fell so low, that the farmers in many places were unable to pay their rents, and were every where involved in difficulties.†

In the years 1771 and 1772, the bankrupt laws were introduced into Ireland, as great inconvenience had arisen to trade in that country, from the want of them.‡

In the year 1775, Ireland was admitted to a participation in the Newfoundland fishery, in consequence of an act passed for encouraging that nursery of seamen, by the granting of certain premiums.§ It was necessary that the ships employed should be British built, and of the burden of fifty tons at least. Before this act, the Irish had sent ships to Newfoundland, which the British commanders on that station, had permitted to fish, and entered in their reports as British vessels; but, as they were now relieved from the necessity of trusting to so precarious an indulgence, and were liberally supported by their parliament, they carried on the Newfoundland fishery with considerable spirit. By the same act, bounties, allowed to ships employed in

\* Campbell's Phil. Survey, p. 311.

† Commercial Restraints, p. 76, 77.

‡ 11 and 12 Geo. III. c. 8., when they were enacted to continue till the 24th of June, 1796, and by 30 Geo. III. c. 45, they were renewed.

§ 15 Geo. III. c. 31.

the whale fishery to Greenland and Davis's Straits, were extended to ships fitted out from Ireland.\*

In times of war, commerce is exposed to many restraints, which, however injurious to individuals, must be patiently endured, on account of the public good. During the unfortunate period when we were engaged in hostilities with America, government, apprehensive that the French fleets and our rebellious colonies might receive supplies of provisions from Ireland, laid an embargo on Irish butter, salt, beef, and pork; and the prohibition to export these articles, comprehended not only France and America, but every other part of the world, though the French could receive the same necessaries from Sweden and Denmark. The Irish merchants finding this measure ruinous to their trade, which was almost annihilated, and that the embargo was needlessly extended to all the European ports in general, exerted their whole influence to get it taken off, except so far as it related to France. An application was accordingly made for this purpose, and the relief prayed for was granted in regard to butter in 1788; and, in regard to other provisions, in the beginning of the following year.†

However paradoxical it may appear, it is certain from authentic documents, that notwithstanding the numerous evils with which Ireland was afflicted during the greater part of the last century, and the various restrictions with which her commerce was fettered, her trade increased in a regular progression, except in the unfortunate period from 1720 to 1730: A well-informed writer even asserts, that in the course of eighty years, it increased more in proportion than the trade of England, and, perhaps, if it could be ascertained, it would be found that her external trade was, in proportion to her capital, greater than that of England; but with respect to internal trade, she is still far behind, and, until there be some improvement in the latter, she cannot expect to see her people fully employed, or affluence generally diffused.‡

In the year 1799, a complete change was effected in the commercial relations of Ireland, by an event which had been long wished for by the people at large. The parliament of that country, which met on the 12th of October, stated in an address to His Majesty, that a free trade alone could save the country from ruin. The house of lords concurred in similar expressions, and the minister deeming it eligible to

\* Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, vol. iii. p. 576.

† The proclamation for the embargo was dated February 3, 1776, and comprehended all ships and vessels laden in any of the ports of Ireland, with provisions of any kind, except ships carrying salted beef, pork, butter, or bacon, into Great Britain, or provisions to any part of the British empire, except the colonies mentioned in the said proclamation. On the 4th of January, 1799, it was finally taken off as far as it related to ships carrying provisions to any of the ports of Europe.

‡ Lord Sheffield's Observations on the trade of Ireland, p. 269.

comply with this demand, a bill was brought into the British parliament in December following, and after some discussion, was finally approved, and received the sanction of all the branches of the legislature. By this bill, the laws which prohibited the exportation of any woollen manufactures from Ireland to any part of Europe, and those which interdicted the importation of glass from Ireland, were repealed; and the Irish were at the same time permitted to export and import commodities to and from all parts of America, and the British colonies in the West India Islands and Africa, subject to such regulations as should be adopted by their own parliament. The attainment of these advantages excited a desire for the acquirement of others still more important. It was considered, that as long as England retained the power of making laws to bind Ireland, the boon she had granted was merely a concession revocable at pleasure, and that commercial jealousy might induce her at a future period to retract what she considered not as a right, but as an indulgence. These and other motives, into which it is needless here to enter, gave rise to farther demands, which were at length complied with in 1782, when the sole right of Ireland to regulate her commerce, and to bind herself in all cases, was fully recognized,\* the act of the sixth year of George I., for securing the dependence of the kingdom of Ireland upon the crown of Great Britain, being totally repealed.† As a testimony of gratitude to the legislature of Great Britain, the parliament of Ireland, on this occasion, voted 20,000 men for the use of the British navy.

In the year 1783, the people of Ireland obtained a farther concession, their claim to be governed only by their own laws, being admitted by the British parliament in its fullest extent; and it was enacted, that no appeals from the courts in Ireland should, after that period, be made to any court in England‡.

The events that followed, afford a memorable proof how little men are acquainted with the extent of their own desires; and that when enjoyments, which they conceive to be the summit of their wishes, have been attained, a wider scene opens before them, and new objects arise to disturb their happiness and excite discontent. Considering them, indeed, impartially, it can hardly be denied that they afford some ground for the reflection thrown out against the Irish, that "they are a turbulent people, who can be satisfied by no concessions, and whose demands increase in proportion to the blessings which they enjoy." Possessing all the pride of the Scots without their prudence; equally susceptible of alarm as the English without their coolness; and, like the French, buoyed up with a high idea of the advantages of their country, which, seen through the medium of national vanity, appear magnified greatly beyond the truth, they have, on many occasions, indulged in hopes too vast

\* Essay on the best means of providing employment for the people. By S. Crump, M. D. M. R. I. A. p. 307—309.

† 22 Geo. III. c. 53. Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, vol. iii. p. 713.

‡ 23 Geo. III. c. 28. Ibid. vol. iv. p. 17.

to be realized, and finding themselves disappointed, have vented their displeasure in frivolous clamour and unfounded complaint.

But, as it might be ungenerous to stigmatize a whole people, in cases where the blame ought to fall only on a few, it is proper too state, that much of the public ferment about this time, arose from the conduct of some factious demagogues, who, by artful insinuations, were too successful in reviving old prejudices, and making their countrymen believe that they still laboured under grievances, to which they ought not tamely to submit.\*

The concessions made to Ireland, and the freedom of commerce, had not produced so many, or so great advantages as had, perhaps, so sanguinely been expected. Several of the Irish merchants, in their eagerness to profit by the advantage of foreign trade, which they had so recently acquired, seemed almost to have forgotten, that foreign trade can be supplied only from a redundance of commodities and manufactures over the demand for home consumption; they, therefore, precipitately pushed all kinds of goods, many of them in a very imperfect state,† to America and other foreign countries, and were much disappointed at finding their remittances slow and precarious. The consequence was, that the manufactures of the country, which next to agriculture, ought to be the chief object of attention, as the basis of all trade, were starved for want of capital; and the labouring manufacturers, with the lower classes

\* Lest the Irish should think that I have here been illiberal, I shall beg leave to refer to the following observations of a respectable writer, who certainly could have no motive for distorting the picture which he has drawn: "But such is our miserable nature, that discontent, delusion, and extravagancies seem to gain ground; they have spread over the land under circumstances which ought to have produced the most opposite effects; and no longer ago than last summer, if we may give any credit to public prints, Ireland appeared to have neither constitution, nor government, nor common sense: aggregate, or other meetings, had announced that a total change was necessary, that the parliaments were bad, that they were dependent, and this shortly after parliament had asserted the independence of the legislature, and had gained more popular advantages for the country, than all the parliaments of Ireland ever had done.

"The people were clamorously declared to be enslaved, at the very time when they were manifestly superior to all control, either of reason or law. Meetings were held for unlawful purposes. The public papers were filled with treason against the constitution and the established government; the wild and baneful idea of separation from Great Britain, was discussed in idle speeches, without exciting either astonishment or indignation. Various means were adopted to inflame, and all arts employed to persuade, that the manufactures were declining, notwithstanding the most glaring proofs to the contrary.

"It is sometimes difficult to account for popular discontent; but in the instance here described, it is evident that they had no foundation, and that they were fomented by men, who knew they had no chance of notice but in times of anarchy and disorder, and who in hope of plundering the wreck enjoy the storm." *Lord Sheffield's Observations on the Manufactures and Trade of Ireland.* London, 1785. 3d. edit. p. 353, 354.

† Many of the Irish goods exported were of such defective quality, owing to the infant state of most of the manufactures, that the character, and, consequently, the interest of Irish manufactures and commerce, were very much injured by their premature appearance in foreign markets. See *Wallace's Essay on the Manufactures of Ireland*, p. 77.

in general, were reduced to the greatest distress, and of course became discontented and riotous. At the same time, a number of people, misapprehending the cause of this evil, imagined that if foreign manufactures, including British, could be entirely shut out by high duties, those of Ireland could not fail to flourish. A general outcry was thus raised for protecting duties, as they were called, and this was succeeded by the adoption of non-importation agreements in every part of the country. So general was the public clamour in favour of this expedient, that even the Grand Jury of the city of Dublin, which had usually been under the influence of the court, gave their sanction, on this occasion, to the popular agreement, and the parliament of Ireland, though they refused to enact the protecting duties, imposed duties on British refined sugar, wine, and printed callicoes, in order to secure a preference to their own manufactures of these articles. It was not, however, to be expected, that every one should resist the temptation of breaking through the non-importation agreement; but those who ventured to transgress, were, as soon as discovered, subjected by the populace to the American punishment of tarring and feathering.\* A magnificent coach was also smeared over with tar, because it had been made by Hatcher of London; and it is reported, that it was in agitation, to clothe the Lord Lieutenant himself, in a complete dress of this new species of Irish manufacture.

With a view of allaying these discontents, which seemed likely to be attended with some serious evil, great exertions were made the year following, that is, in the year 1785, to establish a regular and permanent system of commercial regulations, on the principle of reciprocal advantage to both countries. This important object was introduced into the parliament of Ireland by Mr. Orde, on the 7th of February, in the form of propositions for regulating the trade with the colonies and between the two kingdoms, together with an offer of compensation for the concessions to be made by Great Britain. These passed through both the houses of the Irish parliament in the course of a few days; and on the 22d of the same month, were laid before the British House of Commons, and though a committee of the principal manufacturers of the kingdom gave it as their opinion, that if the propositions were adopted, the manufacturers of this country would be obliged to transfer their capital and works to Ireland, on account of the lighter taxes and lower price of labour, they received the sanction of the House of Commons on the 12th of May, or rather at eight o'clock on the morning of the 13th.†

Though these propositions had excited great alarm, and were generally disliked

\* This mode of punishment, practised by the American rabble, is said to be as old as the expedition of Richard the I. to the Holy Land; for that prince ordered that *boiling* pitch should be poured over the heads of thieves, and that they should then be covered with feathers, as a mark to know them by. Such offenders were also to be set on shore on the first land that occurred. *Hoveden inter Script. post. Bedam. l. 379. b.*

† Macpherson's *Annals of Commerce*, vol. iv. p. 84.

in England, as conferring too great advantages on the trade of Ireland, they met with no better reception in that country, where they were considered by most people, as sacrificing the manufactures and commerce, and annihilating the honour and independence of the kingdom. When again submitted to the Irish Parliament and put to the vote, the majority in favour of the question being only nineteen, it was considered so small that the bill was withdrawn, and the measure afterwards abandoned.\*

In 1785, many of the inhabitants of Geneva having quitted that little commonwealth, in consequence of the political dissensions which had for some time prevailed there; a plan was formed for establishing a colony of them in Ireland, as it was hoped that they might contribute towards introducing a spirit of industry into the country. The sum of £50,000. was granted by Parliament to defray the expense of their removal, and for building a town for them, to be called New Geneva; but these emigrants demanding certain privileges which they were refused, the greater part of the intended colonists altered their mind, and those who had come, not finding their expectations fulfilled, soon quitted the country. Such was the end of a project, which for nearly four years had attracted much public attention, and from which it was imagined that great advantages would arise, as well to the new citizens as to the country.†

By an act passed in 1787,‡ all vessels registered in Ireland, agreeably to an act of the parliament of that kingdom, were to enjoy all the privileges of British vessels.§

In 1788, an attempt was made to reduce the rate of interest in Ireland from six to five per cent., and a bill for that purpose was carried through the House of Commons; but it was rejected by the peers of that kingdom.||

In consequence of the attempts made in Ireland, to throw off all connexion between that country and Great Britain, it was thought proper to revive the ancient proposal for incorporating the two countries by an union, similar to that between England and Scotland. This important measure met, however, with a very strenuous opposition in the parliaments of both kingdoms; but it was finally carried by majorities in both, without the intervention of commissioners on either side, and ratified by the royal assent.¶

The Act of Union consists of eight articles, the principal heads of which are as follows:

I. From the 1st day of January 1801, the two kingdoms are united into one, by the name of *The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland*.

\* Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, vol. iv. p. 91, 92.

† Ibid, ib. vol. iv. p. 77.

‡ 27 Geo. III. c. 16.

§ Macpherson's Annals, ibid. p. 125.

|| Macpherson, ut supra, p. 168.

¶ Ibid. ib. p. 496.

II. The succession to the crown of the united kingdom continues limited and settled according to the existing laws, and the terms of the union between England and Scotland.

III. The United Kingdom is represented in one and the same parliament, to be styled *The Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland*.

IV. The Irish peerage is represented by four lords spiritual, elected in rotation of sessions, and twenty-eight lords temporal, each elected for life, to sit in the House of Lords, of the Parliament of the United Kingdom: and the commons of Ireland are represented by one hundred members. Irish peers, not elected for the united parliament, may still be elected representatives of the Commons of Great Britain, relinquishing for the time their privilege of peerage.

V. The churches of England and Ireland, as established by law, are united in one protestant episcopal church, to be called the *United Church of England and Ireland*. The doctrine, worship, &c. shall remain in full force for ever, as now established for the Church of England: and this shall be an essential fundamental part of the union.

VI. From the first day of January, 1801, His Majesty's subjects of Great Britain and Ireland are entitled to the same privileges, and are on the same footing, as to encouragements and bounties on articles of the produce or manufacture of either country; and, generally, in respect of trade and navigation in all parts of the united kingdom and its dependencies. All produce or manufactures of either country may be carried to the other, without prohibition, and without any bounties: neither shall any duty be charged on them, except certain permanent countervailing duties on particular articles, contained in a schedule annexed to the act, and other duties, for a term of twenty years, on articles contained in another schedule, &c.

VII. The interests of the national debt, incurred in either kingdom before the union, and the sinking fund, for the redemption of it, are to be provided for by each kingdom separately. For the future expenditure of the united kingdom, Great Britain shall provide fifteen-seventeenth parts, and Ireland two, till the first of January, 1821; after which, the expenditure, except that attending the separate debt of each kingdom, shall be defrayed in such portions, as shall be directed by parliament, from time to time. The debts, to be contracted in future, shall be on the joint account of the united kingdom, and be provided for in the proportion of the contributions of each country, subject, however, to the modification of parliament.

VIII. All laws in force, and all courts of judicature, established in either kingdom at the time of the union, shall remain; subject, however, to the modification of parliament.

Commerce may be divided into two kinds, foreign and domestic.

In Ireland, domestic trade in towns is carried on in the same manner as in other civilized countries, by means of money tokens; which determine the value of differ-

ent articles, according to an assumed, but imaginary standard. In places, however, remote from towns, the exchange of commodities is carried on by tally payments, without the intervention of circulating medium, a circumstance which forms a striking difference between the state of Ireland and of England. This arises from the want of that due division of labour, which always takes place as a country advances in wealth; and where it exists, as it renders capital unnecessary, it leaves no stimulus for the industry of the inhabitants. Under this system, people purchase at the dearest rate without knowing it, and, to use their own expression, are placed under the complete "control of their masters;" "for there is no man not oppressed under the extreme misery, that is not in a situation to consume several things which are neither gathered nor fabricated, except in places considerably distant from him, and not less distant from each other."\*

I am much astonished that this custom, which prevails throughout the greater part of Ireland, has never been noticed by writers who visited that country. I remember to have seen persons who had no knowledge whatever, either of money or of the English language, coming to a house where I was visiting, at a season when little employment was to be found, sauntering about or sitting over a turf fire the whole day, and afterwards applying to their master for some potatoes, which they quietly received, desiring him to "put them to account." In a word, wool, flax, and every article of consumption, which enters into the commerce of a country, pass from one hand to another in this way.

One source of internal commerce, however, in Ireland, intimately connected with foreign trade, is the sale of produce which finds its way abroad, and the disposal of foreign productions imported, both of which frequently pass through many hands, yielding a profit to each. The extent of this trade will be seen by the imports and exports, a table of which I have drawn up. In consequence of prohibitory laws, and the habits which these have induced, this commerce is very much confined to Great Britain and Scotland; but if there were no other motives for this limitation, self-interest would turn the current of trade into the same channel. Great Britain offers the greatest advantages, and the Irish, in both cases, act wisely in dealing at the best market. The superior skill of the British workmen and artisans renders their articles much cheaper; and the opulence of British merchants enables them to sell on longer credit, circumstances which give a decided superiority to our trade over that of every other country in the world.

That part of the Irish trade which properly comes under the denomination of foreign, is very small. The amount is exactly ascertained, and I have given it in a subsequent table.

\* Reflections on the Promotion and Distribution of Wealth, by M. Turgot. Not having the original, I have been obliged to quote from the translation. Lond. 1795.

It may be readily perceived, that a great part of the trade which is here described, can add little to the national riches; and yet mankind in general seem much disposed to attach importance to the gain of individuals, as increasing the national stock;\* but they forget, that where there are buyers there are also sellers, and that what one man acquires, another loses.† Internal commerce is a proof of the circulation of the productions of a country, and so far as it administers to the wants or comforts of the inhabitants, it is highly valuable and important; but it is foreign commerce which increases national wealth, and forms the most productive source of revenue. The more foreign articles are enhanced in price, the greater is the desire to possess them, and the demand is thereby increased.‡

Dublin, being a populous city, enjoys a considerable share of the commerce of the kingdom; it possesses, in particular, the principal part of the colonial trade; but the colonial trade, collectively, is inferior to that of Glasgow. In continental commerce, there is not a single firm that corresponds immediately with Germany. In times of peace there are houses connected with Spain and Portugal, in consequence of the wine trade, which is carried on to a considerable extent between these countries and Dublin, and particularly with the latter. The chartered monopoly of the East India Company excludes Ireland from direct intercourse with any of our Asiatic settlements; but I hope the period is not far distant, when the India trade will be freed from its present restrictions, and laid open to the fair competition of enterprise and industry. The Irish members, and other friends of Ireland, have a fair opportunity of exerting themselves in favour of a claim which can be supported by every argument of justice and necessity; for I agree not in opinion with those who consider the Irish merchant to

\* This circumstance has been treated in an elaborate manner by Dr. Gray, in his *Essential Wealth of Nations*. Lond. 1767, p. 112.

† Malthus says, in his quarto edit. 1803, p. 437, "no error is more frequent, than that of mistaking effects for causes. We are so blinded by the showiness of commerce and manufactures, as to believe, that they are almost the sole cause of the wealth, power, and prosperity of England. But, perhaps, they may be more justly considered as the consequences, than the cause of this wealth. According to the definition of the economists, which considers only the produce of land, England is the richest country in Europe in proportion to her size. Her system of agriculture is beyond comparison better, and, consequently, her surplus produce is more considerable. France is very greatly superior to England in extent of territory and population; but when the surplus produce, or disposable revenue of the two nations are compared, the superiority of France almost vanishes. And it is this great surplus produce in England, arising from her agriculture, which enables her to support such a vast body of manufacturers, such formidable fleets and armies, such a crowd of persons engaged in the liberal professions, and a proportion of the society living on the money rents, very far beyond what has ever been known in any other country of the world." I request the reader to compare this passage with the reference which I have made to Mr. Young's French tour, in the general observations on the Chapter of Rural Economy, and it will be found that the passage of this celebrated philosopher corroborates those which I have given.

‡ You must not think, therefore, that the raising their price will lessen the vend of fashionable foreign commodities among us, but rather increase it. *Lock's Considerations on Trade*, p. 93 and 116. De Witt, Ratisbon edit. p. 77. *Gee's Trade Considered*, p. 114.

be on equal footing with the English, because he is permitted to purchase without restraint in the India funds. Irish subjects are allowed, indeed, by an express act of parliament,\* to export to India, masts, copper, and other articles, military stores excepted, for which a particular license is necessary; but her exports are confined to 800 tons of shipping provided by the East India Company; the goods are carried from Cork, and the returns are received through Britain. If this quantity of tonnage be greater or less than what is requisite for the destined exports, the business must be adjusted by commissioners of the company, and a clause is inserted in the act, that one of the company's ships shall touch at Cork every year for the goods, between the months of October and February, which are not to be unshipped till the arrival of the vessel in India. It is likewise enacted, that notice of the tonnage wanted must be sent to the company by the first of August, with many other regulations which it is not necessary to particularize. I am ignorant whether Ireland ever availed itself of this act; but it is evident that trade, to such a limited extent, is of no importance in a national point of view. However, some few individuals may profit by it.

Dublin has its full share of the American trade, which is divided between that city, Belfast, and Derry.

*Victualling Office, 13th June, 1811.*

AN ACCOUNT of the Quantities of Irish Beef, Pork, and Butter, contracted and paid for by this Department in the several years undermentioned, with the average price thereof, distinguishing each year; furnished by the Rt. Hon. William Wellesley Pole.

Years.	BEEF.		PORK.		BUTTER.	
	Quantity in Tierces of 38 Pieces of 3lbs.	Average Price per Tierce of 304lbs.	Quantity in Tierces of 80 Pieces of 4lbs.	Average Price per Tierce of 320lbs.	Quantity in Cwts.	Average Price per Cwt.
		<i>£. s. d.</i>		<i>£. s. d.</i>		<i>s. d.</i>
1800 - -	41,875	8 16 4 <sup>3</sup>	45,593	8 10 2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	19,349	83 11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
1801 - -	22,381	8 7 8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	41,010	13 19 10	15,035	85 0 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
1802 - -		No Contract for these Articles.			2,579	84 5
1803 - -	23,833	8 11 0 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	39,233	9 12 5	8,053	78 4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
1804 - -	18,146	8 10 4	18,936	8 3 4	1,855	83 8
1805 - -	19,854	8 9 8	20,419	8 0 0	13,338	83 4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
1806 - -	38,139	8 5 0	37,119	6 18 0	11,909	82 3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
1807 - -	38,752	7 18 4	58,700	8 1 10	12,451	89 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
1808 - -	20,769	7 16 0	48,861	9 4 11	14,970	110 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
1809 - -	33,364	9 1 3	48,545	8 18 11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	11,772	103 2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
1810 - -	34,898	8 9 10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	27,266	8 8 6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	12,448	98 7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>

RICHARD FORD.

The following Table will exhibit the extent of the corn trade of Dublin.

\* By the 33d. G. III. chap. 31.

An Account of the Quantities and Prices and Average Prices, of Corn, Meal, and Flour, sold in the city of Dublin, and Liberties thereunto adjoining; and of Corn, Grain, Meal, and Flour, returned by the Register of Corn Returns, for each year, from 1785 to the latest periods to which the same can be made up; agreeably to the Quarterly Returns made by the Lord Mayor of the city of Dublin to the Commissioners of Customs.

Years.	Wheat.			Flour.			Barley.			Oats.			Oatmeal.									
	Barrels.	Amount.	Average price per Barrel.	Bar.	Amount.	Average price per Barrel.	Bar.	Amount.	Average price per Barrel.	Bar.	Amount.	Average price per Barrel.	Bar.	Amount.	Average price per Barrel.							
1785-6	39909	47048	3 7	169783	132710	0 1	45278	25965	16 6	9	76599	32659	9 11	9315	4705	15 9	0 10	3	23969	7 3		
6-7	41491	48104	3 1	115469	130084	16 0	45442	21798	6 4	0	8714	39409	14 5	0	8	10	0	10	6	247463	0 8	
7-8	48708	58917	3 1	110999	130285	8 0	49666	28046	15 9	0	11	108678	49899	15 4	0	9	11	0	11	0	274817	0 6
8-9	51950	59425	3 1	138169	158653	11 0	77395	44927	9 3	0	12	101367	38638	8 8	0	8	7	8	10	0	284807	0 6
9-10	61854	90745	3 1	118654	171548	14 0	61314	38701	11 0	12	120836	54119	11 4	0	8	9	2	10	0	265123	16 11	
1790-1	56636	164947	1 0	126512	156674	1 0	52737	32555	17 4	0	12	108847	30597	15 2	0	10	0	10	9	0	256903	5 1
1-2	107980	33943	0 7	135719	156144	1 6	81780	55628	15 6	4	14	396377	199677	15 2	0	9	11	0	9	7	152922	6 2
2-3	129386	154348	1 4	155643	172900	1 0	94191	74599	18 11	0	15	509246	144806	18 4	0	9	6	10	9	6	164884	2 6
3-4	108251	154682	2 4	131687	167677	0 1	42725	87469	9 4	0	14	594915	204939	8 4	0	11	0	11	0	13727	1045	13 6
4-5	129993	210148	2 1	116410	179445	10 0	85992	66784	14 10	0	17	408770	10838	15 7	0	10	6	10	6	37794	22282	4 2
5-6	112329	211141	1 10	128251	183398	6 0	68129	65691	9 1	0	4	599036	184432	6 3	0	11	4	10	8	19477	20765	1 0
6-7	109085	154438	1 11	116045	181049	14 6	82687	66596	19 10	0	17	553978	117423	17 3	0	9	2	10	7	13782	6523	9 9
7-8	12054	19422	1 4	131792	180748	15 6	87322	49859	7 4	0	10	365453	15829	1 5	0	8	7	10	7	13782	6523	9 9
8-9	105111	153329	1 8	136178	208221	10 4	60334	47408	7 4	0	16	330940	165683	11 4	0	10	2	10	2	10532	6128	0 11
9-1800	87026	189240	2 6	149744	207498	9 6	32369	42630	14 3	1	6	129614	88499	18 11	0	18	10	10	10	47386	48648	7 4
1800-1	56698	164215	3 7	175548	251272	19 10	42356	60227	11 11	11	9	979151	30375	10 6	1	5	8	10	10	42373	62485	11 8
1-2	75445	133249	1 8	149810	224017	9 9	87800	84634	0 11	1	1	241234	145671	11 1	0	13	10	10	10	34616	23275	10 11
2-3	97353	151273	1 1	166061	266106	9 4	99397	64133	9 4	0	12	363890	133748	18 1	0	10	4	10	4	42228	23294	19 9
3-4	89668	132625	1 8	173865	270173	9 11	100039	90074	4 3	0	16	279315	163069	3 1	0	11	10	10	10	59169	24974	18 3
4-5	85669	161077	1 4	178734	260189	8 10	123179	119653	3 6	0	19	289970	208666	17 7	0	14	8	10	8	54669	37748	18 8
5-6	76802	139106	1 9	209998	292374	6 3	122775	127549	6 3	1	10	331620	228179	19 9	0	14	1	10	10	50541	31391	16 11
6-7	75129	154276	1 10	179536	260937	6 8	116386	109039	9 11	0	18	264887	188665	12 2	0	14	8	10	10	44082	32291	13 3
7-8	63340	126874	1 5	189370	2411900	5 9	140184	135818	4 10	0	19	258031	202733	6 9	0	16	0	10	10	51466	48156	6 3
8-9	63675	159010	6 10	178137	244288	9 5	77482	77628	15 4	1	0	273232	222264	4 2	0	17	11	10	10	51466	48156	6 3
9-10	66642	154300	9 9	169633	239771	9 2	48187	57124	11 0	1	3	176613	139493	4 0	0	15	8	10	10	40674	31276	3 7
1810-11	84237	180293	15 11	171820	2406191	11 10	75812	81376	14 0	1	8	231475	166408	7 6	0	15	1	10	10	35168	26995	8 1

Custom House, Dublin, 17th May, 1811.  
 ALLAN Mac LEAN, Secretary for the Port Department.  
 (Signed)

Belfast is forming a West India connexion, and there is every reason to believe that this will increase, as the cotton manufacture and the consumption of sugar are extending.

Derry is particularly connected by commercial relations with America, and Newry possesses a considerable export trade of linens, butter, and some provisions.

**WEXFORD.**—To the south of Dublin, Wexford presents itself as a place well calculated by its situation for purposes of commerce. All the corn is exported, (for which coal is returned) to Liverpool; there is also a considerable trade in provisions, which are conveyed down the Slaney from Baniscorthy. Live-cattle is also exported; but there are no partnership-houses, nor any merchants possessed of great wealth, £5,000. or £6,000. being the extent of any individual capital.

It is fortunate for Ireland, that some of the most populous districts of England lie opposite to her coasts. The Irish, by the shortness of the distance, are enabled to send thither an expeditious supply of various articles of provision, which, by means of canals, are transmitted in various directions to the manufacturing towns in the interior of Britain. The benefits arising from this reciprocal trade, will account in some measure for the existence of so many great commercial towns on the eastern coast of the country; Waterford, Ross, and Clonmell all participate in the advantage of this connexion. But Ross, in particular, appears to be a spot well adapted for becoming a place of great commercial importance. It is situated at a considerable distance from the coast, on the river Barrow, which has a sufficient depth of water to allow vessels of large size to unload at the quay. Not far remote is the junction of this river with the Nore, the latter of which conveys merchandise to Thomastown, within a few miles of Kilkenny, while the former affords a communication by canal to Dublin and to Limerick. The Barrow is also united to the Suir, which is navigable to Clonmell. Notwithstanding these means of external and internal intercourse, the merchants who attempted establishments there have all failed, and the town at present is in a state of inactivity, without trade or capital. This want of success is said to have arisen from its being the property of an individual, who has the power of electing the corporation, which secures to him great parliamentary interest. Hence private exertions are cramped and counteracted by an influence hostile to every thing not favourable to itself. There may be some truth in this assertion, but it is extraordinary that another Ross is not erected on the banks of the same river, out of the reach of private rights, which are so prejudicial to public spirit: this would leave the present town to bear the overwhelming weight of its corporate privileges and regulations, without commercial help.

KILKENNY, having no immediate water communication, possesses very little trade, and it might be difficult to account for so large a town being erected in so unfavour-

able a situation. It is, however, tolerably populous, and according to Mr. Tighe, contains nearly 15,000 inhabitants.\*

WATERFORD is a place of great trade, particularly in the exportation of provisions; it is the residence also of many opulent merchants, who carry on commercial transactions to a considerable extent. The greater part of the goods imported here are only unloaded on the quays and sent forward to Clonmell,† which has more internal commerce than any town in Ireland. The latter has increased in the same ratio as Carrick has decayed, and were the Suir navigable fourteen miles farther inland to another town, it would, I have no doubt, draw the trade entirely from Clonmell.

YOUGHAL, situated on the Blackwater, had formerly a greater trade than it enjoys at present, but it still imports some corn and provisions, the country between the Blackwater and the Lee being exceedingly productive, and furnishing abundance of pork and grain.

The following is the Quantity of Provisions exported from Waterford in the years 1809, 1810, and 1811, furnished by Mr. Penrose Nevins.

### TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

Articles.	1809.	1810.	1811.	Value in 1811.		
				at 180s.	£.	s. d.
Tierces of Beef † -	4,422	3,316	4,984	at 180s.	32,396	0 0
Barrels of Beef -	1,217	808	1,451	90s.	6,529	10 0
Tierces of Pork -	3,781	2,828	3,992	140s.	27,944	0 0
Barrels of Pork -	13,194	11,953	11,731	95s.	55,722	5 0
Fitches of Bacon -	224,810	203,376	222,349	32s.	355,758	8 0
Cwts. of Butter -	89,534	95,266	98,247	115s.	564,920	5 0
Cwts. of Lard -	10,289	8,994	12,175	84s.	51,135	0 0
Barrels of Wheat -	49,199	56,410	118,486	52s.	308,063	12 0
Barrels of Oats -	289,227	143,826	121,329	18s.	109,196	2 0
Barrels of Barley -	2,957	12,957	61,666	27s.	83,249	2 0
Cwts. of Flour -	8,795	37,089	51,102	30s.	76,653	0 0
Cwts. of Oatmeal -	14,946	4,879	10,801	21s.	11,341	1 0
Barrels of Rapeseed	551	2,335	359	50s.	897	10 0
				Total foreign	1,683,805	15 0

\* Survey of Kilkenny, p. 462.

† Dec. 6th, 1808. CLONMELL.— Here is a very considerable import trade for the supply of the interior parts of the country. It exports corn and pork. One merchant has on hand sugar to the amount of £10,000.

‡ The motive which has induced the insertion of the following remarks, will, I flatter myself, plead for their length, and for the situation in which they are placed. Lord Somerville, I am sure, from the

COASTWAYS.

Articles.	1809.	1810.	1811.	Value in 1811.		
				£.	s.	d.
Tierces of Beef -	900	-	-	-	-	-
Barrels of Beef -	115	-	-	-	-	-
Barrels of Pork -	610	-	-	-	-	-
Cwts. of Lard -	1,360	503	1,042	at 84s.	4,376	8 0
Barrels of Wheat -	353	-	1,764	52s.	4,586	8 0
Barrels of Oats -	51	16,984	21,508	18s.	19,357	4 0
Barrels of Barley -	2,348	3,781	14,164	27s.	19,121	8 0
Cwts. of Flour -	3,250	1,755	1,564	30s.	2,346	0 0
Cwts. of Oatmeal -	8,325	364	201	21s.	211	1 0
Total coastways					49,998	9 0

Estimated value in 1807,	£ 1,364,326	1s. 0d.
— — 1808,	1,432,011	2 0
— — 1809,	1,451,482	1 0
— — 1810,	1,367,261	19 0
— — 1811,	1,733,804	4 0

the most benevolent motives, has recommended the killing of cattle by a particular method. It, however, turns out, that that manner is by far the most painful to the animal. This fact I heard detailed by Mr. Everard Home, in one of his lectures on comparative anatomy; and on applying to that gentleman for an accurate account of the statement, he referred me to the *Shropshire Report, by the Rev. Joseph Phymley, p. 248.*

“ I had long wished to see the method of killing cattle, by dividing the spinal marrow, come into common use, as it seemed probable the suffering of the animal was generally prevented thereby. The method was introduced at Mr. Mellish’s slaughtering-houses, by the laudable perseverance of Lord Somerville, and other members of the Board of Agriculture, and Mr. Mellish found the flesh of the beasts so killed equally good, if not better, than the flesh of those slaughtered in the usual way. And as the operation is performed quietly, and without alarm to the animal, all bruises are avoided, and such are not very uncommon in forcing them into a proper position to receive the stroke when they are to be knocked down. A butcher at Wisbech practised this mode several years ago, from the representations made to him by Captain Clarkson, of the Navy, who had seen them so slaughtered for the use of our fleet when at Jamaica. After this person’s death, Mr. Smith, a butcher of the same place, adopted the same method, and in the year 1796, I procured, by favour of Mr. Clarkson (whose name accords so well with any question of humanity) the following account, which he had from Mr. Smith—“ Mr. Smith informed me, that he kills all his bullocks by striking them in the spinal marrow. If a line were drawn from ear-root to ear-root (at about an inch and half distance from the horns) and the centre of this line were found, this centre would be the place where the knife should enter. The knife is not in the form of a dagger, nor is it thrust in with any force. It is rather larger than a common penknife, but the blade is permanently fixed to the handle. The handle is taken into the hand, and the forefinger goes down it towards the point, merely to direct it. The person

CORK carries on a very extensive trade, particularly in provisions, large quantities of which are required for the ships of war that frequent the harbour, and by

person using the knife takes hold of one ear of the beast with his left hand, and with the right he strikes it with the knife. In the same instant the bullock drops, and is out of sensation of any pain. He informs me, that it is not once in a thousand times that any person misses the right place; perhaps, an apprentice may at the beginning, but the rule is so certain, that it may be said hardly ever to fail, and if it should fail, the knife is at any rate so near the proper place, that by the least alteration of the position (without even taking it out) it finds its way. In this case there would hardly be the pain of two seconds. I was obliged to leave Wisbech before the killing day, or I would have seen this method practised. I talked to Smith's apprentice, who assured me that he had no difficulty in finding the proper spot, and that the beast drops instantly. Though Smith kills in this manner, no other butcher of Wisbech follows the example. He says, however, that the practice obtains pretty universally on the Lincolnshire bank of the Humber, as at Barton, and several other places. Calves, sheep, pigs, &c. are killed by Smith in the same manner. I saw three sheep that had been skinned, and were hanging up in his shop, which had been killed by his apprentice in this way. He shewed me the small hole on the back of the head, or neck, which the knife had made."

"Plausible, however, as these experiments are, I believe now, that they proceeded upon a mistaken principle, or rather, that the operation did not accord with the principle, so far as tenderness towards the animal is concerned: for though a beast is managed completely by this mode, it is not so certain that his sense of feeling is destroyed. The contrary, indeed, seems proved, by the meritorious pains taken by Mr. Du Gard, of the Shrewsbury Infirmary, who has shewn in the following communication, that though the spinal marrow was divided, the nerves that supplied the organs of respiration and most of the senses, were uninjured. Mr. Du Gard's experiments were communicated to Mr. Everard Home, of London, and by him, through Sir Joseph Banks, to the Board. Mr. Home afterwards sent Lord Carrington the valuable paper that follows Mr. Du Gard's, in which he has suggested a mode of performing the operation, which would answer completely, could we be sure of having operators sufficiently skilful. We may the less regret the difficulty in getting new modes established, when we thus see the superiority of an old custom under very improbable circumstances; and if well-meant reformers wanted any additional motives to care and circumspection, a very forcible one is furnished in the instance of the time and trouble taken to introduce this operation, and which, as it has been hitherto practised, is the very reverse of what was intended.

*Observations and Experiments on Pitking Cattle.* By Thomas Du Gard.

"The subject of slaughtering cattle by puncturing the medulla spinalis, with a view of superseding the method generally practised in England, has lately engaged the attention of the Agricultural Board, and been strongly recommended by them.

"It is, I believe, universal in Portugal and other parts of the Continent, as well as in some of our West India islands, but is only of late introduction into this country.

"Pain and action are so generally joined, that we measure the degree of pain by the loudness of the cries, and violence of the consequent exertion; and therefore conclude, on seeing two animals killed, that the one which makes scarcely a struggle, though it may continue to breathe, suffers less than that which is more violently convulsed, and struggles till life is exhausted.

"It appears, however, that there may be acute pain without exertion, perhaps, as certainly as there is action without pain; even distortions that at the first glance would seem to proceed from pain, are not always really accompanied with sensation.

"To constitute pain, there must be a communication between the injured organ and the brain.

"The heart of a viper pulsates after being taken out of the body; and that pulsation is increased if it

is

the West India fleets that touch here, and sometimes remain several weeks either wind-bound or waiting for convoy. It exports more salted beef than any town in

is goaded with a pin. Limbs suddenly separated from the human body sometimes start and twitch for a few moments. The viper cannot be said to feel pain on its heart being pricked with a pin: nor would any man who saw his own finger contract from electricity, or heat, after it was cut off, fancy it suffered pain. The pain in both instances is in the part only from whence the separation took place.

" Perception, and the power of exertion, are derived from the brain in the skull, and back-bone: That part which lies in the skull seems principally to supply our senses and appetites with nervous energy; and that part which lies in the spine, and is called marrow, is more particularly appropriated to the action of the large loco-motive muscles.

" An injury to the skull, not sufficient immediately to take-away life, often leaves the patient with the power of moving his limbs, though without any feeling or perception, lying in a profound apoplectic sleep.

" On the contrary, an injury to the spine leaves the power of perception perfect, though the limbs are immoveable; but as life depends more on the functions of the brain, and of the lungs, than on the spinal marrow and its dependent loco-motive muscles, the animal feels and lives longer on its sustaining a given injury in the spinal marrow, than on a fracture or concussion of the head.\*

" J. B. fell in the Summer of 1801 from a load of hay; he was bled, and brought to the Infirmary at Shrewsbury, which being my residence, gave me hourly opportunities of examining him: *he complained of great pain in the upper and back part of his neck*, but of none lower down: he had not the power of using the least motion with any of his limbs. His arms, body, and legs, were all quite insensible to any pain, or feeling from pricking, or pinching, and therefore all sensation below the injured part of the spine was destroyed. In this state he languished a week, being apparently in full possession of the feelings and faculties of his mind, and of his senses of hearing, sight, smell, and taste. He took food for two or three days, though the power of retaining, or protruding his evacuations was lost. On examining the neck after death, the second cervical vertebra was found fractured.

" On reflecting on this case it occurred to me, that a *dumb* animal, if reduced to the state of this poor man, would not have the power of expressing the pain it endured, for J. B. had great pain *above* the injured part, though all power of moving, as well as feeling, was destroyed below; and in the brute creation, we

\* That perception may remain in the head, and respiration be continued after the division of the *medulla spinalis*, will be evident to any one who consults the anatomy of those parts.

In the human subject, the par vagum, or eighth pair of nerves, arises from the corpora olivaria of the *medulla oblongata*, and passes out of the cranium through the foramina lacera into the neck, thorax, and abdomen, sending off branches to the tongue, larynx, pharynx, lungs, and abdominal viscera.

Cuvier, in his *Leçons d'Anatomie comparée*, after stating the course of this nerve in the human subject, observes also,

" Dans les mammifères.

" Cette distribution du nerf vague étoit a peu près la même dans quatre ou cinq espèces de mammifères sur lesquels nous avons fait des recherches à cet égard. Les *vœux* seul nous a offert une particularité que nous avons indiquée à l'article du nerf facial; mais les anatomoses avec le grand sympathique, les nerf récurrents, les plexus cardiaque et pulmonaire ne nous ont présente de différence que dans le nombre des filets, ce que peut dépendre de l'adresse du prosecteur, des espèces que nous avons desséquées sont le *chien*, le *raton*, le *cochon*, le *porc-épic*."

I have examined the head and neck of a sheep killed by the puncture, and found the par vagum uninjured.

Ireland, and all the linens from the southern districts destined to a foreign market are shipped at this port. The case is the same with woollen goods, and the large

we judge of pain by the muscular efforts of the animal. I, therefore, by means of a dagger, punctured the spinal marrow of a cow according to the new method of slaughtering, and having divided it as much as possible after she fell, reduced her to the same state as the poor man whose case I have related. The animal breathed with freedom, and perception in the head continued, as was evinced by the eyelids closing on the approach of my hand, till the butcher struck a blow near the horns, when her breathing ceased, and the eye became fixed with immediate death.

"In all the experiments I have hitherto tried, the animal has suddenly dropped, and has been slightly convulsed, but has not died immediately. In sheep, after puncturing the medulla spinalis in the new way, I have seen their eyes close and open, on the approach and withdrawing of my hand, for twenty times successively, and the pupil as much contracted as in health, till I was anxious to terminate their misery by having the blood vessels of the throat divided. From the loss of blood their eyes have then soon become dilated and insensible.

"In the old method of slaughtering, a concussion of the brain takes place, and therefore the *power of feeling* is destroyed. The animal drops, and although convulsions take place generally longer and more violent, than when the spinal marrow is divided, yet there is, I think, reason to believe that the animal suffers less pain.

"The *immediate consequence* of the blow is the dilatation of the pupil eye, without any expression of consciousness or fear on the approach of the hand.

"In this state of insensibility, which in man would be called apoplexy, or extreme stupor, the blood is always drawn off by the butcher cutting the throat, and the animal dies without the least sign of feeling or uneasy faintness.

"In severe epilepsy the brain suffers a temporary suspension of power, in many respects very similar to the concussion of the brain from a blow, only that the convulsions and expressions of pain seem greater: yet the patients uniformly agree, that they do not recollect any pain; the reason is obvious, the disease is a suspension of the power of feeling.

"From all these circumstances, I conclude that the new method of slaughtering cattle is more painful than the old. The puncture of the medulla spinalis does not destroy feeling, though it renders the body, quiescent, and in this state the animal both endures pain at the punctured part, and suffers, as it were, a second death, from the pain and faintness from loss of blood in cutting the throat, which is practised in both methods."

*Copy of a Letter from Everard Home, Esq. to Lord Carrington.*

"My Lord,

"I had the honour of presenting to your Lordship, through Sir Joseph Banks, some experiments and observations made by a surgeon at Shrewsbury, to shew that the mode adopted in this country of killing animals by wounding the spinal marrow, is less humane than the more common one of knocking them down.

"I have, at your Lordship's request, repeated these experiments, and find the results agree with those of the author of the paper in every respect; but the want of success appears to arise entirely from the operation having been performed in a very imperfect manner.

"On Thursday the 15th of July, 1802, the following experiment was made at Mr. Giblet's, in Bond-street. A very fine ox was pithed, as it is termed, by Benjamin Bartholomew, who has performed this operation more than twenty different times, and is considered to be very expert in the mode of doing it. I begged that he would take some pains, so as to do it in the most effectual manner.

"The instrument he used, was in the shape of a bricklayer's trowel, made sharp at the point, and having a guard at the shoulder, to prevent the blade from being buried in the neck.

"He

distilleries established here send a great part of their spirits to England. Some inland trade is also carried on with the surrounding country, but the wretched state

" He plunged it, with great dexterity, into the canal containing the spinal marrow, and the animal instantly dropped, but the breathing continued, the motions of the eye and eye-lids were perfect, and the whole face lost no part of its animation.

" This being ascertained by observation for ten minutes, and the animal not being sufficiently quiet to admit of the throat being cut, it was knocked on the head, and every appearance of animation in the countenance immediately ceased, and the breathing stopped.

" The spinal marrow was afterwards examined; it was found completely divided, but too low in the neck, the wound having been made one inch and a half below the origin of the nerves that supply the diaphragm.

" That a division of this part of the spinal marrow does not deprive an animal of life, has been known to anatomists for many years; and the causes of its failure cannot be better explained, than by extracting an account of some experiments made by Mr. Cruikshank, in the year 1776, at which I was present, and gave my assistance. They are published in the 85th volume of the Philosophical Transactions.

" *Experiment VI. April 19, 1776.*—I divided the spinal marrow of a dog, between the last vertebra of the neck, and first of the back. The muscles of the trunk of the body, but particularly those of the hind legs, appeared instantly relaxed: the legs continued supple, like those of an animal killed by electricity. The heart, on performing the operation, ceased for a stroke or two, then went on slow and full, and in about a quarter of an hour after, the pulse was 160 in a minute. Respiration was performed by means of the diaphragm only, which acted very strongly for some hours. The operation was performed about a quarter of an hour before twelve at noon; about four in the afternoon, the pulse was 90 only in a minute, and the heat of the body exceedingly abated, the diaphragm acting strongly, but irregularly. About seven in the evening the pulse was not above 20 in a minute, the diaphragm acting strongly, but in repeated jerks. Between twelve at night and one in the morning the dog was still alive: respiration was very slow, but the diaphragm still acted with considerable force. Early in the morning he was found dead. This operation I performed from the suggestion of Mr. Hunter. He had observed in the human subject, that when the neck was broke at the lower part (in which cases the spinal marrow is torn through), the patient lived some days, breathing by the diaphragm. This experiment shewed that dividing the spinal marrow at this place, on the neck, if below the origin of the phrenic nerves, would not, for many hours after, destroy the animal; it was preparatory to the following experiment.

" *Experiment VII. April 26.*—I divided the par vagum, and intercostal nerves, on both sides, in a dog. Soon after, I performed on the same animal the operation of the last experiment, and the same symptoms took place. His respirations were five in a minute, and more regular than in Experiment III.; the pulse beat 80 in a minute. Five minutes after, I found the pulse 120 in a minute, respiration unaltered; at the end of ten minutes, the pulse had again sunk to 80 in a minute, respiration as before; at the end of fifteen minutes, the pulse was again 120, respiration not altered. The operation was performed about two in the afternoon, at Mr. Hunter's in Jermyn-street. At three quarters of an hour after five, the respirations were increased to fifteen in a minute: the pulse beating 60 in the same time, and very regularly; the breathing seemed so free, that he had the appearance of a dog asleep. At a quarter before eight, the pulse beat 80, respirations being ten in a minute. At three quarters of an hour after ten, respiration was eight in a minute, the pulse beating 60. The animal heat was exceedingly abated: I applied heat to the chest, he breathed stronger and raised his head a little, as if awaking from sleep. At half after twelve Mr. Hunter saw him; the breathing was strong, and twelve in a minute, the heart beating 48 in the same time, slow, but not feeble. He shut his eye-lids when they were touched; shut his mouth on its being opened; he raised his head a little, but as he had not the use of the muscles which fix the chest,

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of the great mass of the inhabitants renders its internal commerce less than might be expected from its population.

he did it with a jerk. Mr. Hunter saw him again between four and five o'clock in the morning; his respirations were then five in a minute, the heart beating exceedingly slow and weak. We suppose he died about six in the morning, having survived the operation sixteen hours. This experiment I made from the suggestion of Mr. Hunter, with a view to obviate the objections raised against the reasoning drawn from the three first experiments. It was urged, that though by these experiments I had deprived the thoracic and abdominal viscera of their ordinary connexion with the brain, yet as the intercostals communicated with all the spinal nerves, some influence might be derived from the brain in this way. This experiment removed also the spinal nerves, and consequently this objection.

"As I found by the two last experiments, that dividing the spinal marrow in the lower part of the neck, did not immediately kill, although instant death was universally known to be the consequence of dividing it in the upper part of the neck, I expressed my surprise to Mr. Hunter, that the spinal marrow should, according to modern theory, be so irritable in the one place, and so much less so in the other.

"He told me, that from the time he first observed that men who had the spinal marrow destroyed in the lower part of the neck, lived some days after it, he had established an opinion, that animals who had the spinal marrow wounded in the upper part of the neck, did not die from the mere wound, but that in dividing it so high, we destroyed all the nerves of the muscles of respiration, and reduced the animal to the state of one hanged; whereas, in dividing it lower, we still left the phrenic nerves, and allowed the animal to breathe by his diaphragm. If this opinion be well-founded, though dividing the spinal marrow in the lower part of the neck does not kill instantly, whilst the phrenic nerves are untouched; yet if I divide the phrenic nerves first, and then divide the spinal marrow in the lower part of the neck, the consequence, I said, will be the same as if I had divided it in the upper part.

"*Experiment VIII.*—By detaching the scapulae of a dog from the spine and partly from the ribs, I got at the axillary plexus of nerves on both sides from behind. I separated the arteries and veins from the nerves, and passed a ligature under the nerves, close to the spine. I thought I could discern the phrenic nerves, and instantly divided two considerable nerves going off from each plexus. The action of the diaphragm seemed to cease, and the abdominal muscles became fixed, as if they had been arrested in expiration, the belly appearing contracted. His respirations were now about twenty-five in a minute, the pulse beating a hundred and twenty. As I was not willing to trust the experiment to the possibility of having divided only one of the phrenics (which I afterwards found was really the case), and some different nerve instead of the other, after carefully attending to the present symptoms, I divided all the nerves of the axillary, of each side. The ribs were now more elevated in respiration than before; respirations were increased to forty in a minute, the pulse still beating a hundred and twenty in the same time. Finding that respiration went on very easily without the diaphragm, in about a quarter of an hour after dividing the axillary plexus of each side, I divided the spinal marrow, as in Experiment VI. The whole animal took the alarm; all the flexor muscles of the body seemed to contract, and instantly to relax again: he died as suddenly as if the spinal marrow had been divided in the upper part of the neck.

"Having explained the causes of failure in the present mode of pithing animals, it becomes necessary to state, that when the operation is properly performed, its success is complete. Of this I will mention the following instances:

"A small horse was killed in this manner, that a cast might be made of its muscles in their natural state of action. The animal was allowed to stand upon a pedestal, and the operation was performed by Mr. Hunter, with a large awl; the breathing ceased instantaneously, and the animal was so completely dead, as to be supported by the assistants, without making the slightest struggle, and was fixed in the position in which he stood, without ever coming to the ground.\*

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\* The cast of this horse has a place in the Hunterian Museum.

LIMERICK is placed in a most favourable situation, standing at a considerable distance from the mouth of the Shannon, a large and navigable river, in the centre of a rich and plentiful country, which yields abundance of corn, and in which hogs are reared and beef fattened, notwithstanding the slovenly habits of the people, and the miserable manner in which, on that account, agriculture and rural economy are conducted. A great export trade in provisions and corn is carried on. A market is found here for American produce; and it is the residence of many respectable merchants, whose extended commercial concerns, with their spirit and industry, contribute greatly to the increasing prosperity of the place. Yarn is also sent from hence, and coals are received in return.\*

Average Price and Quantities of Corn exported from this city, as returned to the Chamber of Commerce, since 1800, distinguishing each Year. Furnished by Mr. James Phelps:

From 29th Sept. in each year.	Season.	Wheat.	Prices per Boll.				Oats.	Prices per Boll.				Barley.	Prices per Boll.					
		Bolls.	s.	d.	s.	d.	Bolls.	s.	d.	s.	d.	Bolls.	s.	d.	s.	d.		
	1802—3	19,560	26	6	to	35	7	67,079	9	2	to	11	3	2,681	8	6	to	13
1803—4	42,490	23	0	to	34	6	121,461	10	0	to	13	0	3,921	12	0	to	6	8
1804—5	45,175	33	6	to	49	9	163,719	11	6	to	15	0	31,766	13	0	to	20	0
1805—6	53,117	31	8	to	45	3	163,362	11	0	to	14	0	26,754	13	0	to	19	6
1806—7	43,663	34	6	to	43	4	135,490	12	0	to	14	0	32,446	12	0	to	17	4
1807—8	42,425	34	0	to	45	6	166,121	12	6	to	21	0	22,727	16	0	to	21	0
1808—9	46,281	40	0	to	49	0	259,351	12	6	to	16	10	32,539	18	6	to	22	6
1809—10	43,506	37	0	to	45	0	214,113	13	0	to	16	10	40,718	18	6	to	24	0
1810—11	50,998	32	0	to	46	0	173,793	10	0	to	14	0	74,660	17	0	to	24	0

GALWAY has declined much of late years, in consequence, according to report, of the bad faith of its merchants, and want of punctuality in their payments. But however this may be, it is certain that it is a place of very little trade, although it enjoys an admirable situation, and almost every other advantage that could be desired.

"A dog was killed so instantaneously in the same way, by Mr. Hunter, that Mr. Clift, the conservator of the Hunterian museum, who held the legs, and did not see the awl introduced, was waiting till the animal should struggle, and had no knowledge of any thing having been done, till he was told to let go, and was surprised to find that the animal was completely dead.

"In these operations, the instrument was small, and directed by the skill of an anatomist upwards into the cavity of the skull, so as to divide the medullary substance above the origin of the nerves which supply the diaphragm.

"By adopting this method of performing the operation of pithing cattle, it will be attended with the same success."

\* Ferrar, in his History of Limerick, published in 1787, says, "the county and city of Limerick have thriven very much during the last century, and increased a seventh part in the number of houses within these twenty-five years." p. 418.

Some kelp is manufactured in the neighbourhood and exported; and the salmon and herring fisheries in the vicinity ought to give this place a higher rank in the scale of commercial towns than it seems to possess.

SLIGO is not sufficiently inland to derive all the benefit which might be expected from its situation; standing at a distance from deep water, vessels of considerable burden find it difficult of approach. Some trade, however, is carried on, and its chief exports are linens and butter. There are not above two or three merchants of property established in the town, but by a little industry and attention to the fisheries, it might become a place of considerable importance.

It is a general observation, applicable to all the ports in Ireland, that they export butter, and import coals from England, and timber from the Baltic.

At all the principal sea ports of Ireland there is "a Chamber of Commerce," as it is called, consisting of a certain number of experienced merchants who have formed themselves into an associated body for the protection and regulation of trade. A considerable fund is raised for its support by a rate imposed on several articles of export and import, and a committee of nine members, annually elected, are authorized to act in name of the whole, and transact all business relating to the institution.

Ireland might carry on a considerable trade with the West Indies, for which its situation is exceedingly favourable, as there is a demand in those islands for almost every production and manufacture of that country.

The principal articles which Ireland imports from America, are pearl and potash, flax seed, oil of turpentine, rice, tobacco, wood, staves, timber, and cotton wool.

The value of all the imports and exports between Ireland and the United States of America, during three years, ending the 5th of January 1807, 1808, and 1809, was as follows:

<i>Years.</i>	<i>Imports.</i>			<i>Exports.</i>		
	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
1807	345,856	7	3	193,644	12	2
1808	289,435	18	2	130,582	9	2
1809	63,959	16	10	9,440	4	4

Real Value and Quantity of Linen exported from Ireland into America, during Ten Years, ending 5th January, 1808 :

Years.	Quantity.	Real Value.		
		Yards.	£.	s. d.
1798	2,361,483	189,343	4	0
1799	1,376,382	106,818	16	1
1800	1,156,467	89,948	11	11
1801	2,519,575	248,762	2	6
1802	1,089,223	106,671	18	6
1803	1,873,423	184,180	18	6
1804	2,258,176	223,034	5	6
1805	2,221,606	209,404	6	2
1806	2,675,619	309,525	9	9
1807	1,657,446	191,413	3	6

Tobacco is an article of great consumption in Ireland, and large quantities have frequently been imported, not only from America, but from other countries. In 1783, besides that imported from America, the West Indies, England, and Scotland, a considerable quantity was imported from Jersey, Denmark, Norway, Flanders, Holland, and Sweden; the whole amounting to 3,459,861 pounds.\*

The chief article of exportation from Ireland to Portugal is butter, with which alone, in the year ending 25th March, 1783, she paid for all her imports from that country.† The principal articles besides are flannel and other woollen manufactures, together with linen, beef, pork, butter, some cheese, and salt fish.

The most common imports are salt, oranges and lemons, oil, potash, and cork. Lord Sheffield is of opinion that the trade of Ireland with Portugal is likely to increase, as in the great articles of beef, butter, and pork, she must stand unrivalled.‡

Before 1783, the Irish custom-house accounts do not separate the Irish trade to Portugal from that to Spain. This trade, however, does not seem to be of much importance, though, doubtless, it might be considerably extended.

The principal article imported by Ireland from France was wine, and the prevailing export to that country was beef.

From Ireland, the standard exports to Holland and Flanders seem to have been butter and beef; the chief imports, linseed oil and geneva:§ the principal exports to the Baltic, butter and linen; the imports, hemp, iron, potash, deals, and,

\* Lord Sheffield's Observations on the Manufactures and Trade of Ireland, p. 321.

† Ibid. p. 324.

‡ Ibid. p. 328.

§ Ibid. p. 337, 338.

¶ Ibid. p. 335.

to the great shame of Irish industry, a considerable quantity of herrings. In the year 1776, the supply of the last article imported was not less than 24,339 barrels.\*

The articles which Ireland principally sends to Scotland, besides linen and linen yarn, are beef, bullocks and cows, butter, barley, oats and oatmeal, horses, untanned hides, pork, and tallow.

The imports in return, are coals, wheat, dried fish, horses, haberdashery, iron, kenting and lawns, cotton and silk manufactures, millinery, rum, stockings, tobacco, and upholstery ware. But in these interchanges between the countries, black cattle and horses, exported from Ireland, are the most interesting. Formerly, this branch of trade was prohibited for the encouragement of the breed in Britain; but, by the 5th Geo. III. cap. x. sect. 1., the free exportation was permitted for seven years, and afterwards continued by temporary acts, till it was, at last, made perpetual by 16th Geo. III. cap. viii. On the first removal of the prohibition, there was a small annual exportation; but it was not carried to any great extent until 1784, when it suddenly increased, though no cause has ever yet been assigned for this circumstance. Between the 5th of January in that year, and the 5th of January 1785, there were exported 18,301 black cattle, and 1,233 horses. The exportation at Portpatrick, for five years, from the 10th of October 1785, to the 10th of October 1790, varied in the following manner:

	Black Cattle.	Horses.
From the 10th of October 1785,		
to ditto, - - - - 1786 } - - -	10,452 - - -	1,256
- - - - - 1787 - - -	7,007 - - -	1,623
- - - - - 1788 - - -	9,488 - - -	2,777
- - - - - 1789 - - -	13,321 - - -	2,212
- - - - - 1790 - - -	14,873 - - -	2,402
	55,141 - - -	10,270
Total in five years - -		

This, on an average, is about 11,000 head of cattle, and 2,000 horses, per annum.

Besides the cattle exported to Portpatrick, considerable numbers are sent from Belfast, Bangor, Newry, &c. direct to England. The English coal vessels always take back cattle from Ireland when they can procure them; but it is believed that the largest export is to Portpatrick. The extent of sea by any other passage, especially in the winter season, is a considerable impediment to the safe and successful transportation of a cargo liable to so many accidents.†

The author of the statistical account of Kilwinning parish, in the county of Ayr, says: "there are several looms there, employed in weaving lawns and linen gauzes

\* Lord Sheffield's Observations, p. 339.

† Sir John Sinclair's Stat. Account of Scotland, vol. i. p. 43, 44.

for the Irish market ;” but he complains, that the Irish duties on Scotch muslins, and every other kind of Scotch goods, in which there was so much as a thread of cotton, were so high, that they amounted to a total prohibition. This gave the greatest encouragement to smuggling, and had induced some very considerable cotton manufacturers to leave Glasgow and its neighbourhood, and settle in Ireland. He says, it is the opinion that no less than £100,000. worth of Scotch muslins, and other Scotch cotton goods, would be sold annually in the Irish market, were it not for these excessively high duties ; and he suggests, whether it would not be proper to lay a proportional duty on all Irish linens brought into Scotland.\*

The imports of Ireland may be considered as almost wholly intended for her own consumption, either as materials for manufacture, or for the immediate use of the people, since the quantity of goods purchased for the purpose of re-exportation, although increased of late, has never borne any large proportion to the whole amount.

The following tables will afford some idea of the state of the Irish trade, since the year 1777, between which, and 1811, a considerable increase seems to have taken place.

The Official Value of the Imports of Ireland.

Year.	From Great Britain.	British Colonies.	All other Countries.	Total.
On an average of three years ending 25th of March.	1777. £. 1,949,420	£.161,058	£. 651,820	£. 2,762,298
	1783. 2,334,900	76,183	631,938	3,043,021
	1793. 2,753,969	242,995	1,168,020	4,164,985
	1800. 3,737,859	146,069	783,855	4,657,784
	5th January 1811. 5,464,951	658,071	932,192	7,055,214

The Official Value of the Exports of Ireland for the same periods.

Year.	To Great Britain.		British Colonies.		All other Countries.	
	Irish Produce.	Foreign Goods.	Irish Produce.	Foreign Goods.	Irish Produce.	Foreign Goods.
Year ending 25th March 1777.	£. 249,369	£. 4,086	£.266,530	£. 21,098	£.396,281	£. 5,608
1783.	2,292,444	8,337	310,024	5,774	452,212	8,764
1793.	4,024,815	14,766	340,678	30,467	694,546	20,711
1800.	3,712,644	65,876	252,489	13,240	260,123	46,378
5th January 1811.	4,868,930	290,944	275,074	183,483	381,386	15,721

\* Ibid. vol. xi. p. 161---163.

Year.	Total to Great Britain.	Total to British Colonies.	Total to other Countries.	Total Irish Produce.	Total Foreign Goods.	General Total of Exports.
Year ending 25th March 1777.	£. 2,494,455	£. 287,628	£. 401,889	£. 3,153,181	£. 30,791	£. 3,183,972
1783.	2,300,671	315,798	460,976	3,054,680	22,766	3,077,446
1793.	4,039,581	371,145	715,259	5,060,040	65,944	5,125,984
1800.	5,778,520	265,629	306,491	4,225,254	125,386	4,350,640
5th January 1811.	5,159,884	304,954	458,557	5,523,606	397,507	5,921,113

From the foregoing there appears to be a considerable increase; but that of the real values of Irish produce and manufacture were much greater. On an average of three years ending 25th of March 1800, the earliest period in which the real values have been computed, the Irish produce exported was £.6,435,049.

On a like average ending 5th of January 1811, £.11,607,610.

An Account of the real value of the Exports of the growth, produce, and manufacture of Ireland, for the three years ending 5th of January 1808, and of the Imports of all articles, being the growth, produce, and manufacture of foreign countries into Ireland, during the same period:

Years ending 5th January.	Exports.			Imports.		
	Real Value.			Real Value.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1806 - - -	8,435,819	16	5	4,065,710	5	4½
1807 - - -	9,314,854	17	7	3,843,777	13	5½
1808 - - -	10,110,385	3	6½	4,643,923	18	10

The chief materials for manufacture imported into Ireland, seem to have been ashes, including barilla, tanners' bark, hops, salt, sheeps' wool, cotton wool, yarn, and unwrought iron. The respective quantities of these articles imported, on an average of three years ending 25th of March, were as follows:

Year.	Ashes.	Bark.	Hops.	Wool.		Cotton Wool.	Worsted Yarn.	Cotton Yarn.
				Spanish	Other.			
	Cwt.	Barrels.	Cwt.	Cwt.	Cwt.	Cwt.	lbs.	lbs.
Year ending 25th March 1777.	72,996	184,711	14,876	301	-	3,890	657	883
1783.	81,027	75,438	19,052	684	-	3,286	841	5,405
1793.	133,721	137,097	15,285	391	17	15,128	1,860	276,302
1800.	110,599	117,049	15,578	407	½	11,216	1,880	558,396
5th January 1811.	146,216	124,339	26,938	254	6,550	41,846	465,057	972,036

Year.	Foreign Salt.	White Salt.	Rock Salt.	Unwrought Iron.
Year ending	Bushels.	Bushels.	Tons.	Cwt.
25th March 1777.	351,303	369,882	15,429	152,978
1783.	397,224	532,781	16,404	174,915
1793.	235,770	269,068	19,062	224,306
1800.	196,069	299,183	14,067	207,382
5th January 1811.	552,183	281,733	25,938	289,037

In the articles imported for general use, a distinction is to be made between those of food, or of fuel, and those which are used in clothing, furniture, or other domestic purposes: although an increase of either of these classes may be considered as indicating a corresponding increase of property, yet the progress of the latter class, excepting so far as the internal production, or manufacture of the like articles may have decreased in Ireland, distinctly shews an improvement in the habits of the people, and a more general diffusion of the comforts of life. In the first class are to be placed, sugar, spirits, tea, tobacco, wine, and coals, which, although necessary to a certain extent in Irish manufactures, are imported chiefly for personal accommodation. The most important articles in the second class are blankets, carpeting, drapery, haberdashery, hats, stockings, and watches.

In the following tables of the quantities imported, the quantity re-exported, if any, has been deducted, in order to give a more distinct view of the actual consumption.

Articles of the First Class.

Year.	Loaf Sugar.	Raw Sugar.	Brandy.	Geneva.	Rum.
Average of three years ending	Cwt.	Cwt.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.
25th March } 1777.	10,800	212,620	413,278	137,199	1,594,716
1783.	12,088	140,662	352,891	75,587	290,465
1793.	6,224	184,408	140,003	83,888	692,277
1800.	8,393	217,122	9,310	2,358	185,102
5th January 1811.	24,906	280,299	69,351	58,579	792,770

Year.	Tea of all Sorts.	Tobacco.	Wine of all Sorts.	Coals.
Average of three years ending	lbs.	lbs.	Tons.	Tons.
25th March } 1777.	808,748	4,409,761	5,106	330,753
1783.	1,703,855	4,261,689	4,223	227,557
1793.	1,858,791	2,935,559	5,897	354,393
1800.	2,773,070	7,386,282	6,232	364,613
5th January 1811.	3,340,334	8,364,147	5,644*	516,573

\* Or omitting the last year, in which a heavy duty was imposed, and taking the average of the two preceding years, 6,804.

## Articles of the Second Class.

Year.	Blankets.	Carpets and Carpeting.	Watches and Movements.
Average of three years ending } 1793.	Number. 1,457	Yards. 56,062	Value. £. 5,829
25th March } 1800.	14,455	58,610	3,181
5th January 1811.	73,826	187,998	30,338

Year.	New Drapery.	Old Drapery.	Haberdashery.	Hats.	Cotton Stockings.	Hard Ware.
Average of three years ending } 1777.	Yards. 624,638	Yards. 317,641	Value. 10,509	Number. 1,337	Pair. 13,948	Value. £. 45,238
25th March } 1783.	466,985	353,759	14,618	2,012	20,540	58,821
1793.	468,510	792,854	26,958	6,703	246,780	88,781
1800.	728,786	1,446,631	21,465	17,752	302,666	71,438
5th January 1811.	1,346,593	1,578,090	48,067	89,899	443,704	238,925

The increase of the last-mentioned articles affords a very satisfactory proof of the growing prosperity of Ireland, and at the same time shews, in a very striking manner, the importance of the Irish market to the industry of Great Britain.

The exports of Ireland are naturally divided into two great classes, the produce of the soil, and the produce of industry. The first comprehends the various productions of grain and provisions; the second, linen and woollen goods, together with spirits; the only objects of commerce resulting from Irish industry of which a considerable export has yet taken place.

## Articles belonging to the First Class.

Year.	Barley.	Oats.	Wheat.	Bullocks.	Sheep.	Hogs.
Average of three years ending } 1777.	Barrels. 22,406	Barrels. 145,790	Barrels. 22,702	Number. 5,915	Number. -	Number. 1,062
25th March } 1783.	19,579	106,521	60,907	954	-	229
1793.	23,181	642,514	122,112	25,434	-	5,901
1800.	32,444	436,892	38,065	14,178	697	4,086
5th January 1811.	60,604	992,377	136,443	25,880	12,426	16,007

Articles prepared from Grain and Cattle.

Year.	Flour.	Oatmeal.	Bacon.	Beef.	Pork.
Average of three } years ending } 25th March }	Cwt.	Cwt.	Fitches.	Barrels.	Barrels.
	1777. 18,757	57,281	22,869	188,238	65,337
	1783. 85,284	23,189	2,249	186,033	101,196
	1798. 35,683	121,578	63,975	119,352	98,767
	1800. 7,971	66,583	81,592	137,260	140,816
5th January 1811.	37,763	73,332	298,590	114,579	138,659

Year.	Butter.	Lard.	Hides Tanned.	Hides Untanned.	Sheeps' Wool.
Average of three } years ending } 25th March }	Cwt.	Cwt.	Number.	Number.	Stones.
	1777. 266,910	3,621	40,373	69,542	1,600
	1783. 249,251	4,668	5,875	70,410	2,044
	1793. 310,569	4,396	1,580	63,982	2,443
	1800. 280,649	5,866	52	59,985	150
5th January 1811.	374,547	14,919	{ 3,493 } { 132,303 }	49,879	2,463

Articles belonging to the Second Class.

Year.	Plain Linen.	Coloured Linen.	Linen Yarn.	Linen & Cotton.
Average of three } years ending } 25th March }	Yards.	Yards.	Cwt.	Value.
	1777. 20,140,770	-	-	-
	1783. 18,652,424	117,281	-	-
	1793. 42,870,810	116,200	20,277	£. 13,651
	1800. 35,880,122	219,923	16,460	10,277
5th January 1811.	39,271,070	78,164	15,047	45,818

Year.	New Drapery.	Old Drapery.	Worsted Yarn	Spirits.
Average of three } years ending } 25th March }	Yards.	Yards.	stones of 14lbs.	Gallons.
	1777. -	-	93,375	82
	1783. 387,175	16,320	77,451	2,201
	1798. 281,737	17,747	50,445	242
	1800. 62,517	2,063	7,788	3,357
5th January 1811.	6,840	1,531	3,391	242,014

It is to be observed, that the difficulties which have arisen in settling the drawbacks between Great Britain and Ireland, in the spirit trade, under the Act of Union, and the prohibitions of trade thence occasioned, have materially contributed to check the export of spirits from Ireland in the last three years. On an average of three years ending 5th of January 1806, it amounted to 1,057,305 gallons.

That the reader may be enabled to form a comprehensive view of the Irish trade, I shall give a general table of the Imports and Exports from the years 1777 to 1811.

AN ACCOUNT of the IMPORTS of IRELAND from the 25th of March 1771 to the Rates thereof respectively; with

Years ending the 25th March.	ASHES, Barilla, Pearl and Pot, rated at 1l. 5s. per Cwt.		BARK, rated at 7s. per Barrel.		BLANKETS, rated at 10s. each.		CARPETS, rated at 3s. 6d. per Yard.		CARPETING, rated at 2s. per Yard.	
	Quantity. Cwt.	Value. £.	Quantity. Barrels.	Value. £.	Quantity. Number.	Value. £.	Quantity. Yards.	Value. £.	Quantity. Yards.	Value. £.
1772 -	56,854	71,068	68,138	23,848						
1773 -	62,729	78,411	75,290	26,351						
1774 -	34,769	43,461	76,403	26,741						
1775 -	66,749	83,412	55,300	19,355						
1776 -	74,000	92,500	58,120	20,342						
1777 -	78,260	97,826	71,291	24,951						
1778 -	69,792	87,240	95,018	33,256						
1779 -	45,076	56,345	65,789	23,026						
1780 -	66,113	82,641	61,557	21,544						
1781 -	69,684	87,105	63,133	22,096						
1782 -	42,506	53,133	73,229	25,840						
1783 -	130,893	163,616	90,836	31,792						
1784 -	51,782	64,728	74,531	26,085						
1785 -	82,318	102,897	83,965	29,387						
1786 -	116,636	145,795	102,766	35,968						
1787 -	95,878	119,098	109,108	38,187						
1788 -	86,851	108,539	115,418	40,396						
1789 -	118,006	148,257	92,982	32,543						
1790 -	144,302	180,415	106,642	37,324						
1791 -	156,434	195,543	95,652	33,478						
1792 -	150,975	188,718	150,440	52,654						
1793 -	92,756	117,195	165,200	37,820						
1794 -	88,222	110,278	116,337	40,717	1,099	549	11,251	1,969	34,654	3,465
1795 -	82,709	110,887	126,058	44,120	1,177	588	12,710	2,224	50,569	5,056
1796 -	167,654	209,567	160,901	56,315	2,096	1,048	12,717	2,225	46,287	4,628
1797 -	106,549	113,187	145,708	50,997	5,766	2,883	12,828	2,244	52,499	5,249
1798 -	54,974	68,717	85,027	29,759	8,393	4,196	7,625	1,334	25,018	2,501
1799 -	117,245	146,544	91,721	32,102	20,686	10,343	9,990	1,748	46,391	4,639
1800 -	159,580	199,476	174,401	61,040	14,286	7,143	16,133	2,823	70,674	7,067
1801 -	92,709	117,136	141,005	49,352	3,438	1,719	11,807	2,066	45,765	4,576
1802 -	75,913	94,892	124,865	43,703	19,603	9,801	22,336	3,908	106,575	10,657
1803 -	102,588	128,236	110,321	38,612	27,513	13,756	21,692	3,796	119,119	11,911
1804 -	111,387	139,232	112,681	39,438	60,315	30,157	11,063	1,939	114,322	11,432
1805 -	121,575	151,968	130,129	45,548	67,081	33,540	5,169	904	97,376	9,737
1806 -	122,413	153,014	168,400	58,940	26,214	13,107	7,381	1,291	121,648	12,164
1807 -	106,735	133,418	179,266	62,743	45,829	22,914	12,311	2,329	154,886	15,488
1808 -	93,757	117,194	166,651	58,322	50,492	25,246	18,129	3,172	162,813	16,281
1809 -	107,222	134,101	134,041	46,914	100,704	50,352	14,190	2,483	173,733	17,373
1810 -	214,294	267,865	121,294	42,453	66,708	33,354	6,301	1,102	138,614	13,861
1811 -	117,068	146,336	117,682	41,189	54,067	27,033	2,316	1,455	222,242	22,242

The head of Blankets was not kept until 1794; previous to the said year they were placed to Upholstery.

The head of Carpets was not distinguished until 1794, but placed to Upholstery.

The head of Carpeting was not distinguished until 1794, but placed to Upholstery.

COMMERCE.—IMPORTS.

5th January 1811; distinguishing the principal Articles, and the quantities, official Values, and the total value in each Year.

COALS, rated at 14s. per ton to 1781, and 15s. afterwards.		CORRONS, Plain and Coloured.*		DRAPERY, New, rated at 2s. 6d. per Yard. Old, rated at 14s. per Yard.				EARTHEN WARE.	FISH Herrings, rated at 1l. per Barrel.	FLAXSEED rated at 1l. 10s. per Hhd. to 1775; at 2l. to 1775; at 2l. 10s. to 1779; and at 3l. afterwards.
Quantity. Tons.	Value. £.	Value. £.	Quantity. Yards.	Value. £.	Quantity. Yards.	Value. £.	Value. £.	Quantity. Barrels.	Value. £.	Quantity. Hhds.
211,438	148,006	21,474	314,703	39,237	153,566	107,496	11,331	44,689	44,689	24,231
186,057	130,340	29,378	387,143	48,392	210,065	147,045	12,996	54,010	54,010	39,750
189,237	132,465	31,856	461,407	57,675	282,317	197,621	12,375	62,134	62,134	25,375
203,430	142,401	36,663	465,611	58,201	381,379	196,965	9,945	46,792	46,792	40,218
217,938	152,557	43,311	676,485	84,560	290,215	203,150	13,182	43,821	43,821	24,077
240,893	168,625	61,533	731,819	91,477	381,330	266,931	16,159	76,378	76,378	32,613
237,101	165,970	73,446	741,426	92,678	378,077	264,653	17,125	30,919	30,919	37,211
219,992	153,994	42,357	270,839	33,854	176,196	123,337	13,777	23,523	23,523	20,419
211,370	148,099	24,554	759,428	19,928	64,346	45,042	11,401	20,049	20,049	19,567
233,402	156,381	96,391	433,192	54,149	326,578	228,604	14,508	21,116	21,116	23,640
217,901	163,425	118,546	547,342	68,417	362,830	253,921	17,445	3,618	3,618	23,811
241,369	181,027	133,059	420,418	52,551	371,871	260,310	20,251	4,324	4,324	24,617
259,097	194,323	113,769	323,217	40,202	351,848	246,293	15,624	13,261	13,261	45,518
304,424	228,318	70,756	140,620	17,577	315,097	109,740	18,017	22,512	22,512	34,477
295,434	221,575	111,147	251,395	31,424	315,097	220,567	17,085	2,385	2,385	42,290
274,477	205,858	96,172	380,708	47,588	488,452	341,916	21,262	6,235	6,235	50,512
334,975	251,231	97,368	560,748	70,093	650,717	455,501	21,795	17,474	17,474	51,764
333,740	250,305	82,075	518,150	64,768	647,628	453,338	23,073	12,088	12,088	51,252
251,994	264,295	85,459	504,551	63,068	653,899	457,749	23,514	4,402	4,402	42,588
338,496	253,872	89,596	562,282	70,285	755,061	528,542	25,535	52,121	52,121	41,427
376,230	283,672	96,482	471,227	58,903	808,363	565,854	29,348	52,028	52,028	51,578
346,461	259,846	124,011	372,024	46,503	815,140	570,598	26,337	50,628	50,628	59,079
392,932	294,714	57,472	229,943	28,742	421,227	294,858	20,574	56,671	56,671	37,678
365,483	274,112	101,999	411,219	51,402	734,213	513,949	21,903	51,793	51,793	46,924
355,999	266,999	145,761	539,538	67,442	1,121,539	785,077	29,435	92,085	92,085	25,052
394,883	296,162	131,868	483,966	60,495	1,175,339	822,737	37,333	93,989	93,989	42,796
361,645	271,233	65,126	253,947	31,744	836,073	583,231	19,789	96,431	96,431	36,009
359,940	269,430	176,991	667,417	83,427	1,269,857	888,899	22,614	106,172	106,172	40,387
372,955	279,716	242,993	1,264,994	158,124	2,233,975	1,563,782	36,260	122,430	122,430	64,547
346,881	260,160	118,028	967,225	120,903	911,023	637,757	30,921	44,180	44,180	23,925
315,345	236,508	121,555	887,966	110,995	1,078,381	754,866	41,783	70,492	70,492	53,855
346,105	259,578	223,946	929,325	116,165	1,470,466	1,029,326	52,168	79,610	79,610	25,269
417,030	312,772	143,228	571,674	71,459	1,190,143	833,100	54,182	43,581	43,581	50,261
436,721	329,040	145,301	857,731	107,216	1,351,209	945,846	53,659	21,025	21,025	51,941
412,515	309,386	165,817	842,931	103,366	1,517,561	1,062,292	55,497	12,656	12,656	33,443
476,148	357,111	113,846	659,319	82,414	1,473,094	1,031,165	60,165	22,342	22,342	72,601
491,239	368,449	116,837	917,055	114,631	1,545,543	1,081,880	77,887	42,097	42,097	46,374
583,516	437,637	228,579	1,399,153	174,894	1,678,945	1,175,261	90,423	33,531	33,531	21,785
402,040	301,530	192,772	1,484,938	185,619	1,796,986	1,237,890	87,841	37,733	37,733	37,585
564,163	423,122	130,222	1,155,667	144,458	1,258,131	880,691	81,216	56,596	56,596	68,175

\* Such Articles as have not a rate of value annexed to them are entered inwards upon value.

AN ACCOUNT of the IMPORTS of IRELAND, from

Years ending the 25th March.	GROCERIES.										
	FLAXSEED, rated at 1l. 10s. per Hhd. to 1775; at 2l. to 1775; at 2l. 10s. to 1779; and at 3l. afterwards.		FLAX, Undrest, rated at 1l. 15s. per Cwt.		SUGAR—Loaf, rated at 4l. per Cwt. to 1778; at 5l. to 1781; and at 6l. afterwards.		SUGAR, Muscovado, rated at 1l. 6s. 8d. per Cwt. to 1773; at 1l. 10s. to 1778; at 2l. 1781; and at 2l. 5s. afterwards.		TEA—Black, rated at 1s. 6d. per lb. to 1773; and at 2s. afterwards.		TEA, Green, rated at 6s. per lb.
	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	
1772	£. 36,346	Cwt. 6,054	£. 10,595	Cwt. 7,782	£. 31,129	Cwt. 188,960	£. 251,014	Lbs. 468,230	£. 35,724	Lbs. 297,432	
1773	59,626	10,551	18,464	10,664	42,657	201,109	268,146	548,855	41,164	290,363	
1774	50,751	8,677	15,186	9,080	36,320	171,347	257,021	812,353	81,235	395,409	
1775	80,437	10,153	17,769	7,566	30,267	205,858	308,787	695,309	69,530	346,208	
1776	60,194	5,895	9,266	8,907	35,629	288,746	358,119	308,558	30,855	371,968	
1777	81,532	18,212	31,871	15,928	63,713	193,258	289,888	359,475	35,947	344,726	
1778	98,029	8,246	14,431	12,365	49,461	139,816	209,725	336,470	33,647	479,115	
1779	51,047	2,915	5,102	5,931	29,658	145,340	291,080	402,594	40,259	375,269	
1780	58,701	79,90	13,984	7,064	35,323	139,475	278,950	501,227	50,122	383,621	
1781	70,922	10,379	18,164	15,397	76,986	137,440	274,881	1,224,506	122,450	517,127	
1782	76,833	4,898	8,872	10,996	65,976	151,436	340,731	887,767	88,776	433,248	
1783	73,851	3,660	6,440	9,871	59,226	133,110	299,498	1,478,080	147,808	570,838	
1784	136,554	7,896	13,819	10,164	60,988	187,583	422,061	1,128,890	122,829	564,763	
1785	108,431	4,294	7,516	4,638	27,828	182,595	410,839	1,010,836	101,083	540,592	
1786	196,872	17,198	30,098	7,453	44,723	220,818	496,841	918,981	91,898	716,235	
1787	151,536	16,771	29,350	70,67	42,403	150,075	337,669	1,035,432	103,543	830,808	
1788	155,291	9,747	17,068	16,793	100,761	231,386	500,618	1,004,554	100,455	675,771	
1789	158,756	8,833	15,464	4,772	28,635	188,516	424,163	944,744	94,474	601,156	
1790	127,764	6,112	10,697	8,156	48,937	177,862	400,189	1,820,591	132,059	650,307	
1791	124,283	4,258	7,451	7,663	42,379	199,966	449,924	1,101,096	110,109	635,700	
1792	154,735	12,614	22,075	9,708	58,248	197,660	444,735	1,521,135	152,113	437,846	
1793	177,236	12,560	23,730	1,903	11,418	158,005	355,512	1,389,844	138,984	454,754	
1794	113,034	7,865	13,764	3,322	19,933	190,722	429,125	1,772,648	177,264	381,269	
1795	140,773	15,160	26,530	3,467	20,804	203,736	458,406	1,620,954	162,095	420,336	
1796	75,156	16,769	29,346	2,398	14,389	223,891	503,755	2,418,918	241,891	551,783	
1797	128,388	23,806	41,662	1,164	6,985	180,674	406,517	2,025,753	202,573	300,553	
1798	108,027	3,585	6,169	9,621	57,765	214,845	483,402	2,372,103	237,210	120,151	
1799	121,161	7,385	12,748	2,373	14,241	224,788	505,774	2,856,011	285,601	97,229	
1800	193,641	22,376	39,158	13,187	79,126	241,177	542,649	2,734,037	273,403	139,680	
1801	71,775	9,523	16,664	4,421	26,529	286,471	644,560	2,047,817	204,781	78,036	
1802	161,565	5,661	9,906	4,104	24,625	296,070	666,159	3,347,127	334,712	452,674	
1803	75,807	11,687	20,452	15,578	93,469	366,093	823,715	3,378,509	337,850	198,266	
1804	150,792	2,317	4,054	12,301	73,809	265,075	596,418	3,084,828	308,482	155,109	
1805	155,823	2,781	4,867	14,196	85,180	285,578	642,550	3,194,526	319,452	142,596	
1806	100,330	8,414	14,728	23,084	138,508	253,090	569,454	3,130,724	313,072	136,988	
1807	217,203	8,389	14,681	18,533	111,322	240,332	541,198	2,526,852	252,685	84,606	
1808	138,822	7,054	12,344	35,409	200,454	324,477	730,073	3,424,919	342,491	130,210	
1809	65,353	1,233	2,192	34,042	204,253	411,168	925,128	3,614,270	361,427	92,501	
1810	112,606	15,067	26,368	17,225	103,352	369,048	830,359	3,324,246	332,424	67,417	
1811	204,525	28,663	50,160	23,450	140,702	251,491	565,856	2,866,648	286,664	55,920	

COMMERCE.—IMPORTS.

the 25th of March 1771 to 5th January 1811—continued.

GROCERIES		HATS,		HEMP,		HIDES,		HIDES,		HOPS,	
TEA, Green, rated at 6s. per lb.	HABER- DASHRY, small Parcels.	rated at 15s. each.		Undrest, rated at 15s. 6d. per Cwt.		Tanned, rated at 2l. each.		Untanned, rated at 8s. each to 1778; at 10s. to 1791; afterwards, 1l. 6s. 8d. each.		rated at 5l. per Cwt.	
Value. £.	Value. £.	Quantity. Number	Value. £.	Quantity. Cwt.	Value. £.	Quantity. Number.	Value. £.	Quantity. Number.	Value. £.	Quantity. Cwt.	
82,029	7,662	925	693	13,685	10,606	-	-	315	126	7,168	
87,108	8,941	363	271	9,670	7,494	-	-	276	110	14,680	
118,632	8,832	1,073	804	22,361	17,330	-	-	340	136	7,437	
103,862	9,956	1,139	854	14,264	11,054	-	-	343	137	16,869	
111,590	14,172	1,002	751	13,602	10,541	-	-	918	367	9,694	
103,417	15,317	1,872	1,404	19,419	15,050	-	-	18,612	7,444	18,067	
243,734	15,552	888	666	11,082	8,589	-	-	13,183	5,441	10,974	
112,580	11,183	646	484	9,775	7,575	-	-	25,59	1,479	18,191	
115,086	7,700	422	316	19,058	14,770	-	-	2,080	1,010	15,687	
255,138	16,231	715	536	17,492	13,556	-	-	641	320	19,686	
129,974	16,303	1,330	997	20,800	16,120	-	-	468	204	26,056	
171,251	14,176	3,991	2,995	7,222	5,597	-	-	2,197	1,098	11,253	
169,228	16,458	3,863	2,897	15,637	12,111	-	-	637	328	12,487	
162,117	13,424	4,168	3,126	22,037	17,079	-	-	576	288	9,446	
214,817	15,288	3,036	2,277	21,909	16,979	-	-	158	79	14,101	
249,242	12,205	5,005	3,753	13,486	10,453	-	-	-	-	14,618	
202,731	14,732	8,525	6,393	25,786	19,984	-	-	1,948	979	10,586	
280,346	18,906	9,820	7,365	36,351	28,312	-	-	1,871	935	12,253	
195,092	18,393	7,846	5,884	16,934	13,124	-	-	-	-	15,245	
197,010	18,961	8,492	6,369	21,234	16,921	883	1,766	824	412	14,203	
142,153	26,350	6,592	4,944	37,483	29,050	9,956	19,912	1,164	1,552	14,632	
236,426	34,564	5,027	3,770	31,604	24,493	4,876	9,752	10,901	14,534	17,022	
114,380	10,907	5,688	2,766	20,029	15,523	8,551	17,102	2,552	3,402	7,710	
126,100	15,074	5,633	4,239	30,103	23,330	5,871	11,742	2,220	2,960	18,340	
165,534	13,371	9,752	7,314	18,954	14,689	7,606	15,212	2,261	3,014	18,175	
90,165	14,037	11,667	8,750	30,110	24,110	6,859	13,718	2,794	3,605	12,606	
36,045	12,060	7,956	5,967	9,410	7,293	7,510	15,020	2,931	3,908	25,054	
29,168	17,739	12,859	9,644	21,229	16,452	5,098	10,196	35,326	47,101	11,693	
41,904	34,656	32,381	24,285	22,349	17,322	17,965	35,930	17,038	22,717	9,988	
23,410	36,405	11,768	8,826	26,547	20,574	12,287	24,574	23,070	37,426	6,892	
45,202	54,648	25,339	19,004	8,269	6,408	6,719	13,438	1,226	2,514	15,963	
59,479	76,305	48,362	36,271	28,712	22,252	6,947	13,894	6,193	8,237	26,010	
46,532	72,850	50,060	37,545	33,530	25,985	7,593	15,186	8,825	11,766	18,460	
42,778	80,642	49,672	37,254	14,325	11,101	8,684	17,368	16,130	21,306	30,982	
41,096	86,553	70,726	53,044	25,613	19,850	9,800	19,600	12,157	16,209	23,749	
25,381	87,165	91,299	68,474	22,014	17,060	17,042	34,084	24,050	32,066	15,682	
39,063	93,361	117,146	87,859	25,243	19,567	20,237	41,674	5,945	7,926	27,344	
27,750	109,310	110,488	82,866	6,019	4,664	19,501	39,002	3,072	2,762	28,841	
20,225	137,686	85,631	64,223	17,285	13,395	15,143	20,286	7,730	10,306	33,700	
16,776	107,365	73,579	55,124	30,290	23,474	13,771	27,542	30,545	40,726	18,275	

## COMMERCE.—IMPORTS.

## AN ACCOUNT of the IMPORTS of IRELAND, from

Years ending the 25th March	HOPS, rated at 5 <i>l.</i> per Cwt.	IRON, Unwrought, rated at 16 <i>s.</i> per Cwt.		IRON and HARDWARE.	SALT,						SILK, Organsine and Raw.	
		Value. <i>£.</i>	Quantity. Cwt.		Value. <i>£.</i>	FOREIGN, rated at 1 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> per Bushel to 1781; and 1 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> afterwards.		Rock, rated at 10 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> per Ton.		WHITE, rated at 1 <i>s.</i> 2 <i>d.</i> per Bushel to 1776; at 1 <i>s.</i> 3 <i>d.</i> to 1781; and at 1 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> afterwards.		
						Quantity. Bushels.	Value. <i>£.</i>	Quantity. Tons.	Value. <i>£.</i>	Quantity. Bushels.		Value. <i>£.</i>
1772	35,844	109,478	87,583	20,913	317,434	21,162	13,334	7,000	321,539	18,756	85,645	
1773	73,401	126,376	101,101	23,566	271,168	18,077	14,220	7,465	345,026	20,126	117,093	
1774	37,185	178,731	142,985	25,607	264,223	17,614	15,884	8,339	337,249	20,839	84,761	
1775	84,349	174,412	139,529	25,940	283,604	18,906	17,595	9,237	343,963	20,064	95,224	
1776	48,473	137,470	109,976	38,450	388,048	25,869	14,585	7,657	373,256	21,773	92,603	
1777	90,336	147,054	117,643	42,693	381,972	25,464	14,107	7,406	392,277	24,517	119,927	
1778	54,874	141,600	113,280	45,052	297,190	19,812	16,219	8,515	484,317	30,269	109,983	
1779	90,956	129,530	103,624	31,789	270,435	18,029	16,121	8,463	431,183	26,948	57,116	
1780	78,438	159,191	111,353	29,202	374,829	24,988	16,590	8,709	400,008	25,000	80,622	
1781	98,434	170,395	153,356	46,413	497,712	33,180	16,056	8,429	528,362	33,022	164,260	
1782	130,280	189,605	151,892	58,553	361,905	27,142	15,641	8,211	561,021	37,401	127,292	
1783	56,767	164,187	131,349	65,429	334,696	25,102	17,517	9,196	637,316	42,487	99,647	
1784	62,437	158,985	127,188	68,694	285,084	21,381	21,553	11,315	588,102	39,206	88,741	
1785	47,230	178,535	142,828	45,922	195,925	14,694	21,823	11,457	409,522	27,303	93,237	
1786	70,506	168,747	134,997	61,791	328,331	24,624	20,483	10,753	277,300	18,486	122,161	
1787	73,090	181,943	145,554	65,486	245,666	18,424	16,873	8,858	361,279	24,085	113,695	
1788	52,930	200,060	160,048	78,112	239,236	17,942	23,215	12,187	374,687	24,979	63,600	
1789	61,168	206,957	165,566	73,821	245,606	18,420	22,835	11,988	306,674	20,578	113,256	
1790	76,227	193,430	154,744	74,930	230,865	17,314	16,974	8,911	293,712	19,580	96,130	
1791	71,019	200,068	160,055	79,532	263,908	19,793	19,449	10,210	258,579	17,239	81,413	
1792	73,162	204,022	195,217	84,295	238,989	17,924	21,331	11,198	281,149	18,746	112,589	
1793	85,114	228,830	183,064	86,472	204,514	15,338	16,406	8,613	267,279	17,818	101,665	
1794	38,553	180,673	144,508	50,298	203,428	15,257	20,065	10,534	428,719	28,581	25,293	
1795	91,701	265,633	212,507	71,049	276,615	20,746	18,209	9,559	489,225	32,615	51,930	
1796	90,878	177,407	141,925	94,702	149,979	11,248	19,880	10,437	414,793	27,652	88,130	
1797	63,030	226,259	181,007	89,925	284,579	21,343	26,323	13,819	559,746	37,316	67,300	
1798	125,270	172,507	138,006	47,812	100,818	7,561	7,635	4,008	149,217	9,947	42,292	
1799	58,468	218,425	174,740	53,864	262,351	19,676	16,364	8,591	431,738	28,782	63,626	
1800	49,940	231,214	184,971	112,640	225,040	16,878	18,202	9,556	316,595	21,106	78,451	
1801	34,462	149,913	119,931	86,913	105,911	7,943	15,146	7,951	172,970	11,331	43,659	
1802	79,815	149,083	119,266	138,941	139,236	10,442	19,463	10,218	149,141	9,942	45,282	
1803	130,650	245,208	196,166	167,789	79,262	5,944	20,348	10,682	221,899	14,793	74,423	
1804	92,300	250,783	200,626	158,902	322,804	24,210	21,110	11,082	256,775	17,118	54,334	
1805	154,912	191,529	153,223	158,592	176,959	13,271	25,313	13,289	306,347	20,436	93,103	
1806	118,745	302,798	242,238	176,666	261,231	19,592	25,789	13,539	332,446	22,163	67,222	
1807	78,411	234,237	187,390	193,337	313,434	23,507	21,141	11,099	197,352	13,156	53,255	
1808	136,720	348,914	279,131	265,534	411,652	30,873	26,405	13,862	375,681	25,045	72,301	
1809	144,205	328,012	262,409	249,373	487,021	36,526	26,602	13,966	379,424	25,294	34,331	
1810	168,500	282,983	226,386	244,497	708,552	53,141	24,289	12,751	222,486	14,832	57,100	
1811	91,376	256,117	204,894	222,905	460,976	34,573	26,924	14,135	243,290	16,219	71,203	

the 25th of March 1771 to 5th January 1511—continued.

S P I R I T S.						STOCKINGS,		TALLOW,		TOBACCO,	
BRANDY, rated at 1s. 4d. per gallon to 1775; at 1s. 6d. to 1776; at 2s. to 1781; and at 2s. 6d. afterwards.		GENEVA, rated at 1s. 4d. per gallon to 1775; at 1s. 6d. to 1776; at 2s. to 1781; and at 2s. 6d. afterwards.		RUM, rated 1s. 4d. per gallon to 1776; at 1s. 6d. to 1781; and at 2s. afterwards.		Cotton, rated at 2s. 8d. per pair to 1781; and at 3s. afterwards.		rated at 1l. 10s. per Cwt.		rated at 8d. per lb. to 1777; at 3d. to 1778; at 4d. to 1779; and at 6d. afterwards.	
Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.
Gallons.	£.	Gallons.	£.	Gallons.	£.	Pairs.	£.	Cwt.	£.	Lbs.	£.
374,145	24,942	218,958	14,597	1,973,732	131,582	10,365	1,382	-	-	5,525,849	46,048
310,025	20,668	198,810	13,254	1,704,557	113,637	8,633	1,151	-	-	5,231,714	43,597
395,740	26,382	173,700	11,580	1,503,086	100,205	9,698	1,293	-	-	5,434,924	45,291
356,133	23,742	120,483	8,032	1,322,506	88,167	9,409	1,254	-	-	3,949,740	32,914
403,706	30,277	153,430	11,507	1,888,068	123,801	12,550	1,673	-	-	5,379,405	44,828
479,996	47,999	137,474	13,747	1,680,233	126,017	19,887	2,651	-	-	3,916,409	32,636
226,434	22,643	144,438	14,443	1,234,502	92,587	20,111	2,681	-	-	3,629,056	45,363
180,705	18,070	87,423	8,742	1,183,865	88,789	13,416	1,788	-	-	4,038,497	37,308
213,132	21,313	148,551	14,855	707,852	53,088	8,994	1,199	-	-	4,630,302	115,757
243,286	24,328	84,156	8,415	267,305	20,047	17,388	2,318	-	-	5,501,535	137,538
429,428	53,678	90,776	11,347	256,272	25,627	20,490	3,073	-	-	3,845,788	96,144
385,958	48,244	51,831	6,479	426,998	42,699	23,744	3,561	-	-	3,459,861	86,496
555,878	69,484	109,650	13,706	1,098,072	109,807	21,646	3,246	-	-	4,214,860	105,371
423,547	52,943	69,921	8,740	987,209	95,720	19,273	2,890	-	-	4,066,036	101,400
394,458	49,307	73,991	9,249	1,033,003	103,300	46,348	6,952	5,640	8,460	5,468,373	136,709
347,080	43,385	76,801	9,600	868,504	86,850	69,220	10,383	5,259	7,888	4,049,956	101,248
328,471	41,059	85,528	10,690	973,594	97,357	91,063	13,659	9,449	14,174	3,317,098	82,927
320,697	40,087	81,101	10,137	1,057,437	105,743	150,668	22,600	7,734	11,601	4,207,935	105,198
256,405	32,050	67,823	8,477	1,148,594	114,809	178,257	26,735	3,517	5,276	3,212,785	80,319
213,671	26,708	100,674	12,578	893,900	89,390	228,062	34,209	1,080	1,621	3,929,475	98,236
142,961	17,870	64,946	8,118	628,280	62,828	222,083	33,312	1,667	2,500	3,651,103	91,277
63,379	7,922	86,044	10,755	559,136	55,913	290,196	43,529	1,561	2,341	1,771,526	44,283
51,982	6,497	77,634	9,704	320,733	32,073	195,314	29,297	3,266	4,899	7,819,830	195,495
34,508	4,313	77,355	9,669	498,946	49,894	364,996	54,749	4,913	7,360	6,422,920	160,573
27,971	3,496	9,153	1,144	280,817	28,081	362,372	54,355	6,864	10,296	4,872,505	121,812
11,289	1,411	6,655	831	123,136	12,313	396,976	59,546	1,275	1,913	6,302,323	157,558
3,498	437	1,363	170	79,720	7,972	209,109	31,336	2,240	3,360	8,790,196	219,754
8,603	1,075	342	42	127,140	12,714	307,758	46,163	7,758	11,637	7,140,067	178,501
15,830	1,978	5,371	671	372,582	37,258	591,131	88,669	9,259	13,889	7,368,790	184,219
95,479	11,934	49,507	6,188	796,770	79,677	291,373	43,705	16,840	25,260	7,227,233	180,680
325,188	40,648	158,172	19,771	1,468,571	146,857	290,340	43,551	21,188	31,782	6,941,946	173,548
222,864	27,853	99,294	12,411	924,977	92,497	467,467	70,120	28,999	43,498	6,922,184	173,054
38,829	4,853	21,559	2,694	393,831	39,383	348,085	52,212	25,170	37,735	6,300,902	157,522
18,125	2,265	30,869	3,858	270,363	27,036	408,759	60,563	20,669	31,004	5,468,225	136,705
21,783	2,722	11,457	1,432	176,794	17,679	424,091	63,613	30,400	45,600	5,480,022	137,000
68,036	8,507	16,336	2,042	262,522	26,252	507,770	76,165	16,706	25,059	6,002,862	150,071
13,179	1,647	10,478	1,309	443,400	44,340	493,457	74,018	15,319	22,978	4,605,962	115,149
67,176	8,397	24,309	3,038	721,545	72,154	509,356	76,403	3,067	4,600	3,979,751	99,493
122,211	15,276	112,487	14,060	1,523,623	152,362	435,465	65,169	5,391	8,086	8,047,052	201,176
18,666	2,333	38,941	4,867	688,410	68,841	387,291	58,093	13,509	20,264	14,865,971	371,649

## AN ACCOUNT of the IMPORTS of IRELAND,

Years ending the 25th March.	WATCHES and WATCH MOVEMENTS.	WINE.									
		FRENCH, rated at 22l. per tun to 1778; at 24l. to 1779; at 25l. to 1781; and at 26l. afterwards.		MADIRA, rated at 26l. per Tun.		PORT, rated at 21l. per tun to 1778; at 22l. to 1799; and at 24l. afterwards.		RHENISH, rated at 23l. per tun to 1797; and at 24l. afterwards.		SPANISH, rated at 30l. per Tun.	
		Quantity. Tuns.	Value. £.	Quantity. Tuns.	Value. £.	Quantity. Tuns.	Value. £.	Quantity. Tuns.	Value. £.	Quantity. Tuns.	Value. £.
1772	Not particularly enumerated, until 1794.	3,080	67,781	Previous to the year 1794, Madeira was included under the head of Spanish wine.		1,554	32,647	34	768	524	15,733
1773		3,606	79,348		1,819	38,199	48	1,122	697	20,917	
1774		4,297	94,544		1,412	29,663	39	911	487	14,630	
1775		3,001	66,033		1,697	35,641	17	400	394	11,836	
1776		2,694	59,280		1,827	38,375	37	855	517	15,525	
1777		3,021	66,474		1,626	34,151	44	1,028	438	13,166	
1778		2,264	49,810		1,614	33,902	40	921	401	12,031	
1779		1,512	36,308		1,016	22,357	26	601	252	7,568	
1780		1,683	42,081		2,099	50,396	17	424	237	7,126	
1781		2,781	69,541		2,158	51,806	15	369	80	2,412	
1782		1,757	45,690		1,857	42,584	15	366	309	9,270	
1783		1,588	41,289		2,014	48,344	19	479	74	2,232	
1784		1,666	43,335		2,247	53,940	30	734	338	10,155	
1785		1,896	49,304		2,185	52,447	22	550	460	13,828	
1786		1,992	51,800		588	14,124	31	749	708	21,258	
1787		2,297	59,723		614	14,755	29	718	973	29,206	
1788		2,648	68,856		2,317	55,622	41	996	1,201	36,054	
1789	2,166	56,323	1,954	46,918	34	818	1,030	30,900			
1790	2,092	54,399	2,568	61,648	30	722	1,007	30,224			
1791	2,141	55,672	2,845	68,281	31	762	1,145	34,371			
1792	2,062	53,628	3,157	75,791	34	838	994	29,822			
1793	1,973	51,300	2,898	69,561	21	519	934	28,020			
1794	5,077	881	23,922	60	1,564	2,789	66,940	24	580	739	22,183
1795	5,027	655	17,051	93	2,419	3,582	85,983	25	612	1,565	46,975
1796	7,384	2,348	61,050	108	2,819	7,983	191,602	21	517	2,141	64,232
1797	7,298	306	7,969	48	1,216	4,491	107,806	22	544	321	9,638
1798	2,367	81	2,111	7	188	1,124	26,992	18	329	166	5,005
1799	3,291	227	5,290	19	511	6,267	150,408	8	200	203	6,112
1800	3,887	931	24,232	61	1,598	8,459	203,028	33	814	1,579	47,886
1801	1,751	163	4,251	54	1,422	2,640	63,336	29	702	746	22,385
1802	3,017	454	11,811	115	3,008	4,487	107,688	31	762	836	25,099
1803	11,620	855	22,232	107	2,801	7,005	168,131	22	535	1,699	50,986
1804	15,455	617	16,065	32	843	5,191	124,600	10	244	1,529	45,893
1805	19,566	529	13,761	78	2,035	5,009	120,236	17	410	2,281	68,445
1806	19,292	329	8,567	72	1,881	3,429	82,311	15	367	1,021	30,635
1807	22,454	355	9,254	41	1,068	3,088	74,112	16	399	1,614	48,480
1808	23,043	348	14,271	77	2,023	6,154	154,907	15	367	2,522	75,683
1809	29,060	231	6,006	280	7,300	3,625	87,004	1	37	2,821	84,650
1810	36,420	758	19,724	266	6,937	3,108	74,608	9	217	2,509	75,295
1811	25,235	304	7,927	150	3,924	3,895	93,485	2	54	1,392	41,773

from the 25th of March 1771, to 5th January. 1811—continued.

W. O O D.						WOOL—Cotton, rated at 4l. per Cwt.	YARN—Cotton, rated at 1s. 6d. per lb.	NON- ENUMERATED ARTICLES.	TOTAL Official Value of IMPORTS of Ireland.		
DEALS, rated at 4l. per hundred (120.)		STAVES, rated at 3s. per hundred (120) to 1775; at 4s. to 1776; and at 5s. afterwards.		TIMBER, rated at 2l. 15s. per Ton.							
Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Value.	Value.
Hunks. £.	Hunks. £.	Tons. £.	Cwt. £.	Lbs. £.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
10,090	42,630	43,594	6,589	6,046	16,626	1,717	6,871	6,045	453	569,894	2,187,895
7,528	31,994	34,821	5,223	11,530	31,709	3,729	14,919	230	17	580,207	2,417,613
10,828	46,022	23,445	3,516	14,277	39,262	3,604	14,419	2,238	167	542,237	2,458,032
11,465	48,729	24,863	3,729	9,734	26,769	3,063	12,252	742	55	629,908	2,508,415
9,042	38,430	32,463	6,492	8,598	23,647	3,860	15,442	1,766	132	612,498	2,654,558
9,505	40,399	31,568	7,892	9,269	25,463	4,569	18,276	24,141	1,810	814,751	3,123,928
9,616	40,871	55,526	13,881	14,816	40,745	4,565	18,263	6,928	519	726,979	2,836,802
11,575	49,196	15,160	3,790	91,99	25,297	1,345	5,381	4,689	351	502,985	2,193,935
6,587	27,995	21,609	5,402	4,901	13,478	706	2,824	573	48	464,040	2,127,379
8,080	34,341	43,404	10,851	5,947	16,356	4,165	16,661	6,775	808	760,894	3,123,031
7,527	31,990	40,560	10,090	8,693	13,907	993	3,975	2,925	219	654,643	2,994,265
10,167	46,186	19,032	4,758	8,569	23,566	4,550	18,200	6,516	488	573,370	3,007,236
8,682	36,899	23,678	5,919	13,612	37,433	4,287	17,150	3,340	250	749,883	3,343,032
12,388	52,653	18,484	4,621	20,247	55,680	5,223	20,892	47,12	353	715,757	3,056,394
13,770	58,524	36,379	9,094	12,941	35,590	7,260	29,042	22,188	1,664	623,650	3,430,628
12,079	51,336	54,376	13,594	17,233	47,392	8,977	35,909	37,945	2,845	656,788	3,417,281
18,036	76,655	58,941	14,735	20,154	55,426	10,728	42,913	45,015	3,376	644,439	3,870,144
18,236	77,505	41,150	10,287	25,995	71,488	15,565	54,261	83,814	6,286	654,790	3,790,602
16,306	69,302	33,200	8,300	14,279	39,269	11,911	47,647	77,687	5,826	728,530	3,829,914
16,867	71,684	36,845	9,211	18,647	51,281	14,649	58,598	205,515	15,413	778,962	4,071,794
20,960	89,080	28,126	7,030	21,995	60,487	10,233	40,935	298,351	22,376	845,463	4,338,012
15,840	67,323	43,448	10,862	29,651	81,541	20,503	82,014	325,042	24,378	821,447	4,085,149
13,061	55,512	36,959	9,239	13,043	35,868	7,533	30,132	173,717	13,028	413,162	3,216,405
15,002	63,759	41,857	10,464	14,838	40,805	14,206	56,894	313,973	23,547	843,079	4,143,296
14,768	62,764	36,966	9,241	10,809	29,725	13,167	52,670	587,314	44,048	711,142	4,656,608
20,721	88,066	57,806	14,451	21,409	58,875	14,151	56,606	681,318	51,098	767,988	4,436,943
5,870	24,949	35,267	8,816	4,741	13,038	6,667	26,668	190,688	14,301	485,214	3,396,880
14,777	62,806	30,917	7,729	6,117	16,815	12,130	48,523	508,038	38,102	581,983	4,393,015
15,423	65,550	54,980	13,745	10,064	27,678	14,853	59,415	976,466	73,234	907,019	6,183,487
16,383	69,630	25,824	6,456	13,683	37,628	12,632	50,529	459,120	34,434	747,426	4,202,126
14,461	61,461	31,213	7,803	13,483	37,078	10,716	42,864	375,597	28,169	969,692	5,006,456
23,235	98,748	24,495	61,23	19,379	53,892	18,378	73,514	1,105,877	82,940	1,069,174	6,087,253
24,139	102,593	55,192	13,798	26,299	72,322	13,899	55,599	809,914	60,743	890,564	5,275,650
21,082	89,598	46,336	11,584	21,115	58,066	18,183	73,784	1,149,004	86,175	1,039,550	5,712,802
22,169	94,218	41,979	10,491	21,973	60,425	16,734	66,937	1,459,905	109,492	996,176	5,736,214
21,712	92,278	56,648	14,162	10,682	29,376	18,429	73,717	1,060,334	79,525	1,004,775	5,605,959
20,481	87,044	57,607	14,401	18,496	50,864	32,851	131,404	570,356	42,776	1,219,173	6,637,907
1,733	7,451	24,323	6,080	8,775	24,131	22,620	90,480	1,486,880	111,516	1,424,510	7,129,507
3,976	16,898	56,327	14,081	18,662	51,321	49,786	199,146	1,114,879	83,615	1,653,696	7,471,557
21,156	89,913	68,038	15,509	24,173	66,476	53,133	212,534	814,349	23,576	1,327,352	6,664,578

AN ACCOUNT of the Export of NATIVE PRODUCE from IRELAND from the 25th  
official Value, and Rates thereof

Years ending the 25th March.	AQUA VITE, rated at 3s. per Gallon.		B A C O N.				B E E F, rated at 1l. 5s. per Barrel to 1776; at 1l. 6s. 8d. to 1780; at 1l. 10s. to 1791; and at 1l. 15s. afterwards.		BULLOCKS and C O W S, rated at 5l. each to 1791; and at 6l. afterwards.	
	Quantity. Gallons.	Value. £.	Quantity. Cwt.	Value. £.	Quantity. Number.	Value. £.	Quantity. Barrels.	Value. £.	Quantity. Number.	Value. £.
1772	-	-	-	-	14,142	8,465	200,889	251,036	456	2,280
1773	63	9	-	-	19,256	11,553	215,192	268,989	591	2,955
1774	-	-	-	-	26,100	15,660	187,494	234,368	2,477	12,385
1775	267	40	-	-	32,644	19,586	192,452	240,565	6,625	33,125
1776	-	-	-	-	34,502	18,376	203,685	254,606	6,924	34,680
1777	-	-	241	483	11,462	8,596	168,578	224,771	4,198	20,990
1778	-	-	578	867	15,992	11,994	190,696	254,261	3,716	18,580
1779	10	1	391	587	11,792	8,844	138,918	185,224	5,960	19,800
1780	-	-	203	304	1,723	1,292	187,754	250,339	4,838	24,190
1781	3,966	594	183	275	172	129	190,501	235,752	2,298	11,490
1782	1,456	218	228	342	239	179	155,582	233,374	163	825
1783	1,185	177	713	1,069	6,337	4,752	212,018	318,026	400	2,000
1784	230	34	1,007	1,511	33,235	24,941	126,531	189,797	6,836	34,180
1785	-	-	720	1,080	35,485	26,613	133,650	204,975	22,241	111,205
1786	70	10	639	959	30,310	22,732	158,328	237,582	19,315	96,575
1787	579	86	469	703	16,525	12,393	158,649	230,474	16,175	80,875
1788	68	10	491	737	29,587	22,190	130,857	196,285	17,699	88,495
1789	152	22	695	1,043	33,791	25,343	120,192	180,288	16,501	82,505
1790	408	61	1,836	2,754	56,494	42,370	126,993	190,490	24,170	128,850
1791	-	-	1,328	1,992	60,735	45,551	120,506	180,759	30,132	150,660
1792	299	44	1,156	1,734	62,490	46,867	135,219	236,633	24,351	146,106
1793	429	64	1,126	1,691	74,400	55,800	102,333	179,083	21,820	130,920
1794	135	20	643	965	47,996	35,997	134,328	236,824	5,654	33,912
1795	1,011	151	752	1,128	63,808	47,856	124,607	213,063	5,160	30,960
1796	1,216	182	1,091	1,636	125,085	93,813	122,155	213,771	10,524	63,144
1797	58,615	8,792	1,314	1,971	92,086	69,064	110,141	192,746	36,311	217,866
1798	2,866	429	1,695	2,543	52,941	39,705	108,346	189,605	30,670	184,090
1799	4,055	608	1,647	2,471	68,653	51,481	153,578	268,761	9,331	55,986
1800	3,152	472	1,049	1,574	123,183	92,327	149,257	262,249	2,534	15,204
1801	2,270	415	548	822	74,391	55,793	64,442	112,744	3,712	22,272
1802	227,519	34,127	1,327	1,991	39,667	29,780	79,235	136,668	31,664	189,984
1803	1,130,019	169,502	5,035	7,553	163,216	122,412	80,161	140,281	42,680	256,080
1804	930,800	139,620	3,955	5,932	114,382	85,786	79,347	138,857	18,522	171,132
1805	1,196,569	179,480	1,750	2,625	91,511	68,633	79,531	139,179	16,003	96,018
1806	1,044,548	156,682	2,595	3,892	184,936	138,717	111,673	195,427	21,941	131,646
1807	531,648	79,747	2,214	3,321	233,874	175,405	120,588	211,029	27,764	166,584
1808	648,706	97,305	5,834	8,751	291,019	218,264	110,218	192,881	26,351	158,106
1809	512,098	76,814	11,611	17,416	264,844	198,633	122,064	213,612	14,122	84,732
1810	76,990	11,548	6,969	10,464	320,306	240,229	126,176	220,808	18,335	110,010
1811	136,955	20,543	16,419	24,629	310,620	232,966	95,498	167,121	45,185	271,110

of March 1771 to the 5th January 1811; distinguishing the principal Articles, and the quantities, respectively; with the total value in each Year.

BUTTER, rated at 2l. per cwt. to 1791; and at 2l. 2s. 6d. afterwards.		CANDLES, rated at 1l. 15s. per cwt. to 1780; at 1l. 16s. 8d. to 1781; at 1l. 17s. 4d. to 1791; and at 2l. afterwards.		COPPER ORE, rated at 3l. 10s. per ton to 1781; afterwards at 3l. 13s. 4d.		C O R N.					
						BARLEY, rated at 7s. per barrel to 1775; at 6s. to 1780; at 5s. 6d. to 1781; at 6s. in 1782; afterwards at 12s.		OATS rated at 8s. per barrel to 1775; at 4s. 10 <sup>d</sup> to 1783; afterwards at 7s. 6d.		WHEAT, rated at 1l. per barrel to 1773; at 1l. 2s. 6d. to 1775; at 1l. 1s. 8d. to 1782; at 1l. 2s. in 1783; afterwards at 1l. 7s.	
Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.
Cwt.	£.	Cwt.	£.	Tons.	£.	Barrels.	£.	Barrels.	£.	Barrels.	£.
238,457	576,914	2,430	4,254	183	641	3,171	1,109	35,199	14,079	1,694	1,694
272,399	544,798	2,183	3,821	299	1,047	16,525	5,784	25,626	10,250	4,374	4,374
270,096	540,192	2,024	3,542	59	206	35,445	12,405	93,326	37,330	1,623	1,825
264,140	528,280	2,234	3,911	280	981	38,078	13,327	58,369	23,347	7,350	8,268
272,411	544,822	3,155	5,522	305	1,069	26,249	7,874	187,359	45,668	28,343	30,705
264,181	528,362	1,764	3,088	141	494	2,893	867	191,645	46,713	32,415	35,116
258,144	516,289	938	1,641	79	278	28,149	8,444	129,741	31,624	23,233	25,169
227,829	455,659	1,827	3,197	163	572	26,490	7,947	45,830	11,171	7,835	8,488
244,184	488,369	5,611	9,820	33	118	3,314	994	189,761	46,254	19,017	20,602
264,210	528,420	7,175	13,154	36	126	13,109	3,605	100,829	24,577	87,955	95,285
234,058	468,116	7,072	13,201	78	286	7,654	2,296	173,341	42,451	87,803	95,120
249,485	498,971	9,560	17,846	37	138	379,977	22,786	45,545	11,101	6,964	7,660
257,417	514,835	10,402	19,418	20	75	9,272	5,623	30,511	11,441	648	874
282,802	565,604	5,038	9,404	42	156	3,170	1,903	155,732	58,400	36,956	49,892
243,007	486,045	3,504	6,511	72	265	95,868	57,520	444,704	166,764	86,682	117,021
330,866	661,733	3,599	6,718	129	473	163,895	98,337	357,132	133,924	62,118	83,859
341,599	683,199	3,796	7,087	143	524	54,045	32,427	279,125	104,671	50,157	67,711
314,876	629,753	3,529	6,588	175	641	33,849	20,309	332,959	124,859	218,737	225,294
300,669	601,338	3,028	5,654	1,005	3,686	53,521	32,113	533,720	200,145	148,066	199,899
295,875	591,750	4,063	7,585	590	2,164	39,719	23,831	669,559	251,064	153,769	207,588
323,872	688,228	5,985	11,971	749	2,748	28,852	17,311	620,706	332,764	119,781	161,704
311,960	662,916	4,443	8,887	719	2,636	974	584	637,277	238,978	92,788	125,263
271,027	572,933	5,289	10,579	495	1,815	38,601	23,160	512,932	192,349	36,701	48,546
276,408	587,356	5,992	11,985	540	1,980	7,381	4,428	644,504	241,689	31,231	42,161
315,255	669,918	5,408	10,816	767	2,812	4	2	152,541	57,202	-	-
322,218	684,713	5,033	10,066	1,042	3,820	-	-	648,596	243,223	15	20
315,894	671,276	5,540	11,080	1,028	3,771	48,369	29,021	537,736	209,151	67,526	91,160
262,764	558,373	7,828	15,657	1,037	3,802	48,963	29,377	594,972	223,114	46,325	62,538
263,289	559,491	10,992	21,985	1,219	4,469	-	-	157,938	59,226	345	465
178,406	379,304	5,583	11,167	1,264	4,634	-	-	-	-	-	-
304,666	647,415	8,272	16,154	3,781	13,863	-	-	200	75	-	-
396,353	842,250	8,043	16,086	2,109	7,733	12,676	7,605	475,066	178,149	168,937	228,064
334,251	710,283	8,447	16,894	1,807	6,625	32,867	19,720	391,102	146,663	101,901	137,566
320,155	680,330	5,496	10,992	1,683	6,171	17,560	10,536	372,690	139,758	152,828	206,317
294,415	625,632	8,115	16,231	2,079	7,623	30,140	18,084	346,244	129,841	134,871	182,075
338,508	719,329	12,516	25,032	2,124	7,788	18,408	11,044	461,700	173,137	153,214	206,838
333,998	709,745	8,516	17,032	2,666	9,275	68,785	41,271	724,347	271,630	68,003	91,804
346,856	737,069	6,922	13,844	2,741	1,0050	59,891	35,934	935,850	350,943	79,189	106,905
285,953	820,150	11,083	22,166	1,306	4,788	45,180	27,108	1,285,027	481,885	137,159	185,164
390,833	830,520	8,305	16,610	1,383	5,071	76,743	46,045	756,254	283,595	192,981	260,524

## COMMERCE.—EXPORTS.

## AN ACCOUNT of the Export of NATIVE PRODUCE from IRELAND,

Years ending the 25th March.	D R A P E R Y.				FEATHERS,		FISH—Herrings,		FLAX.	
	New,		Old,		rated at 2l. per cwt.		rated at 1l.		Drest,	
	rated at 2s. per Yard to 1781 ; afterwards at 2s. 6d.		rated at 6s. 8d. per Yard to 1791 ; afterwards at 7s. 6d.		to 1791 ; afterwards at 2l. 5s.		per Barrel to 1780 ; at 15s. to 1781 ; afterwards at 1l.		rated at 1l. 15s. per Cwt.	
	Quantity. Yards.	Value. £.	Quantity. Yards.	Value. £.	Quantity. Cwt.	Value. £.	Quantity. Barrels.	Value. £.	Quantity. Cwt.	
1772					1,583	3,167	3,770	3,770		
1773					1,644	3,289	3,295	3,295		
1774					1,259	2,518	5,062	5,062		
1775					1,442	2,884	7,600	7,600		
1776					1,237	2,455	15,192	15,192		
1777					1,983	3,967	17,566	17,566		
1778					1,643	3,287	13,512	13,512		
1779					1,320	2,641	11,450	11,450		
1780	8,653	865	494	164	2,004	4,008	16,229	16,229		
1781	286,859	28,685	3,740	1,246	792	1,585	15,718	11,788		
1782	336,607	42,075	4,633	1,544	494	989	26,664	26,664		
1783	538,061	67,257	40,589	13,529	1,048	2,097	48,481	48,481		
1784	666,298	83,287	95,989	11,786	1,573	3,147	23,398	23,398		
1785	770,031	96,258	34,949	11,416	1,632	3,264	35,514	35,514		
1786	849,628	105,703	10,425	3,478	1,178	2,356	17,188	17,188		
1787	806,849	105,856	15,329	5,109	1,746	3,493	11,366	11,366	26	
1788	815,111	105,388	7,747	2,582	1,997	3,995	16,855	16,855	64	
1789	863,196	105,399	7,838	2,611	1,243	2,486	11,177	11,177	14	
1790	852,022	104,002	8,312	2,279	1,857	3,715	7,980	7,980	3	
1791	530,491	40,061	15,085	5,028	1,884	3,769	1,321	1,321	109	
1792	384,396	48,049	18,669	7,000	1,980	4,455	4,072	4,072	1	
1793	140,294	17,536	19,489	7,308	1,371	3,086	364	364	38	
1794	306,547	36,818	21,237	7,963	840	1,681	1,390	1,390	25	
1795	105,283	13,160	22,739	8,527	973	2,189	2,170	2,170	10	
1796	174,036	21,754	128,630	48,236	1,303	2,982	1,261	1,261	331	
1797	149,760	18,720	16,839	6,314	1,009	2,270	3,793	3,793	1	
1798	92,420	11,522	1,150	431	1,302	3,951	5,555	5,555	5	
1799	61,844	7,730	2,753	1,032	1,167	2,627	4,215	4,215	7	
1800	33,388	4,161	6,196	2,23	2,778	6,252	5,589	5,589	12	
1801	3,800	350	550	206	981	2,208	1,040	1,040		
1802	15,998	1,999	3,268	1,225	1,674	3,767	2,789	2,789	29	
1803	27,563	3,445	1,726	627	1,975	4,423	3,797	3,797	152	
1804	4,863	607	1,570	588	2,364	5,319	1,471	1,471	2,560	
1805	21,635	2,704	938	351	1,991	4,479	2,729	2,729	1,900	
1806	20,069	2,508	668	250	2,084	4,670	2,680	2,680	95	
1807	28,067	3,508	1,663	623	2,496	5,616	4,248	4,248	145	
1808	5,469	683	2,399	1,027	3,550	7,927	743	743	5,644	
1809	14,447	1,805	657	246	4,198	9,445	2	2	6	
1810	1,442	180	1,022	327	9,297	20,918	24	24	332	
1811	46,32	579	2,906	1,029	4,912	11,052	1,088	1,088		

from the 25th of March 1771 to the 5th January 1811, &c.—continued.

F L A X.			G L A S S.							HIDES—Untanned, rated at 1l. each to 1775; at 1l. 3s. 4d. to 1776; at 1l. 5s. to 1780; and at 1l. 6s. 8d. afterwards.	
DREST, rated at 1l. 15s. per Cwt.	UNDREST, rated at 1l. per Cwt.		BOTTLES, rated at 1s. 6d. per Dozen.		CASES, rated at 1l. 10s. each.		DRINKING GLASSES, rated at 1l. per hundred to 1790; afterwards 16s. 8d.		WARE.		
Value. £.	Quantity. Cwt.	Value. £.	Quantity. Dozens.	Value. £.	Quantity. Number.	Value. £.	Quantity. Number.	Value. £.	Value. £.	Quantity. Number.	Value. £.
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	90,323	90,323
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	68,142	68,142
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	67,044	67,044
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	79,892	79,892
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	71,297	83,179
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	57,438	71,797
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	51,714	64,642
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	44,095	55,118
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	68,777	85,971
-	-	-	1,940	145	-	-	-	-	42	92,381	123,174
-	-	-	1,738	130	-	-	-	-	35	60,771	81,028
-	-	-	468	35	-	-	99	99	172	58,079	77,438
-	-	-	532	39	5	7	207	207	424	47,284	63,045
-	-	-	2,802	210	-	-	16	16	592	57,298	76,397
-	-	-	1,220	99	-	-	672	6	717	72,581	106,108
-	-	-	144	10	-	-	2,136	21	220	69,804	93,072
45	-	-	-	-	-	-	8,480	84	773	69,641	92,854
113	-	-	-	-	-	-	25,236	252	803	49,035	65,380
25	15	15	162	12	-	-	49,413	494	2,757	73,134	97,512
6	17	17	253	19	249	373	65,308	544	3,291	70,240	93,653
180	4	4	332	24	50	75	115,384	961	4,737	63,750	85,000
2	59	59	1,202	90	21	31	131,234	1,093	4,196	57,957	77,376
67	1	1	1,200	90	-	-	175,157	1,459	2,146	35,030	46,706
45	31	31	1,240	93	9	13	139,386	1,161	5,751	38,546	51,394
19	3	3	2,676	200	69	82	234,651	1,955	5,617	60,618	80,824
579	11	11	21,960	1,647	-	-	589,078	4,908	8,764	55,488	73,984
1	5	5	6,121	459	-	-	61,611	513	2,890	48,614	64,818
8	182	182	2,855	214	-	-	58,160	484	2,673	79,509	106,012
13	19	19	10,455	784	-	-	48,552	404	3,392	51,833	69,110
21	-	-	10,543	790	-	-	218,712	1,822	6,313	21,253	28,337
-	4	4	4,161	312	-	-	308,747	2,372	6,524	42,048	56,064
52	1,639	1,639	19,661	1,474	-	-	173,998	1,449	4,261	32,364	43,154
266	21	21	42,894	3,217	-	-	64,456	537	9,072	28,304	37,738
4,480	251	251	19,422	1,456	381	476	115,740	1,297	7,902	36,996	49,328
3,325	553	553	14,447	1,083	-	-	131,024	1,091	7,035	33,308	44,410
167	278	278	22,665	1,699	-	-	111,248	927	9,076	23,108	30,810
253	154	154	15,421	1,156	-	-	36,832	306	10,389	39,319	52,425
9,877	2,611	2,611	8,006	600	-	-	1,008	8	5,410	54,396	72,528
10	4,882	4,882	9,676	725	-	-	377,198	3,143	16,124	38, 95	46,526
581	6,507	6,507	15,236	1,142	-	-	136,164	1,134	15,882	54,846	73,128
-	1,073	1,073	16,774	1,258	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

## COMMERCE.—EXPORTS.

## AN ACCOUNT of the Export of NATIVE PRODUCE from IRELAND

Years ending the 25th March.	H O G S, rated at 1 <i>l.</i> each.		HOGSLARD, rated at 1 <i>l.</i> per cwt. to 1779; and at 1 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> afterwards.		K E L P, rated at 1 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> per Ton.		LINEN and COTTON Mixed Manufac- ture.	L I N E N.			
	Quantity. Number.	Value. £.	Quantity. Cwt.	Value. £.	Quantity. Tons.	Value. £.		PLAIN, rated at 1 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> per yard to 1775; at 1 <i>s.</i> 5 <i>d.</i> to 1778; and at 1 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> afterwards.		COLOURED, rated at 1 <i>s.</i> 7 <i>d.</i> per Yard.	
	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.
	Number.	£.	Cwt.	£.	Tons.	£.	£.	Yards.	£.	Yards.	£.
1772	90	90	2,235	2,235	937	1,405	-	20,599,178	1,544,938	-	-
1773	135	135	2,156	2,156	1,540	2,310	-	18,450,700	1,383,802	-	-
1774	882	882	2,379	2,379	1,219	1,828	-	16,916,674	1,268,750	-	-
1775	680	680	1,686	1,686	897	1,346	-	20,205,087	1,515,381	-	-
1776	1,148	1,148	3,216	3,216	1,081	1,621	-	20,502,587	1,452,266	-	-
1777	1,358	1,358	2,981	2,981	1,345	2,017	-	19,714,638	1,396,453	-	-
1778	874	874	3,428	3,428	1,244	1,866	-	21,945,729	1,554,489	-	-
1779	285	285	3,527	3,527	1,358	2,037	-	18,836,942	1,255,736	-	-
1780	169	169	5,984	5,976	949	1,425	-	18,746,902	1,249,793	7,519	594
1781	45	45	1,995	2,992	776	1,164	157	14,947,265	996,484	111,295	9,042
1782	-	-	4,027	6,041	471	707	-	24,970,303	1,664,684	74,422	6,046
1783	642	642	7,978	11,968	1,278	1,917	1,418	16,039,705	1,069,313	166,127	13,151
1784	1,937	1,937	2,707	4,060	1,025	1,537	-	24,961,898	1,664,126	347,098	28,301
1785	2,811	2,811	2,234	3,351	1,774	2,662	9,382	26,677,647	1,778,509	226,186	18,377
1786	1,895	1,895	2,966	4,450	1,213	1,819	4,443	28,168,666	1,877,911	359,731	29,228
1787	1,294	1,294	3,578	5,368	1,474	2,211	5,216	30,723,728	2,048,581	264,421	21,434
1788	3,363	3,363	3,543	5,315	3,131	4,696	7,545	35,487,691	2,365,846	157,723	12,814
1789	6,362	6,362	3,469	5,204	2,401	3,601	4,616	29,344,633	1,956,308	104,598	8,498
1790	7,330	7,330	5,622	8,433	2,203	3,305	14,522	37,322,125	2,488,141	144,008	11,700
1791	5,814	5,814	3,422	5,133	1,915	2,872	9,628	39,718,706	2,647,913	116,037	9,428
1792	6,465	6,465	3,578	5,367	2,739	4,108	16,988	45,581,667	3,038,777	108,073	8,832
1793	5,425	5,425	6,888	8,832	1,235	1,852	14,339	43,312,057	2,887,470	123,862	10,063
1794	1,528	1,528	4,068	6,103	1,160	1,741	19,379	43,257,764	2,883,850	108,058	8,779
1795	1,051	1,051	5,908	8,862	619	928	45,115	42,780,840	2,852,056	282,501	22,953
1796	2,649	2,649	5,179	7,768	1,197	1,795	25,563	46,705,319	3,113,687	715,341	53,121
1797	9,402	9,402	6,213	9,319	3,581	5,342	12,619	36,559,746	2,437,816	483,715	36,278
1798	6,733	6,733	8,337	12,506	743	1,115	14,546	33,497,171	2,199,823	189,885	14,241
1799	2,577	2,577	4,421	6,632	1,087	1,630	5,345	38,466,289	2,564,419	256,740	20,860
1800	2,949	2,949	4,841	7,262	1,222	1,833	10,940	35,676,908	2,378,460	213,142	15,985
1801	1,625	1,625	2,223	3,335	1,495	2,243	5,055	25,041,516	1,669,434	213,921	16,044
1802	1,968	1,968	2,049	3,074	1,857	2,785	5,217	37,767,077	2,517,805	142,853	10,713
1803	11,728	11,728	6,376	9,565	702	1,053	5,730	35,491,131	2,366,075	120,879	9,065
1804	12,976	12,976	7,028	10,542	4,251	6,376	987	37,432,365	2,495,491	137,489	10,311
1805	4,750	4,750	2,734	4,101	1,730	2,595	5,921	42,288,621	2,865,908	127,091	9,531
1806	6,383	6,383	6,363	9,544	3,630	5,445	3,554	43,534,971	2,902,331	148,562	11,142
1807	11,458	11,458	13,162	19,743	5,119	4,678	17,899	39,048,727	2,603,315	111,292	8,347
1808	17,345	17,345	19,885	29,827	5,245	7,867	12,352	40,001,442	2,726,762	152,424	11,431
1809	7,433	7,433	15,638	23,457	5,410	8,115	18,919	43,904,382	2,926,958	82,014	6,151
1810	4,712	4,712	16,232	24,423	4,160	6,240	34,556	37,061,859	2,470,790	103,180	7,758
1811	35,876	35,876	12,839	19,259	4,522	6,783	83,981	36,846,971	2,456,404	49,300	3,697

COMMERCE.—EXPORTS.

from the 25th of March 1771 to 5th January 1811, &c.—continued.

M E A L				PORK,		RAPESEED,		SHEEP—Alive,		SOAP,	
FLOUR, rated at 15s. per cwt. to 1784; at 16s. 8d. to 1794; and afterwards at 18s. 8d.		OATS, rated at 6s. 6d. per cwt. to 1775; at 5s. to 1781; at 5s. 3d. to 1784; and at 6s. afterwards.		rated at 1l. 10s.  per Barrel.		rated  at 1l. 12s. 6d.  per Quarter.		rated at 1l. each.		rated at 1l. 13s. 4d.  per cwt. to 1791;  afterwards  at 1l. 15s.	
Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.
Cwt.	£.	Cwt.	£.	Barrels.	£.	Quarters.	£.	Number.	£.	Cwt.	£.
262	197	62,304	20,248	44,713	67,069	718	1,166	No distinct Head kept for Live Sheep until 1798.		853	1,432
154	115	36,895	10,040	51,112	76,668	3,036	4,933			489	815
1,525	1,144	128,327	41,706	52,328	78,493	2,044	3,322			655	1,091
4,699	3,524	57,690	18,749	50,367	75,551	1,253	2,036			565	943
12,032	9,024	78,856	19,714	72,714	109,071	2,147	3,488			754	1,224
24,541	18,405	35,299	8,824	72,931	109,396	3,603	5,854			496	827
24,475	18,356	14,604	3,651	77,612	116,418	3,518	5,717			552	920
26,283	19,712	3,279	819	70,066	105,099	3,276	5,324			888	1,431
80,772	60,579	14,595	3,648	96,554	14,4831	390	634			2,668	4,439
69,730	52,297	18,543	4,635	106,282	159,424	11	19			3,632	6,053
152,366	114,289	21,274	5,584	84,910	127,365	849	1,379			2,406	4,011
33,738	2,5803	29,660	7,783	112,396	168,553	6,415	10,424			3,078	5,130
1,818	1,363	11,671	3,063	52,912	79,369	2,160	3,510			5,317	8,263
18,665	15,554	95,878	28,768	58,455	87,683	236	383			1,783	2,972
28,221	23,518	132,079	39,623	74,761	112,142	1,216	1,976			1,263	2,106
15,932	13,276	145,488	43,646	101,859	152,789	12,082	19,634			1,852	3,086
8,885	7,404	139,288	41,786	111,046	166,569	11,785	19,151			2,126	3,544
82,753	73,961	109,868	32,958	93,326	140,004	12,200	19,825			1,844	3,074
185,004	154,160	65,870	19,671	100,266	150,399	9,473	18,393			1,961	3,268
25,045	20,871	133,381	40,014	95,467	143,201	843	1,369			4,040	6,733
47,849	39,874	134,801	40,440	81,823	122,750	144	227			4,067	7,118
34,156	28,463	96,552	28,968	119,012	178,518	3,496	5,681			2,436	4,263
4,239	3,533	24,427	7,328	149,153	223,729	1,032	1,678			4,936	8,638
5,411	5,050	36,576	10,973	129,922	194,883	234	380			9,390	16,432
1,366	1,275	37,503	11,351	128,266	192,399	7,641	12,416			6,719	11,718
2,562	2,292	112,464	33,739	142,394	213,441	5,360	8,710			4,652	8,142
18,051	16,848	79,535	23,860	168,436	252,654	4,488	7,293	1,875	1,875	4,152	7,296
5,602	5,229	93,148	27,944	139,268	208,902	3,833	6,228			7,141	12,497
261	243	27,066	8,119	114,744	172,116	2,437	3,961	216	216	19,821	34,686
159	148	949	284	58,569	87,268	447	726	256	256	14,654	25,644
203	189	1,276	382	81,601	122,401	6,962	11,314	2,891	2,891	7,284	12,747
91,623	85,515	108,189	32,456	59,528	89,292	4,531	7,362	4,470	4,470	3,891	6,809
43,143	40,266	76,619	22,985	119,049	178,573	2,173	3,531	7,482	7,482	7,119	12,468
21,593	20,153	67,233	20,169	82,193	123,289	6,822	11,085	5,502	5,502	7,788	13,629
27,774	21,255	34,297	10,289	110,425	165,637	6,091	9,897	10,988	10,988	9,597	16,794
36,214	33,799	43,451	13,035	113,376	170,064	8,435	13,706	14,851	14,851	12,412	21,721
6,889	6,429	46,772	14,031	170,289	255,433	15,033	24,461	14,442	14,442	9,302	16,278
5,737	5,354	72,088	21,626	168,603	252,904	7,089	11,519	8,653	8,653	19,095	33,416
16,343	15,253	90,610	27,183	136,568	204,852	1,975	3,209	7,596	7,596	19,716	34,503
91,211	85,130	57,299	17,189	110,806	166,209	3,826	6,233	21,029	21,029	10,908	9,089

## COMMERCE.—EXPORTS.

## AN ACCOUNT of the Export of NATIVE PRODUCE from IRELAND,

Years ending the 25th March.	SKINS—Calf, rated at 1l. 2s. 6d. per dozen to 1791; afterwards at 1l. 3s. 4d.		TALLOW, rated at 1l. 16s. 8d. per cwt. to 1775; and at 2l. afterwards.		TONGUES, rated at 10s. per dozen to 1775; at 12s. to 1791; afterwards at 12s. 6d.		WOOL, rated at 12s. per stone to 1775; at 13s. 4d. to 1776; at 15s. to 1777; at 13s. 4d. to 1778; at 10s. to 1791; afterwards at 10s. 6d.		YARN - -  LINEN, rated at 6d.  per cwt.	
	Quantity. Dozen.	Value. £.	Quantity. Cwt.	Value. £.	Quantity. Number.	Value. £.	Quantity. Stones.	Value. £.	Quantity. Cwt.	Value. £.
1772	26,015	29,267	44,981	82,465	5,252	2,626	2,045	1,227	32,441	194,650
1773	18,136	20,403	39,920	73,188	5,010	2,505	1,839	1,103	28,078	168,473
1774	17,148	19,292	41,350	73,808	4,348	2,174	1,007	604	29,194	175,166
1775	23,803	26,778	42,295	77,542	4,620	2,310	2,007	1,204	30,598	183,592
1776	19,745	22,213	50,549	101,098	5,607	3,364	1,059	706	36,152	216,915
1777	18,457	20,764	48,502	97,005	4,633	2,779	1,734	1,300	29,698	178,190
1778	16,601	18,676	38,450	76,900	4,676	2,806	1,665	1,110	28,108	168,653
1779	17,625	19,328	41,384	82,768	3,315	1,989	3,878	1,939	35,673	214,038
1780	17,908	20,146	54,592	109,184	5,114	3,068	2,165	1,082	42,369	254,219
1781	24,303	27,341	39,678	79,356	5,007	3,004	1,104	552	37,202	223,215
1782	20,303	22,841	38,275	76,550	5,067	3,040	2,965	1,482	28,187	169,126
1783	22,510	25,324	34,420	68,840	6,371	3,222	2,063	1,031	35,812	214,877
1784	15,867	17,850	17,806	35,612	3,943	2,365	2,264	1,132	33,015	198,081
1785	28,954	32,573	21,240	42,481	3,806	2,283	2,856	1,428	28,842	173,053
1786	19,756	22,225	18,284	36,568	4,342	2,605	1,564	782	31,062	186,373
1787	23,606	26,556	22,898	45,797	4,489	2,693	1,066	533	31,049	186,297
1788	17,616	19,818	13,218	26,437	3,430	2,058	631	315	25,275	163,650
1789	23,005	25,881	13,128	26,256	3,526	2,116	774	387	28,742	172,455
1790	25,226	28,379	16,747	33,435	3,571	2,143	1,776	888	31,572	189,437
1791	17,750	19,969	18,624	37,248	3,360	2,111	2,396	1,198	26,999	161,997
1792	16,979	19,808	16,221	32,443	3,841	2,406	2,220	1,165	17,190	103,143
1793	22,841	26,648	9,522	19,044	3,321	2,071	2,713	1,424	16,644	99,867
1794	12,653	14,762	6,944	13,888	3,436	2,148	274	145	19,056	114,338
1795	12,626	14,730	14,352	28,705	4,327	2,704	162	85	22,730	136,386
1796	23,590	27,522	12,651	25,303	3,605	2,253	171	89	20,601	123,606
1797	21,855	25,380	11,854	23,709	2,437	1,523	88	46	12,865	77,191
1798	21,699	25,315	12,725	25,451	4,312	2,695	89	46	20,330	121,983
1799	19,014	22,183	13,839	27,678	4,672	2,920	226	118	16,850	101,104
1800	12,291	14,340	5,536	11,072	4,615	2,884	217	113	12,201	73,207
1801	8,750	10,208	1,002	2,005	2,209	1,380	129	67	11,135	66,811
1802	16,357	19,083	1,412	2,224	2,854	1,784	979	514	23,492	140,953
1803	19,671	22,944	1,209	2,418	2,488	1,555	3,525	1,850	9,315	55,890
1804	10,603	12,370	9,827	19,654	2,914	1,821	8,058	4,230	7,847	47,082
1405	6,657	7,766	2,404	4,808	2,504	1,565	13,452	7,062	8,967	53,802
1806	11,505	13,423	6,756	13,512	2,836	1,772	30,363	1,5941	7,073	42,450
1807	16,938	19,761	9,934	19,868	3,792	2,370	2,9001	1,5225	8,705	52,233
1808	22,361	26,087	8,544	17,088	3,240	2,025	8,524	4,475	12,443	74,658
1809	22,628	26,399	13,762	27,524	3,413	2,133	2,634	1,382	25,392	152,352
1810	11,626	13,563	16,791	33,582	4,211	2,631	2,349	1,233	13,701	82,206
1811	22,090	25,771	3,941	7,882	3,115	1,946	2,407	1,263	60,49	36,294

COMMERCE.—EXPORTS.

from the 25th of March 1771 to the 5th January 1811, &c.—continued.

- - YARN.		NON- ENUMERATED ARTICLES.	TOTAL Value of EXPORTS (Native Produce).	Produce of CATTLE amounts to, viz. of Oxen and Cows, Hogs, Horses, &c. (exclusive of Sheep).	Produce of SHEEP.	Produce of RAPESEED	Produce of FLAXSEED.	Produce of FISH.	Produce of CORN.	Produce of MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES.
WORSTED, rated at 1l. 10s. per stone to 1775; at 1l. 12s. 6d. to 1776; at 1l. 13s. 4d. to 1778; and at 1l. 10s. afterwards.	Quantity.									
Value. £.	Value. £.	Value. £.	Value. £.	Value. £.	Value. £.	Value. £.	Value. £.	Value. £.	Value. £.	Value. £.
115,754	173,631	143,314	3,223,712	1,226,178	184,682	1,244	1,739,588	12,338	40,774	18,904
94,098	141,147	126,339	2,936,450	1,167,473	148,392	6,214	1,552,538	7,352	35,200	19,278
63,920	95,880	100,075	2,801,143	1,126,084	99,779	3,886	1,444,026	10,858	99,410	17,097
78,896	118,345	124,230	3,115,713	1,118,910	124,868	2,036	1,699,324	13,602	70,637	16,333
86,527	140,606	109,623	3,239,396	1,255,418	145,314	3,495	1,669,256	25,255	121,721	18,935
114,703	191,171	104,288	3,104,438	1,151,973	197,983	5,854	1,574,643	28,320	128,004	17,637
122,755	204,593	106,527	3,225,581	1,146,111	211,634	5,717	1,723,149	22,382	98,685	17,900
100,939	151,468	65,343	2,702,043	971,133	162,024	5,336	1,469,774	18,677	55,894	19,201
84,880	127,321	67,611	3,003,251	1,178,396	135,628	634	1,500,929	21,575	146,022	16,065
81,857	122,786	61,778	2,880,130	1,262,037	162,589	19	1,229,637	17,699	194,417	14,030
83,821	125,732	38,140	3,375,692	1,052,518	170,072	1,379	1,839,891	25,920	270,012	15,900
66,677	100,015	84,777	2,907,922	1,234,772	177,130	10,424	1,297,775	42,315	94,075	51,431
100,563	150,845	126,248	3,326,211	1,039,531	260,797	3,876	1,892,557	28,144	26,738	74,568
94,729	142,093	139,816	3,373,068	1,230,726	267,640	410	1,971,205	39,708	161,581	65,658
74,931	112,397	132,144	3,957,843	1,213,926	172,883	2,028	2,093,903	23,564	418,803	32,736
54,862	82,293	128,333	4,238,333	1,402,196	119,771	19,681	2,257,613	20,075	388,328	30,669
7,109	10,663	140,710	4,361,664	1,391,121	78,942	19,214	2,543,822	22,646	266,337	39,584
26,316	39,474	87,554	4,103,339	1,250,849	91,608	20,044	2,140,443	15,382	557,204	27,809
39,973	59,960	76,791	4,826,360	1,319,748	113,618	15,475	2,691,208	11,204	624,060	51,047
36,064	57,097	79,911	4,863,426	1,329,712	109,896	1,379	2,822,097	4,726	558,010	37,606
53,644	80,467	90,361	5,321,290	1,449,773	143,766	234	3,154,282	7,669	504,962	60,604
58,628	89,442	65,195	4,995,406	1,384,193	123,525	5,694	2,999,442	5,761	430,611	46,180
19,317	28,975	50,106	4,639,301	1,222,195	70,198	1,684	3,008,037	6,893	287,858	42,416
25,833	38,750	52,378	4,704,732	1,238,104	67,714	380	3,013,526	4,443	310,078	70,507
29,220	43,830	78,926	5,013,283	1,429,139	126,395	12,417	3,298,140	2,449	83,205	61,538
15,062	22,593	55,052	4,533,693	1,560,888	52,212	8,717	2,555,905	4,469	292,859	58,648
12,192	18,288	431,69	4,316,592	1,507,572	34,378	7,318	2,339,958	6,342	378,467	42,557
5,250	7,875	33,433	4,455,339	1,349,809	19,379	6,229	2,688,208	4,993	353,437	31,484
5,923	8,885	48,506	3,903,841	1,280,464	17,572	4,011	2,474,121	6,783	32,837	48,043
9,064	13,596	33,529	2,568,031	749,910	17,797	726	1,756,948	1,919	1,959	38,772
16,322	24,483	21,731	4,092,990	1,263,319	36,728	13,264	2,675,818	5,610	38,454	59,767
20,256	30,384	93,728	4,878,304	1,607,737	44,497	11,150	2,433,955	6,806	714,694	59,465
7,939	11,908	88,970	4,629,086	1,444,233	31,497	6,682	2,559,706	2,034	517,095	67,839
21,151	31,726	96,109	4,903,261	1,233,663	52,773	15,760	2,936,996	3,902	594,559	67,600
15,336	23,004	105,848	5,059,867	1,416,073	57,269	15,081	2,939,135	3,680	532,800	75,829
12,946	19,419	136,236	5,083,354	1,629,374	60,055	21,244	2,671,775	6,084	531,674	113,148
7,596	11,394	132,136	5,307,806	1,757,845	38,391	33,710	2,827,198	2,330	532,374	115,958
4,114	6,171	171,406	5,696,897	1,734,226	21,328	18,665	3,170,540	1,184	609,832	141,122
2,647	3,970	200,816	5,408,910	1,820,289	19,998	21,300	2,577,912	708	759,909	208,794
3,412	5,118	207,620	5,471,863	1,930,998	36,210	6,934	2,510,110	1,937	724,090	240,713

Abstracted from the General Account of the Imports of Ireland, returned by the Inspector General, the 4th May 1811.

H. B. HAUTENVILLE.

COMMERCE.—EXPORTS, FOREIGN AND COLONIAL.

AN ACCOUNT of the principal Articles of FOREIGN and COLONIAL  
January 1811; distinguishing the Quantities, the Official Values, and

Years ending the 25th March.	ASHES—Barilla, Pearl and Pot, at 1l. 5s. per cwt.		COFFEE, rated at 10l. 10s. per cwt. to 1791; and at 10l. to 1811.		COTTONS, Plain and Coloured.	D R A P E R Y.				DRUGS.  Value. £.
	Quantity. Cwt.	Value. £.	Quantity. Cwt.	Value. £.		New, rated at 3s. per yard, to 1788; at 3s. 4d. to 1793; and at 2s. 6d. to 1811.		Old, rated at 15s. per yard to 1779; and at 14s. to 1811.		
						Quantity. Yards.	Value. £.	Quantity. Yards.	Value. £.	
1772			668	7,021	106	498	74	152	114	29
1773			405	4,257	9	477	71	72	52	
1774			468	4,914		426	63	200	152	
1775			54	574						150
1776			40	427	177					
1777			31	334						
1778			12	134						170
1779			57	599	150	32	4	301	225	26
1780			3	30						75
1781										321
1782			23	242	385	131	19	594	445	1,199
1783			621	6,521	194					294
1784			162	1,702	1,367	23,281	3,492	5,945	4,458	35
1785			22	236	4,923	113	121	3,241	3,930	538
1786			140	1,475	1,852	2,583	387	7,204	5,403	129
1787					3,971	962	144	1,892	1,419	181
1788					5,650	1,592	238	2,428	1,821	561
1789			1	20,610	645	4,144	690	10,064	7,548	175
1790					850	3,792	632	7,803	5,852	405
1791					510	914	152	6,708	5,051	190
1792			581	5,816	1,896	2,686	447	3,550	4,162	1,648
1793			462	4,621	2,143	1,887	314	2,507	1,880	775
1794			66	662	583	1,078	134	2,654	1,990	786
1795			1,767	17,678	1,679	1,831	228	4,087	3,065	583
1796			1,703	17,034	840	448	56	6,690	5,017	582
1797			82	828	2,326	1,316	164	3,229	2,421	527
1798			1,317	13,177	1,525	1,400	175	14,637	10,977	20
1799			94	944	556	655	81	9,854	7,390	88
1800	2,020	2,525	189	1,890	1,278	1,790	223	14,663	10,264	132
1801	1,985	2,481	767	7,675	1,266	1,828	228	29,922	20,945	467
1802	6,930	8,662	1,954	19,542	7,123	15,328	1,916	59,624	41,737	518
1803	377	471	2,584	25,847	983	4,438	554	27,611	19,327	679
1804	2,112	2,640	435	4,357	1,571	428	53	13,944	9,760	263
1805	1,250	1,562	2,128	21,280	620	2,072	259	11,872	8,310	1,649
1806	2,628	3,285	1,388	13,882	4,091	19,049	2,378	10,111	7,077	5,637
1807	6,377	8,221	580	5,800	59,46	10,920	1,865	31,198	21,838	1,594
1808	8,738	10,922	519	5,195	1,932	7,779	972	25,286	17,700	1,553
1809	9,953	12,441	955	9,556	6,187	7,218	902	30,459	21,321	1,697
1810	15,427	19,283	2,122	21,223	3,750	13,139	1,642	32,336	22,635	3,400
1811	54,936	68,670	1,439	14,396	6,997	14,732	1,841	55,797	39,057	854



COMMERCE.—EXPORTS, FOREIGN AND COLONIAL.

An ACCOUNT of the principal Articles of FOREIGN and COLONIAL MERCHANDISE,

Years ending the 25th March	SPIRITS.						TALLOW,		TOBACCO,		WINE.	
	BRANDY,		GENEVA,		RUM,		rated at 1l. 10s. per cwt. to 1788; at 2l. to 1789; at 1l. 10s. to 1795; at 1l. 12s. 6d. to 1799; and at 1l. 10s. to 1811.		rated at 3d. per lb. to 1781; at 6d. to 1795; and at 8d. to 1811.		FRENCH, rated at 60l. per Tun.	
	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.
Gallons.	£.	Gallons.	£.	Gallons.	£.	Cwt.	£.	lbs.	£.	T. H. G.	£.	
1772	27,221	2,268	3,866	322	100,682	8,390	-	140,071	1,750	35	2,115	
1773	7,679	639	739	61	38,370	3,197	-	68,001	850	28	1,680	
1774	2,842	236	-	-	19,899	1,658	-	-	-	32	1,965	
1775	1,803	150	-	-	16,263	1,355	-	8,671	108	31	1,897	
1776	1,264	126	-	-	19,044	1,687	-	5,157	64	20	1,252	
1777	1,715	171	-	-	71,362	5,946	-	2,443	30	25	1,500	
1778	709	70	707	70	8,637	719	-	-	-	18	1,138	
1779	908	20	-	-	18,801	1,566	-	-	-	8	487	
1780	-	-	65	6	1,512	126	-	5,098	63	5	345	
1781	17,097	1,709	6,910	691	1,891	157	-	-	-	20	1,258	
1782	210	21	-	-	676	56	-	-	-	6	375	
1783	379	47	-	-	76,614	6,384	-	7,422	185	34	2,092	
1784	-	-	-	-	14,761	1,476	-	695,523	17,388	32	1,965	
1785	3,236	404	-	-	12,527	1,252	-	211,113	5,277	38	2,288	
1786	7,465	933	-	-	21,575	2,157	-	429,655	10,741	24	1,442	
1787	22,309	2,788	845	105	21,681	2,168	756	1,134	1,184,380	29,609	27,252	1,662
1788	9,357	1,169	447	53	11,966	1,196	1,730	2,595	415,781	10,394	18	1,120
1789	2,762	345	1,530	191	4,249	424	322	644	551,154	13,778	33	1,981
1790	356	44	588	73	4,401	440	937	1,406	140,448	3,511	56	3,402
1791	2,939	367	75	9	6,228	622	-	-	389,592	9,739	51	3,100
1792	44,557	5,569	1,381	172	2,010	201	-	-	119,293	2,982	47	2,873
1793	6,656	832	1,674	209	26,249	2,624	-	-	56,342	908	105	6,348
1794	5,031	628	-	-	1,050	105	-	-	2,143	53	59	3,597
1795	1,950	243	-	-	7,047	704	-	-	-	-	41	2,497
1796	2,671	333	135	16	3,849	384	717	1,166	5,361	178	31	1,892
1797	3,500	437	-	-	11,704	1,170	2,904	4,719	1,297	43	33	2,026
1798	4,254	531	-	-	5,799	579	3,032	4,927	2,997	99	34	2,072
1799	-	-	-	-	7,614	561	147	239	562,765	18,758	118	7,108
1800	2,157	269	1,113	139	10,724	1,072	140	210	574,446	19,148	114	6,895
1801	99	12	-	-	592	59	1,198	1,797	909,494	30,316	126	7,599
1802	158,435	19,804	11,078	1,384	72,965	7,296	3,426	5,139	1,621,353	54,045	125,018	7,504
1803	111,168	13,896	29,959	3,744	118,597	11,859	1,456	2,185	801,716	26,723	123	7,420
1804	7,981	997	-	-	72,982	7,298	2,820	4,230	838,442	27,948	65	3,925
1805	5,394	674	15,728	1,966	96,866	9,686	1,611	2,416	415,631	13,854	90	5,430
1806	6,932	866	367	45	25,404	2,540	1,828	2,743	690,986	23,032	99	5,943
1807	18,910	2,363	4,167	520	38,506	3,850	2,986	4,480	21,911	730	158	9,511
1808	735	91	-	-	24,137	2,413	3,292	4,938	175,704	5,856	96	5,798
1809	35,657	4,457	-	-	35,339	3,533	2,389	3,583	102,241	3,408	67	4,028
1810	21,372	2,671	14,502	1,812	173,791	17,379	3,449	5,173	511,767	17,058	149	8,953
1811	74,936	9,367	91,578	11,447	346,139	34,613	-	-	1,186,326	39,544	168	10,133

Custom-House, Dublin, }  
14th June, 1811. }

COMMERCE.—EXPORTS, FOREIGN AND COLONIAL.

Exported from IRELAND, from 25th March 1771, to the 5th January 1811, &c.—continued.

WINE												WOOL—Cotton,		OTHERS MER- CHANDISE.	TOTAL Official Value of Foreign and Colonial Merchandise Exported.
MADEIRA, rated at 50l. per Tun.		PORT, rated at 50l. per Tun.		RHENISH, rated at 50l. per tun to 1775; at 25l. to 1776; and at 50l. afterwards.		SPANISH, rated at 40l. per Tun.		rated at 45l. per Tun.		Value. £.	Value. £.				
Quantity. Tuns.	Value. £.	Quantity. Tuns.	Value. £.	Quantity. Tuns.	Value. £.	Quantity. Tuns.	Value. £.	Quantity. Cwt.	Value. £.			Value. £.	Value. £.		
		12	673			3	151			6,702	43,218				
		10	567		6					2,571	34,894				
		13	745			1	78			3,664	31,911				
		9	544			2	90			2,967	27,324				
		12	689		4		5			5,492	21,351				
		9	522			1	45			89,42	43,994				
		9	548				22			8,167	37,219				
		5	286							5,892	25,070				
		14	814							4,599	8,927				
		23	1,290							10,020	15,604				
		23	1,300							20,730	24,906				
		17	976		8	3	144			17,002	27,785				
		18	1,018			3	157			49,368	73,838				
		21	1,203		30		30			20,959	42,502				
		10	554			16	727			26,724	54,174				
		6	362			1	61			18,462	62,314				
		8	462			5	256			19,206	45,346				
		21	616			4	198			15,473	41,663				
		8	481		6	3	174			11,223	28,939				
		48	2,685		45	42	1,934			15,567	79,174				
		75	4,174		22	99	4,489			27,029	66,470				
		22	1,243	1	74	16	3			19,785	52,186				
		9	538	1	66	22	1,022			14,738	25,861				
		81	4,482	1	100	7	353			10,889	46,601				
		91	5,042	1	83	4	221			17,260	51,049				
		86	4,753	3	210	7	349			14,592	37,072				
		1	60	37	2,083	7	326			21,699	62,141				
		5	1,776	12	679	1	64			30,242	138,575				
		41	4,704	10	568	19	896	3,131	12,224	71,424	175,430				
		238	4,095	11	609	50	2,261	1,643	6,572	38,127	172,521				
		115	6,333	230	12,690	14	829	2,108	8,435	51,473	310,266				
		8	491	84	4,636	5	287	41	1,862	52,442	212,090				
		1	62	121	6,660	10	600	16	728	35,770	141,301				
		1	106	122	6,752	1	73	47	2,135	4,804	39,865				
		5	310	242	13,322	7	430	62	2,828	1,029	40,265				
		8	479	194	10,705	9	513	244	10,985	1,471	43,258				
		4	224	148	7,881	2	110	71	3,201	378	39,271				
		31	1,709	440	24,218	1	85	97	4,372	4,662	97,706				
		54	3,015	217	11,942	8	482	264	11,903	11,454	105,987				
		64	3,529	327	18,009	2	137	528	23,763	16,148	64,592				
										135,719	627,472				

THOMAS WITHERALL,  
For the Inspector-General of Imports and Exports.

These returns afford a convincing proof, that the population of Ireland has increased, and that a salutary change is beginning to take place in the habits of the people; they furnish sufficient grounds, to warrant the most sanguine hope in regard to the future prosperity of the country, and cannot fail of being highly gratifying to those interested in its welfare. A greater consumption of those articles which contribute to the comforts of life, among the general mass of the people, will establish commercial towns in the interior for the exchange of indigenous productions, as well as of foreign commodities; a taste more congenial to civilization will be diffused, and new wants being thus created, an enlivening and efficient stimulus will be given to industry. Let those who are fond of viewing every thing in the most unfavourable light suspend their gloomy reflections; and instead of indulging in idle clamour and complaint, direct their thoughts to the best means of turning to advantage the natural resources of their country. Every thing considered, the inhabitants of Ireland have certainly great cause to rejoice; for I fully agree in opinion with a respectable writer, in thinking its present state "a phenomenon in statistics, unparalleled in the history of the most flourishing colonies, ancient or modern."\*

Mr. Newenham, who seems very little disposed to allow much credit to those who planned and brought about that more intimate connexion between Great Britain and Ireland, which has been so beneficial to the commerce of the latter, indulges in some reflections which tend to corroborate my opinion. Speaking of the Union, he says, "Even though the Union is as yet far from having produced the expected effect, with reference to the increase of wealth in Ireland, the number of Irish representatives, if proportioned to the actual comparative exports and imports of Britain and Ireland, would be much greater than allotted in 1800. The current value of the exports of the former, in the year ended 5th of last January, was £40,479,865., and that of those of the latter £10,110,385. This would give to Ireland 133 representatives, instead of 96. The official value of the goods imported into Britain in the year, ended 5th January, 1807, was £28,840,860. That of the foreign and colonial goods exported the following year, £9,395,283.; so that the value of those retained for home consumption, was £19,445,577. The official value of the goods imported into Ireland in the former year, was £5,605,964., and that of the foreign goods exported in the latter, £150,370., leaving for home consumption to the amount of £5,455,594., which would give Ireland 149 representatives instead of 89. The average number of representatives adjusted to the actual exports and imports of Ireland, is 141. The average number adjusted to her exports and imports in the three years, ended in 1799, was 92 or 49 less."

"It was positively affirmed, and, indeed, very generally expected, that in the event

\* Sir Francis D'Ivernois's *Effects of the Continental Blockade*. London, 1810, p. 70.

of Ireland's enjoying for twenty years, that commercial reciprocity with Britain; which was secured by the Act of Union, the national wealth of the former would approach much nearer to that of the latter, than it then was; and, accordingly, the future United Parliament was, by that act, vested with a discretionary power to augment the public contributions of Ireland, in proportion to the value of her exports, imports, and consumption of excisable commodities, or in proportion to her income, as estimated by the produce of a general tax. Surely, that parliament ought, at the same time to have been vested with a similar power to augment the number of her representatives in proportion to the increase of her wealth; and, surely, if the circumstances of Ireland experience the improvement which was promised and looked to, the present number of her representatives evidently unsuitable to the real circumstances of the country at the time of the Union, can scarcely fail to be warrantably deemed inadequate, unfair, and a grievance."\*

I shall here offer a few observations on the official rates of value as assigned by all custom-house entries, as they appear to be very little understood. Mr. Marshal, inspector-general of the Irish customs, stated to a committee of the House of Commons, that frequent alterations had taken place in their mode of estimate between 1697 and 1790, a fact which destroys the accuracy of any calculations that may be formed upon them, and cancels the volumes of figures which have been printed on the subject. If, for example, in the year 1700, a cwt. of flax was rated in the custom-house books at £1. and in 1800 at £5., those who trust to figures might be induced to imagine that an increase had taken place in the quantity, when in reality the increase is only in the price. But for a detail of these matters, I must refer to the table already printed, in which quantities as well as value are set forth.

Although there can be no doubt but that the trade of Ireland has increased, I do not go to such a length as Sir Francis D'Ivernois, and ascribe it all to the Union. On the contrary, I am convinced that it has arisen greatly from the rapid progress which the people are making in civilization. Had no such event taken place, wheat would equally have been substituted for oats, and muslins and calico have supplanted linsey and rags. I admit the effect in the fullest extent, but differ from that respectable writer as to the cause; and although his predictions on the French finances have failed, his remarks respecting Ireland, which he has established on the most unquestionable basis, in opposition to Mr. Newenham, bear honourable testimony to his talents and industry.

Before a country can be considered in a safe and prosperous state, it ought to produce necessaries adequate to the maintenance of its people. I could wish, therefore, even in years of the greatest scarcity, to see some exportation of corn from Ireland, as

\* Newenham's Natural and Political Circumstances of Ireland, p. 286.

a proof that she is in a condition to feed her own inhabitants without foreign aid.\* This is the utmost of my anxiety respecting exportation: were this proof once afforded, it would give me much greater satisfaction to find the superabundant quantity consumed

\* "Though I have dwelt much on the importance of raising a quantity of corn in the country beyond the demands of the home consumption, yet I do not mean to recommend that general system of ploughing, which takes place in most parts of France, and defeats its own purpose. A large stock of cattle is not only necessary as a very valuable part of the food of the country, and as contributing very greatly to the comforts of a considerable portion of its population; but it is also necessary in the production of corn itself. A large surplus produce, in proportion to the number of persons employed, can never be obtained without a great stock of cattle. At the same time, it does not follow, that we should throw all the land that is sown into pasture. It is an observation of Arthur Young, and I should think a just one, that the first and most obvious improvement in agriculture, is to make the fallows of a country support the additional cattle and sheep wanted in it. (Travels in France, vol. i. p. 361.) I am by no means sanguine, however, as to the practicability of converting England again into an exporting country, while the demands for the products of pasture are daily increasing, from the increasing riches of the commercial part of the nation. But should this be really considered as impracticable, it seems to point out to us one of the great causes of the decay of nations. We have always heard, that states and empires have their periods of declension; and we learn from history, that the different nations of the earth have flourished in a kind of succession; and that poor countries have been continually rising on the ruins of their richer neighbours. Upon the commercial system, this kind of succession seems to be in the natural and necessary course of things, independently of the effects of war. If from the increasing riches of the commercial part of any nation, and the consequently increasing demands for the products of pasture, more lands were daily laid down to grass, and more corn imported from other countries, the unavoidable consequence seems to be, that the increasing prosperity of these countries, which their exportations of corn would contribute to accelerate, must ultimately destroy the population and power of the countries which fostered them. The ancients always attributed this natural weakness and old age of states to luxury. But the moderns, who have generally considered luxury as a principal encouragement to commerce and manufactures, and consequently a powerful instrument of prosperity, have, with great appearance of reason, been unwilling to consider it as a cause of decline. But allowing with the moderns, all the advantages of luxury, and when it falls short of actual vice, they are certainly great; there seems to be a point, beyond which it must necessarily become prejudicial to a state, and bring with it the seeds of weakness and decay. This point is, when it is pushed so far, as to trench on the funds necessary for its support, and to become an impediment instead of an encouragement to agriculture. I should be much misunderstood, if, from any thing that I have said in the four last chapters, I should be considered as not sufficiently aware of the advantages derived from commerce and manufactures. I look upon them as the most distinguishing characteristics of civilization, the most obvious and striking marks of the improvement of society, and calculated to enlarge our enjoyments, and add to the sum of human happiness. No great surplus produce of agriculture could exist without them, and if it did exist, it would be comparatively of very little value. But still they are rather the ornaments and embellishments of the political structure than its foundations. While these foundations are perfectly secure, we cannot be too solicitous to make all the apartments convenient and elegant; but if there be the slightest reason to fear that the foundations themselves may give way, it seems to be folly to continue directing our principal attention to the less essential parts. The most determined friend of commerce and manufactures must allow, that the persons employed in them cannot exist without food to support them; and I cannot persuade myself to believe that they can be sufficiently secure of this food, if they depend for it principally on other countries. There has never yet been an instance in history, of a large nation continuing, with undiminished vigour, to support four or five millions of its people on imported

by manufacturers\* employed in clothing the people, or supplying foreign markets with the produce of their industry; and I am happy to have the present opportunity of explaining my sentiments on this subject to the gentlemen of Ireland, many of whom I have heard strongly insisting on the necessity of great exports of corn; but I must observe, lest my meaning be misunderstood, that I entertain no idea that England ought to purchase in Poland rather than in Ireland. It is a homely, but significant proverb, that "charity begins at home." If England must buy corn, let her confer the benefit of supplying her wants to her friends, in preference to strangers; when she can find a market at the door, why should she go to a foreign one? The soil of Ireland is so fertile, and the climate so favourable, that under a proper system of agriculture, it will produce not only a sufficiency of corn for its own use, but a superabundance which may be ready at all times to relieve England when she may stand in need of assistance.

The subject to be next examined is, the state of navigation and shipping in Ireland.

corn; nor do I believe that there ever will be such an instance in future. England is, undoubtedly, from her insular situation, and commanding navy, the most likely to form an exception to this rule; but considering the subject as a general question in political economy, these advantages must evidently be looked upon as peculiar and incidental; and what might be applicable to England, would not be so to other countries. In spite, however, of the peculiar advantages of England, it appears to me clear, that if she continue yearly to increase her importations of corn, she cannot ultimately escape that decline which seems to be the natural and necessary consequence of excessive commercial wealth; and the growing prosperity of those countries which supply her with corn, must, in the end, diminish her population, her riches, and her power. I am not now speaking of the next twenty or thirty years, but of the next two or three hundred. And though we are little in the habit of looking so far forwards, yet it may be questioned, whether we have a right knowingly to adopt a system which must necessarily terminate in the weakness and decline of our posterity. But whether we make any practical application of such a discussion or not, it is curious to contemplate the causes of those reverses in the fates of empires, which so frequently changed the face of the world in past times, and may be expected to produce similar, though, perhaps, not such violent changes in future. War was, undoubtedly, in ancient times, the principal cause of these changes; but it frequently only finished a work which excess of luxury and the neglect of agriculture had begun. With regard to ourselves, we should recollect that it is only within the last twenty or thirty years, that we have become an importing nation. In so short a period, it could hardly be expected, that the evils of the system should be perceptible. We have, however, already felt some of its inconveniences; and if we persevere in it, its evil consequences may by no means be a matter of remote speculation. It has been before observed, that, if from the beginning every kind of trade had been left to find its own level, agriculture would probably never have wanted any particular support; but when once this general and desirable liberty has been infringed, it seems to be clearly our interest to attend principally to those parts of the political structure, which in the actual circumstances of the country appear to be comparatively the weakest; and, upon this principle, we should be justified in giving particular encouragement to manufactures in such countries as Poland, and the southern parts of Siberia, and the same kind of encouragement to agriculture, in England." *Malthus' Principle of Population*, p. 466—469.

\* Bishop Berkeley asks, "whether it is possible the country should be well improved, while our beef is exported, and our labourers live on potatoes." *Berkeley's Works*, Dublin edit. 1784, vol. ii. p. 370. "Whether the quantities of butter, wool, and leather, exported from this island (Ireland), can be reckoned the superfluities of a country, where there are so many natives naked and famished." *Ibid.*

## COMMERCE.—VESSELS, TONNAGE, &amp;c.

AN ACCOUNT of the Number of VESSELS, with the Amount of TONNAGE, and the Number of Men and Boys employed in navigating the same (including their repeated Voyages), that entered Inwards and cleared Outwards in the several Ports of Ireland, from or to ALL Parts of the World;—since the Establishment of a Registry, to 5th January 1811;—distinguishing each Year; and the Irish, and British, and Foreign Vessels.

YEARS.	I N W A R D S.									TOTAL Inwards.			
	I R I S H.			B R I T I S H.			F O R E I G N.			Ships.	Tons.	Men.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.				
Years ending 25th March,	1795	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7,086	630,506	-	
	1796	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7,203	634,274	-	
	1797	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8,562	748,427	-	
	1798	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6,630	586,480	-	
	1799	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6,434	592,525	-	
	1800	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7,708	683,273	-	
	1801	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7,690	711,242	-	
9 Months ending 5th Jan. } 1802	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5,602	501,213	-	
Years ending 5th January,	1803	1,408	98,101	7,001	5,826	535,819	31,805	366	58,560	3,791	7,600	692,480	42,597
	1804	1,315	97,946	6,529	5,969	569,704	32,286	600	94,800	6,159	7,911	762,450	44,974
	1805	1,243	90,541	6,116	6,242	610,618	33,553	534	79,778	5,182	8,019	780,937	44,851
	1806	1,276	91,290	6,230	6,139	580,752	33,775	545	82,420	5,539	7,960	754,462	45,544
	1807	1,497	102,163	7,049	6,637	630,368	36,818	498	80,001	5,055	8,692	812,532	48,922
	1808	1,503	107,733	7,231	6,836	652,946	36,539	461	78,533	4,674	8,800	839,212	48,444
	1809	1,583	111,614	7,485	7,189	696,403	38,426	159	25,356	1,580	8,931	833,373	47,491
	1810	1,546	103,698	7,217	5,975	535,299	30,548	343	56,946	3,525	7,864	695,943	41,390
	1811	1,982	130,991	8,983	7,514	673,540	38,536	660	119,188	6,643	10,156	923,719	54,162
	O U T W A R D S.												
TOTAL Outwards.													
Years ending 25th March,	1795	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1796	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1797	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1798	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1799	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1800	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1801	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
9 Months ending 5th Jan. } 1802	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Years ending 5th January,	1803	1,418	101,219	7,349	5,095	482,262	28,392	359	62,963	3,705	6,872	646,444	39,446
	1804	1,211	90,254	6,324	5,160	509,387	29,368	553	93,995	5,728	6,924	693,636	41,420
	1805	1,080	82,934	5,882	5,013	507,177	28,337	531	78,971	5,093	6,624	669,062	39,262
	1806	1,172	90,173	6,077	5,442	535,761	30,648	521	77,783	4,910	7,135	703,717	41,635
	1807	1,353	97,162	6,754	5,888	574,688	32,441	522	83,048	5,139	7,763	754,898	44,334
	1808	1,320	97,856	6,797	6,294	615,702	34,631	418	72,662	4,130	8,032	786,220	45,558
	1809	1,405	108,435	7,221	6,473	641,157	35,715	163	27,856	1,591	8,041	777,448	44,527
	1810	1,327	109,144	7,398	5,877	538,699	30,477	333	56,267	3,225	7,737	704,110	41,100
	1811	1,841	125,389	8,650	6,931	627,012	35,595	639	117,414	6,312	9,411	869,815	50,557

*Note.*—A Registry was not established in Ireland for representing the distinction of Irish, British, and Foreign Vessels, nor the number of Men, until the year ending 5th January 1803; and there was not a Registry established for representing an Account of the Tonnage of Ships cleared outwards from Ireland, until the same year.

Custom-House, Dublin, }  
16th April, 1811. }

SAMUEL WALKER,  
Comptroller of Tonnage and Light Money.

An ACCOUNT of the Number of VESSELS, with the Amount of their TONNAGE, and Number of Men and Boys usually employed in navigating the same; which belonged to the several Ports of Ireland in each Year since the Establishment of a Registry, to January 5th, 1811.				An ACCOUNT of the Number of VESSELS, with the Amount of their TONNAGE, which have been built and registered in Ireland, in each Year, since the Establishment of a Registry, to 5th January, 1811.		
Years ending the	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Years ending the	Vessels.	Tons.
30th Sept. 1788	1,016	60,776	6,055	5th January 1788	38	1,670
1789	1,080	64,361	6,231	1789	72	2,760
1790	1,134	68,236	6,720	1790	73	3,163
1791	1,176	69,290	6,636	1791	50	2,334
1792	1,193	69,567	6,730	1792	51	2,464
1793	1,181	67,791	6,437	1793	43	1,629
1794	1,166	65,164	6,274	1794	35	1,659
1795	1,099	58,778	5,598	1795	32	1,441
1796	1,078	56,575	5,402	1796	33	1,654
1797	1,048	53,181	5,104	1797	33	1,803
1798	1,025	49,987	4,919	1798	19	797
1799	999	49,825	4,835	1799	20	1,072
1800	1,003	54,262	5,057	1800	18	1,105
1801	1,004	54,242	4,875	1801	22	1,680
1802	1,080	56,510	5,058	1802	21	1,333
1803	1,065	58,871	5,218	1803	37	2,334
1804	1,061	58,060	5,176	1804	42	2,418
1805	1,087	56,755	5,062	1805	38	1,611
1806	1,076	55,545	5,081	1806	28	1,312
1807	1,098	56,902	5,217	1807	41	1,687
1808	1,104	58,958	5,324	1808	33	1,333
1809	1,119	61,150	5,560	1809	32	1,235
1810	1,126	58,646	5,416	1810	31	1,643
				1811	21	1,331

F. L. MORGAN,  
Registry Officer  
for Shipping.

Custom House, Dublin, }  
17th April, 1811. }

F. L. MORGAN,  
Registry Officer  
for Shipping.

Custom House, Dublin, }  
17th April, 1811. }

I am concerned to observe, from these official documents, that fewer ships of late years have been built in Ireland, and that a decreased number are the property of Irish ship-owners. But they exhibit, by the entries inwards, a considerable increase of foreign-trade, if that carried on with Britain can be comprehended under this denomination. It must, however, be remarked, that many vessels enter inwards from England, for the purpose of taking in stores, and clearing outwards to the West Indies, which, no doubt, are included in these lists; but although their tonnage and men contribute to swell official returns, they add little or nothing to the trade of Ireland.

~~On the whole, after making every deduction, the facts here stated, from the authority of parliamentary documents, afford a most cheering prospect to the friends of Ireland; as they prove the existence of a trade, which, in a country so situated, and possessing so many local advantages, cannot fail to increase in a rapid degree, if cultivated with that spirit of enterprise, which, in every free country, has been attended with success.~~

It has been asserted, that Ireland derived considerable advantages from the locality of her legislature, and that its removal has done injury to her trade; but in my estimation, this circumstance has benefited mercantile men in that country, and must ultimately be an advantage to commerce. The merchants are not now distracted with political discussions, foreign to their habits and pursuits; they have more leisure for attending to those objects which belong to their immediate province; and as they have fewer inducements to become statesmen, they acquire more inclination to remain within their own sphere, and to cultivate those branches of knowledge which are most suited to their station. I have no wish to exclude mercantile men from a share in the legislation of their country; it is fit and proper that a certain number of that class, if possessed of independence, and sound judgement, should be members of the national council and assist in its deliberations; but I am persuaded that the facility with which English traders acquire seats in parliament, is a serious injury, and the evil is greater where men are "every day starting up from obscurity into wealth." A celebrated genius once observed "~~that the force of our early habits is so great, that, though reason approves, nay, though our senses relish, a different course, every man almost returns to them.~~" Unfortunately, there is too much truth in this remark, however mortifying to our pride. Mercantile men, in general, being early habituated to ideas connected with their profession, suffer those ideas too generally to influence their parliamentary conduct; and cherish the delusive sentiment, that those principles and views which have actuated their conduct in their transactions in trade will be equally advantageous when applied in politics—sinking the enlarged views of the statesman to the level of the merchant, and spreading

\* Boswell's Life of Johnson, vol. ii. p. 373.

around a spirit destructive of virtue and freedom ;\* hence arises in a great degree that system of bribery and corruption by which our popular elections are disgraced, nor can it now be surprising to find men figuring as legislators, who are destitute of every qualification requisite for so important a trust.

Many commercial men in Ireland have already purchased estates ; and I consider it as fortunate for the country, that her merchants are at a distance from the great stock-market of London, where we see thousands daily laying out their money, and laying by their industry. Upon the whole, although Ireland is without the productions necessary for ship-building, there is reason to believe that the trade of this part of the united empire will progressively extend, especially as their wants in the articles of building ships may be supplied from other countries. Holland possesses neither timber nor corn, and its harbours are bad ; yet the Dutch, by indefatigable exertion, were enabled not only to create a respectable navy, but to construct vessels, in which they carried on a trade, greater in proportion to their population, than that of almost any other people in Europe.

That Ireland has made a wonderful progress in improvement, will not, I think, be denied by the gloomiest politician. Let those who look only at the dark side of the picture, turn their eyes to Belfast. This town, which about a century ago, scarcely deserved notice, is now, in point of trade and consequence, the fifth in the island, and affords a proof how great a change may be effected in the course of a little time, by industry properly directed. But, without dwelling on individual instances, do not many, who inhabited formerly thatched cabins, sleep now under a slated roof ? Do not hundreds, whose food was confined chiefly to potatoes, now use wheaten bread ? Is not the number of those who wear shoes and stockings, much greater than at any period since Ireland became acquainted with civilization ? and do not thousands sleep in blankets and sheets, who were formerly contented with a covering of straw ? These facts, perceptible to every one, but to those who wilfully shut their eyes, furnish a convincing proof of a great influx of wealth. Having been frequently in Ireland during the last thirty years, my own observation has convinced me that a considerable change of habits has taken place, and that a taste for a more refined mode of life is now diffusing itself among the people.

Much, however, is still to be accomplished : this partial revolution in habits and manners must become general, to be of national advantage ; it must be extended to all the people, and to every part of the country. Before a body can be sound and strong,

\* Aristotle says, there was a law at Thebes, which disqualified men from holding offices of magistracy till ten years after they had left off business as merchants or traders. *Ἐν Θήβαις δὲ νόμος ἦν τῶν δικαστῶν μὴ ἀποσχέμεσθαι τῆς ἀγορᾶς μὴ μεταχρῆν ἀρχῆς.* Politic. Francof. 1601. 8vo. lib. iii. cap. 3. p. 168.

every member and limb must be in an equally good condition. One weak part may give a degree of feebleness to the whole. The importation of wine, carriages, musical instruments, and other articles of luxury for the rich, have increased in an extraordinary manner; but these things belong to the higher classes, whose opulence and education enable them to indulge in such gratifications. It is the community at large to whom attention ought to be chiefly directed; for with all the improvement, and notwithstanding the increase of imports and exports, still the condition of the mass of the people is miserable, and in numerous instances so wretched as to beggar description. Although they possess physical and moral qualities, which, if called into action, and properly directed, might render them valuable members of society, they are sadly neglected and suffered to remain in ignorance, and a prey to idleness; and, consequently, their faculties are of little use either to themselves or to the state. The spectacles which they often exhibit in their persons, their habitations, and domestic economy, can scarcely be credited but by those who have seen them. I am the more anxious, therefore, to impress on the minds of landed proprietors, and all others, who have it in their power to contribute towards the amelioration of these degraded people, the wretchedness of their situation; and the necessity of every exertion being made to rouse them from their indolence and sloth, by holding out prospects, and endeavouring to convert them by encouragement and kind treatment into useful and active citizens.

The warmth of my zeal on this subject has, I am afraid, led me into repetitions; but being conscious that I am pleading in an honourable cause, I shall feel the less uneasiness if repetition should expose me to critical animadversion. I write to be useful, not to acquire fame; I have endeavoured to adhere to truth; how far I have succeeded, it does not become me to determine; but if justice be done to my intentions, my ambition will be fully gratified.

In proportion as the state of the people in Ireland is improved, the trade of the country will be extended. But, the united efforts of government and individuals will be requisite to promote so desirable an end. When laws are made, let them be framed and administered in such a manner, as to protect industry. That this was not the case lately, can hardly be doubted; and I am persuaded, from what I have myself witnessed, that the great body of the people of that country are discouraged from exertion, because they entertain a fear that they shall not be suffered to enjoy, unmolested, the fruits of their honest toil. "Why does Great Britain hold the sceptre of commerce? Because in England, personal rights are sacred, and every species of property finds protection and security in the freedom of civil government, and the equal administration of law."

But among a people, whose energy has long been repressed, and whose minds have been fettered by ignorance, laws alone will not be sufficient. Laws may deter

men from the commission of great crimes; but, to effect a salutary change in the general habits and manners of a country, they must be assisted by education and example. While government, therefore, discharges its duty by providing the means of instruction, it is incumbent on land-holders, country gentlemen, and magistrates, respectable manufacturers, and all those who, by their acquirements or station, possess an influence in society, to be circumspect in their conduct; to regulate their lives by the strictest rules of honour and justice; and to exhibit themselves to the people as models worthy of imitation. Above all, they ought to avoid harshness and severity in their intercourse and transactions with these unfortunate men; remembering, that more is likely to be accomplished by admonition, advice, and gentle remonstrance, than by severity of punishment; the recollection of which rankles in the heart, and adds fuel to the most untractable passions. In plans of civilization, it is of the utmost importance, that those who attempt innovations should conciliate, by kind treatment, the affections of the persons among whom they are desirous that they should be introduced. Before new modes of life, and other improvements are suggested to them, they ought to be convinced that they are proposed by friends, rather than by masters; and, instead of tearing out prejudices by the root, the gentlest and mildest remedies should be applied to eradicate them.

But, before the desirable end which I have in view can be accomplished, it is necessary that the land-holders should lay aside their former contracted ideas, and consider their tenants as fellow men, and not as slaves, born to maintain them in affluence and splendour. Such feudal ideas, thanks to the enlightened spirit of the times, are now banished from the greater part of Europe; and I sincerely trust that they have taken their departure, never more to return. The people must not be kept in a state of oppression, nakedness, and misery: it is contrary to justice; it is contrary to the interest of the land-proprietors, and destructive of the commercial prosperity of the country. Let the restraints imposed be removed; give instruction sufficient to make them sensible of their own importance; encourage them to hope that, by honest industry, they may rise to a better condition; excite a desire of improvement, without which its progress will be slow; let them be taught to look for comforts not at present within their reach, and to seek enjoyments to which they as yet are strangers. When they perceive that there are pleasures superior to those of mere animal gratification, they will be roused from their torpor, the finer feelings will be awakened; their thoughts be directed to more laudable objects; and their actions, instead of being guided by mechanical impulse or brutal passion, be subjected to the regular and systematic control of reason.

I hope my readers will not be alarmed at the opinions I have here expressed, and consider that I wish to corrupt the people of Ireland by making them ac-

acquainted with new wants. My only object is to bring about a revolution in their habits and manners, without which, every attempt to introduce solid improvement will be fruitless. Preparatory to this salutary measure I have recommended such a course of instruction as may fit them for the enjoyment of those comforts and harmless luxuries to which their labour and industry may entitle them. But I should be as sorry, were they converted into a nation of voluptuous Sybarites, as I should be to see them left in their present state of rudeness. The pursuits which I am anxious to excite the people of Ireland to follow, are those which tend to create the blessings of civilization, and the arts of industry and of peace. I am no disciple of Raynal or Rousseau;\* I am unacquainted with the happiness of ignorance, or the pleasures of savage life; nor do I admire the opinion of Necker, who asserts, that idiots are the favourites of the Almighty.+ Cicero has said that there is nothing so absurd, that has not been maintained by some of the philosophers. The moderns, in this respect, are not inferior to the ancients; for none of the latter ever propagated a doctrine more ridiculous than that of men walking on all fours in the forests. To enter into a discussion of this subject is foreign to my present purpose; and I flatter myself that, in the present age, it is needless to advocate the cause of civilized life, and to point out the benefits and advantages which attend it. The savage may, indeed, possess a degree of contentment, because he has the means of gratifying the few wants with which he is acquainted: but, if this be happiness, his enjoyments are very little superior to those of "the brutes that perish." A very intelligent traveller remarks, that he found those Hottentots who had learned trades‡ to be happier than others; and he bestows much praise on the intentions of a Hernhuter, who proposed paying a visit to the savage Bosjemans, in order to promote among them that sense of comfort which has so effectually aroused their exertions in another part of the colony.§ The worthy bishop, whom I have already had occasion to quote, asks "whether the bulk of our Irish natives are not kept from thriving by a cynical content in dirt and beggary, which they possess to a degree beyond any other people in christendom; and whether comfortable living doth not produce wants; wants, industry; and industry, wealth."|| But, if there are men so far infatuated as to embrace the opinions of a certain class of philosophers, who bestow such encomiums on savage life, I shall refer them to Mickle's Introduction to his Translation of the Lusiad, where they will find an able refutation of so absurd and erroneous a doctrine.

Some will, perhaps, think that I have been guilty of an omission in not exhibiting any tables of the balance of trade as it affects Ireland. But the truth is, that I hold

\* Sur L'inegalité parmi les hommes, not. 8.

† Monboddo, on the Origin and Progress of Language, vol. i. p. 75.

‡ Barrow's Travels in Southern Africa, vol. i. p. 352.

§ Ibid, p. 399.

|| Berkeley's Works, Dublin edit. 1784, vol. ii. p. 353 and 363.

in very little estimation deductions drawn from tests of this kind. In this respect I differ from men of no small celebrity, experienced in the arts of government, and acquainted with the operations of finance; but, if I have some authorities against me, I console myself with the reflection, that I do not stand alone. Mr. Necker has dwelt much on the "balance of commerce," as the criterion of a nation's increase in wealth.\* Mr. Rose, also, that useful and indefatigable servant of the public, has exulted in the prosperity of England, as deduced from the same result;† and in this he has been followed by Mr. Chalmers,‡ to whose abilities I am ready to pay a just tribute of respect. My opinion, however, is, that that nation is richest whose imports and exports are nearly equal; and I should add together their amount, considering the total increase as a proof of the increased industry of the people, from which alone the real capital of a country is derived; and which, were it entirely deprived of metallic money, would constitute wealth.§ Mr. Oddy has illustrated this position as it affects the northern powers; and his reasoning upon the subject will apply to all civilized states.||

Should any of my readers disagree with me in the opinions which I have here expressed, and believe that the balance of trade is a true test of the riches of a country, I shall beg leave to refer them to Smith's *Essay on the Wealth of Nations*;¶ and to Hume's *Essay on the Balance of Trade*;\*\* where they will find the subject treated in a masterly manner, and opposed by such arguments as, I trust, will induce them to believe that I have not adopted a fallacious idea, or asserted, on slight authority, that the increase of riches derived from trade, can be estimated only from the amount of the exports and imports.

Hume says that "there still prevails, even in nations well acquainted with commerce, a strange jealousy with regard to the balance of trade, and a fear that all their gold and silver may be leaving them. This seems to me, almost in every case, a groundless apprehension; and I should as soon dread that all our springs and rivers should be exhausted, as that money should abandon a kingdom where there are people and industry."†† Bishop Berkeley asks, "whether it would not be a monstrous folly to import nothing but gold and silver, supposing we might do it, from

\* Necker's *Administ. of the Finances of France*, vol. ii. p. 110.

† *Brief Examination, &c.* *Intro.* 4th edit. p. 2.

‡ Chalmers' *Estimate*, 1810. p. 249.

§ Bishop Berkeley asks whether there ever was or will be, an industrious nation poor, or an idle one rich.

*Berkeley's Works*, Dublin edit. 1784, vol. ii. p. 351.

|| Oddy's *European Commerce*, p. 3.

¶ *Book iv. chap. 3.* vol. ii. p. 109, 7th edit.

\*\* *Essays*, vol. i. p. 278. Lond. 1788.

†† *Hume's Essays*, ut supra, p. 279.

every foreign market to which we trade ; but whether we do not all see the ridicule of the Mogul's subjects, who take from us nothing but our silver, and bury it under ground to make use thereof against the resurrection."\* In this short sentence the learned bishop wishes to shew the wisdom of that nation which exchanges its manufactures for the raw materials of other countries ; and the extreme folly of those people who receive these metals in the course of trade, and bury them in the earth, where they are as useless as they were before they were taken from the mine.† The force of this illustration is evident ; yet every one who attaches importance to the balance of trade, founds his reasoning on a principle which the worthy bishop holds up in the most ridiculous light ; because they conceive that this balance of trade is paid for in specie, which adds so much to the permanent wealth of the nation. If this be admitted, bishop Berkeley's Mogul would be a model of political wisdom.‡

Those who entertain so high an idea of the balance of trade, would do well to consult Jefferson's Notes on the State of Virginia, evidently the production of an enlightened mind, written in the language of a practical statesman, who never harboured a wish that his country should possess this balance. They will derive, also, much instruction from the venerable Macpherson, whose able explanation of this subject is of too much value to be omitted. The whole work proves the author to be completely master of his subject ; and therefore the greater credit is due to his statement, wherein he shews, from the difference in the rates, and the omissions in the Custom House entries, that all calculations or conclusions founded upon the balance of trade are, at the best, exceedingly fallacious.§

\* Berkeley's Works, vol. ii. p. 413.

† Munn's English Treasure by Foreign Trade, Glasg. 1755, chap. 4. On the Exportation of our Moneys as a means to increase Treasure.

‡ Consult Hist. and Political Remarks upon the tariff of the Commercial Treaty, Cadell, 1787, p. 110.

§ Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, vol. iii. p. 341.

## CHAPTER XV.

## FISHERIES.

**DR. FRANKLIN** says, "he that puts a seed into the earth is recompensed, perhaps, by receiving forty for it; and he who draws a fish out of the water, draws up a piece of silver."\* Another celebrated writer remarks, that "no species of natural industry is more lucrative than fishing, because it converts the ocean into a mine, and furnishes immense profits, without any other expense than what consists in labour."† Such being the advantages of fisheries, it cannot excite surprise, that they should have been an object of attention, even in the earliest periods, to all maritime nations, who seem to have carried them on as the means of supplying part of their food, or of furnishing them with articles of commerce. In the book of Job,‡ who is said to have resided in Arabia, and to have been contemporary with the sons of Abraham, allusion is made to fishing with spears and harpoons; and hence it may be inferred, that the people of that country were acquainted with the method of catching whales, a kind of fish still found in the Indian seas, between the coast of Africa and that of Malabar.

In Egypt, fishing must have been practised, and well understood, at a very early period; for we are told by Diodorus Siculus, that the Nile furnished fish in such plenty, that the inhabitants, besides those which they employed for present use, had so many left, that they preserved them by means of salt.§ We are informed also by the same author, that Moeris, one of the Egyptian kings, gave the revenue arising from the lake of the same name, to his queen, in order to purchase perfumes and other articles for her toilet. This lake is said to have contained twenty different kinds of fish, and in so great abundance, that though a numerous body of people were employed in salting them, they were scarcely adequate to the task.|| There is reason to think that the fish trade in Egypt, at this time, must have been very great, since the sale of those caught is said to have amounted to no less than a talent a day.¶

The Byzantines, whose territory was so favourably situated near the sea coast,

\* On the Internal State of American Works, vol. iii. p. 397.

† Campbell's Political Survey of Great Britain, vol. ii. p. 736.

‡ Chap. xii. v. 7.

§ Τῶς γὰρ ἐν χερσίν, ὃ μόνον ἐκ τῶν προσφάτως αἰσικομένων παρῆχεται λαφύρα τῆν ἀπόλαυσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ πλῆθος ἡς ταρχίας ἀνήσιν ἀνεκλιπτοῖ. *Diod. Sic. edst. Wesseling Amst. 1746. lib. i. cap. 1. vol. i. p. 42.*

|| Καὶ τοῦτῃ αὐτῶν ἀλίσκισθαι πλῆθος ὥστε τὰς προσκαρτερούτας τῆς ταρχίας, ὄντας παρακλυθεῖς δυσχερῶς περιγίνοσθαι τῶν ἰργῶν. *Ibid. ib. p. 62.*

¶ About £93. of our money.

carried on a very advantageous fishery\* in the Pontus Euxinus, the Thracian Bosphorus, and the Archipelago, where they caught immense quantities of tunnies, which they cured and exported to various parts of Italy and Greece. The revenue arising from the fishery before Constantinople alone, was sufficient, it is said, to maintain the table of the emperor Andronicus Paleologus, as well as of his whole establishment; and it is well known, that the produce of the fishery in the Archipelago, formed a very important article in the revenue of the empire.†

Ælian gives a very accurate account of the manner in which the tunnies were caught in the Propontis. Two wooden posts of considerable height, were erected in some elevated place close to the shore, which were joined together by cross beams, so as to enable a man to ascend readily to the summit. Here, one of the fishermen took his station‡ to watch the arrival of the tunnies; and as soon as he perceived them approaching, he gave notice to his companions, who were ready with their nets and boats waiting for the signal. The nets were of considerable length, and each boat was rowed by twelve young men, six being seated on each side. When the signal was given, the rope at the one end of the net was made fast to one of the wooden posts, which served as a station for the watchman; and the net having been previously disposed in such a manner, that a part was placed in each boat, the boats were pushed off in regular succession, till the net was extended quite round the fish, which in this manner were completely enclosed, that there was no possibility of escape. Ælian says, that the people of Eretria, and of the island of Naxos, were exceedingly expert in this method of fishing.§

The Turditani, a people of Spain, are said to have been enriched by a great fishery which they carried on, not only on their own coast, where fish of a superior size and quality abounded, but also to a considerable distance beyond the Strait. According to Strabo, these people had salt mines, which enabled them to salt large quantities of these fish, forming a very important article of their trade. We are

\* Tacitus alludes to the opulence of the people here, in consequence of their fisheries. "Quippe Byzantium fertili solo fecundoque mari; quia vis piscium innumera, ponto erumpens, et obliquis subter undas saxis exterrita, omisso alterius litoris flexu, hos ad portus defertur. Unde primo quæstuosi et opulenti." *Annal. lib. xii. cap. 63. edit. Lips. 1801. p. 293.*

Pliny speaks of the great numbers of fish which were found in the neighbourhood of Byzantium, and he asserts that the tunnies were so tame, that they were not frightened when a three-pronged fish spear was thrown among them. *Iidem sepe navigia velis euntia comitantes mira quadam dulcedine per aliquot horarum spatia et passuum a gubernaculis non separantur, ne tridente quidem in eos sæpius jacto territi. Hist. Nat. lib. ix. cap. 15. Lugd. Bat. 1669. vol. i. p. 598.*

† *Hist. Histoire du Commerce des Anciens, p. 241, 242.*

‡ A place of this kind was called *θυροκοπῆς*. Some of them on the coast of Italy are mentioned by Strabo, *lib. v. edit. Almel. Amst. 1707, vol. i. p. 223 and 225.*

§ Ælian *de Hist. Animal. lib. xv. cap. 5. Colon Allob. 1616, p. 867.* He mentions tunnies caught in many other places, and particularly on the coast of Sicily, *p. 870.*

told that they were not inferior to those cured in Pontus, the inhabitants of which, like the Dutch in modern times, seem to have been celebrated for this art.\*

On the coast of Spain there was also an extensive fishery for the Scombri, from which the ancients prepared that celebrated pickle, or sauce, called *garum*,† so often mentioned by ancient authors. The most esteemed, which was sold at a dear rate, was obtained from these fish; and a small island, near Carthagera, was distinguished by the name of Scombraria, in consequence of the great number caught in its neighbourhood.‡

That the ancients paid great attention to fisheries, there can be no doubt; for it appears by the testimony of various authors, both Greek and Roman, that fish formed a considerable portion of their food, but particularly amongst the rich, who seem to have spared no trouble or expense to procure for their feasts and entertainments, the most delicate and luscious kinds. Their extravagance, indeed, in this respect, was in some cases carried to a length which must astonish the most refined epicure of modern times. Pliny, alluding to this subject, says, that cooks cost more than triumphs; fish more than cooks; and that no men were held in greater estimation than those who were best skilled in ruining the estates of their masters.§

Immunities and rewards were granted to men who contributed towards the gratification of this prevailing taste for fish, either by their industry or inventions. The Sybarites, a people of Italy, noted for their profligate and voluptuous manners, are said to have exempted from taxation those who caught or sold eels.|| And the author, to whom we are indebted for this information, relates, that the Athenians were so fond of salted fish, that they gave the freedom of their city to the sons of a man named Chærephilus, who had been eminent in the art of preparing them, or, perhaps, who had invented some new method of rendering them more grateful to the palate.¶

\* Άλις τὸ ἔρκετο παρ' αὐτοῖς ἰσοί καὶ ποταμῶν ἀλμυρῶν ἰσμεατα ἐκ ὀλίγα· ἐκ ὀλίγη δὲ οὐδ' ἔκ τινι ἔψην ταριχεῖα, ἐκ ἰθὺν μορον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης τῆς ἰκτὸς στυλῶν παραλίης ἐν χωρῶν τῆς Πορτικῆς. *Strab. Geog. lib. iii. edit. Almel. Amst. 1707. p. 213.*

† Nunc è scombro pisce laudatissimum in Carthaginis Spartariæ cetariis: sociarum id appellatur, singulis millibus nummum permutantibus congios pene binos. Nec liquor ullus pene præter unguenta majore in prætio esse cæpit, nobilitatis etiam gentibus. *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxxi. cap. viii. Lugd. Bat. 1669. vol. iii. p. 371. Athen. Deipnos. lib. iii. edit. Casubon. Apud. H. Commelinum, 1598. p. 121.*

‡ Εἶθ' ἢ τῆ Ἡρακλῆος νῆσος ἥδὲ πρὸς Καρχηδόνια, ἢ καλῶσι Σκομβραρίαν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλισκομένων σαύμβρων, ἔξ ἧς τὸ ἔρκετο σκευάζεται γάρον. *Strab. Geog. lib. iii. edit. Almel. Amst. 1707. vol. i. p. 159.*

§ At nunc coci triumphorum pretiis parantur et coquorum pisces. Nullusque prope jam mortalis estimatur pluri quam qui peritissime census domini mergit. *Hist. Nat. Ludg. Bat. 1669. lib. ix. cap. 19. vol. p. 604.*

¶ Ὀσκατος δὲ μηδὲ τὰς τὰς ἰσχυλῆς καλῶντας τίλος ἀποτίσιν μηδὲ τὰς θηριουτας. *Athen. Deipnos. Casubon. p. 521.*

¶ Τσαφίτι, ὃ Ἀθηναῖοι στυλῶν ἰσοῖντο πρὸς τὸ τάρχος ὡς καὶ πολίτας ἀπαγγέφαι τὸς Χαιρέφιου τῷ ταριχευῶντι. *Ibid. p. 119.*

The ancients seem to have been well acquainted with the art of salting fish, many kinds of which, prepared in this manner, are mentioned by Athenæus, and other authors. The salted tunnies of Byzantium were much esteemed; and the mugil of Abdera and Sinope are said to have been highly agreeable to the palate.\* The salted eels of Macedonia are also mentioned,† and salt roes, or caviar, but the latter were accounted heavy and indigestible food.‡

From the laws and regulations made by the ancients to regulate the sale of fish, there is reason to suppose, that they were not only held in estimation among the rich, as articles of luxury, but were in common use among all maritime people, and formed a considerable portion of their food. Aristonicus, who is said to have been inferior as a legislator, only to Solon, made a law, that fishmongers should have a tablet suspended, inscribed with the different prices of their fish, and be obliged to stand, without sitting down, till they were all sold, that they might be induced to part with them, in order to return home, on easier terms. He enacted also, that if fishmongers, after declaring the price of their fish, accepted less than they had asked, they should be imprisoned, that through fear of this punishment, they might be more reasonable in their demands.§ A similar law is said to have been in force at Venice. The sellers of fish there, were obliged to stand in the open market, bare-headed and bare-footed, that being thus exposed to the inclemency of the weather, they might be induced to sell at a moderate price.||

It may not be improper to observe, that the ancients, as they were fond of fish, seem also to have thoroughly understood the art of going to market; for we are told by Athenæus, to whom we are indebted for so many curious particulars respecting the luxury of former times, that Lynceus, the Samian, in a book entitled "The Art of Catering," which he dedicated to one of his friends named Dyso, or Zeno, remarks, that it is useful sometimes, when bargaining with the sellers of fish, who, in general, obstinately adhere to the price they have asked, and refuse to make any abatement, to speak slightly of their article.¶

If the same author be correct in the account he has given, the Romans possessed an art, which, could it be revived, would not only be of use to epicures who reside at a distance from the sea, but might be converted into a source of profit. The art

\* Athen. Deipnos. Casubon. p. 118.

† Ibid. p. 298.

‡ Ibid. p. 121.

§ Ibid. lib. v. p. 226.

|| Quo loco mirari oportet Venetorum procerum sapientiam, qui inter publica decreta illud quoque habent, ut piscatores non solum stantes sed nudis pedibus et capite pisces vendant, ut vel æstu vel frigore torti de summo pretio nonnihil remitterent. *Balth. Bonifacii Rhodigini Hist. Ludicra.* Brux. 1656. 4to. p. 201.

¶ Δυσκίς ὁ Σάμιος, ἐν τῇ ὀψωνιακῇ τέχνῃ ἢ προσιφάρισι τιτὶ τῶν ἰταίων Δύσῳ ἢ Ζήνῳ, φησὶν ὅτι ἀχρηστοὶ δὲ πρὸς τὰς ἀτιμίζοντας καὶ μὴ συγκαθίστας τῇ τιμῇ καὶ τὸ κακῶς ἄγειν παριστάντας τὰς ἰχθυάς. Athen. Deipnos. Casubon. p. 313.

to which I allude, was that of preserving oysters in a fresh state for a very considerable time; and it is said to have been discovered by Apicius, who sent from Italy to Trajan, while on an expedition into Persia against the Parthians, some of these shell-fish, which, when they arrived, were found as good as they had been on the day when they were taken up.\*

It appears that oysters, which are so much sought after in modern times, were no less in request by the Romans, who brought them from the coasts of France and Britain, where they were of a much better quality than those found on the warmer shores of Italy. They even had a method of preserving them in places somewhat similar to our oyster-beds, which were invented before the Marsyan war, by Sergius Orata, who, according to Pliny, made them a source of revenue, and derived from them a considerable profit.†

Turtles were caught for the sake of the shell, and Pliny has preserved the name of the first Roman who invented the method of cutting it, and employing it with inlaid work to ornament beds and couches.‡

On nothing do the Romans seem to have expended more money, than in the construction and maintenance of fish-ponds, in which they preserved fish of various sorts to supply their tables, which were then covered with every delicacy, however expensive, or difficult to be procured. Of this kind was the excavation near Naples, made by Lucullus, at a cost with which, as we are told, he might have built a town, and which was filled with water introduced from the sea. On account of this extraordinary work, Lucullus was styled, by Pompey, the Roman Xerxes.§ Among the fish kept in these ponds, were the celebrated murenæ, (or lampreys), which must have been held in high estimation, since we learn that Hirtius sent six thousand of them to Cæsar, when dictator, for his triumphal supper, as he would not sell, or part with them on any other condition.|| Nay, to such extravagant and criminal excess did the Romans carry their attachment to these fish, that Hortensius the orator is said to have shed tears on the death of a favourite lamprey;¶ and Vedius Pollio, a Roman knight, and friend of Augustus, was accustomed to feed his lampreys, by throwing into his ponds slaves who had been condemned to death.\*\*

These fish, according to the testimony of Pliny, must have been exceedingly

\* Athen. Deip. Casubon. p. 7.

† Ostrearum vivaria primus omnium Sergius Orata invenit in Bajano ætate L. Crassi Oratoris ante Marsicum bellum : nec gulæ causa sed avaritiæ, magna vectigalia tali ex ingenio suo percipiens. Is primus optimum saporem ostreis Lucrinis adjudicavit. Hist. Nat. lib. ix. Lugd. Bat. 1669, vol. i. p. 646.

‡ Testudinum putamina secare in laminas, lectosque et repositoria his vestire Carbilus Pollio instituit, prodigi et sagacis ad luxuriæ instrumenta ingenii. Ibid. ib. cap. ii. p. 591.

§ Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. ix. cap. 54. Lugd. Bat. 1669. vol. i. p. 646.

|| Ibid. ib. p. 647.

¶ Ibid. ib. p. 648.

\*\* Ibid. ib. p. 608.

familiar, as there were some in the emperor's ponds which would approach when called by name;\* and they appear to have been no less favourites of the female, than of the male sex; for, we are told, that Antonia, the wife of Drusus, hung jewels, by way of ear-rings, into the gills of a lamprey, of which she was exceedingly fond.†

It would be endless to relate every instance recorded of the extravagance and folly of the Romans, in this particular. Licinius Crassus, the orator, though a man of a grave and sedate character, put on mourning for a lamprey, which died in a pond adjoining to his house; and, on that account, he was afterwards called Licinius Muræna.‡ Asinius Celer paid the enormous sum of six thousand sesterces for one mullet; § though Pliny asserts, that in his time it was difficult to find a fish of this kind which weighed above two pounds. || Nay, some were so curious about the size of their fish, that they often had them weighed at their tables, in the presence of their guests, ¶ while persons stood by to note down the weight in their memorandum books.

In modern times, all maritime states have, more or less, paid attention to fisheries; but this has been the case in particular with the Dutch, and some of the northern nations, to whom they not only furnish a considerable portion of their food, but supply also a valuable article of commerce. Fabricius, in his travels, says, that the fisheries are the most important source of sustenance to the inhabitants of the coast of Norway, who, in a great measure, live upon them, and derive from them all those necessaries which are obtained by trade. These people, therefore, are in a much better condition, suffer less from want, and enjoy more comforts, than those

\* Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. x. cap. 70. vol. i. p. 730.

† Ibid. lib. ix. cap. 55. p. 648.

‡ Is tamen Crassus vir censorius, nam cum Domitio censor fuit cum supra cæteros disertus haberetur, essetque inter clarissimos cives princeps, tamen murænam in piscinâ domus suæ mortuam atratus tanquàm filiam luxit. Neque id obscurum fuit, quippe collega Domitius in senatu hoc ei quasi deforme crimen objecit. *Macrob. Sat. lib. ii. cap. 11.*

§ *Ælian* says, that Crassus, when reproached by Domitius, for his weakness in bewailing with tears the death of a lamprey, replied, "It is true I wept for the death of an animal; but you have buried three wives, and did not shed a single tear for one of them." Καὶ ποτὶ Δομίτιον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἰσχυρότος, "Ὡς μὲν, μνηστῆρας ἔκλαυσας τιθῆναι· Ὅ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν, Ἐγὼ θηρίον, ἔφατο, σὺ δὲ τρεῖς γυναῖκας θάψας καὶ ἔκλαυσας. *Ælian. de Animal. Natura. lib. viii. cap. 4. edit. Gesneri Colon. Allob. 1516; p. 477.*

¶ *Macrob. Sat. lib. iii. cap. 16.*

|| *Hist. Nat. lib. ix. cap. 17. Lugd. Bat. 1669, vol. i. p. 603.*

¶ *Poscuntur etiam in conviviis aliquoties trutinæ, ut appositi pisces et volucres ponderentur et gires: quorum magnitudo sæpius replicata non sine tædio præsentium, ut ante hac inusitata, laudatur assidue: maxime cum hæc eadem numerantes, notarii triginta prope assistant cum thecis et pugillaribus tabulis, ut decesse solus magister ludi literarii videretur. *Ammian. Marcellinus, lib. xxviii. cap. iv. edit. Bipont. p. 154.**

who live in the interior provinces, where every thing is rendered dear by the difficulty of carriage.\*

These people apply fish to an economical purpose, which shews the barrenness of the country, and to what shifts men are sometimes reduced by necessity. In winter, when the fields in those northern regions are covered for several months with snow, they are used as food for their cattle: hay and straw being exceedingly scarce, and not sufficient to supply their stock during the whole season, they make up the deficiency by giving them sea-weeds, but in particular the *fucus esculentus* and *canaliculatus*, together with fish-heads, and other parts unfit for their own use, which are dried in summer, and preserved for that purpose. The latter, when used, are boiled along with the sea-weed, and when the whole are well mixed, they are given to the cattle. It is asserted, however strange it may appear, that cows fed in this manner yield abundance of milk, which is of a good quality, and free from any disagreeable taste.†

Some writers seem to attach no great importance to fish, as an article of food, but it is certain that the Norwegians, were it not for the bountiful supply which they receive from the sea, would sometimes be reduced almost to a state of famine. The case would be the same with many of the northern tribes, did they not find a ready resource in the various kinds of fish which abound, not only in the waters of the ocean, but in those of rivers and lakes. Some of the Lapps, in the extremity of Sweden, have scarcely any other food than salmon, which they find in their rivers

\* J. C. Fabricius Reise durch Norwegen. Hamburg, 1799, 8vo. vorrede p. xli.

† Ibid. p. 275, 276.

This practice of feeding domestic animals with fish has been long known and prevalent in India. Paolino Da San Bartolomeo says, "Pilchards are caught in such immense quantities on the coast of Malabar, that the Indians often do not know how to employ them. They feed their ducks, dogs, and swine with them; and even mix them among the dung used as manure for their cocoa-nut trees." *Voyage to the East Indies*, p. 239.

Arrian alludes to this custom in India of feeding animals with fish, and remarks, that the sheep, on that account, had a fishy taste: Ἐρταυθα ξίμα Νίαρχω φροσφίρουσι δι' κερμῆται, πρόβατα καὶ ἰχθύας· καὶ τῶν προβατων τὰ κρέα λίγη ἐστὶ ἢ ἰχθυώδεια, ὡς τὰ τῶν ὀρνίθων τῶν πηλαγίων ὅτι καὶ αὐτὰ ἰχθυίας σιτίεται· πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἐνὶ ἐν τῇ χέρῃ. *Hist. India*. cap. 26. edit. Raphelii, Amst. 1757, p. 603.

Strabo mentions the same thing among the Ichthyophagi: "Τοῖς δ' ἰχθύσι χρῶνται καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ θήματα." *Geog. lib. xv.* edit. Almel. Amst. 1707. vol. ii. p. 721.

Ælian says, the Oritæ and Gedrosii fed their horses with fish, and that the same practice was common among the Macedonians and Lydians. He tells us, also, that the Celtæ fed, not only their horses, but their cattle, with fish, and that the Lydian and Macedonian sheep grew fat on this kind of nourishment. Ὁρίται δὲ λίγυσι καὶ Γεδρωσίαις ἰχθύς παραβαλλοῦσι τοῖς ἵπποις χέρτοι· Κελτῶς δὲ ἄκων καὶ τοῖς βουσι, καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις ἰχθύς δίδουσι δίσπιον. Καὶ Μακεδονίας δὲ καὶ Λυδίας ἑμολογῶσι τοῖς καὶ, αὐτὸς ἰχθύσι τὰς αὐτῶν ἵππους τρέφει. Καὶ τὰ πρόβατα δὲ τὰ Λυδία, καὶ τὰ Μακεδονικά ἐν τῶν αὐτῶν πικνισθαι λίγυσι. *De Animal.* lib. xv. cap. 25. edit. Gesneri, Colon. Allob. 1515. p. 900.

Athenæus, lib. viii. cap. 6, speaks of the oxen in Thrace eating fish.

during the summer. These salmon, which are exceedingly fat, are caught in weirs, called by the Norwegians, *stängsel*. The author, from whom this account is taken, says, that, "in the district of Tana there are above a thousand inhabitants, one-sixth part of whom could not subsist, were it not for the salmon which supply them with food.\*"

These people eat their salmon, in part, fresh; some of it they cut into stripes from the head to the tail, about an inch in breadth, which they leave attached to the latter, having first removed the head and the bones, and then they hang them up in the open air to dry. Some, also, they salt, and preserve as a resource for winter.

Speaking of the Lapps who reside in a neighbouring pastorate, the same author says, that fish, in summer, forms their only food, and supplies them with a considerable part of that which they use in winter. The kinds which they catch, are herrings of a moderate size, char, grayling, and pike.

Fish forms the food of a great part of the people of Iceland,† and the case is the same in the Feroe Islands, where the inhabitants catch various kinds, and preserve them for future use, by drying them in buildings of a particular construction erected for that purpose.‡

Even fresh-water fisheries are of great importance in many countries, and supply the people with a considerable part of their food. It has been asserted, that an eighth part of the inhabitants of Switzerland live upon fish caught in their lakes, which contain upwards of fifty different kinds, all of them abundant, and some exceedingly delicate.§

In the immense empire of China, which, in some parts, contains very large lakes, a great number of people derive their principal subsistence from the produce of their fishing. These lakes are covered with boats of every description, and studded with islands, inhabited chiefly by fishermen.|| Mr. Barrow says, speaking of the southern parts of Shan-Tung, that, so great were the numbers engaged in this employment, who lived entirely in floating vessels, that the waters were judged to be as populous as the land. To encourage the industry of these people, no rent, toll, or tythe, is exacted from them by government, nor are they prohibited, in any manner, from the free use of every lake, river, and canal.¶

The Cochin Chinese who reside on the sea-coast, seem to pay great attention also to fishing, and besides the more common kinds of fish, they make use of various spe-

\* Geographisk och ekonomisk Beskrifning om Kemi Lappmark af G. Wahlenberg, Stockholm, 1804, 4to. p. 27. Ibid. p. 28.

† Olafsens und Povelens Reise durch Island. Kopenhagen, 1774. 4to. Erster Theil. p. 180, 185.

‡ Landt's Descript. of the Feroe Islands, p. 375. Ibid. p. 385.

§ Bishop Burnet's Travels through Switzerland, Letter iii.

|| Barrow's Travels in China, p. 506. ¶ Ibid. p. 558.

cies of *mollusca*, such as the medusa, holothuria, actinea, and doris, some of which they prepare as articles of luxury and commerce.\*

It is well known that the fisheries in Russia form a very extensive branch of national industry; for, independently of those carried on in the different seas by which that empire is in some parts bounded, a great number of people are employed in the various rivers in catching salmon, sturgeon, and many other kinds. The sturgeon are exceedingly abundant, and besides forming an article of food, supply isinglass, a considerable quantity of which is exported, and a proportion sent to England, where it is used by the brewers for refining their beer.† Caviar also is so important an article of commerce, that the annual export, between the years 1793 and 1795, amounted to 188,000 rubles.‡

Fisheries also are carried on to some extent by various nations situated on the coast of the Mediterranean. In the strait of Messina there is a fishery for the sword fish, which are caught with nets and spears. In the middle of the vessel used for this fishery, is an upright pole, seventeen feet high, with a round platform at the top, for one of the crew, who is placed there as a sentinel, to observe the course of the fish, and instruct the rowers, that they may direct the vessel accordingly. The fish are caught from November to the beginning of March, and their weight is from one pound to twelve.§

A considerable trade is carried on at Sciacca by the Sicilians with sardines, and a great number of people are employed in salting them.|| There is a fishery also for sardines and anchovies at Termini, where they are caught in shallow parts of the sea, by means of very long nets, from eight to ten feet in breadth.¶

At Palermo there is a great fishery for tunnies, a migratory species of the finny

\* Barrow's Voyage to Cochin China, p. 312.

† It is exported from Petersburg, and sent chiefly to England, where a large quantity is used in the beer and porter breweries. The English send some to the Spaniards, Portuguese, and French, who employ it for clarifying their wine. According to a printed list of articles exported, published by the British Factory at Petersburg, it appears that there were exported annually in British ships, between the years 1753 and 1768, from 1,000 to 2,000 poods, (about 40 pounds each); between 1769 and 1786 from 2,000 to 3,000; and in 1788 the quantity had increased to 6,850. In 1798, the quantity was still greater, being 7,171 poods. This sudden and incredible increase is a proof of the great increase of the fisheries on the coasts of the Caspian Sea, for a thousand sturgeons give only about seven and a half poods of isinglass, and some other fish of the same species, only two and half, or even one and a quarter. The increasing exportation has occasioned a great rise in the price. In 1774, the best isinglass on the exchange at Petersburg was not worth more than 36 rubles per pood; at present, it is worth from 90 to 100. Hist. Stat. Gemälde des Russischen Reichs von H. Storch Leipzig, 1803. vol. viii. p. 193.

‡ Ibid. p. 207.

§ Spallanzani's Travels in the two Sicilies, vol. iv. p. 331.

|| Houels Reise durch Sizilien. Gotha, 1797, vol. i. p. 112.

¶ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 32.

tribe, already mentioned as being well known to the ancients, which in large shoals frequent the coast of Sicily. They enter the strait of Gibraltar at a certain season of the year, proceed along the coasts of France, Spain, and Italy, where they are caught in nets, disposed in such a manner as to form different chambers, or apartments, into which they are driven by means of a large net called a *tonare*, drawn round them. These fish are salted and exported as an article of commerce.\*

The coast of Spain abounds with fish, and the people of the country carry on considerable fisheries, both in the Bay of Biscay and in the Mediterranean. The natives of Valencia, in particular, are said to be most expert fishermen, and celebrated for their dexterity in the great tunny fishery, in which an *almadraba* is employed. It consists of an enclosure of large nets, formed, in general, at the distance of about two hundred fathoms from the coast. The smallest *almadraba* must be, at least, one hundred and thirty fathoms in length, and from eighteen to thirty in breadth. It is made of the best and strongest esparto nets, which are sunk by means of large stones, to the depth of from twenty to twenty-five fathoms. They are fastened to anchors, and being kept afloat by corks, form a great number of chambers. The tunnies, in shoals sometimes of 500, are driven from one chamber to another by a gradual contraction of the nets, till they are all crowded into the *camera de la muerte*, or chamber of death, which is provided underneath with very strong nets. From this they are let out one after the other, and killed so adroitly with a single stroke, that the fish is thrown into the boat.†

No countries can be better situated for fishing than Great Britain and Ireland. This will evidently appear, if we reflect on the number of lakes, estuaries, and rivers, in every part of the empire, abounding with fish of all kinds, which either remain constantly on the coast, or like herrings, pilchards, and mackarel, visit it periodically. It does not, however, appear, that this branch of national industry is prosecuted to that extent to which it might be carried. An eminent writer says, "that our neglect of fisheries arises from our eating much less fish than formerly." In popish times, including Lent, the people lived one-third of the year on fish, that is to say, fish formed one-third part of their food, and the consequence was, that all kinds of meat were cheap. Lent had a still farther effect, for as few cattle were then killed, the rising stock was preserved. This, long after the introduction of the reformed religion, produced a proclamation for the keeping of Lent; but habit prevailed over policy, and fish were no longer eaten from necessity, but choice. As the English, however, became careless of their fishing, the attention of the Dutch, (particularly to that of their herrings,) increased. These people not only made many

\* Houel's Reise durch Sicilien. Gotha, 1797, vol. i. p. 133.

† Fischer's Picture of Valencia, p. 70, 71.

laws to regulate this fishery, but even connected with it their religion, offering up public prayers for its prosperity and success. The celebrated John de Witt, many of whose political views were wisely conceived, says, "the manufacturers live chiefly on herrings; manufactures employ the merchants, merchants promote commerce, and commerce and fisheries are the sources of navigation and naval power, which are the principal supports of a maritime state."\*

Thus every occupation that tends to afford subsistence to the poorer classes, and to prevent idleness, deserves encouragement. Fishing, in this respect, demands particular attention, having advantages which few other employments possess. Many of the avocations of the labouring class of the community, are prejudicial to their health; but fishing creates a hardy race, inured to danger and fatigue, and rendered capable of extraordinary exertion. Such men, familiarized to the watery element from an early period of life, and in some degree, acquainted with navigation, make excellent seamen in the time of war; and when peace renders their services no longer necessary, they easily return to their former occupations.

Fisheries supply the poor with food at a moderate expense, and are the support of thousands not only in England and Scotland, but in many other parts of the world. Salted fish forms a considerable branch of trade, and the catching and curing them employs a numerous class of people, who are thus enabled to support themselves and their families in a decent and comfortable manner. The oil obtained from fish, is an article of very great importance, both in an economical and a commercial point of view. In this respect, the whale fishery is very productive, and has been carried on by most of the nations in Europe. It was begun by the Biscayans, who

\* Various writers have, at different times, endeavoured to call the attention of the English to the fisheries on their coasts, by pointing out the advantages derived from them by the Dutch. "Upon taking an account of the several trades and employments," says Puckle, "by which the Dutch subsisted, in order to find which best deserved the protection and encouragement of the public, it appeared, that anno 1668, the subjects of the states-general were 2,460,000, of which, besides those employed in the inland fishery, 450,000 were maintained by fishing at sea, and the arts depending thereon." *England's Path to Wealth and Honour, in a Dialogue between a Dutchman and an Englishman*, by J. Puckle, London, 1707, p. 17.

This confirms Sir Walter Raleigh's Observations presented to King James, and shews that the learned Sir John Burroughs, in his Sovereignty of the British Seas, upon good grounds affirmed, that the fish yearly taken by strangers, did amount to above ten millions sterling. *Ibid.* p. 19.

Another writer, speaking of the abundance of provisions in Holland, says, "all which they have, not only in a competent proportion for their own use, but are likewise able from their several magazines, to supply neighbour countries: the premises considered, it maketh much to the ignominy and shame of our English nation, that God and Nature, offering us so rich a treasure, even to our own doors, we do, notwithstanding, neglect the benefit thereof; and by paying money to strangers for the fish of our own seas, impoverish ourselves to make them rich, insomuch, that for want of industry and care in this particular, 225 fishing-towns are decayed." *London's Blame, if not its Shame*, by Thomas Jenner, 1651, p. 1.

had been accustomed to catch fish on their own shores, and in the neighbourhood of Ireland. Having afterwards extended their fishing expeditions to Greenland, a spirit of emulation was excited in the Dutch, who about the beginning of the 17th century, first sent vessels to prosecute this branch of industry.\* In some years they had in the northern seas nearly 200 ships, and sometimes the number of fish taken, amounted to above 2,000.† Montesquieu says, that the Dutch whale fishery scarcely ever brought any profit to those engaged in it, but he admits that it was beneficial to the country, by giving employment to ship-builders, mast-makers, dealers in provisions, and other trades-people, who had shares in it; for if they lost by the fishery, they made considerable profits by building and fitting out their ships.‡

It has been doubted, whether living entirely on fish be conducive to health; and some writers speak of a kind of eruption, or cutaneous disorder, which at times has prevailed in Iceland,§ Denmark,|| and Norway, as being caused by this food. Debes¶ mentions a similar disease common in his time, in the Feroe Isles, which he says was occasioned by the people feeding partly on fresh, and partly on half putrid fish. Lant,\*\* however, remarks, that at present this disease is scarcely known; and, therefore, it is probable, that attention to cleanliness, or an improved mode of life, may have contributed to the extirpation of this loathsome malady.

According to Pontoppidan, a leprous eruption is observed among the inhabitants of Norway, but he states that it is not infectious, like the leprosy of the East. It seems, however, to be an obstinate disease, and even when taken in time, it is seldom so perfectly cured, as to prevent all danger of recurrence: this learned author adds, that a similar scorbutic disorder has been known in North Holland, where the air is damp, and the people live much upon fish.†† Mr. Barrow speaks of a similar disease prevalent among the poor fishermen in China.‡‡

It is the opinion of a medical writer of some eminence§§ that fish is putrescent,

\* *Zorgdragers Opkomst der Groenlandsche Visschery*. In o'Gravenhage, 1727, 4to. p. 207.

† In the year 1701, the number of fish caught was upwards of 2,070; in 1718, the ships sent out amounted to 194, *ibid.* p. 304.

‡ *Esprit des Loix*, l. xx. ch. 6. *Œuvres*, vol. ii. p. 223.

§ *Olafsens und Povelens Reise durch Island*. Kopenhagen und Leipzig, 1774, 4to. vol. ii. p. 36.

|| *Thaarup Vessuch einer Statistik der Danischen Monarchie*, Erster Theile, p. 106.

¶ *Færoernes Beskrivelse*, p. 283.

\*\* *Description of the Feroe Islands*, p. 412.

†† *Pontappidan Norges Naturlige Historie*, vol. ii. p. 416-417. The author refers to the Dutch edition of Howel's Letters, from which he gives the following quotation: "Wy zyn in Noord-Holland en ik heb nooit under zo weinig volk zo veele met lazerye besmet gezien als hier. Waarvan de reden gezegd wordt te zyn dat zy zo veel versche visch eeten." *Howel's Gemeenzame Brieven*, I. deel, 2 boeck, no. 13, p. 151.

‡‡ *Travels in China*, p. 558.

§§ *Dr. Faløner in his Remarks on the Influence of Climate, Situation, Nature of Country, Population, Nature of Food, and Way of Life, on the Disposition, &c. of Mankind*. London, 1781, 4to. p. 246.

and less nutritive than flesh; red blood, upon which the strength of the body in a great measure depends, is more sparingly produced.\* This is exemplified in those countries where the religion of the Roman Catholic church is prevalent, as well as by the Banyan nations of the east, who are principally supported by a fish diet. He takes notice also of the opinion, that this food is more favourable to the increase of our species, than either animals or vegetables. This was hinted at by Dr. Arbuthnot,† and afterwards suggested by Montesquieu;‡ but Haller appears to be of a different opinion, though his inference was drawn more from reason than experience.§ Dr. John Rheinold Foster has given some instances in one of his publications, which seem to indicate, that a fish diet has no such properties; and neither Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, nor Arian, all of whom describe several nations as living entirely on fish, have alluded to this quality, or remarked, that such countries were distinguished by being more than ordinarily populous. This subject, as it is rather more than a question of mere curiosity, deserves further investigation.

The fisheries of Ireland may be classed under four heads:—

1st, Inland fishery; 2d, the white fishery, comprehending chiefly cod, ling, &c.; 3d, the herring fishery; and 4th, the shell fishery for lobsters, oysters, &c.

All the lakes, and many of the rivers, abound with trout and pike, the former of which are in season the whole year; and though fly-fishing is practised in summer for amusement, the fish in general are caught with nets. Trout attain to a very large size, and are remarkably well tasted. Dr. Davy, in one of his lectures at the Royal Institution, remarked, that those trout are the best which frequent water flowing over calcareous soil: he accounted for this circumstance on philosophical principles, and the truth of his theory is fully confirmed by the superiority of the Irish trout, the beds of many of the rivers consisting entirely of limestone.|| In the districts around Lough Neagh, and the lakes of Westmeath, they form a considerable part of

\* *Minus utique partes alunt minus sanguinis rubri faciunt, minus dant reboris quam carnes: ut eam debilitent, et ego expertus perceperim et invenias tempore quadragesimali ab aliis esse perceptam. Halleri Physiolog., lib. xix. § 3.*

† On the Nature of Aliments, ch. iv. prop. I. § 13.

‡ Dans les ports de mer où les hommes s'exposent à mille dangers et vont mourir ou vivre dans des climats reculés il y a moins d'hommes que de femmes; cependant on y voit plus d'enfants qu'ailleurs: cela vient de la facilité de la subsistance. Peut-être même que les parties huileuses du poisson sont plus propres à fournir cette matière qui sert à la generation. *Esprit des Loix*, livre xxiii. ch. 14. Œuvres, vol. iii. p. 71.

§ Non adeo absque ratione monachi generationi non destinati a Romanâ ecclesiâ aut ad majorem aut ad unicum piscium usum legibus adstringuntur. *Haller Phys.* lib. xix. § 3.

|| Il passe nean moins pour certain que la qualité des eaux et de la nourriture influe beaucoup sur la bonté de ces poissons. *Duhamel Traite des Pêches*, p. ii. p. 283.

the food of the inhabitants. In Lough Derg, which divides Tipperary from Galway and Clare, and which forms only a part of the Shannon, there is a trout called the Gilray, which is distinguished from every other species by having a gizzard like that of a fowl.

PIKE is found in several of the rivers of Ireland, as the Rhyn, and the Nine-Stream river, near Turvey, in the county of Dublin. They are also met with in those of Kilkenny; and as the fish of running water, are accounted more delicious than those of lakes or ponds, what are caught in these rivers ought to possess superior qualities.\* According to Dr. Smith, they are found in the Black-water, and loughs in Carbery, a barony in the county of Cork.+ They abound likewise in many of the lakes of Ireland, and some grow to a very extraordinary size.

The SALMON is mentioned by Pliny;‡ but it seems not to have been known to the Greeks, for it has never yet been found in the Mediterranean, and those people had very little intercourse with the northern countries where it abounds. In Europe, Kamtschatka, Greenland, Newfoundland, and in the northern parts of America, it is plentiful. Notwithstanding it is a sea-fish, it proceeds up rivers to deposit its spawn in some favourable place; and it is remarked, that when it has once made a choice, it returns to the same spot again, like the swallow to the building where she before had constructed her nest. The latter circumstance has been long ascertained, by marking the bird; and the former was proved in the following manner by the French naturalist, De la Landes: having purchased from the fishermen of Chateaulin, a town in Lower Brittany, where about 2,000 salmon are caught every year, a dozen of these fish, he fixed copper rings round their tails, and set them at liberty; the fishermen assured him afterwards, that the next year they caught at one time, five of these marked salmon, another time three, and a third time the same number.

In spring, as soon as the ice begins to break, the salmon seek the fresh water; and it is observed, that they are found in much greater numbers in those rivers which discharge themselves into the sea by a narrow mouth, than in those which spread to a considerable width. They generally enter the rivers in spring, taking the tide and the wind, which the fishermen call the salmon wind. In the warmer parts of Europe, this ascent takes place in February and March; but in the colder, in April and May. They are fond of water which flows with rapidity, and where the bottom consists of pebbles and sand; here they remain till autumn, and having deposited spawn, they proceed back to the ocean; a few, however, continue

\* Rutt's Nat. Hist. of Dublin, vol. i. p. 365; Tighe's Survey of Kilkenny, p. 156.

† Smith's Nat. and Civil Hist. of Cork, vol. ii. p. 311.

‡ Hist. Nat. lib. ix. cap. 18.

sometimes the whole winter in fresh water; for it frequently happens, particularly in Sweden, that the streams freeze so early as to prevent their return. In Ireland also, salmon are found in some of the rivers throughout the whole year. When salmon enter a river, they do so in numbers, arranged in two rows, forming the two sides of a triangle, one of the largest being commonly stationed at the summit; and if they meet with any obstacle which deranges this order, they resume as soon as they have past it, their former positions. They swim always in the middle of the stream, and near the surface of the water, but if the weather is stormy or hot, they continue their course nearer the bottom. Their keeping at the surface, and in the middle of the stream, arises no doubt, from their fondness for currents; for it is known by the experiments of Mariotte, that a stream is always stronger in the middle than at the sides, and that water flows with more velocity near the surface, than at a greater depth.

Salmon take long migrations, and if they meet with a waterfall or barrier, spring over it by putting their tail to their mouth, so as to form their body into a circle; in this manner they are able, if the water be deep, to throw themselves to the height of five or six feet; when they reach the summit of the fall, they strike the water with their tail, as a sign of their satisfaction, and proceed onwards; if they fail in their attempt, they renew it after a short rest, and continue in this manner till they accomplish their end, or discover the impossibility of succeeding.

When salmon arrive at a place where two rivers meet, one of which is rapid and the other still, they first enter the former, but afterwards proceed to the latter, with a view, perhaps, of finding a more quiet place for depositing their spawn; they prefer also rivers closely bordered with trees, because they are fond of the shade, and of cool water; on the other hand, they avoid rivers, the mouths of which are beset with buildings, as has been experienced by the fishermen in Sweden.\* They do not readily proceed from rivers into small streams, the mouths of which are shallow, except in stormy weather, when the water is so turbid, that they are not able to see their way. The floating of wood drives back salmon, and they seldom approach places where there are buoys, or moveable objects of the like kind: they are scared also by any thing that is red, and, therefore, it is advisable not to cover houses near salmon fisheries with tiles of that colour; saw-mills, in consequence of their noise, frighten salmon as well as other fish, and if the former, when they approach the coast, or the mouths of rivers, hear any noise, or perceive seals, their mortal enemies, they immediately retire. In the year 1743, whole shoals of salmon were sent back into the sea, from the mouth of the river Tornea, in Sweden, by the firing of a few three-pounders belonging to the artillery.†

\* Schw. Abhand, vol. xiii. p. 189.

† Ibid, vol. x. ii. p. 118.

Salmon are caught in great abundance in Sweden and Norway; sometimes two thousand are brought in a fresh state to Bergen in a day.\* The Norwegian fishermen catch these fish, by covering the rocks near the places which they frequent with chalk or lime; this gives them the appearance of the foam thrown up by rivers when they rush with violence into the sea, and attracts the salmon towards the nets.†

Irish salmon is superior to any I ever tasted; when in season it is interspersed with a milky substance called the curd, which is always a sign of its being fresh, this quality is lost if the fish be long kept, or sent to a distance. Of late years salmon have become scarce, in consequence of their being destroyed by the country people during the season of spawning, though there are acts of parliament expressly prohibiting that practice.

The two largest salmon fisheries in Ireland, are at Ballyshannon, in Donegal,‡ and Coleraine, in Londonderry; the former belongs to Admiral Pakenham, the latter to the London Society, who have leased it to Irishmen, by whom it is re-let at a considerable profit to a company who keep fast sailing smacks, to convey the fish to Liverpool, and other places. In 1796, the salmon sold here at 3*d.* per pound, but in 1808, it was as high as 1*s.* 2*d.*

In the month of September, 1808, I visited the famous salmon leap, which is within a mile of Coleraine, and I observed the salmon springing from the water in hundreds; but I was not so fortunate as to see any of them throw themselves up the fall. In the year 1776, about 1,400 were caught here at one haul, and 800 at the next. Some fish have been taken here which weighed sixty-two pounds.

There is a considerable salmon fishery on the coast of Antrim, at a place called Carrick-a-Rede, which consists of a small rock connected with the main land by a very extraordinary flying bridge. At a particular season of the year, the salmon proceed along the coast in search of the rivers in which they annually cast their spawn; and as they generally swim near the shore, the fishermen take care to project their nets in those places where they may be most certain of intercepting them.

\* Pontoppidan Norges Naturlike Historie, Anden Deel, p. 217.

† Blech's Naturgeschichte der Fische Deutschlands Erster Theil, p. 163-172.

‡ Sept. 8th, 1808. Ballyshannon.—This town situated upon the Erne, is famed for its salmon fishery, which is let by Mr. Pakenham for £1,200. per annum. The falls vary according to the floods of Lough Erne, which empties itself at this place into the sea after passing Belleek; the weight of this immense sheet of water, rushing through a narrow passage, makes the fall exceedingly rapid, but it is not of great height. Salmon are killed here, weighing upwards of forty pounds. The salmon in Lough Erne increase in size in a wonderful manner; some young ones, which were marked when going up into the lake, have been caught on their return, and found so large, that they must have increased at the rate of 1*lb.* per week.

Carrick-a-Rede is the only place on this rugged coast which is suited for the purpose ; but it is separated from the adjacent land by a frightful chasm, full sixty feet in width, at the bottom of which the sea dashes its impetuous waves against the rocks with an incessant roar. The island, or rather rock itself, is inaccessible, excepting in one spot, where a luxuriant herbage flourishes under the shelter of an impending cliff, and where a fisherman's cot has been built ; but the wildness of the coast, and the turbulence of the sea, render it difficult to land here, unless the weather be exceedingly calm.

That natural ingenuity, which is often so conspicuous among the rudest people, has suggested to the Irish fishermen the idea of throwing a bridge of ropes from the main land to this island, a work they accomplish every year in a very curious manner ; on the commencement of the salmon fishery, two strong cables are extended across the gulf by an expert climber, and firmly secured by fastening them to iron rings, which are mortised into the rock on both sides ; upon these ropes a number of boards about a foot in breadth, are placed side by side, supported at certain intervals by cross cords ; and in this manner a pathway is formed, which though broad enough to admit a man to walk, does not hide from view the rocks and raging sea beneath, which present to the astonished eye, the most awful appearance ; at the same time, the swinging and undulation of the bridge itself, and of a single hand-rope, which serves instead of a rail, excite no very pleasing sensations in persons of weak nerves, who tread upon so unsteady a structure.\*

The manner in which the fish are caught here is as follows : " The net is projected directly outward from the shore with a slight bend, forming a bason, in the direction in which the salmon approach ; from the remote extremity, a rope is conveyed obliquely to another part of the shore, by means of which the net may be swept round at pleasure, and drawn towards the land ; each person is then provided with a heap of stones, and as soon as the watchman perceives the fish approaching,

\* Bridges constructed in a similar manner, but with this difference, that the passengers convey themselves over in a basket, suspended from one of the ropes on which it is made to glide, are to be found in some parts of South America : one of them extending from one mountain to another, over a chasm of immense depth, is mentioned by Ulboa in his Travels through that country. Another of the same kind in Africa, between the mountain Beni Jasga, and a neighbouring one, is described in the following manner by Leo Africanus : *Hujus montis accolæ dicitur atque civilitatis amantissimi sunt ; jam dicto monti sic adjacent, ut eo tantum de quo jam locuti sumus fluvio sejungantur ab se invicem ; atque quæ facilius ab uno monte ad alium transeant, mirum inter duos quendam exstruxerunt medium inter duos montes pontem, idque ea ferè industria : ad utrumque latus infixi sunt pali, in quorum summitate quibusdam rotulis injectus est funis, ex hoc pendet ingens quædam sporta, quæ decem hominum capax esse potest, idque ea arte, ut quoties in oppositum migrare montem volunt, sportam conscendunt, atque attracto fune ex quo dependet sporta facillimè rotularum auxilio per ærem trans fluvium illum vehuntur : verum istud interdum non fit sine maximo vitæ discrimine, idque præsertim si aut sporta, aut funis aliquâ in parte sint attrita : addè quod maximum interdum ea loci distantia adferat hominibus terrorem.* *J. Leonis Africa Descript. Lugd. Bat. Elzevir, 1632, p. 471.*

he gives the watch-word, and the fishermen laying hold of the oblique rope, the net is bent round so as to enclose the salmon, while the others keep up an incessant discharge of stones, to prevent the fish from retreating, until the net has been completely drawn round them; when this is accomplished, they all unite their strength, and quietly drag the net and fish close to the rocks.”\*

The rivers in the county of Kilkenny have been long celebrated for their salmon, the catching of which was of far greater importance some years ago than it is at present. Much was sent to Dublin in a fresh state; this was accomplished by means of a slight boiling, called *setting*, as soon it was taken from the water; of late, however, a very superior method of preserving the fish in a marketable state has been adopted, by packing them in boxes with ice. For this useful art we are indebted to the Chinese; and in consequence of its introduction into this country, the London market is now regularly supplied with fresh salmon from the remotest corners of Scotland.†

The country people in Kilkenny catch salmon with a snap-net suspended between two cots, which are small boats, flat-bottomed, narrow, equal at both ends, and governed by paddles; two men are in each boat, one of whom conducts it; when the fish feels the net drawn, the boats are immediately closed. The fish thus taken are sold chiefly at Ross and Waterford; and jolters find it worth their while to go from Kilkenny to Ross to purchase salmon, in the latter at three-pence per pound, which they retail in Kilkenny for four-pence, these are the usual prices: they generally take upon a small car about three hundred weight, put into two small baskets.‡

On the Nore, as far as the tide extends, there are several weirs for the catching of salmon; most of them are ebb weirs, open to the descending currents, and are fished only during the latter half of the ebb. The wings, which are staked and wattled, project through that part of the river where the current is weakest, so as not to impede the navigation, and are only as high as the surface of the water at half flood. At the angle formed by their juncture, the fisherman has a seat raised upon four framed posts, where he holds the net. Flood weirs are more injurious, as they catch the fish in their ascent; of these there are few either in the Suir or the Nore. In the Barrow there are no weirs, but the quantity of fish has been much lessened by the navigation and mills; as the river is slower, and more weedy, its salmon are in less estimation than those of the other rivers, though formerly, perhaps, more numerous.

Above the place where the tide ceases, they are taken in different ways, of which cross fishing is the most destructive. The quantity of salmon, particularly in the Nore, has decreased very much within the last forty years, owing, perhaps, to various

\* Hamilton's Letters concerning the Northern Coast of Antrim, p. 105-109.

† On scait qu'a la Chine on forme sur des batteaux des especes de glaciers, au moyen desquelles on transporte à Canton du poisson frais et bon à manger, qu'on a pris dans des provinces fort éloignées. *Duhamel Traité des Pesches*, P. ii. p. 283.

‡ Tighe's Kilkenny, published in 1800, p. 151.

causes; one of the principal is, the number of mills, into the dams of which, the young fry enter, and [are there destroyed. In these pools, it is said, they have been taken up in such quantities, as to be given to the pigs. This is a great abuse of the indulgence which millers enjoy, of being permitted to convert a public stream to their private benefit.

Another injury to the salmon fishery is the practice of catching them out of season, at illegal times, and in illegal ways. There are, indeed, many acts of parliament which expressly forbid abuses of this kind, but they are not much enforced.\*

There is a considerable salmon fishery on the River Liffey, in the county of Dublin, belonging to Sir William Worthington; which gives employment to eighteen men, six on the river, and twelve at Poolbeg, from the first of January to Michaelmas. During the season, from ninety to two hundred fish are caught every week, which are sold on an average at from sixteen to eighteen shillings each. The fishery extends from the weir at Island Bridge, to the Light-house at Poolbeg.†

In the Nore a fish is found called the salmon peal, which has a great resemblance to the salmon, but it is not so large. I never heard of any that exceeded twelve pounds in weight. Willoughby considers this fish as a young salmon;‡ but Mr. Tighe says that the fishermen always assert, that the salmon and the peal are distinct species, and that they can distinguish the fry of the one from that of the other. The fry of the peal are said to come down the rivers later than those of the salmon, and the peal itself mounts the river at a different season.§

EEL weirs are common in almost all the rivers of Ireland. “There are some large ones at and near Enniskillen, where great quantities of these fish are caught. They are not natives of the lake, but come from the sea when very young, and are intercepted on their return. They never take a bait, nor are they ever known to eat any kind of food. Lord Belmore has kept some in boxes for a year, and found this to be the case. The country people catch them by extending across the water a band of hay, in which they get so entangled, as not to be able to disengage themselves, and by these means are easily taken. Those which proceed up into the lake return in autumn, and at that period they weigh, on an average, about three pounds each. They are sold at Enniskillen for five or six shillings per dozen; but if sent to Dublin, they bring 16s. 3d. Those not sent to the capital are cured in barrels, each of which contains eight dozen, and are sold at Belturbet fair at 40s. per barrel. Eighty dozen are sometimes caught here in one night.”||

Near the falls of Belleek, in Fermanagh, there is an eel weir belonging to Mr. Paken-

\* Tighe's Survey of Kilkenny, p. 149-152.

† Archer's Survey of Dublin, p. 120.

‡ Hist. Pisc. p. 191.

§ Tighe's Survey of Kilkenny, p. 154.

|| Extract from my Journal, Castle Coole, Sept. 5th, 1808.

ham, which is let at £120. per annum, and there are three other weirs near that place, which are let at £100. each.

There is an eel weir also near Ballyvally.\* At Colraine there is an eel fishery belonging to Lord Donegal, who lets it for £1,000. per annum. Eels are sold here at four-pence the pound.† This fishery has been the subject of much litigation between the London Society and the family of Donegal; and in 1802, the dispute was still pending in Chancery. In the reign of James I., the Lord Deputy Chichester obtained a grant of fisheries on the Bann; but this grant was afterwards repurchased in favour of the London Society. In the time of the Commonwealth, Cromwell granted to one of the Skeffington family, the right of the eel fishery of the Bann, in lieu of a certain pension which this family claimed from government. After the Restoration, the Londoners agreed to take out a new charter; but Lord Chichester had the precaution three months before, to obtain from the crown a grant, not only of his former possession, but also of the fishing from Lough Neagh to the rocks, that is to say, to the cuts. In this transaction, the lease granted by Cromwell to Skeffington was conveyed over to Chichester. It appears, however, that Skeffington remained quietly in possession of the fishery for many years; till having ousted a tenant, who was acquainted with the history of the whole affair, this person apprized the Donegal family, who then took the occupation from the Skeffingtons into their own hands, and put their own tenants into immediate possession.

The eels come up from the sea in the beginning of May, and having fattened in Lough Neagh, and the upper rivers, they return in September to breed. In these four months they increase from the size of a small pack thread, to the thickness of a man's wrist, and in some instances to that of his leg.‡

The county of Dublin is distinguished for the goodness of its eels, some of which are caught in Tullaghoea river, and near Fieldstown, where they are exceedingly abundant. They are called silver eels, on account of their white colour, which they acquire from the superior purity of the water; the bottom consisting either of sand or gravel. Those that live in mud are yellow bellied, and of a less agreeable taste.§

The sand eel, which is about seven or eight inches long, is very frequent in the loose sand near the sea coast in various parts of the country. Dr. Rutty says it is agreeable food, and serves to supply the necessities of the poor.||

These sand eels are found in great number at Ross Strand, and in the great sandy beach near Castlefreke, in the county of Cork. They are from six to twelve inches in length, have a sharp snout, with an almost transparent body, and are a very de-

\* Journal Church Hill, September 6th, 1808.

† Ibid, September 16th, 1808.

‡ Sampson's Survey of Derry, p. 328—330.

§ Rutty's Natural History of Dublin, p. 352.

|| Ibid. ibid.

like fish for the table; in taste somewhat resembling the smelt. In the beginning of the summer they make their appearance on the coast, and are then taken with small nets, the meshes of which are very close. In September and October they come higher up upon the sands for the purpose of spawning, and the quickness with which they pierce the sands, with sharp snouts and slender bodies, is truly surprising; for, unless speedily secured, they penetrate to a considerable depth and escape. When the tide has retired, the peasants assemble in great numbers on the strand, with shovels and baskets; and while the men turn up the sand, the women and boys collect the fish; they seldom fail to return with a full load. The night, as well as the day, is employed in this occupation; and sometimes a thousand persons, who exhibit a curious and interesting scene, are engaged in it at one time. Some, standing up to the middle in water, scrape through the sand with an old reaping-hook fastened to the end of a stick, and throw the eels on the shore. They are sold in the markets of Cloghnikilty, and while the season lasts, they materially contribute to the subsistence of the poor.\*

Whether the inland fisheries of Ireland, as at present carried on, are useful or detrimental to the country, is a point which requires some consideration; for it can hardly be supposed, that the benefit arising from the food which they supply, can be any equivalent for the mischief they occasion from the damming up of the water, by which thousands of acres are flooded at all seasons, and the quantity of land thus destroyed to render these beds prolific. Besides, they are the source of law suits without end, occasion frequent quarrels, and are the cause of much ill-will among neighbours.†

A great portion, of the inhabitants of Ireland being catholics, to whom large quantities of fish are necessary for Lent and fast days, fisheries in such a country, are objects of no small importance. This food is much in use among the people, yet the land carriage is both inconvenient and expensive. London is tolerably well supplied with this article, by machines, in which they are conveyed from Harwich, Brighton, and other places; but in the mackarel season it must yield, in this respect, to Paris, though the latter stands at a much greater distance from the sea. In the maritime

\* Townsend's Survey of Cork, p. 356, 357.

† The author of the Survey of Clare says, that eel weirs are the chief cause of the very great damage done to lands on the banks of rivers; but chiefly those built of stone with a narrow mouth, for if they are constructed with wattles like those in the Shannon, the mischief is by no means so great, because the water finds a passage through them. An eel weir that lets for, perhaps, ten pounds per annum, is frequently the cause of damage to land to the amount of upwards of a thousand pounds a year, and often much more; yet the proprietors of land have not the spirit to bring it before a jury, though, it is highly probable, that it is illegal to erect any others than those constructed with wattles, or at least it ought to be so. Dutton's Survey of Clare, p. 234.

counties of Ireland fish is not uncommon ;\* but in the inland parts, such as Carlow, it is exceedingly scarce.

Dublin is remarkably well supplied with fish ; but this kind of food falls chiefly to the opulent class of citizens, and is by no means the common subsistence of the inhabitants of that populous city. The number of wherries belonging to the county in 1801, were as follows :

Howth	-	-	-	-	-	7
Buldoyle	-	-	-	-	-	9
Mallahide	-	-	-	-	-	3
Rush	-	-	-	-	-	16
Skerries	-	-	-	-	-	36
Balbriggen	-	-	-	-	-	9
Ringsend	-	-	-	-	-	7
Total						87

These wherries carry each seven or eight men, and receive a bounty from government of twenty shillings per ton. The hands are all engaged upon shares, two of which go to the owner of the wherry. Those, therefore, which carry eight hands are divided into ten shares. In the season they catch cod, ling, haddock, ray, herrings, &c. They generally complain that the parliamentary bounty is too small, on account of the great rise of iron, hemp, and other articles necessary in their occupation.

Besides these wherries, there are about twenty smacks and five seine nets, occupied in the salmon fishery between the Bay of Dublin and Dunleary. These smacks receive no bounty, and with many other small boats are employed in the proper season in catching herrings. At Dunleary there are also eleven yawls, and at Bullock seven, engaged in fishing for whiting, pollock, and herrings.†

At Kinsale there are four hundred boats, called hookers, generally of about twenty tons burden, employed in fishing, which afford an ample supply of fish to the markets of Cork, Kinsale, and Bandon. These vessels are excellent sea-boats ; they go out in all weathers, and are exceedingly serviceable to ships in the way of pilotage. Four men form the usual complement of each crew, and their service, both as fishermen and pilots, is deemed of such utility, as to procure them an exemption from im-

\* April 8th, 1808. There is an excellent fish market at Galway ; the greater part of the people of the neighbourhood being fishermen. A large sized turbot may be purchased here sometimes for 16*d.* A crown is considered as a very high price. Salmon costs 15*d.* per pound ; at the time of the assizes it is 2*s.* 6*d.*, but sometimes it is so low as 6*d.*

† Archer's Survey of Dublin, p. 119, 120.

pressment. These men seem to be happy only on the water; living chiefly in their boats, while their domestic concerns, and the curing of such fish as are not sold fresh, are consigned to the management of the females.\*

The author of the Survey of Down says, "the fisheries on that part of the Irish coasts would be extremely valuable, were proper attention paid to them. Boats from Rush go thither, as was formerly the case from Liverpool, to trawl in Dumdrum Bay, and carry off great quantities of turbot, sole, plaice, cod, and haddock, whilst the inhabitants of the shore, for want of proper apparatus, get comparatively very few. At Bangor there is a considerable fishery of sole and plaice with a few turbot, and in winter of cod and excellent oysters.

"The coast of Down abounds also with whiting, gurnard, sea trouts, mackarel, skate; and about the Copland Islands, and on the northern and eastern coasts, there is found a small red codling, much better tasted than the common cod, but it is not so fit for salting, as it does not take the salt so well."†

In the course of my tour along the southern coast of Ireland, I found that the people in the vicinity of the shore lived in a comparatively comfortable manner, in consequence of their using fish as a part of their food; and I have no doubt that the seas around Ireland, if proper exertions were made, would be found to supply cod, ling, and other fish in abundance, to enable the Irish, without going far from their own shores, to participate in that trade called the white fishing, which was carried on by the French and English, for the supply of the Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian markets with salted fish. It is well known that abundance of cod are caught in the northern seas by the Danes and Swedes; but particularly by the Dutch, who, besides the salt fish which they purchased of the Icelanders, caught a great many also in the neighbourhood of the Shetland Isles, and in returning from the north, often continued their fishing on the Dogger Bank till the winter.‡

The place best adapted for carrying on an extensive fishery in the neighbourhood of Ireland, is the Nymph Bank, ten or twelve leagues south-south-east from Dunganon, which was discovered in 1736, by Mr. Doyle, who sailed thither in company with seven men, in a small vessel called the Nymph, mounting twelve guns. Mr. Fraser, who was appointed by the Dublin Society to examine the means of improving the agriculture, fisheries, and other resources of the counties of Waterford and Wexford, drew up a report on the advantages presented by this fishing bank, which was presented to Mr. Abbot, then secretary, who thought it worthy of particular attention. Mr. Frazer sailed from Passage, in the harbour of Waterford, in a revenue cutter, and standing out to sea to ascertain the depth of water and the extent of the bank, found uniformly a depth of forty fathoms; and wherever the

\* Townsend's Survey of Cork, p. 556.

† Survey of Down, p. 251.

‡ Duhamel *Traité Général des Pêches*, ii. Partie, p. 109.

bottom was muddy, he never failed to catch abundance of cod, hake, and ling, but in those parts, where the bottom consisted of fine sand, he met with no success. At the distance of about three leagues from Helvockhead, fish became so plenty, that in the course of a little time he got abundance of plaice, soles, and all kinds of ground fish.

At the distance of about fifteen leagues from the coast, the high lands of Dunganon bearing north and by west, he found forty fathoms water, and the bottom gravelly, with an admixture of shells; here a cod was caught of a very large size, and full fed, together with ling and some exceedingly fine hake; and Mr. Fraser remarks, "that had he been inclined to continue the experiment, he might have caught whatever quantity of fish he wished." This survey continued six days, and in that time it was ascertained that the bank abounds with fish; that the uniform depth of the water is about forty fathoms; that the bank extends about ten or fifteen leagues, in a direction from south-east to north-west; and that it is sufficiently large to furnish employment for many hundred vessels, which would no doubt meet with success.\* To this account Mr. Fraser subjoins several certificates signed by persons who had frequented the coast for seventeen years, which not only corroborate his statement, but point out various advantages of this bank, such as its proximity to a number of excellent harbours and markets where the fish might be sold.

"Encouraged by repeated trials, in which, though successful beyond expectation, he was but ill prepared with proper bait, Captain Wilby, who commanded the cruizer, resolved to place it beyond all doubt that this fishing bank is one of the richest treasures of which Ireland or any other country can boast; he procured plenty of good fresh sprats for bait, and stood out to sea until the tower of Waterford bore north-east by north, distant nine leagues, and Helvock Head about ten leagues, soundings thirty-eight fathoms, with a bottom of flinty pebbles and shells. Having here cast anchor, he caught, in the space of two hours, 203 of the largest fish he ever saw, consisting of hake, cod, and ling, but chiefly the two former, also abundance of skate and of bream."

Mr. Fraser farther says, "that this bank or fishing ground, which seems an immense plain at the bottom of the sea, being rather an extension of the coast than a ridge or bank, undoubtedly contains such abundance of fish, that it seems surprising that an extensive fishery has not been established here long ago. The sea also nearer the shore teems with fish, sufficient in general for the subsistence of the fishermen and the adjacent towns. For this reason these people fish close to the shore rather than go out to this bank, and they are more inclined to pursue this indolent method, as they are prevented, by poverty and want of capital, from building vessels fit for that purpose. But if bounties were granted by government to

\* Gleanings in Ireland, p. 40—42.

induce them to fit out and navigate vessels of from 23 to 60 tons burden, and offer premiums for the curing of fish in a proper manner, either for home consumption or exportation; there can be little doubt that a fishery might be established on this bank, equally productive as that at Newfoundland, and which, besides other advantages, would form an excellent nursery for seamen."

Mr. Doyle, who gave the first account of this fishing ground, remarks, that in consequence of its situation, the fish, by being preserved in well-boats, or merely salted, might be carried with great benefit to Dublin, Liverpool, Bristol, Chester, &c. London, which at present receives a great proportion of its fish from the Dogger Bank, from other places in the North Sea, and from the north-east coast of Scotland, might be much better supplied from this bank. Favoured by the westerly winds, which prevail so much on the coast of Ireland, fast sailing well-boats would, in fine weather, effect a passage from the Nymph Bank to Gravesend, the distance being scarcely 150 leagues, in the course of three or four days; whereas the well-boats from the north-east coasts can sometimes with difficulty reach Gravesend in as many weeks. Besides in the latter, by the agitation of the sea, the fish are so much bruised and injured that they are hardly fit for sale. The grand object, however, is to grant such encouragement to the fishermen as would induce them to catch the fish, and cure them in the same manner as is practised at Newfoundland.

Mr. Fraser, in his Statistical Survey of Wexford, complains much of the want of harbours as being a great impediment to the progress of the fisheries in that part of the country. He says, "that in the course of the investigation respecting the Nymph Bank, it was discovered that the most certain and abundant fishing ground is to be found adjacent to the Saltees on the southern coast of the county; but from the want of a harbour to run into, this fishery cannot be followed by native fishermen in their open boats, either from the adjacent coast or the harbour of Waterford."\*

Two very small harbours have, indeed, been formed, one at Fethard, and another at a place called Cross Farnogue, in the bay of Ballytiegue. The latter, which is best adapted for carrying on the fishery, has been erected by the fishermen themselves, with the assistance of a small subscription from the gentlemen and principal farmers in the neighbourhood.

Inadequate as this little harbour is, it has enabled the fishermen to enlarge the size and extend the number of their boats, of which there are now about twenty, of from twelve to fifteen tons burden, employed principally in catching lobsters, which the larger boats carry to the Dublin market. This fishery is carried on in summer, during which they take also considerable quantities of cod and ling, mullet, gurnard, and other small fish. The winter fishery, which would afford them much employment, as well in pursuit of the cod as the herring-fishery, they are unable to follow, for the want of a harbour sufficient to shelter their boats.

\* Frazer's Survey of Wexford, p. 22.

Mr. Fraser strongly recommends the formation of a good harbour here, which, he thinks, would contribute greatly to extend the fisheries, as it would not only be a great convenience to the adjacent fishermen, but to those from the harbour of Waterford and other parts of the coast. He mentions also two other places, where harbours would be of especial service to the fisheries, and prove the means of affording useful employment to the people. The first is near Carnsore Point, where the inhabitants are distinguished by their industry, both as farmers and fishermen. The second is at St Helen's, near Greenore Point, where an admirable harbour might be formed, with a bason, which by a convenient back-water, might be so constructed as to be an excellent place of shelter for coasting and other vessels of a moderate burden.\*

It is remarked by Dr. Smith, in his Natural History of Waterford, that this part of the coast is particularly adapted for the rendezvous and breeding of fish, and he enumerates the following kinds as frequenting it: hake, ling, cod, whiting, whiting-pollock, mackarel, red gurnard, grey gurnard, called by some knowds, bass mullet, bream, soles, dab, plaice, fluke, turbot, and sometimes the halibut, skate or ray dog fish, and herrings. The cod caught on that coast, according to this author, are preferable to those found in the American seas, or on the banks of Newfoundland, and, perhaps, for this reason, that being less numerous, they are better and fuller fed.† But the superiority of the Irish cod may be owing to another cause, for if it be true that the Newfoundland cod are always caught out of season, this alone will account for the difference.‡

Dr. Rutty says, that though Ireland is frequently supplied with salted cod from Newfoundland, both the cod and the ling caught on the Irish coasts are very well cured by the Fingallians at Rush and Skerries. These fish, after being seasoned with the best English salt, are dried in the sun; but in the night-time, and when the weather happens to be wet, they are always removed into the house. Care also is taken to press them down daily with weights, in order to give them form. They are afterwards preserved in straw, and acquire such a good quality that they are accounted preferable to the foreign fish, being firmer, swell more on being watered, and have a much better taste.§

The circumstance of taking the fish in, during the night, in the course of preparation, demands particular attention; as it seems to confirm, in some measure, the observation which has been made, that the climate of Ireland is unfavourable to the curing of cod in this manner. Some years ago, a Mr. Snow, an Englishman, who purchased an estate in the north of Ireland, with a view of

\* Statistical Survey of Wexford, p. 22-24. † Nat. Hist. of Waterford, p. 258, 261.

‡ State of the Hebrides, by J. Anderson, L.L.D. F.R.S. F.S.A. Scot. Edin. 1785, p. 13. note.

§ Rutty's Nat. Hist. of Dublin, vol. i. p. 353.

prosecuting the fisheries, is said to have found, that although cod is to be caught there in great quantities during the winter months, the climate was so damp that it was with difficulty he could get them properly dried. To obviate this inconvenience, he constructed a kiln, in which, by means of heated air, without smoke, he found that fish could be thoroughly dried at a very small expense, whatever might be the state of the weather. But this kiln with his other buildings, was pulled down by the natives soon after it was erected, and he himself, with his wife and children, obliged to fly, to avoid the fury of these ignorant people. Mr. Snow afterwards erected another kiln on the same plan in the neighbourhood of Dublin, for the inspection of a committee of parliament, from which he was soliciting aid. The writer from whom this account is borrowed, says, that he saw the report of the committee, which highly approved the invention, and he thinks that fish may be thus cured wherever the state of the air may render it necessary.\*

The western shore of Ireland is, probably, better adapted for the herring fishery; but if another kind of boat were employed, there is reason to conclude that the white fishery might be carried on here to a very great extent. The only boats used at present, consist merely of a wooden frame, covered with a horse's or bullock's hide;† they are of various forms, according to the custom of the country where they are made, but they are all so exceedingly buoyant, that few accidents happen to

\* Anderson's State of the Hebrides, p. 306. note.

† When at Malbay, on the coast of Clare, in October, 1809, I saw some of their skin boats, which the people call canoes. They are of a different form from those used in Donegal and Sligo, and cost about a guinea and a half. For making one, two cow hides are sufficient; the hair is turned inwards, and they are sewed together with worsted thread, which swells when it becomes wet; on the outside they are daubed over with tar. These boats are about fifteen feet in length, five in width, and two in depth. They are navigated by four oars, which are worked by two men. They have no keel, and both ends are shaped alike, so that they can be made to move either way with the same ease. They are still the same kind of vessels as were used in the remotest ages. Solinus, cap. xxv. speaking of Ireland, says: *Mare quod Hyberniam et Britanniam interluit, undosum et inquietum toto in anno, non nisi festivis pauculis diebus est navigabile; navigant autem viminibus alveis quos circumdant ambitione tergorum bubulorum.* Pliny also speaks of the Britons crossing over in them to Ireland: *Ad eam Britannos vitilibus navigiis coriis circumsutis navigare.* *Hist. Nat.* lib. iv. cap. 16. *Lugd. Bat.* vol. i. p. 234. These boats are of great antiquity, for a similar kind are described by Herodotus as being used by the Armenians. They were of a round form, and constructed of osier twigs, wove together like a basket and covered with skins. The Armenians employed them for conveying merchandise down the river Euphrates to Babylon, and particularly jars of palm wine. In each, along with the load, they put an ass; and on their arrival at Babylon, as these vessels could not be directed against the stream, they sold the basket-work, put the skin which covered it upon the back of the ass, and returned home. For a new expedition a new boat was constructed. *Herodot.* lib. i. cap. 195. edit. Glasg. 1761, vol. i. p. 427. Boats of this kind are still used on the Euphrates, and are mentioned by Colonel Taylor, in his tour over-land to India.—They were employed also by the Sabæans, a people of Arabia. *Τῶν δὲ Σαβαίων χερῶναι καὶ τοῖς ἄρκατιοῖς ἐν ὀλίγοις ποταμοῖς, διδασκόντες τῆς χερῶν τῆς ἀνακρίσεως καὶ τῆς ἐν τρυφῇ καταγωγῆς.* *Agarharicides de Rubro Mari*, p. 64; in *Hudsoni Geog. Veteris Scriptores*, vol. i. Strabo gives

them. The author of the Survey of Clare,\* alluding to the structure of these boats, says, that no beneficial fishery can be established there, until companies are formed, which shall be able to fit out vessels sufficiently large to navigate the sea as far as the banks of Newfoundland. It is well known that myriads of excellent fish frequent the great bank which stretches nearly from the coast of Galway, in an oblique direction to Newfoundland, at the depth of from twenty to thirty fathoms; and of various breadths, from fifty to one hundred miles and more, extending from lat. 53° N. long. 10° 10' to lat. 45° and long. 53° west. The Danes, we are told, by means of a fishery which they established here, in the ninth and tenth centuries, carried on a most lucrative trade with the south of Europe, and furnished Ireland and other countries with wine and many southern productions. The French have had, at some periods, more than 500 vessels employed in this trade, and though the western banks have been occupied by the English, the middle ones remain almost unknown; but it is highly probable that they would afford large quantities of fish, as the whales which used formerly to proceed from the eastern coasts of Greenland, towards Newfoundland, and the coast of New England, have been banished by the Americans, and now make their way across the great bank, somewhere about lat. 50°, and between 30° and 40° of west longitude; passing the western coasts of the Azores, Ascension, and St. Helena, towards the southern frozen regions, where they are caught by the southern whale fishers, who follow them from England and America.

Mr. Dutton farther states, that "the western coast of Ireland is so peculiarly well adapted for an extensive fishery, that 2,000 vessels might be easily loaded in a season with fish of various kinds, and of the best quality. To accomplish this, a company, with a large capital, must be formed, and there is every probability that no speculation could be more profitable to the subscribers. To the proprietors of land it would be highly advantageous, as the improvement of land and the consumption of produce would necessarily keep pace with the prosperity of the fishing company; not only from the consumption of the fishermen, but from that occasioned by the great number of boat-builders, coopers, salt-makers, sail and rope makers, &c. and their families, which such an undertaking would require. As a nursery for the best kind of seamen, to a nation, the existence of which depends al-

gives a similar account of the Sabazans: *πλοῖατις ἐπ' αὐτὰ δια τῶν στήνῶν δερματινοῖς πλοῖοις.* *Strab. Geog. lib. xvi. Amst. 1707, vol. ii. p. 1124.* According to the same author, they were used by the people in Spain, vol. i. p. 224. These boats are mentioned by Festus Avienus; by Lucan, lib. iv. and by Cæsar, who employed them in Spain, having learned in Britain the method of constructing them. *De Bello Civili, lib. i. cap. 54.* they are used at Seringapatam, the skeleton being made of bamboo, instead of wicker. *Wilkes's South of India, p. 417.*

\* Dutton's Survey of Clare, p. 231.

most entirely on her navy, the advantage of such an establishment must be incalculable."\*

This writer also remarks, that it is generally believed that a very productive turbot fishery might be carried on at the mouth of the Shannon; yet no exertions are made, in consequence of the poverty of the fishermen; few, if any, being able to expend fifteen or twenty guineas for a trawl. But, besides poverty, there is an impediment in the laziness of the people, which will prevent any undertaking of this kind from being conducted with spirit or success; and it appears that nothing effectual can be done in this way, unless some individual of property, or a company, would embark in the business, and oblige the fishermen to submit to such regulations as might ensure a profitable return.†

At Liscanor Bay a considerable quantity of small turbot are caught, and, in general, are sold at a reasonable rate, at least, when compared with the price at Dublin. But the banks that produce the large fish are, for the most part, too distant from the shore to permit the owners of the small boats to avail themselves of the advantages which they present. Even the fishermen of Galway and Kiltrush, who have boats able to stand the sea, neglect this treasure; because they are timid, and afraid to venture to so great a distance from the shore.‡ Smith, in his Natural History of Waterford, makes a similar remark respecting the fishermen on that part of the coast: "They are not only unskilled in the art of navigation, but their boats are open, and too thin-sided to bear or brook a tempestuous sea; the terror of which, and of going out of sight of the land, where they fear to be drove beyond their knowledge, are invincible impediments to the progress which might have long since been made.§

Skate is very common on the coast of Derry; abundance of haddocks are also caught, and are sold at from 6d. to 1s. 6d. each. Cod and whiting are also found, with plaice, flounders, soals, and turbot. No town in Ireland is better supplied with the last-mentioned fish than Derry. A large one may be bought sometimes for about 2s. 8d.||

A fish called the sun-fish is sometimes to be met with on this coast. One of them taken soon after the siege of the city, is depicted on a map of that day; another was caught at Culmore some years ago; and a third in the summer of 1802, near the mouth of the Bann, resembling, in its form, the head of a fish which had been amputated.¶ This fish seems to be of a different species from another of the same name, which yields abundance of oil, and is caught on the coast of Cork.\*\*

The shad, (*clupea alosa*), according to Dr. Rutty, has been found not only in Lough

\* Dutton's Survey of Clare, p. 229, 231.

† Ibid. p. 228 and 227.

‡ Ibid. ib. p. 234.

§ Smith's Nat. Hist. of Waterford, p. 277.

|| Sampson's Survey of Derry, p. 339.

¶ Ibid. p. 335.

\*\* Smith's Natural and Civil History, vol. ii. p. 299.

Neagh and Lough Erne, but also in the Liffey, near Rings End. This fish, called sometimes the mother of the herring, is supposed to have been known to the ancient Greeks and Romans. It is found in the Baltic and North Sea, and also in the Mediterranean; and, like the salmon and other sea fish, goes up the rivers in spring to deposit its spawn, after which it returns to the salt-water.

Dr. M'Parlan, in his Survey of Sligo, remarks that many consider sprats (*clupea sprattus*) as young herrings, and that, as numbers are caught, the herrings are lessened, and the survivors are frightened from the coast.\* The idea of the sprat and the herring being the same fish, was adopted by Willoughby† and other naturalists; but it is controverted by Rutty‡ and by Bloch,§ both of whom assign reasons sufficient to prove that they are of a different species. The sprat is found in the Liffey, between Dublin and Island Bridge, and also on other parts.

Carp are not natives of the north of Europe; they were brought from the south, and introduced into England by Marshal, in 1514;|| and into Denmark by Peter Oxe, in 1560.¶ They are common also in Holland and Sweden:\*\* but it is remarked, that the further north they are taken, the more they degenerate; and, therefore, many ship loads of them are sent from the Prussian harbours to Russia and Stockholm.†† Dr. Rutty says they were first brought to Ireland in the reign of king James; and that this fish and the tench, though they grow large in gentlemen's ponds, do not breed there, but in some of the loughs in the county of Wexford.‡‡ Carp and tench are found in the Barrow; but it is believed that they were conveyed thither from ponds at Low Grange, which were broken down by a flood. The tench is more commonly taken than the carp, which is a shyer fish.§§ The Sturgeon, according to Dr. Rutty, appears sometimes in the Bay of Dublin; and he mentions one, six feet long, and three broad in the thickest part, which was caught in September 1746, between that place and the Isle of Man. Another, ten feet long, said to have weighed 300lbs. was taken, in 1754, in a river near Dundalk.|||| Dr. Smith states that this fish has occasionally come up the Black-water and Bandon rivers;¶¶ and Mr. Tighe speaks of its being seen, though rarely, in some of the rivers of Kilkenny.\*\*\*

Formerly the herring fishery on the coast of Ireland was thought worthy of attention, and a considerable quantity of herrings were exported, so long ago as between

\* M'Parlan's Survey of Sligo, p. 77. † Ichth, p. 122. ‡ Rutty's Nat. Hist. of Dublin, p. 362, 363.

§ Œkon. Naturgeschichte der Fisch Deutschlands Erster Theil, p. 265.

|| Pennant's Brit. Zoology, vol. iii. p. 353.

¶ Pontoppidan Naturgeschichte, von Dänemark, p. 190.

\*\* Linné Fauna Suecica, p. 128. n. 359.

†† Pontoppidan Naturhist. von Norwegen, part ii. p. 236.

Bloch's Naturgeschichte der Fische Deutschlands Erster Theil, p. 119.

‡‡ Rutty's Nat. Hist. of Dublin,

vol. i. p. 366. §§ Tighe's Survey of Kilkenny, p. 156.

|||| Rutty's Nat. Hist. of Dublin, vol. i. p. 363.

¶¶ Smith's Nat. and Civil Hist. of Cork, vol. ii. p. 321.

\*\*\* Tighe's Survey of Kilkenny, p. 156.

the years 1580 and 1655; at least, there is reason to believe so from the frequent mention of them, both fresh and salted, in the Dutch lists of articles published during that period, liable to pay increased duties on account of convoy and licenses.\* Of late years, however, it seems that this branch of fishing has much declined, in consequence of the fish having deserted the coast. Dr. Smith says, "the most noted part of the sea-coast of the county of Waterford for the herring fishery was, a few years before he wrote, at the mouth of the harbour, where they were first caught in abundance by a great number of boats which resorted thither for that purpose. The herring fishery there was the best regulated, perhaps, of any on the Irish coast; because it was under the government, laws, and inspection of the members of that corporation; but it has failed surprisingly of late, and is now almost dwindled into nothing."† Mr. Townsend gives a similar account respecting the county of Cork: herrings and other fish, which were once found there in abundance, have disappeared; so that there is now no fishery worthy of being mentioned.‡

At Arklow, in the county of Wicklow, forty-five boats, six hands in each, are employed in the herring fishery. From eighty to one hundred mease of herrings are caught by each boat in the season, and sold at the average price of 14s. per mease. The rent of the fishermen's cabins is from £3. to £5. Some pay one shilling a year for the ground, and raise the buildings themselves. The children, during the vacant season, are employed in making nets; and, at the same time, the fishermen dredge for oysters, which they carry to Liverpool, and bring back in return earthenware and coals. If the herring season, however, be boisterous, the profits arising from the draught of fish is very inconsiderable; because the boats, from the wretched state of the harbour, are liable to be damaged, and often wrecked. This is an inconvenience which ought to be removed, especially as the harbour, for a very small expense, might be rendered safe and commodious for boats of every description.§

About fifty fishing boats ply about Killala, and are sometimes tolerably successful; but Dr. M'Parlan remarks, that under an idea of the herrings having deserted the coast, the fisheries in the neighbourhood of Newport and Westport had been totally neglected.||

In Sligo, and on the whole of the north-west coast, the herring fishery was of great importance till the years 1783 or 1784; but after that time it failed entirely. A

\* Groot Placaet-Boeck vervattende Placaaten Ordonnantien onde Edicten van de Doorluchtige Hoogh Mog. Heeren State Generael der Veernighde Nederlanden by een gebracht door M. Cornelis Cau. In s'Graven Hage, 1658, eight vols. vol. i. p. 2361—2508.

† Nat. and Civil Hist. of Waterford, p. 268. ‡ Survey of Cork, by the Rev. H. Townsend, p. 396.

§ Fraser's Survey of Wicklow, p. 256. || Survey of the County of Mayo, p. 96.

few herrings are still caught during the summer season, but the quantity is so small as scarcely to be worth notice.\*

On the coast of Donegal the herring fishery was carried on with great spirit a few years ago, under the patronage of the Rt. Hon. Burton Conyngham; but the fish are said to have deserted this part of the coast in consequence of a red animalcule, perhaps, the *cancer halecum*, with which the whole surface of the water seemed to be covered, and which is supposed to be the food of the herrings. The establishment formed by Mr. Conyngham for pursuing this fishery was situated in Rutland Island, so called after the Duke of Rutland when lord-lieutenant, where a village, with every necessary building and accommodation for salting and curing the fish was erected, at an expense, to himself, of £38,000. and £20,000. granted by parliament. The streets of the village were 40 or 50 feet in width; and, when built, inhabitants were invited, and furnished with boats, nets, and other apparatus. Roads were cut over places before thought impassable, and every exertion was made to create a sale; but, though this undertaking proved so successful at first, as sometimes to give employment to 300 vessels and 1,200 boats, and that £135,000. was received in cash, in the course of two months, the herrings disappeared, and the whole scheme entirely failed.

Mr. Dubourdieu, in his Survey of Down, says: "herrings have been frequently taken in large quantities in Strangford lake, where it is said they are to be had the whole year; but, with respect to fatness or flavour, they are much inferior to those taken on the coast of the main sea. From what cause this degeneracy proceeds, whether they go into the lake to spawn, or whether their food there is of a worse kind, I cannot take upon me to determine; but the fact is, we would rather give five shillings the hundred for those taken in the open sea, than three shillings for those caught in the lake. Sometimes herrings come close to our shores, but in general, they keep farther to the east, towards the Isle of Man; the boats from Newcastle generally pursue them there; they are brought to this country for sale, and are dispersed through it by fish-carriers, who attend upon the beach and purchase them from the boats as they arrive. The Isle of Man herrings are generally very large, fat, and well-flavoured."†

Herrings are found on the coast of Derry, but they seldom approach the shore in large shoals. They are often known to pass to the westward, pursued by the porpoises, and a few of them are taken sometimes at Portrush.‡

The herring fishery in Ireland, from all my information, is at present in a very declining state. The assertion that these fish have deserted the coast, seems to admit

\* M'Parlan's Survey of Sligo, p. 77.

† Survey of Down, p. 251.

‡ Sampson's Survey of Derry, p. 343.

of considerable doubt; perhaps, the Irish fishermen, from their unskilfulness, and the boats in use, are not enabled to proceed to that distance from the land where it is likely they would be found. I am not singular in this opinion: Lord Sheffield says, "the north-western fishery of Ireland, although so promising, is yet in a very mean state; there is little to mention except what nature has done; and surely, all things considered, she has done as much for Ireland as for any part of Europe. We learn, that in other parts the herring is an uncertain fish, but we have not heard that it ever entirely failed on this coast. Unfavourable winds prevented the herrings from embaying sufficiently early the last season, to enable Ireland to furnish the usual quantity for the West Indies, consequently, the price rose to £4. the barrel in those Islands. It is probable the fishermen too soon despond of finding fish, and sometimes the disappointment happens through want of sufficiency of buoy rope. The three first nets or dippings were proved twice, and only straggling herrings found in them: on proving them a third time, there was the same appearance; but, on taking in the nets to change ground, it was found that the buoy of the centre net was burst, by which it sunk five feet of the line; upon drawing it into the boat, it was full of herrings. From this circumstance it is conjectured that the want of a sufficiency of buoy-rope is the reason country fishermen are so often unsuccessful, although immediately above the herrings."

"Perhaps, if the hint given by Mr. Pennant was followed on the coast of Ireland as well as of Scotland, it would be as useful a kind of bounty as could be offered by government, viz. each year to send out small vessels to make a thorough trial in every branch of the sea; they would, undoubtedly find shoals in some of them, which together with sounding the banks, and examining the coast, might be performed by the sloops or cutters appointed to enforce the necessary regulations of the fisheries."\*

Complaints of the scarcity of fish, are frequent in other countries, and particularly in Norway, where it is said, that the fisheries have considerably decreased in the course of the last thirty or forty years. On this subject, Thaarup remarks, that fish cannot be equally abundant in all years, as natural events, the state of the weather and the atmosphere, have a considerable influence and are often the cause of failure. It is generally found that the productiveness of fisheries are in the inverse ratio of the greater or less fertility of the earth; so that the former are attended with the greatest success, when the country suffers most by bad crops.† Never were fisheries of every kind more productive than in the

\* Observations on Manufactures, Trade, &c. of Ireland, by Lord Sheffield, 3d. edit. London, 1785, p. 127—129.

† Whether this rule holds good in other countries, is a question which seems to deserve investigation. In Norway

years 1740 or 1745 ; but these years were the worst in regard to scarcity and famine that Norway ever experienced. We must not, however, conclude, because some years have been unfavourable to fishing, or because variations have occasionally taken place, that the fisheries in Norway have decreased.\* This writer seems to be of opinion, that the bad success which has attended the fisheries, is owing to the manner in which they are conducted, being left almost entirely to peasants little acquainted with the business, and unprovided with large boats and other necessary apparatus. These people carry on their fishery in a very irregular manner, they have no settled plan, are subject to no laws, and are without the inspection of a head or director to prevent disputes, and preserve subordination. This state of things gives rise to much jealousy and ill will, and produces incessant quarrels and litigation, which the government sometimes finds difficult to adjust.†

It has long been observed, that human nature, making a small allowance for habit and custom, is in all countries the same ; and, therefore, it is not surprising that similar causes should produce among the people of different nations who follow the same occupation, similar effects. The above account of the fishermen of Norway corresponds exactly with that given by Mr. Dutton in his Survey of Clare, respecting the same description of people in that part of Ireland. " Though the numerous bays and creeks," says this writer, " from Loophead to Kilrush, are admirably well adapted for the fitting out and shelter of fishing-boats ; yet, from the poverty and laziness of those who are capable of pursuing the fishing business, it is not carried on with the spirit which such undertakings require. Sometimes in the herring season, upwards of two hundred boats, but frequently not more than half that number, are fitted out at Kilrush, Carrigaholt, Querin, and other creeks ; and as the fishery is uncertain, a bad season completely ruins these poor men, who expend their all upon their boats ; and other fishing apparatus. On the contrary, if some person or company of property, who had sufficient authority to make the fishermen comply with the necessary regulations, would embark in this fishery, there can be no doubt that a profitable return would be obtained. At present, from the want of some respectable

Norway it is accounted for in the following manner : " When the winds blow with violence towards the coast, they drive the fish into all the bays, creeks, and inlets, but at the same time they carry with them a cold damp vapour, and this vapour spreading, fills the whole atmosphere with thick heavy fogs, which, intercepting the solar rays, prevent the earth from enjoying the usual benefit of their warmth." *Afhandling om Saltvands-Fiskerierne i Norge af C. G. Molberg*, a prize essay in *Det Kongelige Landhuusholdings—Selskabs skrifter. Kiobanhavn, 1790. Tradie Deel*, p. 351. Lord Sheffield says, that it is the north-west wind which throws the herrings towards the coast of Ireland. Has it ever been observed in that country, that when the fisheries were productive, the crops turned out bad ?

\* Versuch einer Statistik der Danischen Monarchie von F. Thaarup Kopenhagen, 1795. Erster Theil, p. 400.

† Ibid. ibid.

person to enforce good order, these people generally elect the oldest boatman as admiral, and the next in seniority as vice-admiral; but neither of these has sufficient power to enforce the laws or regulations which they have agreed to obey, for the good of the whole who are concerned. It is generally believed by the fishermen, that if the herrings are disturbed for a few days in the Shannon, they will retire from it; yet, though they are persuaded of this, they generally attempt to steal out at night on the first appearance of the shoal. This being observed by others, they all steal out in succession; and whether from this or from any other cause, they frequently return without a single herring, loading each other with imprecations for having broken their agreement, which they consider as of so much importance.\* Fisheries, conducted in this manner, can succeed neither in Norway nor in Ireland; the people must be encouraged, and assisted to provide larger boats and better apparatus; they must be instructed in the best methods, and, instead of being left to follow their own ruinous system, be placed under the inspection of persons properly qualified to direct, and possessed of sufficient authority to subject them to such regulations as might be best calculated to ensure success to their exertions.

But, although Thaarup disputes the assertion that the herrings have decreased in number, he admits that they have retired more towards the coast of Sweden; a circumstance which seems not at all improbable. Another Danish writer says, "In regard to salt water fish, which are the objects of great fishing establishments, experience shows that they not only appear in less numbers one year than another in the same part of the sea, or on the same coast, but that they sometimes entirely desert a spot where they were formerly found in abundance. This may be occasioned by various causes. Some disease may arise among them, or some natural change hurtful to their fry may be occasioned, either by subterranean vapours, or the vicinity of acrid mineral waters; or the bottom of the sea to a certain extent may be so altered by the accumulation of earth or mud, as to render it unfit for the residence of fish; and they may be prevented from approaching certain points of land, and particularly inlets and bays, where populous towns are situated by the establishment of manufactories, from which corrosive, acid, or poisonous liquors may be conveyed into the sea. The noise of cannon from fortresses, ships of war, as well as the firing of small arms, frighten away fish which are accustomed to swim near the surface of the water. Strong stormy winds which take place at those seasons of the year, when fish approach the land, can either be favourable or unfavourable to their arrival in certain districts. The increase of fish is much impeded by their being caught in spawning time, and some kinds are lessened by the increase of others possessed of more strength, especially when the former are the food of the latter."†

\* Survey of Clare, p. 227, 228.

† *Øconomisk Magazin*, tom. v. p. 327. See also Pontoppidan's *Danske Atals*, tom. i. p. 637.

The same author says that seals are exceedingly destructive to fish in the neighbourhood of the coasts, as otters are to fresh water fish in rivers. Many become a prey also to sea-fowl when fry, and numbers fall a sacrifice to whales, and other tyrants of the seas, which swallow them by thousands at a time. This is the case in particular with herrings, which are said to be driven from the polar regions by these monsters,\* and are sometimes observed in the neighbourhood of our coasts, closely followed by porpoises and other ravenous fishes.

If fish be subject to periodical changes of their places of resort, although herrings may not be found regularly close to the Irish coast, there is no reason to conclude that they have entirely deserted it. In reasoning on this subject, men are too apt to place reliance on vague reports, and neglect to pursue means necessary to discover the truth. The company established at Rutland Island intrusted, no doubt, the management of their concern to persons properly qualified, and supplied them with vessels and every apparatus adapted to the trade. It is, however, several years since their attempt failed; and, even if it be admitted that the fish then withdrew, it does not follow, that they may not have returned, or gone to some other part of the coast. I am inclined, therefore, to believe, that if the Irish fishermen possessed more spirit and skill, and if they were to lay aside the use of their paltry boats, which are not calculated for remaining long at sea, they might meet with better success. The Dutch, in their more fortunate days, when at liberty to carry on the herring fishery unrestrained, did not seek for these fish on their own coast, but proceeded to the North sea, and the neighbourhood of the Shetland Isles, remaining out for many weeks, and pursuing the herrings in their course, as they proceeded towards the south. Had they waited on their own shores till they entered into their nets, they never would have carried this branch of industry to such an extent as to render it one of the chief sources of the opulence of their country. The Swedish fishermen on the coast of Scania, some of whom do not possess a single acre of land, living entirely by fishing, sail sometimes to the distance of forty

\* Frederick Martenz relates in his Journal of a Voyage to Greenland in 1671, that a whale was caught or stranded among the Shetland Islands, which had in its stomach above a barrel of herrings. Van een gestranden af gevangen noorkaper omtrent Hetland, vertraalt Frederik Martensz in zyn Groenlands Journal van den Jaare, 1671, dat er meer dan een geheele ton haring in zyn maeg gevonden vierd. *C. G. Zorgdragers Blijvende Afkomst der Aloude en Hedendaagsche Groenlandsche Fishery door: A. Moubach, in s'Gravenhage, 1727; 4to. p. 118.*

A similar fact is related by Horrebow. "The people of Iceland having got possession of a whale, which venturing too near the land in pursuit of the torsk while the tide was ebbing, happened to run on shore, found in its stomach on opening it, six hundred torsk alive, besides a number of sprats and some water-fowl." *Zuverlässige Nachrichten von Island, p. 215.*

Sometimes when a whale emerges from the water with a sudden spring to breathe, he throws up along with the water a whole shower of herrings, some of which very often fall into the boats of the fishermen, if they happen to be near at the time. *Kiøbenhavnske—Selskabs Skrifter Tiende Deel, p. 190.*

English miles to pursue their occupation with more advantage; but these people are from habit, good seamen, and employ large and strong boats, capable of withstanding a heavy sea, in which they can remain out several days and nights during the severest weather.\*

If herrings be still found in plenty on the western coast of Scotland, and among the Hebrides, there can be no just reason why they should not also frequent on some parts of the coasts of Ireland. In the year 1784 they were so plentiful among the Hebrides, that as many were caught in the course of seven or eight weeks, in a small inlet called Lough-Urn, which lies between Inverness-shire and the Isle of Skie, as, if brought to market, would have sold for £56,000. sterling.† In 1767 or 1768, so great a quantity of these fish entered the same loch, that, from the narrows to the very head, a distance of about two miles, it was quite filled with them; and such numbers ran on shore, that the beach, for four miles round the head, was covered with them, to the depth of from six to eighteen inches. The bottom of the loch, also, as far as could be seen at low water, exhibited a similar appearance.‡ But, besides being abundant, these herrings are said to be superior in quality to those on the eastern coast of Scotland;§ and, consequently, they are more proper to be prepared for sale by pickling, according to the method practised by the Dutch: in a commercial point of view, they thus become an object of much greater importance.

In the town of Stornway, in the island of Lewis, a property of the Seaforth family, we have a most striking instance of the benefit which may arise to a remote district of the empire from this fishery, when carried on under the auspices of a liberal and intelligent landlord. The above family had been engaged in this business from very early times; but it was not until after the union that the merchants of Stornway obtained full scope for their enterprise and industry, as the Scots then got permission to export their herrings to the British West India Islands, and to all other places, accompanied with the encouragement of a bounty. Since that period, Stornway has been gradually advancing in every species of improvement: about the middle of last century, all the fish caught there were carried by hired vessels to their different places of destination. In 1791, the inhabitants could shew in their harbour, in the fishing season, upwards of thirty sail of handsome smacks, of from twenty to seventy tons burden. Their town is a pattern of neatness and cleanliness; and when a stranger enters the mansion of one of these islanders, he will see placed before him a piece of well-dressed highland mutton, some choice fish, and a bottle of port wine, the produce of the hospitable landlord's industry. A Roman emperor boasted, that he had found Rome of brick and would leave it of marble; these people may claim

\* *Physik og Oekonomisk Beskrivelse over Oen Lesoe*, af L. Bing. Kiobenhavn, 1802, p. 163.

† *Present State of the Hebrides*, by J. Anderson, L.L.D. F.R.S. F.S.A. Scot. Edin. 1785, p. 12.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 160.

§ *Observations on the State of the Scotch Fisheries*, by P. White, Esq. Edin. 1792, p. 21.

a similar merit, though in a more humble degree, since their hamlet, by the fruits of their labour, has assumed a new appearance; and, besides inferior habitations, displays above a hundred houses substantially built and covered with slates.\*

The coast of Ireland is but a short distance from the Hebrides; and if the gentlemen of the former, who have estates on the coast, were desirous of an useful lesson, they might find it in the island of Lewis. They would there see what can be effected by the industry of a people excited by encouragement, and directed to its proper objects, under the inspection of a liberal and enlightened proprietor.

It appears strange, that the herrings should have deserted the shores of Ireland, since they are still to be found in the neighbourhood. In the proper season they abound also at the Isle of Man, and such quantities are caught there every year, as to render this fishery of no small importance to the island. The average number taken, is said to be between eight and ten millions; the fishing season begins in July and ends in September, and gives employment to between four and five hundred fishing-boats, of about sixteen tons burden each.† It does not appear, that, either the inhabitants of the Hebrides, or the Manx fishermen, are obliged to go to a great distance from their own shores to find these fish; and if so, what is there to prevent the Irish from participating in these treasures of the ocean, presented by the bountiful hand of nature? It is a fact, that there never is a season in which there are not abundance of herrings in the sounds and narrow seas among the Western Islands, and around the Isle of Man, as well as every where else on the coast; and the Irish fishermen might find in those parts, would they only seek for it, sufficient occupation, without encroaching upon private property. The Scots certainly can have no more objection to the Irish fishing on the coast now, than they had formerly, when they experienced the most liberal treatment from the Board of Customs in Scotland; being permitted, not only to fish wherever they thought proper, but even allowed to draw the British debentures on fish caught and cured in those seas, in the same manner as if they had been natives of Britain.‡ I am sorry, however, to find, that the Irish have not, on all occasions, manifested the same unequivocal marks of good neighbourhood and friendship to the natives of Scotland. About thirty years ago, herrings having appeared in greater quantities towards the end of the season, on the northern coasts of Ireland, than any where else, the Scots busses proceeded thither: at first, they pursued their occupation unmolested, but in the winter of 1782, small fees were exacted by some of the custom-house officers, for granting them permission to fish. In the winter of 1783, this practice became general; the buss was obliged to pay two guineas for every boat she carried, besides the duty for the salt and bar-

\* White's State of the Scotch Fisheries, p. 47—49.

† Wood's Account of the Isle of Man, p. 83 and 79.

‡ Anderson's Account of the State of the Hebrides, p. 120.

rels on board at the time, although they were never landed. Nay, in the year 1784, the Scots fishermen were forcibly driven from the coast altogether, in consequence of an association of the inhabitants formed for that purpose\*.

I am of opinion, that the Irish fishermen were more enterprising and industrious about half a century ago than they are at present. In the year 1750, some of them are said to have frequented the coasts of Shetland, with small vessels called wherries, each about twenty tons burden, and manned with twenty men, for the purpose of carrying on the white fishery. They used no boats, but set and hauled their lines from the vessel. All the fishermen had shares in these wherries, and at the end of every week they carried their amount of fish on shore, and left it under the care of one man to be dried.

This fishery was attended with considerable success till the year 1769, when a misunderstanding took place between the fishermen and the gentlemen of the country; the result of which was, that an information was lodged against them in the custom-house of Lerwick, for having landed Irish salt; officers, therefore, were sent to the place where their salt and fish were kept, and they being at sea at the time, both articles were seized and carried off.†

The annual migration of the herrings from the north towards a certain southern latitude, and their dispersion to different parts, where they enter bays, creeks, and even fresh water lakes, are phenomena in the natural history of these fish, never yet explained in a satisfactory manner, though they are of the utmost importance to all those nations that consider fisheries as valuable branches of national industry. Issuing, it is said, from the frozen ocean, about the beginning of the year, and forming themselves into two divisions, one proceeds to the west, and the other to the east. "The western division reaches Iceland in March, filling all the bays, creeks, and inlets of that island; while the eastern takes a southern direction, and separates into two branches, one of which passes along the coast of Norway, and enters the Baltic through the Sound: the other branch of this division, having reached the northern extremity of Jutland, separates into two large shoals, one of which, running along the eastern coast of that peninsula, forms a junction, through the Belts, with that in the Baltic. The other, passing to the west of Jutland, and coasting along Sleswick, Holstein, and Bremen, enters the Zuyder Zee, and traversing it, returns to the North Sea. The second branch of the eastern division

\* Anderson's State of the Hebrides, p. 118—120. For these facts the author refers to two Memorials, one from the adventurers in the white herring fishery, to the Right Hon. the Board of Trustees, dated July 24th, 1783, in the hands of the late Lord Melville; and the other from the Magistrates and Burgh of Campbeltown, for themselves, and in name of the adventurers in the white herring fishery, dated Nov. 1784, sent to Sir Archibald Edmonstone, Bart. also an affidavit before the Bailies of Rothsay, in the hands of the same.

† Prize Essays and Transactions of the Highland Society, vol. i. p. 279.

stretches away to the Shetland and Orkney islands, and to the coast of Scotland. Here they crowd into many of the bays and creeks; and dividing into two columns, one proceeds along the eastern shores of that country, to Buchan-Ness, Aberdeen, and Dunbar, where the Tay fishermen catch large quantities, which are sold in Edinburgh market. After passing St. Abb's Head they approach Yarmouth, and pushing past the mouth of the Thames, arrive in the Downs; while considerable shoals detach themselves, and proceed to the coast of Holland, Flanders, and France. The second column of this branch directs its course to the Hebrides; the western coast of Scotland, and to Ireland; at the two former places, as well as on the coast of Wales, a great many are generally caught in the course of every season."\*

If the account given by Mr. Gilpin, the author of a paper in the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, be correct, the herrings may be still traced across the Atlantic, and back to the Arctic regions from which they set out.

"The two divisions, that which passes on the western side of Britain, and that which, going along the eastern, enters the Downs, meet in September at the mouth of the Channel, near the south-east extremity of Ireland, and proceed towards the American coast; so that next year, not one of them is to be found on this side the Atlantic; about the end of January they reach Georgia and Carolina, and in February are seen on the coast of Virginia. Hence they take an easterly course, towards New England, and separating into different shoals, enter all the bays, creeks, inlets, and small rivers, in astonishing numbers, and shed their spawn there till the end of April. The mother-fish then betake themselves to sea, and advancing northward, reach Newfoundland in May. After this, they are no more seen in America till they arrive again the following spring. Their return to the American coasts is earlier or later, according as the season is warmer or colder. Hence it is probable, that these fish are fond of a certain degree of warmth suited to their nature, which they go in quest of by changing their latitude. Thus, in September they are in the English channel; but when the sun moves farther south, they seek for a milder temperature; and in America, when the weather becomes too warm, in May, they depart, after they have deposited their spawn in fresh water, and proceeding towards the colder districts of the north, are enabled, in this manner, to enjoy always that mean degree of heat best adapted to them, which seems to be that found between the latitude of 37 and 43 degrees.

"The young fish remain, and are found in large shoals in all the bays, during the summer, but in the fall they disappear. From this circumstance, and the natural inclination of these fish, there is reason to conclude that the young ones pursue

\* Duhamel *Traité General des Peaches*, fol. Paris, 1772, partie ii. p. 342, 343.

a different direction, and go in quest of the old ones, which they find about lat. 23° north, and long. 70° west. The old fish are much larger and stronger than the young ones, and are first seen on the American coasts, but they are far less numerous; and this, in all probability, arises from many of them having been destroyed in their long passage by fishermen and voracious animals inhabiting the same element as themselves.\*

This migration of herrings, from the north to the south, and again from the south towards the north, has been much doubted by several naturalists, as well as by others who have written on the herring fishery; and many strong reasons might be adduced to shew that it has not yet been established by such satisfactory evidence as to entitle it to full credit,† especially as the periodical appearance and disappearance of these fish may be accounted for in a much simpler manner. "The herring," says Bloch, "has this in common with other fish, that in spawning time they quit their usual abode, in order to search for those places most convenient for depositing their spawn. On this account, they proceed, like other species, from the depths of the ocean, to perform this natural duty in the shallows, where the bottom has been rendered rough by the rolling of the waves and the motion of currents. Instinct, therefore, and not the dread of whales, induces them to repair to these places: it is possible, also, that they may be enticed thither by the aquatic insects and worms, which serve them as food, and which are found near the shores. As all other fish spawn at three different times, according to their age, and as the spawning of the same individual kind may take place sooner or later, according to the temperature of the water and of the atmosphere, as is proved by daily experience in our rivers,‡ it may be easily conceived why the herrings make their appearance at different times."§

This account seems to be founded on reason, but it is still uncertain to what distance herrings proceed in their migration towards the south. Dod, who wrote a natural history of this fish, published in 1752, asserts, that he caught and ate herrings off Tangier Bay; and about three weeks after, in a calm day, saw four taken among other fish with a seine net, between the city of Alboran and Cape Tres Forcas on the Barbary shore, about the latitude of 35° 30' south, and longitude 2° 00' from the meridian of London.|| Kolbe speaks of them as being caught at the Cape of

\* Transact. of the American Phil. Society, vol. ii. p. 236.

† See this point discussed at considerable length in Anderson's *State of the Hebrides*, edit. 1785. Appendix, No. iii. p. 346.

‡ "I have often remarked this in regard to the salmon." BLOCH.

§ D. M. G. Bloch's *Ökonomische Naturgeschichte der Fische Deutschlands*. Erster Theil. Berlin, 1783, p. 241, 242.

|| An Essay towards a Nat. Hist. of the Herring, by James Solas Dod, Surgeon, Lond. 1752, p. 27.

Good Hope; but he says, the Europeans who resided there in his time were not acquainted with the method of salting and curing them for the table.\*

Much difference of opinion has prevailed among authors, respecting the food of the herring. It is, in general, observed, that the stomachs of these fish are filled with a slimy matter; hence some have imagined that they live on the slime of the sea water, and that, on this account, their flesh is always so tender.+ Leeuwenhoek, a most diligent and accurate observer of nature, found, in some which were caught in March, in the Zuyder Zee, at which time they were seen in great numbers, a small quantity of their own ova, which, being covered with a hard membrane, had remained undigested, whence he concludes that they devour these when destitute of other food.‡ He, however, thinks, from their being so fat, that they feed on small fishes, or animalcula, which have hitherto escaped notice, and that they move about from place to place, as they meet with a more abundant supply of this nourishment.§ It has been very justly remarked, in opposition to those who believe that the herring lives without food, that it possesses teeth, which are never given to animals in vain; and Neukrantz positively asserts, that he found, in one which he opened, upwards of sixty very small crabs.||

It is well known, that the Romans ransacked every sea to procure luxuries for the table, and sent to the coast of Kent for oysters;¶ yet it does not appear that they were acquainted with the herring: such, at least, is the opinion of Vossius,\*\* Schook,†† and other learned men; though Rondoletius, and some modern naturalists, have referred them to different kinds of fish mentioned in the works of the ancients. The derivation of the word is even unknown,‡‡ nor can it be exactly ascertained at what time herrings were first caught for sale. Saxo Grammaticus, who died in 1204, in the preface to his history, speaks of fish being so numerous in his time in the Sound, that they impeded the motion of boats, and might be caught between the naked hands without the assistance of any apparatus. If

\* Beschreibung des Vorgebürges der Guten Hofnung, p. 196, 204. Kraschennikof says, herrings are caught in great abundance at Kamtschatka. *Krunitz Oecon. Encyclop.* vol. xx. p. 726.

+ E. G. Happelii *Relationes Curiosæ*, tom. i. p. 64. Anderson's *Nachricht von Island*, p. 57.

‡ *Arcana Naturæ*, vol. ii. *Cont.* p. 50.

§ *Ibid.* p. 52.

¶ *De Harengo Exercitat. Medica*, p. 28.

¶ ————“*Rutupinove edita fundo*

*Ostrea, callebat primo deprendere morsu.*”

*Juvenal, Sat. iv. v. 139.*

\*\* *De Idolat. Gent. lib. iv. cap. 27.*

†† *Dissertat. de Harengis vulgo Halecibus dictis Groningæ*, 1649, th. 17. This author enters largely into the subject, as does also Neukrantz, a physician of Rostok, in a work entitled *De Harengo Exercitatio Medica in quâ principis piscium exquisitissima bonitas summaque gloria asserta et vindicata*. Lubecæ, 1654, 4to. The latter devotes a whole chapter to it, p. 6.

‡‡ A German author says, that *herring* is an old German or Anglo-Saxon word, derived, in all probability, from

this account be correct, it alludes, no doubt, to herrings, which are still found there in great numbers in the proper season. We are told, also, by Olaus Magnus, that fish were so abundant on the coast of Sweden, that they not only tore the nets of the fishermen, but that if a lance were stuck into a shoal, it would stand upright, as if fixed in the ground.\* The same author says, that these fish were caught in such numbers, that the quantity salted was sufficient to supply food to the greater part of the inhabitants of Europe.+ The learned Selden asserts, that the Dutch obtained permission from Edward I., in 1265, to fish at Yarmouth;‡ and Duhamel quotes a charter of William duke of Normandy, commonly called William the Conqueror, which states, that in the eleventh century, vessels from Dieppe, called *grands drogucurs*, went to the north to fish for herrings in July, and that they brought them home in barrels salted.§ Philip de Mazieres, in a work entitled *Le Songe du vieux Pèlerin*, which he composed before the year 1389, and which was much esteemed by Cardinal Perron, says, that in going to Prussia, by sea, he had an opportunity of seeing the herring fishery; there seems, therefore, little reason to doubt, that before that period, a fishery was established in the North seas on a large scale by the Dutch.||

Pontanus says, that the Dutch, before they fished in the British seas, frequented the coasts of Scania in Sweden, by permission from the king of Denmark, as appears by a diploma of Albert earl of Holland, dated in 1391.¶

The method of salting herrings, as practised by the Dutch, is said to have been invented by William Beuckel, or Beukels, a native of Biervliet, in Flanders, but at what period is uncertain.\*\* This celebrated personage, who was a humble but

from *her*, which signifies a numerous assemblage or collection of men or animals. Wachter (Gloss. Germ. p. 709,) deduces the German word *her*, or, according to its more modern orthography, *heer*, from the Swedish word *gra*, or *hyra*, to drive, to move, or to put in motion; and if this be admitted, it would signify a number of men or animals united, and at the same time put in motion. The derivation of the old German word *her*, indeed, from *gra*, or *hyra*, is no less natural than that of the word *agmen*, from *agere*. The latter syllable *ing*, denoted, among the old Germans, unity, or one. The word *hering*, therefore, conveys the idea of a living animal belonging to a multitude, or an individual of a numerous assemblage. This author remarks, in a note, that the word *herr* is, probably, derived from *her*, or *heer*, and that, therefore, the term *heerman*, that is, *herrman*, signifies, in Danish and Swedish, as much as a nobleman. Hence Schoneveld (Ichthyologia, p. 38,) deduces the name *hering* from *herr*, because the herring, in the fish trade, holds the first rank or place. *Versuch einer Vollständigen Natur und Hundlungsgeschichte der Hering*, von F. S. Bock, Königsberg, 1769, 8vo. p. 1 and 2.

\* Hist. Sept. lib. xx. cap. 28.

† Ibid. ib.

‡ De Mari Clauo, lib. ii. cap. 21.

§ Duhamel Traité General des Pesches, Paris, 1772, partie ii. p. 340.

|| Dictionnaire des Origines, Paris, 1777, vol. iii. p. 31.

¶ Pontani Rerum Danicarum, lib. ix.

\*\* Mart. Schookii Dissertat. de Harengis, Groninga, 1649, th. 44.

industrious fisherman, may be said to have laid the foundation of the Dutch herring fishery, which afterwards proved to these people a source of great wealth; and so highly was his name esteemed in the Netherlands, that Charles V., accompanied by his sister, the queen of Hungary, paid a visit to his tomb in 1536, that he might shew his respect for the memory of a man who had rendered such essential service to his subjects.\*

The success which attended the Dutch in their herring fishery, after they became acquainted with the method of preserving them by means of salt, was immense. Schoock, who wrote about 1649, says, that the people employed in the preparation of herrings, without including the fishermen and those who made nets and barrels, amounted to 20,000. The Dutch herrings soon acquired a celebrity to which those of no other country could attain; thus securing to these industrious people a kind of monopoly, which they carried on as a most extensive and lucrative branch of commerce. On this account, the herring fishery was called the *grand fishery*, a title given to it by William I. Prince of Orange, and afterwards retained in various proclamations issued on that subject, between 1582 and 1606.†

The preference given to the Dutch herrings arose from the great care and attention

\* Neuerantz, in his work entitled *De Harengo Exercitatio Medica*, Lubecæ, 1654, 4to. p. 74, gives the following account of this invention: "Primus quidem inter Belgas condiendi et in tonnis conservandi Harengi rationem excogitasse fertur Gulielmus Beukelius, aliis Beukeldius, magni nominis piscator, qui anno 1247, Biervlieti extremum vitæ diem clausit; ob quod momentosum inventum posteritas etiam nunc reveretur viri memoriam. Carolus quintus imperator; tanti hoc inventum fecit, ut Biervlietum una cum sorore Mariâ, Hungariæ reginæ, adpellens sepulchrum Beukeldii adierit venerandisque sit, haud sine memoria ejus, tantique ad omnem posteritatem ab eo profecti beneficii celebratione ut testantur *Joh. Isacius Pontanus, lib. i. Disquis. Hist. cap. 14. Ludovicus Guicciardinus in Descriptione Flandriæ, M. Zuorius Bamberinus in Apologia pro Navigat. Hollandorum advenus Huterum; P. Bertius, Gharardus Mercator uterque in Descriptione Flandriæ; Schoeckius in Belgio suo Federata, lib. viii. cap. 2. et alii.* This author thinks that the art of salting herrings was known at Lubec, and other places, before the time of Beukel, but that he invented a better method, by means of which they could be longer preserved in barrels, and transported to foreign places. He says the celebrated Erasmus was related to Beukel's family.

Anno 1447, Gulielmus Beuelensis sive Beukelius industrius et celebris piscator, primus artem invenit harengos salandi; atque in vasis salamentariis stipandi. Mortuus est Biervlieti in Flandria qua de re sic scribit Marchantius. *Descrip. Fland.* lib. i. "Domicilium hic Biervlieti fixit et morte refixit, anno 1447. Gulielmus Bouclensis inventor artis stipandi condiendique aleis in cadis salamentariis." Carolus V. imperator tanti viri hujus inventum fecit ut anno 1556, cum aere Maria Hungariæ regina Biervlietum appulset ejus sepulchrum adierit ejusque Manibus fausta quæque precatus fuerit. *Martini Schookii, Dissertat. de Harengis, vulgo Halacibus, diæti Groningæ, 1694, th. 36.*

Primus at qui conderè muria hoc piscium genus fuit quidam Batavus cui nomen Willem Beukel, unde et ipsa conditura nomen sumpsit, sepultus in pago quodam Zelandiæ. Cujus quidem inventi tanta est dignitas et utilitas ut ipse Carolus V. sepulchrum ejus adire et tanquam Herois venerari voluerit. *G. Hornii, Hist. Nat. Lugd. Bat. 1670, p. 275.*

† Alsoo de gedeputeerden van den steden her ghneerende met ten Haring-vorst ende Groot-Fisherys in Hollandt bevonden hebben, &c. *Groot Flaanset Boeck. vol. i. p. 724.*

which were employed in preserving them when caught, and curing them, and packing them into barrels for sale after they were carried to Holland. Laws and regulations were established, and strictly enforced, not only respecting the time and manner of fishing, but respecting every process to be followed in their preparation. Many of these regulations respect the conduct of fishermen when at sea, and the rules to be observed, to prevent them from molesting, injuring, or impeding each other.\* The object of others is to preserve good order among the persons hired to assist the fishermen, and for the maintenance of subordination.† Fishermen are particularly enjoined‡ to pay their people only with money, and not with herrings, fish of any kind, merchandise, or provisions.§

The season for fishing was defined to be from Midsummer to the last day of January.¶ No herrings were to be sold at sea, but the whole to be brought into the harbours of Holland and Zealand;¶ and to preserve them until their arrival, they were to be properly packed in barrels and salted,\*\* that when carried home, they might be shifted into other barrels, and finally cured, for internal sale or exportation.

Equal care was employed in the construction and quality of the barrels. An office was established in every place where barrels were made, and a person was appointed to examine whether they were sound, and to mark them with a branding iron if approved.†† All faulty barrels to be broken. The number of staves of which each ought to consist was accurately determined, likewise their breadth and thickness, and they were to be bound with strong and sufficient hoops.‡‡ It was required that they should be made of good, dry, and heavy wood; the bottoms to consist of no more than three pieces, but fewer if possible;§§ and the use of old barrels, for curing herrings, was strictly prohibited.¶¶

No fresh herrings could be brought into the country, to be salted for sale, or cured in barrels;¶¶ and it was necessary that all herrings should be cured within three weeks after being brought into Holland.\*\*\*

Great attention was paid to the quality of the salt. French salt, West Indian and Isle of May salt, were prohibited;+++ the kinds employed were Spanish and Portuguese; but even these could not be taken to sea, or used, until they had been examined and approved by a *keur-meister* or inspector.††† In packing the herrings, those bad or damaged were to be rejected, and none to be cured but under the eye of

\* Groot Placaet Boeck, vol. i. p. 692.

† Ibid. 696.

‡ Ibid. 793.

§ Ibid. 703.

¶ Ibid. 734.

¶¶ Ibid. 722.

\*\* Ibid. 733.

†† Ibid. 719.

‡‡ Groot Placaet Boeck, vol. i. p. 730.

§§ Ibid. 721.

¶¶ Ibid. 720.

¶¶¶ Ibid. 734.

\*\*\* Ibid. 738.

+++ Ibid. 739.

††† Ibid. p. 740.

an inspector, and in some public building, the doors of which were to be left open, that every one might have access to it without impediment or molestation.\* Herrings could be sold in Holland till they had lain ten days in pickle;† and if Scots, Norwegian, or Irish herrings, were brought into the country, or those from any other parts, it was strictly enjoined, that they should not be shifted into Dutch barrels, but be sold or exported in the barrels in which they alight.‡ To encourage as much as possible, this branch of industry, the salt used was exempted from taxation; and Schoock says, that herring fishers were privileged during the fishing season, so that they could not be arrested for any debt unconnected with the catching or selling of these fish.§

The nets employed in this fishery were from fifty to sixty fathoms in length, with the meshes of such a size, that the fish might remain suspended by the gills. They were made of the best hemp, but often of a kind of coarse Persian silk.|| Duhamel doubts this circumstance; but the author of the work just quoted, which was written originally in Dutch, and translated by order of the French government, speaks of it in the most positive terms; and adds, that the use of such nets was attended with great advantage, as they lasted much longer than those of hemp. Some of them were serviceable for three years successively; they were slightly done over with pitch, or exposed to the smoke of burning ash, that they might acquire a dark colour, so as to render them not easily perceptible by the fish in the water. These nets did not consist of one piece, but of several, sewed together, from which circumstance the fishermen could contract or enlarge them as they found it necessary.¶

The vessels engaged in this fishery were of from 70 to 100 tons burden, and distinguished by the name of Busses. Schoock says, that according to the Dutch annals, these vessels were first used in the year 1416.\*\* They carried ten, twelve, or fourteen men each, besides the pilot, or master; and the crews were engaged at weekly wages. The price of a new vessel, completely rigged, was commonly about 9,000 florins; and the expense of fitting out for two voyages was 6,000, and for the third, in the same year, 8,000; so that the whole expenditure amounted to 17,000 florins.

When a vessel of this description had made three voyages, it had performed nearly the whole of its service. Those who fitted out busses for the herring fishery

\* Groot Placaet Boeck, vol. i. p. 727.

† Groot Placaet Boeck, vol. i. p. 738.

‡ Ibid. 750.

§ Denique notandum jam olim Hollandis utque Zelandis harengorum capturam justitium quasi indixisse, nec ulli eo tempore quo durabat, uti loquebatur *de vrye-teell* fas fuisse alicui arrestum imponere, nisi propter ea debita quæ concernebant ipsorum harengorum aut capturam aut mercaturam. *Martini Schookii Dissertat. de Harengis vulgo Halecibus dictis. Groningæ. 1649. Th. 118.*

|| Hist. des Pesches des Hollandois dans les Mers du Nord, vol. i. p. 368.

¶ Hist. des Pesches des Hollandois, vol. i. p. 368.

\*\* Dissertat. de Harengis. Th. 34:

generally sent a small vessel, an old dogger, to accompany every ten busses, to bring home the herrings caught in the beginning of the season; but it could be employed only till the 25th of July, after which no vessels were suffered to attend them.\*

During the season, the fishermen did not remain stationary, but moved from place to place at fixed periods. From midsummer to the 25th of July, they continued in the neighbourhood of the Shetland Islands, and off Fairhill; from the 25th of July to the 14th of September, they fished on the coast of Scotland, opposite to Buchan-ness; afterwards towards Yarmouth; and from the 25th of November to the 1st of January, followed the herrings to the coast of Norfolk; in this manner, while the season lasted, pursuing a very long course.‡

The fishing was carried on in the night time; the fishermen being the better able to discover the shoals, by the luminous appearance they are said to exhibit when near the surface of the water; and because these fish, as is the case with many others, are attracted by lights from lanterns purposely constructed, which were placed on the deck.§ The nets were examined in the morning, where the fish were cut up and cleaned. The gills, being parts of the fish most liable to corruption, were carefully separated from the rest, and put into barrels and salted, until the fishermen had leisure to complete the curing of them for sale.||

I have entered into these particulars with so much minuteness, because I consider it of importance to those who may be interested in the herring fishery, to be acquainted with the means which enabled the Dutch to engross for a number of years, this valuable source of riches.¶ Duhamel says there are two things which contribute to make any branch of trade flourish: the first is, to gain the confidence of buyers,

\* Hist. des Peches des Hollendois, p. 356---358.

+ Ibid. vol. i. p. 388, 389.

‡ Ibid. ib. p. 367.

§ Neukrantz speaks of this practice, but he says it was disused by the Dutch in his time. *Author de natura rerum ut ex eodem describit Vincentius in Speculo nat. lib. xviii. cap. 30. Olaus Magnus, epit. lib. xx. de piscibus et Ulysses Aldrovandus, lib. ii. de piscibus, cap. 10. Harengis, ubicunque super aquas in mari lumen viderint, gregatim adnatare, atque hoc astu, dum ad retia, dictis, id ers certis temporibus alliciuntur, quasi paratos ad capiendum divino munere in usus hominum deduci memorant. Quod tamen artificium, ut ineptum atque alienum à piscantibus, in Scaniâ et in nostro littore desitum adhiberi, quod abaterri potius Harengorum greges autument: cum splendore nivis aut fulgetri retrocedant. Apud Hollandos quoque id commentum in desuetudinem abiisse refert Dn. Tulpus: qui tamen eodem teste subinde intempestâ nocte accendant ignes, quibus communefaciunt socios suos, se ob turbidius mare piscatione destitutos, ac proinde ipsorum interesse, ut circumspicius se gerant, ne ab inopinato lucentium navium interventu, retia ipsorum quid detrimenti capiant Truttis tamen canerisque fallendis nocturnos ignes adhiberi memini. De Harengo Exercitat. Medica. p. 21.*

|| Hist. des Pesches des Hollandois, vol. i. p. 387.

¶ Duhamel ascribes the goodness of the Dutch herrings to the precaution of removing the gills, and salting them immediately after they were caught. *Duhamel Traité general des Pesches. P. ii. fol. Paris, 1772, p. 417.*

by selling only a good commodity, and by punctuality in executing orders; the second, to take care that the merchandise shall be sold at such a moderate price, as to exclude all competition. Both these maxims were most scrupulously observed by the Dutch. Having found that the herrings caught among the rocks near Ireland, Shetland, and Norway, were of an inferior kind; they forbade their vessels to fish there under a penalty of 300 florins;\* and, to preserve the reputation of their articles in every foreign market, they prescribed such rules as should prevent their being cured in a defective manner. On the other hand, that their high price might not enable other nations to undersell them, they exempted the salt used by the herring fishers from any impost, and gave every possible encouragement to those who carried on this trade with spirit and success. The French, desirous to secure to themselves a share of so lucrative a commerce, endeavoured to imitate the regulations of their neighbours, and sold salt to the curers of herrings, even in provinces where the *gabelle* was established, at such a rate as to afford them a chance of becoming competitors with the Dutch;† but the herrings of the latter maintained a preference, in consequence, no doubt, of the greater care and attention which they employed in preserving them.

The success which attended the exertions of the Dutch, having excited a spirit of emulation in other countries, and particularly in the North, this branch of trade began, however, gradually to decline. In 1560, about a thousand vessels sailed from the ports of Holland for the herring fishery; in 1610, the number amounted to 1,500, and ten years after it had increased to 2,000. In this flourishing state the fishery continued for a long time, bringing a net profit to the Dutch merchants of two millions of guilders per annum, besides giving bread to 450,000 persons employed in its different branches, or in others intimately connected with it. But this prosperity was not lasting; a considerable change had taken place before the beginning of the last century; in 1736, the number of the Dutch vessels engaged in the herring fishery was about 300; and in 1779, it amounted only to 162.‡

The Dutch government, unwilling to lose so profitable a branch of commerce, which seemed to be dwindling almost to nothing, began to think seriously of measures for reviving it. In the year 1775, the States of Holland passed a resolution for granting a premium of 500 florins, payable from the public treasury, for two years, to every vessel fitted out for the herring fishery. By the same resolution a premium of 400 florins was voted for the two years following. But the Dutch at this time seem to have lost that spirit by which they were formerly so much dis-

\* Groot Placaet Boeck, Deel I. p. 752. The proclamation is dated May 12th, 1620.

† Duhamel *Traité general des Pêches*. P. i. p. 355.

‡ Posselt's *Europ. Annalen*. Part ii. 1797; an extract in *Archiv für Statistick Politik, Huusholdings-Videnskaber*, 19 Hefte. p. 336.

tinguished, for we are told that the second premiums were received without the vessels for which they were claimed being even equipped.\*

Since the decline of the Dutch trade, the Danes have paid particular attention to the herring fishery; and great numbers are caught during the season, especially on the coasts of Norway. According to Thaarup, from seventy to eighty thousand barrels of herrings are cured every year at Christiansund, besides those salted at Drontheim and other places.† In the year 1775, his Danish majesty, with a view of promoting this branch of industry, sent to Norway a person named Richerts, with a handsome salary and allowance, to inquire into the state of the herring fishery, and to teach the Norwegian fishermen the Dutch method of curing these fish. Having accomplished this mission, he was afterwards, in 1778, dispatched to Jutland for the same purpose; and on both occasions he was furnished with instructions respecting the objects he was to examine, and the means to be pursued, in order to induce the fishermen to adopt such improvements as might be found necessary to be introduced among them.‡ This fishery is of importance to Denmark, as Russia consumes a great number of herrings; and according to Storch, imports annually a quantity, amounting in value to more than 100,000 rubles.§ The Danish herrings, therefore, are sent chiefly up the Baltic, and to Hamburgh and Germany.|| The Russians, indeed, have a herring fishery in the White Sea, which being formerly a monopoly of the crown, was declared free, by an ukase issued in 1776; but though a considerable quantity of herrings are caught here, and 'salted or smoked' every year, the Russians are so little acquainted with the proper method of curing them, or the salt they use is so bad, that they are far inferior to those obtained from other countries.¶

In the year 1767, the king of Denmark having established a company at Altona for carrying on the herring fishery in the North Sea, on the coasts of Shetland and Norway, the Society of the Free British Fishery, formed in the year 1750, immediately took the alarm; being apprehensive that the magistrates of Hamburgh, with whom they had entered into a treaty for the importation of British herrings, might be induced to give a preference to the herrings offered by their neighbours. The society, therefore, represented that the ships of war appointed to attend the fishing-banks might easily prevent foreigners from coming too near the coast; and they expressed their hope that the British minister at Hamburgh would be able to prevent Danish herrings from being imported there on more favourable terms than the British.

\* *Hist. des Pesches des Hollandois*, vol. i. p. 361.

† *Versuch einer Statistick der Dänischen Monarchie*, von F. Thaarup, vol. i. p. 407.

‡ *Archiv for Statistick, Politik og Huusholdnings, Videnskaber*, 13 hefte, p. 292.

§ *Hist. Stat. Gemälde der Russischen Reichs*, vol. ii. p. 96.

|| *Versuch einer Statistick der Danischen Monarchie*, von F. Thaarup, vol. i. p. 409.

¶ *Hist. Stat. Gemälde. ibid.*

The trustees for fisheries and manufactures in Scotland, and the convention of the royal burghs being consulted as to the consequences likely to arise to the British fishery from the establishment of the Danish company, drew up reports on the subject: in these they stated, that for some years the herrings in their migration had moved so close to the shores of Norway and Sweden, that they were taken at very little expense, by small boats with drag-nets, from which circumstance the herring trade in the Baltic and at Hamburgh, had been totally reversed; and that the Scotch had been accustomed to carry great quantities of herrings to these markets, but this trade had been much cramped by the Swedes imposing a duty of nine shillings per barrel on herrings imported from Britain. The Swedes, in the year 1764 and 1765, exported from Gottenburgh nearly 20,000 barrels of herrings to Ireland, whence they were carried to the British colonies,\* which received also great quantities from the Dutch and Danes, by the clandestine trade from the islands of St. Eustatius and St. Croix. It was stated also, that the fishery had been much discouraged by the delay of paying the bounty, then three years in arrear, to the amount of £40,000. while the debentures were selling at a ruinous discount.

The following statement of the herrings imported at Konigsberg, during four years, shews that the Danish and Norwegian fishermen had, at that time, a much better sale there than the Dutch.†

Imported in 1763	-	418 Barrels Dutch.	-	16,349 Danish and Norway.
1764	-	512	-	20,118
1765	-	667	-	22,686
1767	-	747	-	18,099

Quantities of herrings are caught on the coasts of Jutland and Holstein, some of which are smoked, particularly in the small islands of Arnis, near Cappel, and are much esteemed, not only in the Danish provinces, but in Germany, where they are carried about in large carts constructed for that purpose. They are dried in stoves built of brick, about ten feet in length, and nearly the same in breadth, covered with loose tiles, in such a manner, that the smoke can escape through the apertures; the bottom of the stove is paved with flags, and on these the fire is made without any earth. When the fish are caught and cleaned, they are thrown into a large vessel, with some coarse Spanish salt, and the whole are turned over several times with a shovel, until the scales become loose and drop off. They are then left till the morning, when they are put on small rods, thrust through their gills, each rod containing about two score, and are hung up for a day to dry in

\* Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, vol. iii. p. 459.

† Versuch einer vollständigen Natur und Handlungsgeschichte der Hering, von F. S. Bock. Konigsberg, 1769. p. 86.

the open air. The following morning all these rods are removed into the stove, and suspended below the roof. Fires are then kindled on the floor, close to the wall on each side, and care is taken that they shall not flame, but only throw out smoke. The fuel employed for this purpose consists of oak or alder chips, buck-wheat straw, and other things of the same kind; and if they happen to emit flame, water is thrown over them, so that a continual smoke is maintained. In this manner several thousands may be smoked at a time, as the rows of herrings are made to hang over each other, like tiles on the roof of a house; on the third day the whole operation being finished; the two doors of the stove are thrown open, that the air may have a free passage, and the herrings, after being exposed some time, are taken down and packed into barrels for sale.\*

The Danes, in their herring fishery, find formidable rivals in the Swedes, who carry on this branch of trade to a very great extent at Gottenburgh and other places. Some years ago the Danish writers complained that the Swedes, in consequence of the more favourable situation of their towns, were able to bring their herrings sooner to market, and, consequently, to forestal them in the Baltic. The Swedes also cured their herrings in barrels, made of oak or beech, which rendered them nearly equal to the Dutch, and procured a ready sale in foreign countries; while the Norwegian herrings were rejected, because the peasants, who are the fishermen, were obliged to put them into barrels made of fir, or any other common wood which they could procure, and which communicated to them a disagreeable taste.† The Danish government, therefore, issued an order, that the herring barrels should be made of oak; but this change, so unaccountable is the taste of man, decreased the sale among the Poles, who preferred those which had a resinous savour.‡

The Swedes, who had been in the habit of purchasing their herrings from other nations, established a herring company in 1745, and since that time, have made great progress in this important fishery.§ These fish are found in such abundance in the neighbourhood of Gottenburgh, that about 20,000 barrels, on an average, are salted there every year, and about 400,000 are employed for making train oil. Besides these, 50,000 barrels are consumed fresh in the country, or sent to Denmark; and if we reckon each barrel to contain 1,200 fish, it will be found, that in this district alone, about 720,000,000 of herrings are caught in the course of a season.|| Some years ago large quantities of herrings were sent from Gottenburgh to

\* L. M. Medels Indenlandske Reise igiennem de betydeligste og skionneste Egne af de Danske Provindser i Aerene, 1779, 1800, 1801. Kiobenhavn. 1803. Andet Hefte; p. 48.

† Kiobenhavnske. Selskabs Skrifter: Fierde Deel, p. 190.

‡ Bloch's Naturgeschichte der Fische Deutschlands Erster Theil, p. 259.

§ Bloch's Naturgeschichte der Fische Deutschlands, Erster Theil; p. 261.

|| Ibid. p. 251.

Cork, and other Irish ports, from which they were exported to the West Indies. In the year 1776, the number of barrels sent to Ireland amounted to 56,000.\* According to Lagerbring, Sweden, in 1774, exported 454,432 barrels, besides herring oil, to the value of 28,468 dollars.†

Prussia, some years ago, directed its attention to the herring fishery, and a company was established for the purpose of carrying it on. Six vessels are said to have been sent from Embden to the coast of Scotland in the year 1770, and to have brought back 130 lasts of herring. The number of these vessels was afterwards increased, so that about 1782 they amounted to thirty-four;‡ but it does not appear that this fishery was ever of much importance.

The French endeavoured to participate in the herring trade; and with that view fisheries were established on the coast of Normandy, and other parts in the neighbourhood, which are frequented by the herrings during the latter parts of the season. Some of them were dried for the Mediterranean trade; but the greater part were shipped for the West India Islands.§ According to Duhamel, the fishing began at Calais on the 10th of October; at Dieppe, on the 12th or 13th; and at Boulogne about the beginning of November.|| The herrings, however, caught by the French were of an indifferent quality, owing, probably, to their being taken so late in the season, and to their being cured with Brouage salt, which, unless kept some time, seems to be unfit for preserving any kind of fish.¶

The French and Dutch prepare few red-herrings in comparison with those they pickle; on the other hand, the English pickle few, and smoke the greater part;¶¶ and Duhamel remarks that the Yarmouth red-herrings must be the best, because they are landed almost as soon as caught, and are never more than a night old before they are smoked.††

The art of catching shell-fish seems to be less understood in Ireland than it is in Norway and Scotland. Lobsters and crabs are found in many places; their quality

\* Anderson's State of the Hebrides, Appendix, No. 14. p. 448. Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, vol. iii. p. 726.

† Sammendrag af Swea Rikes Historia. Stockholm, 1796. Förste Delen, p. 73.

‡ Bloch's Naturgeschichte der Fische Deutschlands, Erster Theil, p. 262.

§ Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, vol. iii.

|| Duhamel Traité des Pêches, Partie ii. p. 365.

¶ Duhamel mentions an instance when, in consequence of old salt being scarce, the fishermen were obliged to use some that was new; but the herrings and mackerel cured with it were all spoiled, p. 396. Brouage salt was made in the briny marshes of Brouage, de Marana, the Isle of Rheu, and other places on the coast of Saintonge and Poitou. The salt trade was greater there than in any other part of France, *ibid.* p. 393. Duhamel says that Brouage salt was sometimes mixed by the Dutch with the Portugal salt, which they used for curing their herrings, but this seems to be a mistake; for all kinds of French salt are expressly prohibited in the Dutch regulations respecting their herring fishery. See *Great Flanant Boeck*, vol. i. p. 760.

¶¶ Duhamel, p. 400.

†† *Ibid.* p. 408.

is peculiarly good in Galway and Wexford, whence they are carried to Bullock, near Dublin, and fattened in coops, as on the eastern coasts of England. They are caught in great plenty on the shores of the Bay of Galway, in every creek from Blackhead to Ardfray, and, in general, are sold at a reasonable rate. Those that in Dublin would bring seven or eight shillings, may be often bought there for 6s., and sometimes for even less. They are to be had, also, on the shore of the Atlantic from Blackhead to Loophead; but are not caught in any great quantity. Crabs at Liscanor are accounted very indifferent, but the lobsters are good; at Miltown Malbay the crabs are excellent, and the lobsters middling.\*

There is a good supply of lobsters and crabs on the coast of Derry.† Dr. Smith says that the several creeks and inlets in the river Kenmare, in Kerry, and particularly Sneeme harbour, abound with them. The southern side of the Bay of Dingle is as noted for having large cray-fish as the northern is for its lobsters.‡ The same author, in his *Natural and Civil History of Cork*, mentions the lobster, and describes the manner in which these shell-fish are caught in pots. Craw-fish are abundant, he says, on the south-west coast of Ireland, and some weigh from six to eight pounds.§

Good lobsters are found at Howth and Lambay, in the county of Dublin.¶

In countries where wealth abounds, and luxury is prevalent, these shell-fish are a very profitable article of commerce. Thaarup says that English and Dutch vessels used to go to Norway for lobsters, which they purchased cheap, and sold at a very high price in London and Amsterdam.‡ Dr. Barry observes that many lobsters are sent to London by an English company from the Orkney Islands; and that, though they are so low as two-pence a piece; a good fisherman, even at that rate, will gain ten pounds in a summer.\*\* Sixty thousand lobsters have been sent to London in one season from the Murray Firth. They were caught by an English company, who introduced lobster traps, which had never before been seen on this part of the coast: yet so little were the people here accustomed to the mechanical arts, that, although they tried to imitate them, they could not succeed.†† This shews the slow progress of improvement in the remote parts of the kingdom, and the necessity of making known every useful invention. London is also supplied with lobsters from various other parts of Scotland. The small town of Crail, on the coast of Fife, sends annually from twenty to twenty-five thousand.‡‡

The Irish oysters are very bad; the grounds where they are found are not private

\* Dutton's Survey of Clare, p. 232, 233.

† Smith's Nat. and Civil Hist. of Kerry, p. 370, 371.

‡ Sampson's Survey of Derry, p. 344.

§ Natural and Civil History of Cork, vol. ii. p. 312.

¶ Rusty's Nat. Hist. of Dublin, p. 371.

‡ Versuch einer Statistik der Dänischen Monarchie, vol. i. p. 403.

\*\* History of the Orkney Islands, p. 392.

†† Ibid. vol. ix. p. 446.

‡‡ Stat. Account of Scotland, vol. viii. p. 301.

property, hence little care is bestowed on their improvement. While these places remain common, and no regulations are established to prevent the oysters being taken up in an improper manner, or at an unseasonable time, it is impossible they can ever attain to the necessary perfection. The well known beds at the mouth of the Thames, and along the whole eastern coast of Essex and Suffolk, all belong to individuals, and no person is allowed to dredge for them but the owners or their lessees. By these means the breeding beds are kept distinct from the fattening ones, because a muddy bottom never answers for the latter. The young oysters are removed at a certain age to the fattening beds, where they are suffered to remain till the proper season for taking them up. As those which lie in shallow water are injured by the frost, when they sustain any injury of this kind they are left for a year longer, that they may recover. Star fish, from crawling along the bottom and burying themselves in the mud, are very detrimental to oysters; and therefore the oyster dredgers endeavour, as much as possible, to keep their beds clear of these destructive animals. This system of management requires constant attention; and the oyster beds, thus becoming profitable, are objects of as much care and expense as the best conducted farm.

Dr. Rutton mentions two artificial beds near Dublin, one opposite to Cold Harbour, half a mile south-east from Clontarf, and the other near Sutton, west of the hill of Howth. Both these beds were transplanted from Arklow; but he complains of the oysters having become worse in his time, in consequence of being taken up too soon, to answer the great demand.\*

The doctor mentions several natural beds, one of which was situated east-north-east from Ireland's eye. The oysters here were as large as a horse-shoe, and lay at the depth of eighteen or twenty fathoms under the water.†

These found at Pouldoody, in the bay of Galway, have long had a high reputation in Ireland, and are much sought after in Dublin; but the beds, for want of sufficient supplies, have lately become inadequate to the consumption. There are many other places on the coast of this bay where oysters may be obtained; some of them tolerably good, but greatly inferior to those of Pouldoody: oysters are to be had also on the coast of the Shannon; particularly at Querin and Poularishary; the beds are small, but the oysters are good, and are almost all sent to Limerick. Those consumed on the spot are sold in general at a shilling per hundred; formerly they might be had for 4*d.* or 5*d.*‡

The pearl muscle is met with in several of the Irish rivers, and particularly in the Blackwater, in the county of Waterford. "In the summer time," says Dr. Smith, "the country people near this river, when the water is low, between Cappelquin and

\* Nat. Hist. of Dublin, p. 376.

† Ibid. *ibid.*

‡ Dutton's Survey of Clare, 232.

Lismore, pick up a species of muscles of the larger kind, commonly called horse-muscles, in which, as I am well informed, a small kind of seed-pearl has been often found, and now and then a few of a greater size. It is not so much, it seems, either for the sake of the muscle or the thoughts of a pearl that they collect these fish, as for the shells, which they use for spoons."\*

These muscles are found also in the river Lee, near Carigrohan Castle, in the county of Gork, lying in the deepest part of the river, with the small end sticking in the gravel or sand. They are always sought after when the sun shines and when the weather is clear; they cannot at other times be taken, for it is then only that they open their shells. The fisherman, who is naked, and carries in his hand an osier twig, gently thrusts the end of it between the shells; and the fish, immediately close them, when they are easily drawn up. These muscles frequently contain a pearl, sometimes as large as a pea, which is sold in Cork for a trifle.†

These pearl muscles are likewise found in the river Arigadeen, that is, the Silver Stream, which discharges its waters into the bay of Court-Mac-Sherry, and are called there by the Irish a *closhen*. Dr. Smith says that the Rev. Mr. Bligh, incumbent of Timoleague, shewed him a pearl found in one of them, which he purchased from a poor man, and which was as large as a pea.‡

O'Flaherty speaks of pearls being found in Lough-Lane, in Kerry; but, in consequence of the great depth of the water, they are less frequently picked up there than from the river Lane, which runs out of it. Sir James Ware relates, that, in 1094, the bishop of Limerick presented to Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, some Irish pearls, which were most graciously received. "Many of our pearls," says Dr. Smith, "are of a pale dusky colour; yet some have been found in the northern part of the kingdom which were valued at fourscore pounds."§

Whether it would be availing to attempt the whale fishery on the coast of Ireland, I will not venture to determine; but it is certain that these animals frequent the north-west coast, and on many occasions come close in with the shore. "The spermaceti whale," says Lord Sheffield, "may be found at some distance from the shore. The bone whale follows the herrings into the bays; and one of the signs of fish, as the fishermen phrase it, is the whale. Some years ago £1,000. was given by the parliament of Ireland for the purpose of carrying on this fishery. The person to whom it was granted killed seven whales; but has not since pursued that fishery. Its practicability on that coast is, however, firmly asserted; and that Ireland, at least,

\* Smith's Natural and Civil History of Waterford, p. 237.

† Smith's Natural and Civil History of Cork, vol. i. p. 362.

‡ Ibid, vol. ii. p. 264.

§ Smith's Nat. and Civil Hist. of Kerry, p. 126. Pliny speaks of pearls found in Britain by the Romans. In Britannia parvos ac decolores nasci certum est quoniam Divus Julius thoracem quem Veneri Genetrica in templo ejus dicavit, ex Britannicis margaritis factum voluerit intelligi. *Hist. Nat.* lib. ix. cap. 35. edit. var Lugd. 1669, vol. i. p. 624.

might supply her own demand with the produce of the whale, and thereby keep a considerable sum of money at home."\*

The author of the Survey of Donegal states, that whales abound on the coast of that country. About thirty years ago a Mr. Nisbet, who tried this fishery, and who seems to be the gentleman alluded to by Lord Sheffield, generally killed two, three, and sometimes four, in one season. One of the whales, however, angry at this invasion of their watery empire, gave Mr. Nisbet's boat a stroke with its tail, and dashed it to pieces. Mr. Nisbet, who was himself present, was, with several others, saved by the activity and good swimming of Mr. James Hamilton, of Eden, but two of the crew were lost; and by this unfortunate accident any further attempts of the same kind were prevented.†

In the course of this whale fishery, the sun-fish, an animal about thirty or forty feet long, was caught in great numbers. The liver produced from a tun to a tun and a half of oil. The average value of a whale was about £750.; of a sun-fish £45.‡ Dr. Smith says that the sun-fish are very numerous in the summer months on the coast of Cork, and may be seen at a considerable distance; they are from ten to thirty feet in length; and the liver affords from 90 to 100 gallons of oil. He adds, they are struck with a harpoon, and well worth looking after.‡ These fish are common also on the coast of Waterford. In the year 1749, a very large one was taken, which measured twenty-five feet from the head to the tail, with a proportionable thickness. Another was caught the following summer, and, though of inferior size, could not be moved by forty persons, who endeavoured to drag it on shore. The liver of the first yielded nearly 100 gallons of oil; and about the same quantity was obtained from that of the other.¶

Porpoises are frequent on the Dublin coast, and great quantities of train oil are extracted from them at Youghal.¶ They are found near all the havens in the county of Cork, and, according to Dr. Smith, have sometimes stranded in great numbers at Ballycotton. This writer says he has seen an army of porpoises guarding, as it were, the mouth of Youghal harbour; where they made great havock among shoals of salmon, which were then entering the Blackwater, and even chased some of them on shore.\*\*

Seals in some parts of Ireland are very common, particularly on the coast of Cork, where they breed in the numerous caves formed in the headlands by the continual buffeting of the ocean. There is a rock between Garrets-Town strand, and the east point of Court-mac-sherry bay, much frequented by them; and where they

\* Observations on the Trade and Manufactures of Ireland, p. 135.

† M'Parlan's Survey of Donegal, p. 73.

‡ Ibid. ib.

¶ Nat. and Civil Hist. of Cork, vol. ii. p. 299.

¶ Smith's Nat. and Civil Hist. of Waterford, p. 270.

¶ Rutt's Nat. Hist. of Dublin, vol. i. p. 370.

\*\* Smith's Cork, vol. ii. p. 300.

may be seen fighting, on account of the females, in the same manner as dogs.\* In Kenmare river, in Kerry, they are so abundant that in summer all the rocks near the shore are covered with them. They are exceedingly destructive to the salmon, and, consequently, do great injury to the fisheries. Dr. Smith says he has seen numbers of these animals lying basking and asleep in the sun-shine, for the most part, very quiet and undisturbed. "A considerable profit might be made of their oil and skins, many of which are beautifully mottled, and finely spotted, and of a considerable value."

"The country people have no other way of killing them, when in the water, but by shooting at them with a ball, which, to dispatch them, must hit them on the head; and, as they are extremely shy, it is very difficult to kill them in this manner. Some people have proposed a method of taking them in strong nets, made of thick cordage; but this scheme has not been tried on account of the expense. They are sometimes taken in the caverns among the rocks, and particularly the young seals. This is done in the moon-light nights; but the old ones fight and bite most furiously in defence of their young; and it has been affirmed that they never let go their hold until they hear whatever they fasten on, crash between their teeth; and for this reason seal-catchers have bags, with charcoal quilted in them, fixed on their arms by way of defence."†

The number of men enrolled as Sea Fencibles, which comprehends all the fishermen of Ireland, will be seen in the following list, as furnished by Right Hon. W. W. Pole.

No.	Head Quarters.	Number of Men Enrolled.	No.	Head Quarters.	Number of Men Enrolled.
1	Buncrana . . . . .	869		Brought up	5,337
2	Rutland . . . . .	699	12	Kenmare . . . . .	593
3	Killybegs . . . . .	539	13	Bere Haven . . . . .	305
4	Killalla . . . . .	289	14	Castle Townsend . . . . .	449
5	Broadhaven . . . . .	143	15	Kinsale . . . . .	655
6	Westport . . . . .	264	16	Gove . . . . .	731
7	Bunowen . . . . .	249	17	Passage . . . . .	446
8	Galway . . . . .	452	18	Wexford . . . . .	312
9	Tarbert . . . . .	318	19	Wicklow . . . . .	412
10	Tralee . . . . .	521	20	Malahide . . . . .	482
11	Dingle . . . . .	994	21	Carrickfergus . . . . .	409
	Carried over	5,337			9,911

To enter at length into a discussion on the best means of reviving the Irish fisheries, and rendering them of national importance, would require a volume, and if any one were inclined to treat the subject properly, accurate information on various

\* Smith's Nat. Hist. of Cork, vol. ii. p. 300. † Smith's Nat. and Civil Hist. of Kerry, p. 84, 85.

points must be obtained from actual surveys of the coasts, and of the different stations best adapted to the purpose. On this subject some observations of Mr. Young, although made so long ago as 1779, will be found applicable in 1810: "The bounties hitherto given have been so far from answering, that they have in some respects done mischief. I was present more than once at the meetings of the fishery committee of the Irish House of Commons, and I found them making anxious inquiries how to avoid great frauds, from which I learned that notorious ones had been committed. This is the great misfortune of bounties when they are not given with judgment and care. Relative to the fisheries, the profits are so great, that all acquainted with them will engage as far as their capital will admit; whatever bounties, therefore, are given, should not be with a view to instigate men possessed of capital; for they do not exist, but to put capital into the hands of those who will make use of them. It appeared in the minutes of the Lough-Swilly fishery, that one boat, and the nets sufficient, cost £20.: the best bounty would be to give boats and nets to men used to the fishery, because few are able to buy or build them. To give a premium on the export of the herrings, or upon the tonnage of the boats, will not answer; for it supposes them actually taken and built, that is, it supposes the very difficulty got over which want of money makes perpetual. Before the boat is in the fishery it must be built, and before the fish are exported, they must be taken. Those who have money to do either, will go to work without any bounty, the profit alone being sufficient. In countries so very poor, the first steps in such undertakings are the more difficult, and to assist in overturning such difficulties is what the legislature should aim at. Giving boats and nets to men that would use them certainly does this, and would be productive of great national good always supposing that frauds and jobbing are guarded against; if they are permitted to creep in, as was the case in the distribution of spinning wheels, the mischief would be far greater than the benefit. Two thousand pounds per annum, thus expended, would give 1,000 boats, which would soon accumulate to a vast number; and if the effect were so great as to find the herrings regorge in the home market, then would be the time to drive them out by a bounty on the import, if their own cheapness did not bring the effect without it. I am far from recommending a new system of bounties upon an object that had not received them before; they have been long given or jobbed: all that I mean is, that if the public is burdened with much payment, care should be taken that they are given in the mode that promises to be most advantageous."\*

It seems extraordinary, that a necessity should exist for adducing arguments to demonstrate the consequence of the improvement and extension of fisheries, as an object of importance to an empire like Great Britain, whose splendour, wealth, safety, and happiness are secured by the ocean. If, however, we turn our eyes, to many remote parts,

\* Young's Tour in Ireland, part ii. p. 138.

of Britain and Ireland, we shall see that this is still the case, and particularly in the latter, where we find only one solitary instance of an attempt being made to establish a sea fishery on an extensive scale; although the people, from habit, and a majority, in consequence of their religious tenets, are accustomed to live upon that kind of food; notwithstanding that the country is intersected with rivers extending to its very centre, which abound with fish; and although it contains a numerous population, to whom any honest and productive employment would be an inestimable blessing. It is evident that every person of common intelligence, who may be desirous of exhibiting the resources of Ireland, must naturally direct his attention to this object. The fisheries of this valuable part of the empire are too important to be overlooked; and I am convinced, they might be carried to a very great extent without violating, in any material degree the habits of the people. Fish being so necessary to a great portion of the population, it may be presumed, that any establishment for procuring a supply, as well for food, as for the purposes of commerce, would, among the higher classes in particular, meet with every encouragement and support.

It appears, however, that there is one impediment in Ireland, to the success of her fisheries. This obstacle is so striking, that it will readily be perceived, I allude to that minute division of land which has been so injurious in other respects; and which, while the system is suffered to exist, will retard the purposes of improvement among the people, and the general prosperity of the country. The employment of the fisherman, and that of the farmer, are so unlike that the same person cannot be expected to be a proficient in both. Among a people, whose minds have not been prepared by education and habits of industry for profiting by an increasing state of civilization, there will always be a certain degree of indolence, which will create an indifference to every thing around them, and make them rest contented with the bare necessaries of life. Give land to a person, who, from his former mode of life, can have few wants, and his family and himself will subsist upon its produce without exertion, although that produce may be both scanty and unwholesome. Having resided some time at Burnham, on the coast of Essex, I can speak on this subject from my own experience and observation. A fisherman there considers land as an encumbrance; and were he obliged to possess three or four acres, he would think himself in a fair way of being ruined.

The remarks of Lord Selkirk on this head, as they are the result of minute inquiries made on the spot, when in the Highlands of Scotland, are deserving of particular attention. From these it is manifest that his lordship took a just view of the fisheries in that part of the kingdom, where nearly the same impediments to their extension prevail as in Ireland. "The custom so universally established in the Highlands, and Western Isles, that every person whatever should have some portion of land, large or small, has tended to render fishing an entirely subordinate employment,

followed in an irregular manner, only as it suits the intervals of leisure from business on shore. It is a natural consequence, that the fishing boats and apparatus are in general extremely bad; nor is it surprising, that from these combined circumstances, an idea should prevail amongst the peasantry, that it is impossible by fishing alone to earn a livelihood. Instances are quoted where proprietors, on dispossessing tenants of their lands, have been anxious to find employment for them in fishing, and have with this view made liberal offers of supplying boats, nets, and every requisite material, which have been rejected under that idea. It is only, perhaps, in a gradual manner, that fishing can be established as a separate employment, by encouraging individuals to pay a greater share of attention, to it previous to their being totally deprived of land; and though this might not succeed with those who have property, there is no doubt, that among those who are too poor to have much land, many might be found who would pursue the business with activity, if they were assisted with credit for the purchase of the necessary materials, and if arrangements were made for securing them as advantageous a market as possible. It is with pleasure I learn, that the practicability of this suggestion has been ascertained by experimental proof in a village on Loch Fyne, established by Mr. Maclachlan. That gentleman, finding himself under the necessity some years ago of thinning the population on several of his farms, selected ten or twelve families of the poorest cotters, men, however, whom he knew to be capable of laborious exertion; these he fixed in a situation on the shore, where he furnished them with two substantial fishing boats of the best construction, with all the apparatus, on condition, that their cost should be paid to him from the produce of their industry. Anxiety to discharge their debt, stimulated these men to exertion; and a season or two of successful fishing, left them free proprietors of the boats with which they had been furnished. The proprietor was sensible, that from the habits of these people they would think it impossible to live without some land; and that, in fact, for want of markets for purchasing provisions, such an accommodation was to a certain degree indispensable, in the present state of the country. He, therefore, laid out a part of a farm for them; and to avoid disheartening them, allowed them to possess it for a year or two, at an adequate rent. By degrees, however, he raised it to its full value; so that the possessors cannot trust to the land for their support, having no means to pay their rent, unless they are industrious in fishing. Other inhabitants have likewise been brought to the village, and the original portions of land divided, so as to become to every individual a mere accommodation, and an object entirely subordinate. When the further progress of this country leads to the establishment of markets for provisions, these people, being already brought to such a degree of advancement, may be easily deprived of land without any fear of their being disconcerted by the change. The success of the first fishermen has been such, that they have fitted out a number of additional boats of the best

construction at their own charge, and several of them have accumulated considerable sums of money.”\*

Many other respectable works might be quoted in support of these principles, but I shall content myself with an extract from one, the authority of which is above all doubt. No two occupations can be more incompatible than farming and fishing, the seasons which require undivided exertion in fishing being those in which the greatest attention should be devoted to agriculture; even grazing, which will less impede fishing than agriculture, is found to distract the attention, and to be fatal to success in either occupation. Indeed, to the industrious fisherman the whole season is barely sufficient for his labours. From the middle of spring the season frequently continues until after Christmas, and the intermediate time will scarcely permit the fisherman to refit his nets, lines, and tackle. But the population on the coasts of the Highlands is so ample, that the professions of farmer and fisherman are carried on by distinct classes of men.†

These remarks are of more importance, as they apply to a country where such

\* Observations on the Present State of the Highlands, by the Earl of Selkirk, p. 103.—A similar system seems to prevail in Norway, and is attended with the same bad consequences. A Danish writer says, “sea fisheries, which not only are of great importance in the domestic economy of all the northern nations in general, but furnish the principal means of subsistence to Norway in particular, which increase our exports to other nations, enable us to balance our accounts with them, and preserve our navigation in a flourishing condition, have at all times been left to the peasants and inhabitants of the coast, whose residence is nearest to the sea. These people have carried them on in a inconsiderable and wretched manner, with improper apparatus, and to the great risk of their property as well as their lives.

“Peasants are not the people who ought to be employed in fishing at sea; their means are too small; their time is too limited, and the danger to which they are exposed is too great.

“That their means are too small must be admitted by every person who knows what expense is required for boats and tackle, for provisions, and the hire of men in a fishery of any extent.—Let a peasant exert himself at sea as much as he can, it is impossible for him to neglect agriculture altogether. He possesses corn, land, and meadows, which though they are badly managed, and on that account yield but poor crops, must still engage a part of his time and attention. He has horses and cattle, and these must be supplied with fodder, which he is obliged to carry home from the distance of several miles, just at the time of the year when he ought to be occupied in fishing.

“He has a family, and to support these he must thresh and grind his corn, brew beer, and procure fuel from the woods; according to the proverb, a man can not go two ways at once; he must, therefore, divide his time between his farm, his domestic concerns, and his fishery. One of these must be neglected, and if one be neglected he of course sustains a loss.

“Fisheries carried on by peasants are conducted in an irregular manner, without skill or foresight, without subordination, or obedience to any laws: an occupation, which is of so much importance to the state in general, as well as to individuals, can never be properly managed as long as those engaged in it are under the inspection of no head, have no regulations to direct them, pay no attention to good order, and observe no kind of subordination.” *Afhandling om Saltvands-Fiskerierne i Norge af C. G. Molberg, a prize Essay in Det Kongelige Danske Landhuusholdings Selskaps Skrifter Kiobenhavn, 1790, Tredie Deel, p. 353-355.*

† Essay on the Fisheries, by R. Melvil, at Ullapool, in Ross-shire, in Prize Essays and Transactions of the Highland Society, vol. ii. p. 413.

companies have been established as are recommended by some writers on the fisheries of Ireland. I, however, entertain no such favourable opinion of these associations; better were it that the individual industry of the people should be excited by generous encouragement, and that they should be left to their own exertions, and to such wise laws as might be enacted for the direction of their energies. The general objection to such a plan in Ireland, is want of capital, but how far this can be considered an impediment, will appear from the following account of a fisherman who settled at Burnham, a village already mentioned, and who died there about four years ago. This man, whose name was James Hawkins, went thither at the age of twenty, without a guinea in his pocket, and procured subsistence by working for the oyster-dredgers. In this situation, by labour, frugality, and attention, he saved money sufficient to purchase a fishing boat; and having employed persons in the same capacity in which he himself had served, he was soon enabled to increase his means; from a proprietor of boats, he became lessee of some oyster-grounds; his exertions being attended with success, he increased them; and in the course of forty-five years, established a numerous family in his own line, and at his death left them property to the amount of more than £60,000. I had the pleasure of being well acquainted with Mr. Hawkins; and I can bear testimony, that the county in which he lived, could not produce a more useful, or a more respectable inhabitant. Had his attention been distracted by agricultural pursuits, it is impossible he could ever have amassed so much property, or carried the Burnham fishery to that state of improvement in which he left it.

The following tables of the exports and imports of salted fish, at different periods, will afford some idea of the general state of the Irish fisheries from the beginning of last century, to the present time. The quantities up to 1783, are taken from Lord Sheffield's work; the latter ones are extracted from the Irish Custom-House Ledger. They exhibit but an unfavourable picture of these fisheries, and shew that they are on the decline.

## EXPORTS.

		Year.					Average of seven years ending 1762.	1783.	1807.	1808.	1809.	1810.	1811.
		1711.	1734.	1738.	1740.	1762.							
Cod	Barrels	141	9	-	-	39	372	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cod	Cwt.	-	-	-	-	6	5	-	-	-	305	88	-
Hake	Do.	1859	2970	1539	1945	1163	1387	-	-	-	-	-	-
Herrings	Barrels	6674	21057	7743	258	5838	48441	4948	743	2	24	-	-
Ling	Cwt.	27	-	1	-	77	170	381	867	282	-	-	-
Mackarel	Barrels	-	20	110	298	671	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pilchards	Hogsheads	-	2594	2754	366	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Salmon	Tons	920	545	513	383	489	253	121	52	50	48	-	-
Do. dried	Cwt.	59	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Eels	Barrels	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Oysters	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16 gal.	-	-	-	-	-

IMPORTS.

		Year.				Average of seven years ending 1762.	1783.	1807.	1808.	1809.	1810.	1811.
		1711.	1734.	1738.	1740.							
Anchovies -	Barrels -	309	776	619	401½	564	254	137	98	38	399	
Cod -	Cwt. -	300½	300½	122½	678	427	531	1082½	3674	8449	14022	
Cod -	Barrels -	14	15	-	28	33	-	33	195	249	59	
Hake -	Cwt. -	-	-	-	-	36	5	-	-	-	-	
Herrings -	Barrels -	-	-	-	-	18	4324	22348	43097	33531	37738	
Lang -	Cwt. -	-	39½	½	43½	214	281	1600	2512	1138	2255	
Mackarel -	Barrels -	-	-	-	-	18	-	-	-	-	-	
Pilchards -	Hogsheads -	-	-	-	-	69	-	-	-	-	-	
Salmon -	Tons -	18½	1½	1	6	22	47	3	1½	19	25	
Stock -	Cwt. -	-	-	-	3½	55	-	-	-	-	-	
Sturgeon -	Keps -	49	355	198	179	192	33	-	-	-	-	
Oysters -	Gallons -	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	

An Account of Bounties paid on Fish out of the Public Revenue in the following years, ending the 5th of January.

	1802	1803	1804	1805	1806	1807	1808	1809	1810	1811	1812
On Fishing Vessels	£. 4268	4550	5933	5333	5781	5994	7028	5176	4456	4360	
Irish cured fish exported	104	221	303	338	295	316	146	63	20	-	
Irish fish oil exported	104	519	571	46	61	-	56	38	18	277	
On foreign cured fish imported	-	1078	-	864	-	-	1196	4912	4061	7725	

One article in the above table will excite astonishment, the bounty on the importation of foreign fish. How such a measure could have been adopted by any government, or how the idea of it could have been entertained by any legislator, is to me inexplicable. It has been reported that a certain great merchant, an importer, had influence sufficient in the Irish parliament to carry this bounty, that he might profit by the measure. It is hard to credit such an allegation; but from what has in other cases fallen under my observation, I cannot but believe the rumour to be just. But, whatever may have been the cause, a bounty so inconsistent with every principle of political economy, and even so contrary to common sense, cannot be sufficiently reprobated; and, as it is a most glaring instance of the misapplication of public money, I flatter myself that it will not be long suffered to exist.

So much has been already written on the means of promoting the fisheries of Great Britain, that the subject seems to be nearly exhausted. Many strenuously argue in favour of companies, and consider that nothing effectual can be done without them. In the present enlightened age, when the cautious prudence of our ancestors is treated with contempt, and a new system is substituted, resting on a

foundation little better than the laws of chance, the formation of companies would be attended with little difficulty. Speculations of every kind are so much the fashion of the times, that there are men always ready with their signatures and subscriptions, whenever a plausible scheme for increasing their capital is held out. Of little consequence is it what the plan may be; whether it be to illuminate the streets of London with gas lights, or to supply the tables of its citizens with *fresh* salmon from the Spey and the Tweed, or lobsters from the Orkney Islands, Norway, and the Murray Firth; if the scheme be varnished over with the alluring bait of cent. per cent. profit, thousands are attracted by the hope of participating in the golden harvest. I am of opinion, however, that the fisheries neither in Scotland nor in Ireland can ever be carried on by companies with real benefit to the country. The establishment of companies may serve to increase the property of individuals, who have already more, perhaps, than they know how to apply to a good purpose; but they will not tend to excite general industry or ameliorate the condition of the people.\* Wherever companies are established, individual exertion must be cramped and discouraged; emulation, which, if properly excited, would of itself promote enterprise, will be altogether repressed, and the spirit of the inhabitants broken down from a conviction of their inability to enter into competition with so formidable a rival. It is not to be supposed that these men, when they see the ocean covered with the vessels of a powerful and opulent association, will ever dare to contend with them on that element; and being thus deterred even from making an effort, they will remain in apathy and indolence. Before the minds of such men can be roused to that energy, which is requisite to ensure a favourable reception to any plan of improvement, the probability of success must be made apparent, and they must be convinced that free scope will be allowed to their exertions. A company may give employment to a number of men at a stated rate of wages, who will know, that as long as they work they will receive their hire, and be able to find a subsistence; but what stimulus is this to their endeavours, while they are also aware that the profits of their labours, however great, is to be swallowed up by their employers?

Under these circumstances, having no hope to stimulate, no prospects to encou-

\* The general object and spirit of companies may be seen in the following anecdote. A native of Zealand, speaking of the fisheries there, says: "But about the year 1763, a company of merchants in London began to purchase, or rather barter, ling fish, for different markets in the Mediterranean, particularly for Barcelona. They soon discerned that the natives of these islands, from their simplicity and inexperience, might easily be made the dupes of cunning and artifice; accordingly, they lost no time in extending their designs. By bringing in large quantities of cloths and trinkets of all sorts, and exacting double their value, they imposed upon the ignorant natives, who, being naturally fond of novelty, were more easily induced to swallow the bait. Thus, unhappily for the natives, the scheme which these adventurers had formed of making their fortunes at their expense, succeeded but too well." *Prize Essays of the Highland Society*, vol. i. p. 284.

tage, it is not to be expected that they can ever make much progress in improvement. A chilling damp is thrown over the poor man, when he knows that he has no chance of bettering his condition, or of emerging, whatever may be his conduct or his merit, from the servile condition in which he is placed. With those who labour for themselves the case is widely different; they are convinced, that the profits which remain after their expenses are paid, may be employed in procuring those comforts which sweeten toil, and make the severest hardships easy. When one of this body prospers in the world, he is looked up to as a model for imitation; his example incites others to pursue the same course; and thus a spirit of emulation is diffused through the whole neighbourhood. When men begin to feel their own importance, it is then only that schemes for their improvement can be attended with success; and this will never be the case until they are excited to an ardent exercise of those powers, either of body or mind, which it has pleased Providence to bestow upon them.

A writer on political economy\* lays it down as a general maxim, that no sanction should be given to any company for an enterprise which can be undertaken and conducted by individuals. Companies may be useful in infant states, to support undertakings attended with great expense, and especially such as are of a hazardous nature, or where distant voyages are required; because, if they fail, the loss, by being so much divided, will be very little felt. Domestic fisheries, however, do not fall within this description; and if the object, in extending them, be, as it really ought, to give employment to a superabundant population, and to improve the general state of the people, this can be effected only by establishing competition, and opening to them a prospect of superior comfort attainable by industry, and when attained secured to them by the independence of their condition.

It is commonly believed, but on most erroneous principles, that if any branch of industry, and particularly fisheries, is carried on and rendered productive, it is of little consequence to the state by whom the money returned is received. I will suppose that a company is formed in London or Dublin, to carry on an extensive fishery on the coast of Ireland, and that the undertaking brings to the subscribers £50,000. per annum. I must ask in what manner the poor fishermen of the country would be benefited by this large sum? A few might get employment, perhaps, if they possessed sufficient knowledge of their business; but if it were more advantageous to the company, they would engage English, or even Dutch fishermen in their stead; little of this money would be spent in districts where its diffusion would be of most service, and it is only by proper circulation that money can be beneficial to a country.

The plan which I would propose for carrying on the Irish fisheries is as follows:

As a preparatory measure, the coasts of Ireland should be accurately surveyed by

\* Bielfeld Institutions Politiques, vol. i. p. 506.

competent persons, to ascertain what points are best adapted for fishing stations, and in what parts of the neighbouring seas fish are most abundant, or easiest to be caught.

When the proper stations are fixed upon, inquiry should be made in the districts adjacent to each, for fishermen or others willing to prosecute the business; what means or what skill they possess, and what encouragement it would be necessary to afford them for that purpose.

As the occupations of fisherman and farmer are incompatible, it would be necessary to ascertain the number of these people who possess land; and when this were known, means should be employed gradually to detach them from their agricultural pursuits, and induce them to apply themselves exclusively to fishing.

When men are found who may be disposed to establish themselves at any of the stations, assistance should be given them to erect comfortable habitations, and such other buildings as might be necessary for carrying on their business throughout all its parts.

Each fisherman of good character to be furnished with a strong and sufficient boat, with tackle, and every other requisite; this ought to be done only on condition that the money so expended, as well as the sum for buildings, if any should be erected, be refunded from the produce of their fishery, at such periods as might render the payment least burdensome to themselves. Perhaps, it would be most eligible, that the payment be made by instalments proportioned to their profits.

When a number of fishermen have been collected at one station, a few of those who have experience, and who are respectable and industrious, should be invited to settle among them, not only as examples to others, but that they might profit by their skill and advice. The influence of such persons, would be attended with the happiest effects.\*

As it might be improper to leave these people entirely to their own habits, allowing each to follow the dictates of his own ideas (for, were this the case, it is not to be expected that much good could arise from their exertions), laws and rules should be established for regulating every circumstance respecting their occupation; and this code should be sanctioned by parliament, to give it that authority which its importance would require; but care should be taken in framing these laws, that as little violence as possible be offered to inveterate habits and prejudices, and the

\* "It would, perhaps, contribute much to the improvement of our fisheries, were a few Dutch fishers, induced by suitable encouragements to embark in our vessels, to teach our people their methods of taking and curing herrings. I have heard of attempts made by our countrymen to introduce the buss fishing at sea. Their vessels were sent to fish among the Dutch busses, and endeavoured to imitate what they saw them doing; but while the latter had soon completed their cargoes, the former had not taken a single fish. This failure must have been owing either to want of proper tackle or to want of skill." *Prize Essays of the Highland Society*, vol. i. p. 296, note by the editor.

language ought to be so clear and intelligible as to leave no room for misinterpretation, that great source of opposition and discontent.

When fishing stations have been peopled in the above manner, and particularly with men disengaged from agriculture, proper measures should be adopted to provide markets not only for the sale of their fish, but for supplying them with provisions and necessaries suited to their wants, and within the compass of their means to purchase.

A few revenue cutters, under the command of select officers, should be appointed to those parts of the coast where these fisheries are established, to enforce the laws; and the commanders ought to be invested with powers to adjust disputes or misunderstanding among the fishermen at sea, subject, however, to the revision of a higher authority established for that purpose.

Inspectors of fisheries should also be appointed to reside on the coast, for the purpose of visiting the different stations, and enforcing the regulations on shore. Part of their duty to consist in transmitting to government, a report from time to time of the state of the fisheries, and every circumstance affecting their welfare.

Money for defraying the expense attending this plan might be supplied either by government or by individuals. If by individuals, a patriotic society, without any view to private emolument, might form a subscription, the amount to be expended agreeably to the system here proposed, unless the proprietors of adjacent land should be induced to take the whole upon themselves; as the expending money in this manner would not only do public good, but benefit themselves. At any rate, the experiment as it might be made upon a small scale, is worth attempting, its future extension depending on its success.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### MONEY AND CIRCULATING MEDIUM.

**WRITERS** have endeavoured to prove, that mints were erected, and money coined in Ireland several centuries before the Christian æra; but their arguments rest on too slender a foundation to be entitled to much observation. That the Irish were at an early period, acquainted with the precious metals, and used them for personal ornaments, there can be little doubt; but if they carried on any trade it was merely by barter, as is common among uncivilized nations.\* Gold and silver, estimated

\* Κοικότερας γὰρ γινόμενης τῆς βοῦθιας τῶν υἱαγοῦσθαι ἢ ἰδίαις καὶ ἐκτίμειν ἢ ἐκλεισάζον ἰξ ἀνάγκης ἢ τῶν νομισματικῶν ἐπορισθῆ χρῆσις. ἢ γὰρ εὐβατακτοὶ ἱεροὶ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν ἀνάγκαιων\* διὰ πρὸς τὰς ἀλλαγὰς τοῦτων τι σπουδαστὴ πρὸς εἰῶς αὐτοῦ, δίδοιαι καὶ λαμβάνου, ὃ τῶν χρησιμῶν αὐτοῦ ὅτι οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς χρῆσαι ἐμμεταχειριστοὶ πρὸς το ζῆν.

according to their weight or size, were given in exchange like other marketable articles,\* long before money, with a particular stamp or engraving, was known. The use of money speaks a considerable degree of civilization. The arts give birth to commerce, and commerce, when it spreads itself extensively abroad, cannot be carried on without the introduction of symbols, as a substitute for those articles of value and necessity which might be too ponderous or bulky to be transported with facility from one place to another. The state of Ireland, from accounts left us by ancient historians, appears not to have been so far improved at the period to which these writers allude, as to warrant us in supposing, that its inhabitants had adopted this commercial talisman.

A learned author says, that the first mint in Ireland was erected by the Ostmen, or Danes, who, about the ninth century, invaded the country; but their coins were current only among themselves.† He asserts also, that English money did not circulate in Ireland till the middle of the 14th century, when Edward III., in the fifth year of his reign, considering that the trade of that kingdom would be greatly benefited by the introduction of coin, and that the revenue would be more productive, ordered a new coinage for that part of his dominions, as he had for England; but as there are no specimens of this coin, it is likely that his intentions were never carried into effect. That the Irish, continues he, did not adopt money as a standard for estimating the value of things, about seventy years after, we have evidence in Mac Murrough, the Prince of Leinster's horse, being rated at 400 cows. The relator of this expressly adds, in Ireland they barter by exchange, one commodity for another, and not for ready money. "They exchange," says Campion, in 1570, "by commutation of wares, for the most part, and have utterly no coin stirring in any great lords' houses."‡ This demonstrates that coin was long scarce in Ireland; and that the Irish, at the times mentioned, adhered to their old habits and

ζην' οιοι δ σιδηρος και ἄργυρος κ' αν ἕ τι τοιυτων ἔτυπον' το μὲν πρῶτος ἀπλως ἐρεθθη μεγέθει και γαθμῳ· το δε τελευ-  
τῆαισιν και χαρακτηῆρα ἐπιβαλλόντων ἵνα ἀπολύση της μετρήσεως αὐτῆς· γαρ χαρακτηῆρ ἰδίθη τυ ποσου σημειον. *Arist. Polit. lib. i. cap. 6. p. 39. Francof. 1801.*

\* According to Strabo, the ancient Lusitanians had no money, but in commerce employed silver, which they cut according to the value of the articles purchased. Ἀργυρῷ δὲ καὶ χρυσῷ νομισματι το παράπαν ἔχρησται και καθηλυ ταυτα εισαγωμς ως τοι πῶσον καλύμει. *Diod. Sic. lib. v. edit. Wesseling, Amst. 1746. vol. i. p. 343.*

The people of the Gymnasia or Balearian islands, used no money, and they even prohibited the introduction of it among them. Ἀργυρῷ δὲ καὶ χρυσῷ νομισματι το παράπαν ἔχρησται και καθηλυ ταυτα εισαγωμς ως τοι πῶσον καλύμει. *Diod. Sic. lib. v. edit. Wesseling, Amst. 1746. vol. i. p. 343.*

Brass money was first known at Rome in the reign of Servius Tullius; coins of silver were not employed till the year 525, after the building of the city, and those of gold were not introduced till sixty years later. *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxxiii. cap. 3. Lugd. Bat. 1669. vol. iii. p. 451, 482.*

† Ledwich's Antiquities of Ireland, 4to. Dublin, 1783. p. 216.

‡ Ibid. p. 216.

customs, as is their practice to this day in some parts of the country. But as it is not my object to enter into a disquisition on the antiquity of coins, and money in Ireland, I shall leave the subject to those who feel a pleasure in such researches, and who have leisure to consult the documents, and examine the remains of antiquity which may be deemed necessary for that purpose. They will find much curious information on this head, in Ledwich's Antiquities, and in Simon's Work on Irish Coins, published at Dublin in 1749.\*

The first certain account of money being coined in Ireland, is in the reign of King John, when the government of that kingdom was intrusted to John de Grey, Bishop of Norwich, who, in 1210, caused pennies, half-pennies, and farthings, to be coined of the same weight with those of England; and they were made current in the country by proclamation.†

Henry III., in 1247, ordered stamps to be graven of a new cut,‡ and to be sent to Canterbury, Divelin, (Dublin) and other places, forbidding the use of any other stamp than that employed at the exchange, or mint of London. The same prince, in 1251, caused pennies and half-pennies§ to be struck in Ireland, as is supposed, to pay the large and frequent subsidies then demanded of that kingdom by Pope Innocent IV.|| Whether his son Edward I., to whom he made a grant of Ireland,¶ coined money in his father's life-time, is uncertain; but on his accession to the crown he found his treasure empty, and the current coin of the kingdom reduced to a very bad condition, by clippers and the importers of base money. To remedy this evil, he established in 1275, a standard,\*\* by which the mints in Ireland were also to be regulated;†† and four years after, a new kind of money was ordered to be struck there under the government of Stephen de Fulborn, bishop of Waterford,‡‡ then lord deputy, which according to Sir James Ware,§§ consisted of groats, at four-pence; half-pence and farthings to be current throughout England and Ireland.

In the twenty-ninth year of the reign of this prince, that is, in 1300, base and

\* An Essay towards an Historical Account of Irish Coins, by James Simon, of Dublin, merchant, F.R.S. Dublin, 1749. 4to.

† Simon, p. 12. Leland's History of Ireland, vol. i. p. 193. London edit.

‡ Stow's Annals, London, 1631. p. 187.

§ Rymer, vol. i. p. 462. edit. London.

|| Matt. Paris, London, 1684, p. 631. Matt. Westm. Francf. 1601, p. 335. Sir James Ware says in his Annals, edit. 1704, p. 46. The clergy of Ireland sent Irish curses after their money, for they were driven at the worst to sell unto their merciless merchants (the nuncios) their cows, hackneys, cuddoes, and aqua-vitæ, to make present payments, and were driven in that extremity to sell their cups, chalices, copes, altar clothes, and vestments.

¶ Rymer, vol. i. part i. p. 187. Dutch edit.

\*\* Camden's Remains, chap. Money.

†† Rot. Turr. Birm. 9. 10 Edw. I.

‡‡ Davis's Reports, p. 21.

§§ Annal. Hib. edit. 704. p. 59.

mixed moneys, called crocards and pollards,\* were, by the King's proclamation, decried in Ireland,† as their importation into England had been there prohibited, on the forfeiture of life and goods.‡ This proclamation was transmitted to Ireland, and is still extant, it is said, in the red-book of the Exchequer, Dublin.§ About this time, the circulation of so much defaced and mixed money being stopped, four new furnaces were erected in the mint of Dublin, to supply the great demand for good money; and Alexander Norman de Luce was constituted master of the coiners.||

This prince was the first, who, on his Irish coins, added to his title of *Rex Anglia*, that of *Dominus Hiberniæ*; and instead of the minter's name, ordered the name of the city where the coin was struck to be stamped on its reverse. He is likewise said to have been the first that coined round half-pennies;¶ but this appears to be a mistake, as there are still preserved round half-pennies and farthings of John, and Henry III.

From the end of the reign of Edward I. till the ninth year of Edward III., nothing occurs in history on the subject of coins; but at the latter period, the ounce of silver, which then had been cut into twenty deniers, or pennies sterling, was ordered to be cut into twenty-six.\*\* By a roll of the year 1336,†† it appears also, that a proclamation was issued by the King and Council, for the coinage of pennies, half-pennies, and farthings, in Ireland. On this occasion bullion was received at the King's exchange, at the rate of twelve ounces troy-weight, to the pound. But it was returned coined, at eleven ounces four penny-weights only, which was the weight of the pound of the tower. However, notwithstanding the addition of one ounce, two penny weight alloy in a pound of silver, the Irish coins, were the best struck in this reign; for the English pennies, at the rate of twenty-six to the ounce, did not weigh above nineteen grains. Silver, passed then in Ireland at the rate of 1s. 9d. the ounce.‡‡ Two years after, by a writ *Rex custodi suo Hiberniæ*, the black money, called turneys,\* which were in use before in that country, were

\* These crocards, pollards, and other foreign coins, called mitres, lionines, rosaries, rosaines eagles, from the stamps on them were privately brought from France and other foreign parts, and uttered for pennies, though not worth a halfpenny. According to Hollingshed, (Chron. Eng. ad Ann. 1300.) they were made of a mixture of silver, copper, and sulphur.

† Annal. Anonim. Biblioth. Cotton. No. 16. Camd. Annal. Hib. An. 1760. Davis's Reports, p. 21.

‡ Stat. de falsâ monetâ. 27 Edw. I.

§ Ware's Antiq. by Harris, p. 909.

|| Davis's Reports, p. 26.

¶ Annal. Anonim. Bibl. Cotton, M. 16.

\*\* Annals of Rob. Aversbury Rastal of Money, p. 345.

†† Ware's Antiq. by Harris, p. 210. Irish Hist. p. 162.

‡‡ Simon, p. 17.

‡‡ These black moneys were probably the French deniers, or double deniers, of mixed metal, struck at Tours in France, whence they were called *Turrononsis moneta*, Tournois, and in Ireland Turneys.

prohibited, although permission was given that they should be received in payment, until sterling money could be provided to replace them.

In the year 1386, Richard II. created Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, his favourite,\* Marquis of Dublin and Duke of Ireland, granting to him the fullest powers and prerogatives of sovereignty, among others was that of coining money of gold and silver, and all other kinds before used in the island; but whether he really had any made there in his name is uncertain, if not improbable, as he did not go over, being next year forced to fly to Holland, and thence to Louvain, where he died three years after.†

In the reign of Henry V. there is little to remark on this subject; but in that of Henry VI. many parliamentary regulations were adopted in Ireland, relative to money. Most of these acts as well as those of the three preceding reigns, have been either lost or destroyed. But we are told by Sir James Ware,‡ that in Feb. 1459, mints were established in the castles of Dublin and Trim; and about the same time, not only silver, but brass money, was coined by the king's command.

By the statute which was enacted on this occasion, at a parliament held at Drogheda, it was ordained, that two coins should be struck, of different forms, in the castles above-mentioned, one of the weight of half a quarter of an ounce troy, that is, sixty grains; on which was to be imprinted on one side a lion, and on the other a crown, called an *Irlandes d'argent*, a silver Hibernia, to pass for the value of one penny; the other of the weight of about seven grains and a half, to have on one side the impression of a crown, and on the other a cross, called a Patrick, eight of which pass for one penny. It was also ordered, that a gross or groat should be made of the weight of three-pence sterling, or forty-five grains, to pass for four-pence sterling; on which should be imprinted on one side a crown, on the other side a cross, and about the cross an inscription, exhibiting the name of the place where the coin was struck.§

In the fifth year of Edward IV., that is, in 1465, a parliament was held at Trim before Thomas, Earl of Desmond, deputy to George, Duke of Clarence; when it was enacted, that all the gold coins struck in England in the time of Edward III., Richard II., Henry IV., Henry V., and Henry VI., should be raised in value, viz. the noble to ten shillings, the half noble to five shillings, and the quadrans, or quarter noble, to two shillings and six-pence; whereas before this act they passed in Ireland as in England, the noble for eight shillings and four-pence, the half noble at four shillings and two-pence, and the quarter noble at two shillings and one penny, though there was a real difference both as to weight and intrinsic value in the nobles of these different coins.||

\* Selden's Tit. hon. p. 41.

† Simon, p. 11.

‡ Antiq. p. 74.

§ Simon, p. 20, 21.

|| Ibid. p. 24.

In the seventh year of this prince, that is, in 1467, an act was passed, by which the price of silver was enormously raised in Ireland, for it was ordained, that a piece of silver should be struck, called a double, to pass in that country for eight-pence; ten such pieces to go to the ounce, according to the rightful standard of the Tower of London, and twelve such ounces to the pound; another piece called a gross, to pass for four-pence, twenty such pieces to go to the ounce of the Tower weight; and a piece of silver of two deniers, or half a groat, of the same proportion, forty of them making an ounce; likewise a piece of silver called a denier (penny), eighty of them to the ounce, besides the alloy; halfpennies and farthings were to be made to accord with the same proportion, and the whole to be struck in the castles of Dublin and Trim, the cities of Waterford and Limerick, the towns of Drogheda, Galway, and Carlingford. "Hence it appears, that the value of silver was at this time raised to double what it was in the last reign, that is, from three shillings and four-pence the ounce, to six shillings and eight pence; when the groat weighed as much as the double groat, struck in virtue of this act. The consequence, however, was, a sudden rise in the price of provisions, and other necessaries; so that the next parliament, in 1470, thought proper, in order to remedy this evil, to enact, that the master of the mint should strike in the castles of Dublin and Trim, and the town of Drogheda, five different sorts of silver coins, viz. the gross, the demi-groat, the denier, the demi-denier, and the quadrant, or farthing; eleven of these groats were to make an ounce troy weight, and every one of them not clipped to pass for four-pence; the same proportion was to be observed in the inferior denominations. From this period we may date the difference in the currency between English and Irish money; for by this statute, the pound of bullion is to be shorn into one hundred and thirty-two groats, or forty-four shillings by tale; whereas in England, the like pound was cut into one hundred and twelve groats and a half, and thirty-seven shillings and sixpence; by which means the difference was six shillings and sixpence in the value of a pound of silver, or seventeen and one-third per cent, and not twenty-five per cent or a fourth part.\*"

By another act passed in 1472,+ it was enacted, that all grosses should pass in Ireland, as they did in the days of Edward III., Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry VI. in England and Calais; every piece not clipped for five-pence, the half-groat for two-pence half-penny, and the denier at one penny farthing; the noble of gold to pass for ten shillings; the crown for five, and the quadrant for two shillings and sixpence each; whatever they might be deficient in weight to be made good in current silver, and that whoever refused to take them should lose his debt.

Notwithstanding the care taken by the legislature to preserve the coin of the kingdom in a state proper for circulation, it appears that much light and bad

\* Simon, p. 27.

+ Madden's MSS. Trin. Coll. lib. c. 1. F tab. 4. No. 24.

money had been coined in the castles of Dublin and Trim, the city of Cork, and the towns of Drogheda, Youghal, Kinsale, and Killmallock, for which Lynch, master of the mint, was indicted and found guilty, but the king, having by letters patent granted him a free pardon in 1473, he was again employed.\*

In the year 1473, an act was passed for a new coinage, by which the price of silver was again raised, and brought to fifty-six shillings in the pound by tale; so that the difference between the value of the English and Irish groat was nearly fifty per cent. in a pound of bullion; for the weight of the groat was thereby reduced to thirty-two grains, the half-groat to sixteen, the penny to eight, the halfpenny to four, and the farthing to two. The ounce of silver, therefore, was now worth four shillings and eight-pence.†

Great scarcity of money seems to have prevailed in Ireland in 1476, for it was enacted, in order to encourage the importation of foreign coin, that the rider, fine and good, should pass for five shillings; the ducat, the lyon, the crown, and the crusade, for the same; the Burgundy noble for ten shillings, the salute for five, and the halves and quarters in proportion; and that, if any of the said coins were deficient in weight, so much should be abated in payment. The gold noble, which in the fifth year of this prince was raised to ten shillings, was on this occasion, raised to twelve, and other species in proportion.‡

In 1483, under Richard III. it being found that great abuses had crept into the mint, and that the public had sustained much loss by them: the first thing the parliament did was, to turn Germyn Lynch, mint master-general, out of his place; at the same time a new coinage was ordered of grosses, demi-grosses, deniers, and demi-deniers, in such manner, that the pound troy should be cut into two hundred and twenty-five grosses at four-pence each, and so in proportion for the inferior coins. The merchant was to receive four shillings and sixpence for every ounce of bullion brought into the mint, and all counterfeit money was decried and prohibited.§

In the reign of Henry VII. the difference between English and Irish money was one third in value, as appears from a letter of Octavian, Archbishop of Armagh, to the king, in 1487, recommending Arthur Magennis for the bishopric of Dromore; in which he says, that the revenue of that diocese was not worth above forty pounds of the coin of Ireland, which is less by one-third part than the coin sterling.||

In 1509, soon after the accession of Henry VIII. the current coin of Ireland was so clipped and defaced, and also so scarce, that the Earl of Surrey, then lord-lieutenant, sued to be recalled, through the want of money and supplies from England, to carry on the war against the rebels,¶ and the mayor of Dublin gave but one

\* Simon, p. 28.

† Ibid. *ibid.*

‡ Ibid. p. 29.

§ Ibid. p. 31.

|| Ibid. p. 32.

¶ Ware's Annals, edit. 1704, p. 70.

crusadoe to the messenger who brought him Shane O'Toole's head, slain by the earl of Kildare. It appears also that, in consequence of its being so clipped, it was necessary to pay and receive it by weight, for Archbishop Allan\* says, that his cross having been pledged for a sum of money by some person belonging to the priory of Christ Church, where it was usually kept, he released it at his own expense, and that it cost him nearly an hundred ounces of silver.

This prince having, in the thirty-third year of his reign, that is, in 1541, assumed the title of King of Ireland, for that of Lord of Ireland, which had been used by his predecessors, was so proclaimed on the 13th of June, in St. Patrick's Church, near Dublin. On this occasion, new groats were struck similar in shape and impression like the former, but varying in style and inscription. These were of ordinary metal, being nine ounces six penny weights fine, with two ounces fourteen penny weights alloy; on which account an act was passed, prohibiting their being imported into England from Ireland, under forfeiture of treble the value with fine and imprisonment.†

But to such difficulty was Henry reduced in consequence of the expense incurred by his expeditions into France and Scotland, that he was compelled, as Sir James Ware says,‡ to direct to be coined brass money, and to command it by proclamation to pass for current money in all parts of Ireland. It appears, indeed, that almost all the money coined in this reign, was principally of brass, containing not more than four ounces fine, with eight of alloy, although, according to the indenture, this proportion ought to have been reversed; so that if we value the ounce of silver at four shillings and six-pence, to which, from two shillings and eight-pence, it was raised in the three preceding reigns, we shall find, that in a pound weight of this money, there was but eighteen shillings' worth of silver, with one shilling's worth of copper, and that the whole value of the metal made current for three pounds twelve shillings, was only nineteen shillings.§

In the second year of Edward VI. Sir Edward Bellingham, lord chief justice of Ireland, by the king's command, ordered money to be made in the castle of Dublin, where a mint was kept. But, for want of bullion, the establishment gradually decayed. Hence some have inferred that, after this period, mints were discontinued in Ireland; but, according to Moryson, the Irish had a mint-house at the commencement of the reign of Elizabeth.

In the short reign of Edward VI., if any money was coined, it must have been composed of as bad metal as that of the preceding; since in his last year he commanded by proclamation, at the request of the council of Ireland, that the Irish groats which had too much brass alloy, should pass only for two-pence

\* Allan's Register.

† Simon, p. 33, 34.

‡ Annals, p. 113.

§ Simon, p. 34.

in value; a regulation which, as we are told, conduced much to the good of the people.\*

Queen Mary, on her accession to the throne, that she might ingratiate herself with the people of England, prohibited the currency of base money there, and ordered gold and silver to be coined of a better standard. But Ireland was particularly excepted from the benefit conferred by this measure,† as her majesty had a special standard for the money which she intended for that country. She accordingly ordered, in 1559, shillings, groats, two-penny pieces, and, perhaps, pennies, to be struck for Ireland, but of as coarse and base a metal as any made use of in the two last reigns.‡

In the second year of Philip and Mary, Sir Edward Peckham, Knt. treasurer of the mint of England, Thomas Stanley, comptroller, and William Knight, a paymaster, or any two of them,§ were empowered to coin from ten thousand pounds of base money brought into England by King Philip, shillings at twelve-pence Irish, forty of them, or one hundred and twenty groats to the pound, and at the rate of three ounces fine, and nine ounces allay. A second and third coinage of the same kind afterwards took place;|| so that in less than three years, there was coined of such base money to the value of twenty-two thousand five hundred pounds, besides what was struck in the first year of the reign of this queen, before her marriage.¶

Her successor Elizabeth was the first who ordered the ounce of silver to be cut into sixty pennies,\*\* so that the penny, which before was the twentieth part of an ounce, was then made, as it is now, the sixtieth part; and, consequently, the ancient penny of silver, at least such as was coined before the ninth year of Edward III., contained as much silver as is now worth three-pence farthing of our present currency.

In the beginning of this reign, a commission was granted to Sir Edmund Peckam,†† Knt. treasurer, Thomas Stanley, comptroller of the mint in the tower of London, and others, to convert the base money then current in England into harp shillings,‡‡ and groats, for the use of Ireland; and out of four thousand pounds of this base coin, to make eight thousand pounds in harp shillings and groats, three ounces fine, and nine ounces allay. It appears, however, that about 1560, the coin which had been so debased during the three preceding reigns, and in the beginning of the present,

\* Ware's Annals, p. 127. Simon, p. 35.

† Simon, p. 35.

‡ Leake on English Coins, p. 230, and seq.

\*\* In England, Elizabeth did rate the ounce upon one occasion at sixty pennies, as had been done in the last year of Edward VI.; but afterwards at sixty-two pennies, which is the proportion that has come down to our own time.

† Leake on English Coins, p. 230.

§ Mint Books in the Tower.

¶ Simon, p. 36.

†† Davis's Reports, p. 24.

‡‡ Leake, ut supra.

was restored to nearly its former purity\* and intrinsic value, both in Ireland and in England; and that a particular kind of money was struck by order of the queen for the former, namely, shillings of the value of nine-pence English, to pass in Ireland for twelve-pence.†

By the events of this reign, we are more clearly enabled to perceive the policy of the English government, in the system it had adopted for the supply of money destined for Ireland. Sir John Davis, says,‡ that the queen, in order to pay the royal army which she kept in that kingdom for many years, to suppress Tir-Oen's rebellion, caused great quantities of mixed money to be coined in the Tower of London, with the usual stamp and inscription; and to be transmitted with her proclamation, dated May 23d, 1601, by which her majesty declares this mixed money to be the lawful and current money of Ireland. It is further declared, that if any person or persons should refuse it in any kind of traffic or trade, in the payment of wages, stipends, or debts, according to its valuation, they should be punished as contemners of her majesty's royal prerogative and commands: and to make this coin more current, it was ordered, that all other moneys current in the kingdom, should be annulled, esteemed as bullion, and not as the lawful money of the said realm.§

But this arbitrary measure, so important to the liberty, property, and welfare of the subject, was not adopted until many consultations had been held in England; for although it was warmly supported by some of the ministers, the Queen herself was against it. Camden, who lived in this reign, and who was likely to have been well acquainted with the secret springs by which the court was then guided, throws so much light on the whole scheme, that his account deserves to be transcribed. "About this time a proclamation was issued, agreeably to an act passed in the reign of Henry VII, that no man should carry over any English money to Ireland; because the rebels drew into their own hands the greater part of it in order to buy ammunition and provision for the war; or merchants exported it thence to foreign parts, to the great detriment and prejudice of England. Serious deliberations were, therefore, held on altering the Irish coin, by mixing with it some brass, as the Irish war drew annually out of England above £160,000 sterling. Some were of opinion that by this scheme, the expenses of the war might be lessened; that all the good money might be drained by exchange from Ireland to England, and that the rebels, when good money failed, would be excluded from all commerce with foreigners, and, therefore, of necessity weakened. But others argued, that this exchange of money would bring dishonour on the queen, and injury to the subject; that the good money of Ireland could not be drawn thence without a great charge to the govern-

\* Ware's Annals of Eliz. p. 5.

† Simon, p. 37.

‡ Reports, p. 18.

§ Simon, p. 39.

ment; and that the gain obtained, if the new money were coined in England, would not, when the accounts were cast up, counterbalance the expense of carrying it over; much less would the profit be, were it coined in Ireland, where a mint must be necessarily established at a heavy cost, and minters hired at a dear rate of wages; neither could the commerce of the rebels with foreigners be hindered by it, so long as there was silver in the new coin, which the merchant knew well enough how to separate, and to whom it would be all one, whether he received one piece of money, or three of the same value. It was added also, that it was to be feared, that the soldiers would mutiny, as their pay would thus be diminished. But Buckhurst, the lord treasurer, a man well skilled in money matters, prevailed on the queen, by urging necessity, which as he said, usually gives law on such occasions, to agree that the money should be altered for a time, and be afterwards recalled to its full value; to which, however, the queen was exceedingly averse, frequently observing, that it would reflect much on her credit, and create discontent in the army. . . . To the army, certainly it proved a great prejudice: whether it turned out to the queen's advantage, I know not; but it, doubtless, brought great gain to the treasurer and paymasters, whose avarice, which is fertile in the invention of new ways to get money, may seem at first to have devised it."\*

That this measure turned out, as those who opposed it had foreseen, very prejudicial to the kingdom in general, and to the army in particular, seems to be proved by several passages in Moryson's History of those Times. This writer says, "the 15th of May, the lord deputy received by the hands of Sir George Cary, treasurer of war, a proclamation signed by the queen, to be published for making the new standard of mixed monies to be the only current in this kingdom, all other coins to be brought in to the treasurer; and likewise a letter from the queen, requiring the lord deputy and council, to further the due execution of the proclamation; and by some plausible graces, done in general to the subject, in establishing an exchange of this coin into sterling money of England, &c. inviting all to swallow this bitter pill, which impoverished not only the rebels, but her majesty's best servants in this kingdom, only enriching her paymasters sitting quietly at home, while others adventured daily their blood in her service."†

In order, therefore, to make the most of this job, and to engross the whole profit to themselves, as the money was to be coined in England for the use of Ireland, and to be remitted thither in the way of exchange, the authors of this scheme procured a patent from the queen in favour of Sir George Carey, treasurer at war, and vice-treasurer of Ireland, for erecting an office called, the *Office of her highness, her exchange between England and Ireland*, of which the vice-treasurer was by indenture constituted master, at places by him appointed; every person, for twenty shillings

\* Camden's Annals of Eliz. London, 1688, p. 637.

† Moryson's Hist. of Ireland, vol. i. p. 284.

delivered in Ireland, was to receive nineteen shillings in England, and for twenty shillings paid in England, twenty-one shillings in Ireland; at the same time, the master was empowered to have deputies in London, Bristol, and Chester, in England; and in Dublin, Cork, Galway, and Carrickfergus, in Ireland; or within any other cities, towns, or ports, of England and Ireland, or either of them.\*

The new coin being made current by several proclamations, and all others ordered to be brought into the exchange office, goods and provisions rose to double their former value; which produced general complaints, not only from the soldiers and officers, but from the lord deputy himself, who, in his letter† to secretary Cecil, dated Nov. 7th, 1601, says, that "his private estate was unable any longer to continue the expense at which he was forced to live, growing greater by the mixed money, as he ever thought it would fall heavy upon him; by which reason he might value his entertainment to be less by the half than it was in the time of the old standard, for whatsoever was bought with new coin, was raised to double the price," and "as the exchange soon failed," says Moryson,‡ "so did our hearts therewith: for we served there in discomfort, and came home beggars; so that the lord treasurer and paymasters, who were thereby enriched, had cause to bless the authors of this invention." But instead of blame being imputed to those who recommended or supported it, great complaints were made against the merchants, as appears by several of the queen's proclamations for raising the price of their goods above seventy or eighty per cent, and refusing, or not taking enough of the base money in exchange for whatever sterling money they possessed; and to make good this charge against them, different accounts§ were sent over of the pretended exorbitant profit which they made on such articles as they imported or manufactured.

On this system of making base money current in Ireland, which had prevailed under Henry VIII., Mary, and Edward VI., Simon remarks, that it must have had a very pernicious influence on agriculture; for the landlord, who found, that instead of one shilling of good silver, he received but three-pence per acre, and, consequently, that he lost three-fourths of his rent, would, no doubt, when any of his leases expired during those times, as well as in the reign of Elizabeth, raise the price of his land to four shillings per acre of the then current money; this, in the subsequent reign, when the sterling money was restored, must have proved a heavy burden to the lessee, who found himself thereby obliged to pay four shillings sterling for the land he had before for twelve-pence, that is to say, an additional rent of *three hundred per cent.*||

\* Simon, p. 41.

† Moryson, vol. i. p. 359.

|| Simon, p. 42.

‡ Moryson, p. 208.

§ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 270.

The total value of the money coined during the reign of this princess, is said to have been £94,577. 19s. 6d. English, which at the rate of sixteen-pence Irish, for every shilling English, amounts to £118,222. 9s. 4½d.\*

On the accession of James I., this prince, finding the rebellion in Ireland suppressed, issued a proclamation for regulating the currency† of the late queen; ordering, at the same time, a new coinage to be struck for that country, of shillings and six-pences nine ounces fine: the base shillings of the preceding reign were then to pass for four-pence, and the sixpenny pieces for two-pence; but the halfpennies and farthings of copper were to retain their value.‡

In the latter end of 1604, this prince, having changed his title of King of England and Scotland, for that of King of Great-Britain, altered the inscription on his English and Irish coins, by adding the word Ireland.

In 1605, a farther reduction of the base money took place, it being ordered to pass at a fourth of its value; that is, the shilling for three-pence, and the six-penny piece for three half-pence; and as the king's title was altered on his English coins, so it was also on his Irish.

James has generally been considered as a weak and pedantic prince; but the opinion which he seems to have entertained of the system pursued by his predecessors in the regulation of the Irish coins, is worthy of an enlightened mind; "although "it be most certain," says the preamble to one of his proclamations, "that nothing is more appropriate to sovereign princes, than the ordering of their monies, and settling them at such prices and valuations as they shall think fit, upon necessary causes; yet, we have always been of opinion, that *just princes* should not use that liberty of their power, in *abusing* or *enhancing* the price of monies *without all respect to the common benefit of their subjects.*"§

By a proclamation of the 19th May, 1607, it was ordered, that the English shillings should pass in Ireland for sixteen-pence; and by another, dated May 18th, 1612, all goldsmiths and others were prohibited, under severe penalties, from melting any of the gold or silver coins current in the kingdom. The following year this prince ordered farthings to be made of copper, and to pass equally in England and in Ireland.||

At this time English money was current in Ireland, but increased in nominal value.¶ The twenty-shilling pieces laurat of this king passed in that country for twenty-six shillings and eight-pence, and the other parts in proportion; the English crown piece of five shillings passed for six shillings and eight-pence; the English shilling for sixteen-pence; and the other parts in the same ratio. The

\* Simon, p. 43.

† Mint Books in the Tower.

‡ Simon, p. 44.

§ Ibid. p. 44.

|| Ibid. p. 45.

¶ Lex Mercatoria, p. 360.

exchange between Dublin and London was at twenty-one shillings Irish, for fifteen shillings English, with six or eight pence in every pound extra payable in London.

In the first ten years of this reign, there were coined in Irish sterling money, £166,273. 11s.

King Charles I., soon after his accession, that is, in 1625, granted a patent to Frances, duchess dowager of Richmond and Lenox, and to Sir Francis Crane, knight, for the term of seven years, empowering them to strike copper farthings; and by proclamation he ordered, that they should pass equally in England and Ireland. As too large quantities were, perhaps, sent over from England by the patentees, lord deputy Wentworth and council found it necessary to issue a proclamation, on the 16th of September, 1634, that no person should be compelled to take farthing tokens, nor any one to pay above two-pence in farthings in any one payment.\*

In December following, the attention of parliament was directed to a much greater evil, the exportation of foreign gold and silver to France, Spain, and the Netherlands, by which the country was drained of its specie; and after many conferences between the lords and the commons, they came to a resolution to petition the king for the re-establishment of a mint in Dublin. This measure, however, was not carried into execution; but in its stead, the king granted another patent to Henry, lord Maltravers, and Sir Francis Crane, to cause farthing tokens to be made of brass, with such a distinction, as should readily make them known from all others.†

By a proclamation of the 6th of April, 1637, it was ordered, that the title or name of Irish money, or harps, should be abolished, and that all accounts, receipts, and payments, should be reduced into sterling English money. "All accounts in the exchequer," says lord Stafford, "and all payments and contracts betwixt man and man, are now reduced into sterling money, so as hereafter we shall not need for distinction to add Irish or sterling; for all hereafter, is to be understood after the English accompts, twenty shillings to the pound."‡

After the massacre in 1641, the lords, justices, and council, to raise a fund which was immediately wanted to maintain the army, issued a proclamation on the 14th of January, the following year, to encourage his majesty's loyal subjects to bring in their plate for the service of government. This was cheerfully complied with, and the whole coined into pieces of various shapes and denominations; a second proclamation for the like purpose was issued in 1643, and the plate received in consequence, was coined into crowns, half-crowns, shillings, six-penny pieces, four-penny pieces, three-penny pieces, two penny pieces, and pennies.§

Another kind of money coined in Ireland, without inscription, and of the value of five shillings, is supposed to have been struck during the siege of Dublin, in 1641;

\* Simon, p. 46.

† Ibid, p. 47.

‡ Stafford's Letters, vol. ii. p. 90-103.

§ Simon, p. 48.

but Simon says, that from the cross imprinted upon it, he is inclined to conclude that it was made in imitation of the former, and in opposition to it by the chiefs of the rebels, who pretended to act under the king's authority. The same writer remarks, that it is probable, that the copper pieces called St. Patrick's halfpence and farthings, which he ascribes also to them, were struck about the same time in honour of St. Patrick, and of their new order of knighthood.\*

Before the restoration of king Charles the II., and during the commonwealth under Cromwel, no money was coined for the particular use of Ireland; but various persons in Dublin, and other places in the kingdom, in consequence of the great scarcity of small change, coined copper tokens with their names and places of abode stamped upon them, by which means they bound themselves to be answerable for the value they represented: all these tokens were of brass or copper, about the size of our present farthings but thinner.

In 1651, great quantities of counterfeit and clipped English money, was sent from London to Ireland, together with base penny pieces, which by their agents were imposed on the merchants in that country; but some of the guilty were taken and suffered the punishment due to their crime.‡

Charles II., soon after his restoration, that is, in 1660, granted a patent for twenty-one years to Sir Thomas Armstrong, knight, for coining copper farthings, and all other farthings were forbidden to be used throughout Ireland. About the same time, his majesty having taken into consideration the hardships under which his subjects of Ireland laboured for want of gold and silver specie, ordered the council and lords justices to issue a proclamation for raising the price of foreign gold and silver coins then current, and for depressing to a lower standard that part which was of the baser kind.§

In 1661, several persons in cities corporate, and market towns, assumed the liberty of making brass or copper tokens, and uttering them for one penny each, to the great prejudice of the public; as, for every twenty-pence of value in brass, there were raised about twenty shillings of pure silver. The lords justices and council issued two proclamations, forbidding such tokens to be made without special leave from his majesty.||

In 1662, the king granted another patent to Sir Thomas Viner, bart. Robert Viner, and Daniel Bellingham, of Dublin, goldsmiths, for twenty-one years, for coining silver money from the half-penny to the four-penny piece, of eleven ounces two penny-weights fine, and eighteen penny-weights allay, paying to his majesty twelve pence out of every pound troy, of the silver so coined.¶

\* Simon, p. 49.

† Ibid. 49-50.

‡ Ibid. p. 50.

§ Ibid. p. 51.

|| Ibid. p. 52.

¶ Ibid. p. 52.

About 1672, small change must have been very scarce in Ireland, since we find that private persons and towns were obliged to coin copper tokens. There still remain penny pieces that were struck this year at Kinsale, which have on one side a portcullis, with the figure 10, and round it KINSALE, 1672, and on the other, the arms of the town.\*

In 1673, exporting the current money of the kingdom had become so frequent in Ireland, and was so prejudicial to the country, that a proclamation was issued for causing the laws and ordinances on that subject to be strictly enforced. The penalty in this case was forfeiture of the money, plate, or bullion, carried or intended to be carried out of the kingdom; and the person who discovered it was entitled to one-fourth part; a similar proclamation was issued in 1675.† In 1689, another appeared for ascertaining the worth of foreign coins, which appears to assign to them a value somewhat different to that given in 1660.‡

In the course, however, of little more than twenty years, gold and silver coins, among which those of England were now included, experienced another alteration; the value being raised by King James, the day after his arrival in Dublin, from France, in 1688-9. By the proclamation issued on this occasion, the English guinea was to pass for £1. 4s. and the half-guinea for 12s. The English crown was made current at 5s. 5d.; the half-crown at 2s. 8½d.; the English shilling at 1s. 1d.; and the English six-pence at 6½d.§

This appears to be the first proclamation, in which mention is made of English money since the restoration; and as the shilling was hereby raised to one shilling and one penny, there seems to be reason for supposing that it was before current at twelve pence; the half-crown at two shillings and six-pence; the crown at five shillings; and the guinea at twenty shillings: consequently, that the exchange between England and Ireland was then at par. But as every thing now portended a civil war, the protestant merchants and monied men collected their effects and retired to England. Money thus became scarce, and without money it was impossible for James to maintain his army. His readiest resource, therefore, was to raise the value of that in circulation; and as guineas were less bulky, and easier carriage than crowns, or silver coin, he raised the value of English gold twenty per cent; that of the English silver only eight and one-third; and foreign gold and silver in proportion: this was done that the little money left in the kingdom, and the few thousand livres he had borrowed from the French king might go the farther. But as this scheme did not supply money fast enough to answer the demands of his courtiers, or supply the necessities of the state; this prince was advised to annul the patent which he had granted only four years before to Sir John Knox, and then in the hands of Colonel Roger Moore, and to seize on that gentleman's engines. This was accordingly done; and two mints of his own

\* Simon, p. 53.

† Ibid. *ibid.*

‡ Ibid. p. 56.

§ Ibid. 57-58.

were established, one at Limerick, in the deanery-house, and the other in Dublin, in Chapel-street, which last consisted of two presses, one called the James press, and the other the Duchess.\*

These preparations being made, James issued a proclamation, dated June 18th, 1689, for giving currency to two sorts of money composed of brass and copper mixed, the one for twelve, and the other for six-pence. By another proclamation of the 27th of the same month, a larger piece was ordered to be struck of the same metal, and to pass current at the rate of half-a-crown, or two shillings and six-pence. By a proclamation in 1689, this money was made legal payment for all debts whatever; but as the mint could not go on without metal, the master-general of the ordnance was ordered to deliver to the commissioners of the mint, some old brass guns which were lying in the castle-yard; a circular order was also sent to the collectors of the revenue, to procure all the copper and brass they could, and to send it up as fast as possible; and to encourage people to bring in their plate, their gold, and their silver specie to the mint, to exchange it for this copper money, the commissioners were ordered to give six-pence in the pound in copper for all silver and gold brought in to the mint, where it was to be taken at the current value, and full weight. As a further inducement to take this money, it was thought proper to issue a proclamation on the 28th February, 1689, that all persons should be at liberty to pay into the treasury, by way of loan, any sums of the said money, or of any other money current in the kingdom; and that all such persons should, upon demand, be repaid with interest, at the rate of six per cent. per annum. And by another proclamation on the 9th of June, 1690, this prince, instead of six per cent. promised to pay ten per cent. for such money as should be brought into his treasury by way of loan.

By various proclamations, his majesty's subjects were ordered to take in payment, and accept the brass and copper money thus coined; and whoever refused to receive it, at the rates mentioned, was to be punished according to the utmost rigour of the law. It, however appears, from Archbishop King's State of the Protestants of Ireland, and from some coins extant, that the metal of which this money was made, was exceedingly bad, being a mixture of old guns, broken bells, old copper, brass and pewter, taken from the absentees' old kitchen utensils, and the refuse of metals, molten down together, and valued by the workmen in the mint at no more than three-pence or four-pence the pound weight; but when coined into six-peuny, twelve-penny, and half-crown pieces, and made current by the mandate of arbitrary power, it passed at the rate of five pounds sterling the pound weight. †

Archbishop King observes, § that from the first setting up of the mint, to the 1st of July, 1690, there was coined of this base money to the value of £965,375. sterling. Dean Story says, || there was not above £1,100,000.; but, according to Simon,

\* Simon, p. 59. + Ibid. p. 60. † Ibid. p. 62. § King's State of the Protestants, p. 152.

|| Hist. of Ireland, p. 63.

the whole sum was equal to £1,596,799. 0s. 6d., making in weight 173 tons, 19 cwt. 2 qrs. 2 lbs. This, at four-pence per pound, amounted to £6,495. 8s. 4d., but when coined and issued as money, it produced the sum above mentioned. Yet when James fled from Ireland, the money found in the mint did not exceed £22,489., as appears by the accounts of Lord Coningsby, vice-treasurer of Ireland; and though the greater part of this copper and brass coin was forced on the protestants, by taking their goods and giving it in payment, it appears from a proclamation issued on the 23d of February, 1690, that the Roman catholic subjects were by far the greater sufferers, as the proclamation says, it was found by experience, that they had in their possession the whole, or the chief part of this coin; there is reason, therefore, to think, that large quantities of gold and silver must have been carried out of the kingdom by James or his adherents when they quitted the country, since those who stood up in his defence, and who ought to have shared in the spoil, sustained the greatest loss.\*

After this prince had left Ireland, another kind of copper and brass money was struck by his adherents in Limerick, during the siege of that place, which, from the words stamped on their reverse, were called *Hibernias*.

The first act of King William, after the memorable battle of the Boyne, with respect to the coin of Ireland, was the issuing a proclamation from his camp at Finglas, near Dublin; by which he reduced the extravagant value of the late copper and brass money to the value of the copper money formerly current. The large copper and brass half-crowns, and new stamped crowns of King James, were ordered to pass at one penny each; the small half-crowns at three farthings, and the large copper shillings and six-pences at one farthing each. †

The value of gold and silver having been raised abroad, many were induced to send the current coin out of the kingdom. In order, therefore, to prevent this evil, it was thought advisable to raise the value of all the foreign gold and silver coins current in the kingdom, and a proclamation was accordingly issued for that purpose, on the 29th of May, 1695. No mention is made in this instrument of the value of the English gold and silver coins, but Simon presumes, that we may date from this period, the following rise in their value: ‡

	£.	s.	d.
The guinea to . . . . .	1	6	0
Half-guinea . . . . .	0	13	0
The crown . . . . .	0	5	10
The half-crown . . . . .	0	2	11
The shilling . . . . .	0	1	2
The six-pence . . . . .	0	0	7

On the second of June, 1701, the last year of this prince, a proclamation was

\* Simon, p. 64.

† Ibid. p. 65.

‡ Page 67.

issued for reducing the several prices of gold and silver current in Ireland: and it is believed that at this time, the guineas which before passed for twenty-six shillings, were reduced to twenty-three shillings; the half-guineas to eleven shillings and six-pence; the crown, which passed for five shillings and ten-pence, or, as some say, from five shillings and five-pence; to six shillings; the half-crown, to two shillings and eight-pence half-penny; the shilling, to one shilling and one penny; and the six-pence, to six-pence half-penny. No proclamation, however, on this subject, is to be found, and, therefore, this supposition rests merely on report.\*

In the reign of Queen Anne, no money of any kind was made for Ireland, but several regulations were established respecting the currency of the kingdom; one made the new French louis-d'or, and crown current, the former at £1. 2s., and the latter at 5s. 2d.†

In the year 1722, a great ferment was excited in Ireland, on account of a patent granted by George I. to William Wood, Esq. for the term of fourteen years; by which the sole privilege of coining copper halfpence and farthings in England for the use of that country, was secured to him.‡ The whole quantity to be coined during that time was limited to three hundred and sixty tons of copper; a pound of copper was to be coined into two shillings and six-pence; one hundred tons were to be issued the first year, and twenty tons each succeeding year of the term specified in the patent; a rent of eight hundred pounds per annum being reserved to his majesty, and two hundred pounds per annum to his majesty's clerk-comptroller, to be paid annually by the patentee, for the full term of fourteen years. Had the whole quantity of copper allowed by the patent been coined, the three hundred tons at two shillings and six-pence per pound, would have amounted in current value to £100,800.; and as the copper, according to Sir Isaac Newton's report of the 27th April, 1724, was not worth in the market above twelve or thirteen pence per pound, the whole quantity would not have cost in Bristol above £40,320. The difference,

\* Simon, p. 68.

† Ibid. p. 6.

‡ What was the general opinion on this subject in Ireland, may be collected from the following extract from a letter of Dr. Boulter, to the Duke of Newcastle, dated Dublin, January 14th, 1724: "By the best computations or conjectures here, the current coin of this nation, in gold, silver, and copper, is thought not to exceed £400,000. The addition of £40,000. in new copper to the present copper money, will make the copper money of this nation at least one-eighth of their whole specie. They think where the copper money is so considerable a part of the whole specie, it is impossible to keep it from making a sensible part in all payments, whether of rents, debts, or the purchase of goods; that if it be once admitted to have a currency, it will the more work its way into all payments; as men of substance in trade will be tempted by a premium (from the patentee) of 20, 30, or 40 per cent., to force its currency among the people; and they again can only pay their landlords and others in such as they receive: that (when instead of serving for change, it enters into all payments) it will be impossible to hinder the Dutch and others from pouring in large quantities of counterfeit copper: that the consequence of this must be the loss of our silver and gold, to the ruin of our trade and manufactures, and the sinking of all our estates here." *Boulter's Letters*, vol. i.

therefore, in favour of the patentee, would have been £60,480.; from which, deducting £14,000., the reserved rent for fourteen years, there would still have remained £46,480. for his profit and expenses of coinage. But as these halfpence were not so equally coined in weight "as they should have been," the patentee would have obtained a much larger profit; and it is estimated, that the loss to Ireland would have amounted to at least £60,480.\* Much opposition, therefore, was made to this measure; and the lords, justices, and council, both houses of parliament, and the grand juries of the city and county of Dublin, petitioned his majesty to put a stop to the currency of these halfpence, which, if suffered to circulate, would occasion so serious a loss to the public. Dr. Swift also lent the assistance of his wit and genius to decry this pernicious system; and on that occasion, wrote his famous Drapier's Letters, which rendered him exceedingly popular in Ireland. Wood, finding that the clamour against him was too strong to be silenced, surrendered his patent in 1724, after about seventeen thousand pounds value of these halfpence and farthings had been sent over and circulated in the country.†

On the 22d of January, 1725, a proclamation was issued for making the new gold coin of Portugal current in Ireland; the large gold coin at £4., and the half, the quarter, the half quarter, and the sixteenth, in the same proportion.‡ About 1727, the want of small change was so great, that several persons in the north, and other parts of the country, were obliged to make copper and silver tokens, which they issued in promissory notes among their workmen, customers, and neighbours; those of copper for two-pence, and those of silver for three-pence. The inscription on the first was, "I promise to pay the bearer two-pence," that on the other, "I promise to pay the bearer four-pence;" each had the name of the person by whom it was issued, together with the place of his abode. Some of these pieces were struck at Belfast, Drogheda, Lurgan, and Porta-down. A brasier in Dublin, named James Maculla, issued a very neat copper penny and halfpenny, having on one side, "*I promise to pay the bearer on demand, twenty-pence for these,*" and on the reverse, "cash notes, val. received 1729, *James Maculla,*" with the value expressed in figures.§

To remedy the many inconveniences which affected the trade in Ireland, and particularly the linen manufacture, his majesty gave directions, in the year 1736, that a proper agent should be employed to contract for fifty tons of copper, one-sixth part to be coined into farthings, and the remaining five-sixths into halfpence, of such a size, that fifty-two halfpence, and one hundred and four farthings, should make a pound avoirdupois. A certain quantity of this money was accordingly coined in the Tower of London, and sent over in April 1737; and after having

\* Simon, p. 71.

† Simon, p. 72.

‡ Ibid. p. 72; Leake's Hist. Account of English Money, p. 419.

§ Ibid. p. 73.

been duly assayed before his majesty's council, by the assay master of Ireland, a proclamation was issued by the lords justices and council, for making it current in the kingdom, and also for continuing the currency of such other good copper money as had been before coined and was then in circulation. It was, however, ordered, that no person should be compelled to receive either the old or the new copper money; but that it should be paid to such only as were willing to receive it, and not above six-pence value in any one payment.\*

About this period, the great disproportion in value between such gold and silver coins as had been current in the kingdom (the gold being rated at about two and a half per cent. higher than its intrinsic proportion to the silver), proved a strong temptation to many to melt down the silver coin, that they might export it as bullion, and even carry it away in specie, in defiance of the existing laws and statutes.† What the state of Ireland must have been at this time, as to its money transactions, will appear from the following account of it by Dr. Boulter, in a letter to Sir Robert Walpole, dated May 25th, 1736. "It is certain that silver is so scarce with us, that the lowest price usually paid for 20s. in silver is 4*d.* premium; but in the north, which is the seat of the linen manufacture, it is more commonly 6*d.* or 7*d.* in the pound. And the occasion of this want of silver is, that our several species of gold made current here by proclamation, pass for more silver than they do in England; that is, a guinea passes, where an English shilling goes at 13*d.*, at 23*s.* Irish, or 21*s.* 3*d.* English.

"A moidore, which is worth about 27*s.* in England, passes here for 30*s.* Irish, or 27*s.* 9*d.* English; and the rest of our gold is, in the main, in proportion to the value of the moidore. Whilst this is our case, no man in trade will carry a moidore from hence: to instance, in one piece of gold, if he can get silver, when he loses 9*d.* by the moidore as soon as he lands at Chester; nor will he bring from Chester 27*s.* English, when he gains 9*d.* by bringing a moidore.

"And to express this in greater numbers; if a merchant brings with him £100. from London; if he brings it over in English silver, that will be £108. 6*s.* 8*d.* here, which arises from the shilling passing here for 13*d.*; but still that is the same money under another name: if he brings it in guineas, he will put them off at £109. 10*s.* 4*d.* Irish; if in moidores, or Portugal gold, he will put it off at £111. 2*s.* 2*d.*; so that by bringing over what is only £100. in England in guineas, he will gain £1. 3*s.* 8*d.*, and by bringing it over in moidores, &c. he will gain £2. 15*s.* 6*d.*; and as the merchant, in all his importations and exportations, will mind his gain, the effect of this is, that no trader will take gold out of his country if he can help it, but silver; nor moidores, &c. if he can get guineas.

"So that in our present state our silver daily decreases, and the gold grows upon

\* Simon, p. 75.

† Ibid. *ibid.*

us ; and the distress the want of silver must occasion to our manufacturers, labourers, small retailers, and all the lesser transactions of trade and business, I need not expatiate upon.

“ But this is not our only calamity : unfortunately, the value of the new species of Portugal gold has been so settled, that there is 2*d.* profit in bringing over a £4. piece, as we call the larger pieces of Portugal gold, rather than two 40*s.* pieces ; and 2*d.* profit in bringing over a 40*s.* piece, rather than two 20*s.* pieces ; and so on with respect to the silver pieces of that species : besides which, as the least want of weight in the foreign pieces of gold, or even their not turning the scale, carries an abatement of 2*d.* a piece, there may be a loss of 2*d.* on every lesser piece on that amount ; and, consequently, so much the greater as the number of smaller pieces is to make up a greater of the same value, that is, upon eight 10*s.* pieces, there may be a loss of eight 2*d.*'s, if the eight 10*s.* pieces do not turn the scale : so that it is to the profit of the merchant to import the larger pieces of gold rather than the smaller : and they have gone on in using this advantage, till half the money we have, at least, is in £4. pieces, which are of no service in the market, and in all lesser transactions of trade : and the next species with us is the 40*s.* pieces : and to be sure, above three quarters of our money is in those two species ; and, without some remedy, we shall, in two or three years, have scarce any money but £4. pieces

“ There is another inconvenience that follows from our scarcity of silver ; that we suffer from 2 to 2½ per cent. in the exchange ; and are really paid so much less in the price of what we sell to foreign merchants, and lose so much in paying for what goods we buy from abroad.

“ And it is certain, that all the noblemen and gentlemen of this country, who live in England, lose from 2 to 2½ per cent. in the remittances of their money to England, which is used as a popular argument against the proposed reduction ; that the absentees will get so much per cent. by it, while they will not consider that the nation at present loses five times as much in the export and import of goods, as the absentee will gain by this reduction of the exchange.”\*

To remedy this evil, various schemes were offered to government, and many curious dissertations were written ; but it was at last thought expedient, that the gold and silver should be brought nearly to a par, by lowering the value of the former. Great opposition appears to have been made to this reduction by the Irish bankers, and remitters of money, as the inequality of gold and silver proved a great source of profit to those through whose hands the money of the nation passed. The measure, however, was finally settled ; and a proclamation on the subject was issued by the lords justices and council, on the 29th of September, 1737. By this proclama-

\* Boulter's Letters, vol. ii. p. 124.

tion, the value of the English guinea was fixed at £1. 2s. 9d., and that of the half-guinea at 11s. 4½d.; the moidore was to pass for £1. 9s. 3d., the half for 14s. 8d.; the Spanish or French double pistole for £1. 16s. 6d., and the French louis-d'or of the new species for £1. 2s.

"This regulation," says Simon, "was, no doubt, intended for the good of the kingdom, and established with no other view than to keep at home the silver current in the country; but experience has shewn, that those who laid the scheme were mistaken in its consequences. We have, indeed, guineas in greater plenty than we had before, but generally so light, that whoever has a hundred of them, and thinks to have £113. 15s. intrinsic value, will often find, if he weighs them, that he has not, in fact, above the value of £106. 5s. at a moderate medium; whereas, if, before the reduction of the gold, he had an hundred moidores of full weight, he was sure to have £150., or, at least, £144. 11s. 8d., if, according to Sir Isaac Newton's tables, they be intrinsically worth 27s. 9d. English, which, in Irish money, is 29s. 11d.; he could, therefore, lose but £5. 8s. 4d. on his £150.; whereas he loses £7. 10s. on his hundred light guineas, and £34. 12s. 3d., at a moderate medium, of the real intrinsic value of the silver, if he keeps £150. in such English shillings and sixpenny pieces as are mostly current at present here."

"The scheme proposed by some others," continues he, "was, as I take it, much better adapted to the circumstances of Ireland; I mean, the raising the value of the silver species formerly current in this kingdom to a par with that of the gold; had this been done, it would have prevented the melting of the silver, which is daily wrought into plate, or transported abroad. This mischief is grown to such a pitch, that a new or well-preserved crown, or half-crown, is become a great rarity, even among the curious: they no sooner appear than they disappear. What silver is now left, is some English money not worth melting; shilling pieces hardly worth ninepence or tenpence, and sixpenny pieces not worth a groat.

"This must continue to be the case, while silver is under-rated here, and passes at less value than in England, where bullion is sold, at a medium, at 5s. 6d. the ounce, and here, among the goldsmiths, at 5s. 9d.; so that, at a moderate computation, there is, at least 2s. 6d. or 2s. 8d. profit, in about every fifteen ounces of bullion sent abroad, which, together with under valuation of the crown silver, makes a difference of £7. 1s. 9d. per cent.\* "All these difficulties," says Mr. Prior, in his excellent discourse of coins, "would be effectually removed, by having a mint established in Ireland, and several species of copper, silver, and gold coins, made of such a standard weight and value, compared with the English standard, as should be thought proper and convenient for us."†

It appears, by the preceding short view of the system pursued by the English

\* Simon, p. 76.

† Prior on Coins, p. 61.

government, in regard to the metallic circulating medium of Ireland, that in few countries in Europe has money been subjected to more changes in the same period, either by the admixture of bad metal, or by alterations made in the nominal value of the different coins of which it was composed. Such variations are attended with the most pernicious consequences to a state; and are a proof, either that those who have recourse to measures of this kind hold honesty in very little estimation, or, that they are unacquainted with the true principles of political economy. "The right of coining money," says Bielfield, "has been granted to sovereigns only, because, being at the head of the state, and fathers of their country, it was supposed, and with justice, that they are more interested than others, and have a greater desire to observe the most scrupulous probity in that operation, and to take care that the impression on each piece of gold or silver shall denote no other value than that which it really has, especially as he who deceives his subjects in this respect, deceives himself. Hence, the reason why all pieces of money, whether large or small, must be struck with the impression and arms of the sovereign, who thus marks its just value, and gives it currency and authority, to serve as a fixed price for things of unequal value. The least reflection on these incontestible principles will shew how stupid, or base, that financier must have been, who first advised his sovereign to adulterate money, to stamp it with an impression denoting that it contained more than its real value, to defraud his people and others, and to sacrifice his own good faith, an object of so delicate a nature to a sovereign; in order to convert mintage into a source of finance, and the means of accumulating riches. By this dishonesty, the common measure or price of any thing is rendered uncertain; the nation, or rather the prince, who coins base money, pays the double of what he gains by this mean fraud as soon as it is detected by others. To shorten the yard, lessen measures, falsify weights, or to alter money, is, at bottom, the same kind of manoeuvre."

"There are three ways of altering money at the expense of the public, and of rendering uncertain that common measure, which sound policy, if possible, would fix and render invariable for ever. The first is, when the sovereign detracts some part from the weight which a coin ought to have: this expedient is so clumsy, that the subject, as well as foreign nations, are soon aware of it, and never become its dupes. The second method consists in altering the quality or fineness of the metal, by lessening its intrinsic value; that is, taking from a gold or silver coin a certain part of the weight which it ought to have, and supplying its place by a mixture of alloy: this fraud is of a more complex nature, and more difficult to be discovered, but it is so common, that it never escapes the acuteness of polished nations. The third method is, when, in cases of urgent necessity, or on account of some foreign cause, the nominal value of money is suddenly raised, and, by an arbitrary act of

sovereign authority, made to pass, in the course of trade, for more than that at which it was coined."\*

All these methods are injurious to the states which make use of them; yet numerous instances occur in history of their having been adopted, not only by bad or weak princes, but even by some who have been extolled as patterns for the imitation of sovereigns. On various occasions, republican states, as well as those under kingly government, have had recourse to this expedient, in consequence of the necessitous situation of their finances. The Roman denarius passed for ten asses; but government, being greatly distressed for want of money, in the war with Hannibal, raised it to the nominal value of sixteen, by which they defrauded their creditors of six in that number: being afraid, however, to offend the army, the pay of the soldiers was issued at the former rate of currency.†

Similar instances occur in the history of France, whose sovereigns appear to have had very little delicacy on this head, when urged by want, or when they supposed it suited their convenience. Philip I. is said to have mixed a third of alloy in Charlemagne's pound of silver, which weighed twelve ounces; and to have given the name of *livres* to a pound in weight, which contained only eight ounces of silver; yet he conceived that his pound was equal to that of his predecessors.‡ The same ruinous system seems to have been frequently pursued; and even so late as 1716, when the principles of political economy ought to have been much better known. The duke of Orleans, who was then regent, during the minority of Louis XV., raised the value of the louis-d'or from sixteen to twenty livres, and of a crown from three and a half, and four livres, to five. In this manner he gained one-fifth of the value of these coins; while the deluded people were made to believe that they were no losers, as they received back from the mint the same number of livres which they paid in, though in reality they received back four ounces of silver instead of five. Persons of more acuteness, however, soon discovered the deception; and the consequence was, that large quantities of the old species were hoarded up, which occasioned a considerable obstruction to commercial transactions. To remedy this evil, recourse was had to the establishment of a general bank; the bills issued by which bore an interest of five per cent.: the bank paid only in the new specie, although they received both old and new; and, as the coins were so fluctuating in value, and the bank bills invariable, people carried all their money to the bank. This was a sufficient temptation to the regent, to seize on so large a treasure, which he accordingly did, and the result was, that the bank suddenly stopped payment;

\* *Institutions Politiques* par le Baron de Bielfield, t. i. p. 475, 477.

† This was not the only time the Romans had recourse to this expedient. See *Fin. Hist. Nat. Lugd. Bat.* 1669. p. 451.

‡ *Traité d'Economie Politique*, par J. B. Say, t. i. p. 451.

although it is asserted, that the gold and silver coin in France at that time, amounted to 400 millions of livres, or about seventeen millions sterling.\*

Even the great Frederick, notwithstanding his political wisdom, which has been so much the theme of praise, adopted the same method, when reduced to great straits, at the beginning of the seven years' war. At first, as is sometimes the case, he derived considerable advantage from it among his own subjects, and in the newly-conquered province of Saxony, where the deception was not well understood; but as it became known, and as the price of articles was thus raised, he found himself reduced to the necessity of repeating the fraud, and of successively issuing money of an inferior value.†

Between the period last mentioned, that is, the year 1737, and the union of the two kingdoms, there is little worthy of notice which seems to have taken place on the subject of the circulating medium of Ireland. As no public bank was established in that country till 1783, its paper currency was in the hands of private bankers; who sometimes issued notes to an amount, not only far beyond their capitals, but exceeding, in a great degree, what the wants of the country required, or her credit could support. This was the case, in particular, in the years 1754 and 1755, in which three of the principal banks failed; and as there were then no bankrupt laws in Ireland, the creditors were obliged to apply to the legislature for relief, which was granted by special acts passed for that purpose.‡

During the years 1778 and 1779, the exchange of Dublin on London varied from  $5\frac{1}{2}$  to  $7\frac{1}{8}$ ; on the 27th of October, in the latter year, it was at  $6\frac{1}{2}$ . This was considered remarkably low; and the following causes were assigned for its being so much

\* Macpherson's *Annals of Commerce*, vol. iii. p. 50. Voltaire, in his history of Louis XIV., has made some excellent strictures upon changing the value of the denominations of money.

† *Abhandlung von dem Geldumlauf*, von J. G. Büsch, Hamburg und Kiel, 1800, vol. i. p. 270.

An ingenious writer on political economy, says, "that kings who have begun to debase the standard ought to go regularly on every year, as long as they find themselves in the state of debtors; and when they come to alter their situation, and become of the class of creditors, it is then their interest to raise the standard." *An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Economy*, by Sir James Steuart, 4to, edit. vol. ii. p. 65. The real inconveniences which proceed from this exercise of power may be reduced to three:

1st. It disturbs the ideas of a whole nation, with regard to value, and gives an advantage in all bargains to those of the society who calculate, over those who cannot.

2d. It robs the whole class of debtors when the standard is raised; and it robs the whole class of creditors when it is debased.

3d. It ruins credit; because no man will borrow or lend, in a country where he cannot be sure of receiving back the value of his loan; or of being in a capacity of clearing himself, by paying back the value he had borrowed. *Ibid.* p. 67.

‡ Commercial Restraints of Ireland considered, p. 53. Some acts had been passed before for a similar purpose; as 5 Geo. II. ch. 23, for the relief of the creditors of James Meade and George Curtis, bankers, and 7 Geo. II. ch. 26, for the relief of the creditors of Samuel Burton and Daniel Falkener, and the other bankers therein named. *Statute Law of Ireland*, by Edward Lee, Esq. Barrister at Law, Dublin, 1734, p. 320.

in favour of Ireland :—First, a large importation of specie, by the loans negotiated with monied people, &c. in England, and some remittances to Ireland for the public service; secondly, the non-payment of rents, which had kept within Ireland much money that would otherwise have been remitted to absentees; thirdly, the non-importation agreements, and the large exports in the provision trade, and in linens.\*

In October 1779, the price of gold in Dublin was £4. per ounce: the usual price had been from £4. 1s. to £4. 2s. This fall was imputed to the state of the exchange.

At the same period, the price of silver was 5s. 6d. per ounce. The medium price had been 5s. 10d. This was ascribed to the selling of more old plate, and to the manufacturing of less new, than usual.†

In 1780, the several acts of parliament which prohibited carrying gold or silver to Ireland, were repealed.‡

On the 25th of June, 1783, a public bank was opened at Dublin; with an original capital of £600,000. raised by subscription,§ which was lodged in the king's treasury, at an interest of four per cent. According to the charter, no person was allowed to subscribe more than £10,000. Leave was granted to the corporation to have and to use a common seal, which they may break, or alter, and make anew, as they shall see cause. They may sue and be sued, in the same manner as any other corporate body; and they are enabled, also, to receive, purchase, hold, and retain, manors, messuages, lands, rents, tenements, franchises, and hereditaments, contrary to all principles of banking; for a banker should confine his dealings to transferable securities, convertible, at short periods, into ready money, that he may always have his capital at command.

The bank is to be conducted by a governor, a deputy governor, and fifteen directors; eight or more of whom, the governor or deputy governor being one, are to be called a court of directors, for managing the affairs of the corporation. They are elected every year, but no more than two-thirds of those who were directors in the preceding year, can be chosen at any annual election. The proprietors may meet for the election of directors, notice being first given, by writing, affixed on the Royal Exchange, two days, at least, before the time appointed. The election to take place between the 25th of March and the 25th of April.

\* Eden's Letters to the Earl of Carlisle, App. No. iii. p. 161.

† Ibid. ib.

‡ Macpherson's Annals of Commerce; vol. iii. p. 654. By the 19th Hen. VII. c. 5, coin transported to Ireland above 6s. 8d. or Irish coin imported above 3s. 4d. was to be forfeited. *Statute Law of Ireland*, by E. Lee, p. 59.

§ An attempt was made by government, about 1722, to establish a bank in Ireland, and a commission was appointed under the great seal to receive subscriptions, but the plan did not succeed. The author of the *Commercial Restrictions*, p. 41, calls this a scheme to circulate paper without money.

The qualification to vote is £500. sterling, or upwards, share or interest in the stock, which must have been held six calendar months previous to the election.

The qualification for a governor is £4,000. sterling, and for a deputy-governor £3,000. These must be natural-born subjects, or naturalized. A director must possess £2,000 stock; and no person can hold that office till he has taken the oaths of allegiance, supremacy, and abjuration.

Other members, before they vote in general courts, must take the same oaths; but there is an exception in favour of quakers, whose solemn declaration to the same effect is admitted. Roman catholics, instead of these oaths, to take the oath appointed by the act of parliament, entitled, "An act to enable His Majesty's subjects, of whatever persuasion, to testify their allegiance to him." Four general courts are to be held every year, and a general court may be summoned at any time, on demand.

According to the 14th by-law of the corporation, the governor and deputy-governor are allowed each £150. per annum, and each director £100.\*

In the month of February, 1788, an attempt was made to reduce the interest of money in Ireland from six to five per cent.; and a bill for that purpose was carried through the house of commons, but rejected by the peers of that kingdom.†

In the year 1808, the bank obtained a renewal of its charter, for twenty-one years, to commence at the expiration of the present charter, on the following terms:

1st. The bank to increase its capital in the sum of one million stock, to be raised from the proprietary, at the rate of £125. per cent., making a sum of £1,250,000.; the money to be lent to government, at the rate of £5. per cent. per annum, during the charter.

2dly. The bank to continue the management of the public debt and loans, free of expense to government, during the continuance of the charter.‡

#### THE PRESENT STATE OF MONEY AND CIRCULATING MEDIUM.

The limited circulation of Ireland is aided by various expedients:

1st. By the issues of the national bank, the original capital of which was

\* House of Commons' Papers, ordered to be printed 2d March, 1808.

† Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, vol. iv. p. 20. By the 10 Geo. I. sess. ii. c. 23, the interest of money was fixed at 10 per cent. per annum. The act made 3 Hen. VII. in England, for usury, and other statutes in force in Ireland, were repealed by this act. By the 2 Anne, c. 16, the interest of money was reduced to 8 per cent. per annum, from the 26th of March, 1704. By the 3 Geo. I. c. 13, interest was reduced to 7 per cent. per annum, after the 25th of March, 1722. By the 5 Geo. II. c. 7, the interest of money was reduced to 6 per cent. per annum, from the 1st day of May, 1732, and persons taking more were to lose treble the value of the money, &c. lent, which was to be given to the king and the informer. *Statute Law of Ireland*, by Ed. Lec, Esq. p. 334.

‡ House of Commons' Papers, ordered to be printed 13th May, 1808.

£600,000. four per cent. stock, subscribed for the security of the establishment. They borrowed £60,000. for a monied capital; the like amount was afterwards raised for the same purpose, and since that time a farther sum of £400,000. After this, £500,000. was vested in government securities; so that the actual capital of the bank, in government securities, is £1,000,000., and the monied capital £400,000. The bank cannot call in the money vested in government securities, although they may bring their stock to market. Their income from this source is £55,000.

They discount commercial paper at five per cent., but do not limit\* the time which that paper has to run, although it is generally confined to sixty-one days. The bank will also advance money to individuals upon their own notes, accompanied with a counter deposit of government securities, and they receive deposits of cash like private bankers. These transactions yield a profit, which added to the interest of government loans, enables them to pay, on the original capital, an interest of 7½ per cent annually, among the proprietors, and occasionally there has been a bonus. The value of its stock at the periods mentioned below, were,

7th March, 1804	-	-	-	145½ per cent.
10th ditto 1810	-	-	-	189 ditto.

The payment of its notes in specie was restricted by act of parliament, in the spring of 1797.

The bank issues are partly paper and partly tokens. The paper consists of notes payable to bearer on demand, and of notes payable to order, seven days after sight.

An ACCOUNT of the Amount of the Notes, and Post Bills, of the Bank of Ireland, in circulation in the Months of January and June, from 1804 to 1810, both inclusive.

1804.		1808.
1st January - £2,986,999 6 5½		1st January - £2,732,483 17 5
1st June - - - 2,916,549 13 4		1st June - - - 2,894,881 9 7
1805.		1809.
1st January - - 2,902,438 13 10		1st January - - 3,141,410 19 1
1st June - - - 2,813,686 1 7		1st June - - - 3,101,962 18 5
1806.		1810.
1st January - - 2,465,710 13 6½		1st January - - 3,192,186 4 7½
1st June - - - 2,581,736 13 8		1st June - - - 3,165,579 11 1½
1807.		
1st January - - 2,818,140 19 11½		
1st June - - - 2,782,772 14 3		

For the Governor and Company of the Bank of Ireland,  
*Dublin, 22d February, 1811.* WILLIAM DONLEVY, Ac. Genl.

\* The Bank of England limits its discount to two months.

The tokens are Spanish dollars, which have been stamped as "tokens" for six shillings Irish currency, amounting to £200,000. The last issue is partly a credit medium, for the dollar is worth only about 4s. 3d. or 4s. 6d.; and the difference between this intrinsic value and the sum of six shillings, at which it is issued, is completely a credit given by the public, and rests on the same foundation as an issue of paper.

The bank gives receipts for guineas, which receipts they pay on demand in guineas. These receipts are an article of daily traffic, bearing a premium; which is a decisive proof that the credit of the bank has not suffered, but that the state of the silver coinage has pulled down their notes payable in silver.

#### 2d. Issues of private banks.

The banking houses in Dublin, except those of Messrs. Latouche and Sir Thomas Newcomen and Co., issue notes, as well as the country banks, payable to bearer.

The issues of private bankers are notes payable in bank of Ireland notes, and not in specie. Private bankers' post bills are likewise made payable in bank of Ireland notes; and, as they require acceptance ten days before they are payable, they are thus kept in a state of forced circulation.

The Lurgan, Londonderry, and three Belfast banks, make their notes payable in Dublin, as well as at their own houses; but nearly all the other private bankers make their notes payable only at the place where they are issued.\*

The notes of the bank of Ireland, and those of private bankers, are now issued for one or more pounds, but not for a guinea, or £1. 2s. 9d. currency, as was formerly the case. All private bankers in Ireland are compelled, by an act of parliament, to take out a license, and are also prohibited from engaging in trade; a regulation which has thrown the banking business into the hands of a wealthier class of men than those to whom it would otherwise have belonged. It has deprived them of some of the means which they employed to force paper into circulation; but this loss has been more than counterbalanced by the increased activity and use of those which are left. It is common for private bankers to pay butter factors, corn buyers, and other dealers,† on the amount of the paper they can issue; though the paymasters of regiments are prohibited from following this practice,‡ and are supplied with bank of England notes, yet these notes are exchanged for smaller ones by the country bankers, and those of the national bank are thus withdrawn from circulation, and replaced by private paper.

\* Lord Liverpool, in his Treatise on Coins, p. 221, condemns this system.

† Oct. 17th, 1808. TRALEE.—The packers, who come from Cork to buy bundle linen, pay for it in Cork bank notes.

Nov. 17th, 1808. Cork bankers take the most indefatigable pains to put their notes in circulation, by lending them to corn buyers, butter-factors, wool-hucksters, and other persons of the like description.

‡ APRIL 3d, 1809. LYTTLETON GLEBE. TIPPERARY.—As paymasters to regiments must pay postage, they receive only large bank-notes, which they exchange for country paper.

At Ballinasloe fair, all payments are made in bills on Dublin, at sixty-one days date; and, though the business done there is immense, the Galway bankers attend, and are ready to exchange these bills at par in exchange for their own notes.

The bank of Ireland is restrained by its charter, from taking a larger discount than five per cent.; but the two Dublin banking-houses, which do not issue paper, charge like the country banks, the legal rate of discount, which is six per cent.

One evil, connected with issues of private banks, it is, perhaps, a duty to mention. In Ireland there is a circulation of forged notes, to an extent of which no person in England can form an adequate idea.\* To determine the amount is impossible; but it is known to be so great, as to create a necessity for making some allowance for it in calculating the amount of the circulating medium of the country.

In the city and neighbourhood of Dublin, the circulating medium consists of paper issued by the bank of Ireland, and by the private bankers of the capital.

Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford, Youghal, Clonmell, Fermoy, Gork, Mallow, Limerick, Birr, Ennis, Galway, and Tuam, have private bankers, whose paper is the principal, and in most instances the only, circulating medium of their respective districts. Each of these private banks has some quantity of the bank of Ireland

\* Townsend, in his Survey of Cork, says, "The substitution of paper money for specie has, in this part of the kingdom been productive of serious injury as well as inconvenience to the people, from the prodigious number of forged notes that are every day passed. To guard the rising generation against a fraud which is practised with peculiar facility upon the illiterate, is said to be a strong reason for sending their children to school." The author adds, in a note: "The circulation of forged notes is become a trade, and a very gainful one. Parties of swindlers attend the fairs and markets for the purpose of circulating them, and seldom fail to find a sufficient number of dupes among the simple country folks. The lenity with which these practices are treated encourages their continuance. The worst consequence a swindler has usually to apprehend, is being obliged to give a good note for the bad one; offenders are seldom brought to condign punishment for this, or, indeed, any other transgression. A poor man never prosecutes with any other view but compensation." *Survey of Cork*, p. 419.

OCT. 14th, 1808. ADARE.—At the fair held here the people are under the greatest dread, lest they inadvertently should take forged notes. They flocked round Mr. Quin when he arrived, and, presenting their notes, requested he would give his opinion of them; whether they were good or bad. Many of the buyers assured me that one-third of the bank notes in the fair were forgeries.

DEC. 1st, 1808. LIMERICK.—Mr. Maxwell, the banker, says, that the extent of forged paper, in currency, is beyond belief. He shewed me some notes, purporting to be of his own bank, so ingeniously executed that I could not have detected them.

AUG. 9th, 1809. COLLON.—Some people came to Mr. Foster to settle a dispute respecting a forged bank note. The parties spoke in Irish, but were heard through the medium of an interpreter. Mr. Foster, before he gave his decision, proposed sending the note to Dublin, to ascertain whether it was really a forgery; but the parties wished to stipulate that it should not be "forged," by which they meant, that, in case it turned out to be a false note, it should not have stamped on it the words, "a forgery," a mark always put upon forged notes by the bank when presented there for payment. Mr. Foster explained to the litigants, that if the note was forged, it was felony to pass it. This the poor fellows could not comprehend; and though they had not had sufficient intercourse with their more civilized neighbours to be able to speak the English language, they were perfectly aware that notes so stamped were not passable.

paper, which they never issue but in cases of urgent necessity: they all draw bills upon Dublin at thirty-one days, which gives them a premium of one-half per cent; and the reason of their paying their notes only at their banks is to receive this profit.

During my stay in Ireland, I collected some information on the nature of the private banks of that country;\* I do not, however, feel myself at liberty to name my authorities. The same motive prevents me from adverting to many important facts, the vouchers for which are now in my possession; for, although they might be of public benefit, considerations of respect for private feelings and private interest forbid premature interference in so delicate a subject as the concerns of private banking companies.

In Leinster there are three bankers, one in Wexford, one in Birr, and one in Kilkenny. There was one at Ross, who lately failed.† The notes of the Dublin bankers circulate in this province.

The three private bankers, who issue the most notes in Dublin, are:

John Finlay and Co.

J. C. Beresford and Co.

Robert Shaw and Co.

There are three others; but their business is conducted on a much more limited scale.

Two of the largest bankers in Dublin are merely bankers of deposit; they issue no paper whatever.

In Ulster, the Lurgan bank had in circulation, in the summer of 1808, paper to the amount of £170,000.

The three Belfast Banks, which were called the commercial, the northern, and the Belfast, issue, perhaps, altogether £225,000.‡

In speaking of the Belfast banks, it may be worth while to remark, that a private bank, established there nearly sixty years ago, issued notes, but afterwards fell to the ground. Of those banks which have ceased to exist, I do not feel restricted from communicating such well authenticated information as came to my knowledge. I shall therefore subjoin, in a note, some particulars relating to them; and also to the

\* Nothing is more erroneous than the list of private bankers given in the Dublin Almanack. Three Stewarts now, before one; neither Mr. Anderson's bank at Fermoy, or Lord French's at Tuam, are included, and many are put down which have failed.

† JULY 16th, 1809. New-Ross.—Dr. Doyne says that the circulation of this country consists of private bankers' post-bills, payable at ten days after sight. The Ross bank, which failed on Mr. Colclough's death owed £200,000.

‡ The following information respecting these banks I received in the month of May, 1810, from a correspondent, on whose accuracy I can fully depend.—“The average issue of notes by each of the Belfast banks may be stated at from £50,000. to £100,000.; for it greatly varies, from a variety of circumstances, sometimes falling below, and sometimes exceeding either of these sums.”

MAY 29th, 1811. BELFAST.—“The three banks at present in existence, charge six per cent discount; but use no gold. They manage their affairs in such a manner as to make it the interest of the merchants to furnish them

discount office, which, perhaps, may be interesting to readers desirous of becoming acquainted with the history of paper circulation in Ireland.\*

The Londonderry bank is by no means extensive, on account of the property which the Beresford family possess in that county, causing the notes of their bank in Dublin to circulate widely in that part of Ulster.

In Connaught, there are four bankers at Galway, and Lord French's bank at Tuam. Their issues are chiefly in post-bills, with their amount I am unacquainted; as their notes are not payable in Dublin, their circulation is confined to this province,

them with a certain quantity of Dublin bills, proportioned to the Belfast paper which they receive. These Dublin bills are procured by the bankers, at a rate rather cheaper than the market price; and this constitutes a part of their profit, of which the law can take no hold."

\* MAY 28th, 1810. BELFAST.—“The old banks paid their notes in gold, and the difficulty of procuring guineas in Dublin, was the cause of their giving up business, which they did in 1797.

“The circulation of the Belfast bank, which broke up in 1797, was £40,000., occasionally £50,000.; but neither of these sums could be considered permanent, because a scarcity of gold always brought in a considerable number of the notes. The circulation of these sums was after the first bank had ceased to exist. The gentlemen by whom the bank was first established were induced to dissolve their partnership, on account of the alarming situation of Ireland in 1797, the year preceding the rebellion. A member of the second bank, and one of the first, formed a new company, and continued it for some time; but I have understood that the last bank received little benefit by it; and the first, after carrying on the business for ten years, that is, from 1787 to 1797, made scarcely any thing more than the interest on the actual capital engaged.”

MAY 28th, 1810.—“There were lodgments made in the discount office to the amount of £405,000.; but we are not to imagine that this capital, or one third of it, was ever in the office at one time. Let us suppose £10,000. to have been deposited in the establishment; this sum, getting into the hands of the merchant, would pay the grazier, farmer, &c., and then return from him to the discount office. The lenders, for this money, received 5 per cent. interest; and it was employed as a capital, in such a manner as to produce 8 per cent. by discounting bills. But though this mode of business was publicly known, the terms daily advertised, and the whole trade, both in the town and neighbourhood, carried on in this way, a trial took place at Cork, about two years ago, which shewed the whole transaction to be illegal; and fear of the consequence made the company break up.”

“The Belfast Discount Company commenced in the year 1793, on a principle of discounting inland bills, and purchasing foreign drafts, and disposing of them as might suit their own interest and accommodate the town. It was originally formed in ten equal shares; but, by the death of two of its partners these were, some years after, reduced to eight. The business of the establishment was conducted by three of the members, Mr. Thompson, Mr. Bradshaw, and Mr. M'Ilvane, under the firm of Robert Shaw and Co. till the decease of that gentleman, in the year 1800; after which event the business was continued, the direction being intrusted to Mr. Bradshaw, under the firm of Gilbert, M'Ilvane, and Co. The capital of the house, at its commencement, did not exceed £50,000. At the period when it was determined to wind up its affairs, the capital, chiefly a borrowed one, amounted to upwards of £400,000. This establishment was adopted last year, instead of banks which, for some years, had been given up. The town of Belfast has, in general, manifested an inclination to encourage the banking system; but at this time a gold and paper medium of circulation being found troublesome, the Discount Company were obliged to give way to this sentiment, which was strengthened by the desire of some of the members to become partners in a banking-house.”

in which, it is to be recollected, tally payments are common in the settlement of accounts.\*

The greatest banker in Munster is the treasurer for the county of Cork, who resides at Mallow. In the city of Cork there were five bankers in November 1808, one of whom, the house of Sir James Cotter and Co., has since failed for £420,000. There was also a discount-office similar to that in Belfast.

At Limerick there are three bankers. At Clonmell there were two. There is one at Fermoy, one at Tipperary, and one at Ennis. At Waterford there were three, but one of them has failed. At Kilkenny there is a small one.

A return of registered bankers was made to the Irish Committee, on the 11th of April, 1804, at which time there were in Dublin six; but one of these having failed, and two new ones having been since established, there are now seven.

In Waterford there were two, one of whom failed. Another, who commenced business since, has shared the same fate. A new firm then arose, and vanished like "the baseless fabric of a vision." The old one, Messrs. Newport and Co., is therefore, the only one remaining.

In Cork there were six, two of whom have since failed.

In Limerick two, one of which has failed; but, to supply its place, two new houses have been established.

In Wexford there were seven, five of whom have failed, and one has given up the business; two new firms have been formed, which, with the old one, that of the Messrs. Redmonds, still remaining, makes the number amount to three.

In Enniscorthy there are, at present, no bankers.

\* October 9, 1809. BALLINASLOE.—The country bankers are contending who shall exchange the greatest number of their notes for the bills of the counties of Meath, Kildare, and Dublin graziers.

BLOOMFIELD, county of Mayo.—Mr. Rutledge says, the circulation of this neighbourhood consists of Galway and Tuam notes, at and above three guineas. They are post-bills, which are never accepted. Any person having a quantity of them, must make a journey to get them accepted, and will, probably, be obliged to take a bill on Dublin, at forty-one or sixty-one days. He has observed the hearth-money collector receive provincial notes, upon which he exacted a "discount."

December 10, 1808. WATERFORD.—Newport Bank has notes in circulation to the amount of £150,000. I waited near an hour in a banker's shop this morning to exchange some private notes for others of the Bank of Ireland; but the clerks, who appeared to be busy, took no notice of my application, and I was at length obliged to leave the place without accomplishing my purpose.

April 18, 1808. WATERFORD.—Detained two hours by my servant not being able to get provincial notes changed for others of the Bank of Ireland. He was at one of the banks this morning, but the reply of the clerks always was, "we are very busy." If they have so much to do, there ought to be more of them, according to the extent of their business. Such an instance could not occur in a well regulated bank in England; yet this bank is in full credit.

December 6, 1808. MAREFIELD, near CLONMELL.—Mr. Bagwel believes the notes circulated by the Clonmell bankers to amount to about £200,000.

At New Ross there were four banks, three of whom failed, the house of Mr. Roe only remaining.

At Dungannon there was one; but there are none at present.

At Kilkenny there were three, two of whom failed; the other still remains.

Clonmell had no more than two, which were registered. The house of Mr. Rials has been a long time established, and still remains.

Athy has at present none.	Laughlan Bridge	1	none at present
Fermoy had 1, which remains	Malahide	-	1 none
Mallow 1, ditto	Carlow	-	1 none
Birr 1, ditto	Wicklow	-	1 none
Rathdrum 1, none at present	Charleville	-	1 none
Collon 1, none	Thomastown	-	1 failed
Galway 1, three new ones since.	Londonderry	1	remains

Hence it appears, that the whole number of registered bankers in 1804 was fifty, of whom nineteen now remain; the rest having disappeared, and I believe, for the most part have failed. Since that time, two new houses have been established in Dublin, those of Lord French and Co. and of Messrs. Alexander.

The number of bankers, therefore, remaining, are thirty-three instead of fifty, unless subsequent failures have taken place. None of these were shop-keepers or issued notes; some account of them will be given hereafter, when I have to treat of silver notes.

In the Report of the House of Commons\* it is stated, that in the year ending the 25th of March 1800, the number of bankers issuing notes was

1st of January, 1801	-	-	-	-	11
1802	-	-	-	-	23
1803	-	-	-	-	30
1804	-	-	-	-	40

and in the preceding page they are said, in the last-mentioned year, to have been fifty.

In 1810, I enumerated, as before stated, thirty-three bankers, two of whom, Messrs. Latouche and Sir Thomas Newcomen, do not issue notes; these, therefore, being deducted, the number remaining will be thirty-one.

Some cause ought to be assigned for the failure of so many of these banks, as it appears that such a misfortune could not have taken place, but from mis-management. A banker who understands his business would, on an issue of £100,000, reserve £33,000 to meet the payment of his notes,† and his income would, there-

\* Page 10.

† Sir James Steuart says, "nothing but experience can enable them to determine the proportion between

fore, be equal to the interest made by the £67,000 left in his hands, which ought to be invested in undoubted securities, at the Irish interest of six per cent., having only a short time to run, "if the solidity of a bank which lends upon private security does not so much depend upon the extent of their original capital, as upon the good regulations they observe in granting credit.\*" This sum would yield him £4,000 per annum. The expense of stamps, clerks, house-rent, &c. may be considered as liquidated by notes which are never presented for payment. These failures, therefore, we must conclude have arisen either from improper transactions, negligence, or ignorance.

It has been stated to me by intelligent bankers here, that any house which pays for issuing its notes, must of necessity fail; because the trade and transfers of a limited district of country, can require but a certain amount of circulating medium.† Whatever is issued beyond that sum, returns as fast as it is sent out.‡ The continued commission, therefore, which is paid for getting notes put into circulation, must bring ruin

the coin to be kept in their coffers, and the paper in circulation." In the present state of the monetary system of Ireland, the word "coin" must be changed for National Bank notes. Vol. iii. book iv. ch. iv. p. 201, of his works.

\* Ibid. vol. iii. ch. iv. p. 205.

† Mr. Malthus seems to be perfectly aware of this principle, when he says, "the paper issues of a country bank are, as I conceive, measured by the quantity of its notes which will remain in circulation, and this quantity is again measured, supposing a confidence to be established, by the sum of what is wanted to carry on all the money transactions of the neighbourhood. *Malthus on Population*, edit. 1803. p. 403.

‡ When I make this remark, I beg leave not to be classed among those who assert, that bankers never issue their notes, but for value first paid to them. This is one of those erroneous positions, which, though true in detail, are false as a general fact. But it will be best elucidated by giving an example of a mercantile transaction. A merchant at Liverpool has a cargo worth £10,000. consigned to him from abroad. He sells the invoice, the bill of lading, and the policy of insurance for £10,500. to another merchant, and receives his acceptance for the amount, which he gets discounted by a banker, or the Bank of England, who gives him promissory notes for the amount. On the one hand, they do not issue these notes without value received in the merchant's acceptance, which represents the cargo not yet arrived. The second merchant sells it before arrival for £11,000. to a third person, and procures another acceptance, which is, in the like manner, converted into bank notes. Thus an issue is sent abroad for £22,000. of bank notes, raised upon only £10,000. of merchandise not yet in England; but this third merchant sells to a fourth, and the fourth to a fifth, as has actually been the case, for I am here relating an account of transactions which fell within my own knowledge; so that on this occasion, £100,000. of acceptances, raised upon a cargo of merchandise which foundered, were discounted in this manner. Hence, though a banker does not issue his notes without value received, an immense issue may be sent afloat without any real representation of property. I am inclined to conclude, that part of the discounts at the Bank take place under similar circumstances, and to ignorance of this fact I impute some of those erroneous doctrines in regard to circulation which I have so frequently heard promulgated. Mr. Henry Thornton has adverted to this circumstance, yet Mr. Manning, the deputy-governor of the Bank, in the spring of 1811, exultingly asked, "if they (the Bank proprietors) gave away their notes to every person who asked for them;" and he argued as if he imagined that no note was issued but what was the representative of so much real property.

on the concern, and this will account for the nineteen old firms, seventeen of which only issued notes, having stood their ground, while the rest were forced into bankruptcy. The notes of the former were kept afloat by their credit, while the latter, who did not possess the same advantages, were under the necessity of attempting the same thing in fact, by the payment of money. Their anxious desire to issue their notes, made them unguarded in their transactions, and induced an acceptance of bad securities, which were not, perhaps, convertible for a considerable time. There is a law which prohibits bankers from circulating notes bearing interest; this was a job procured by a private banker, through the medium of the Irish parliament, to save himself from embarrassment. Some of the banks, however, pay interest on deposits.

From the foregoing it would appear, that the present system of private banking in Ireland is founded on very bad principles. One of its greatest errors is, that the notes are not payable at the house of a banker in Dublin; another is, that private bankers are permitted to issue post bills.\* The practice of their forcing paper into circulation, by attending at fairs like a company of hucksters, is an evil which will in time cure itself. If any legislative provision, however, is attempted, the issue should be confined to the district to which the establishment more immediately belongs.

3d.—The circulation of those promissory notes, called "silver notes," which are general in the counties of Kerry, Limerick, Clare, and Cork, and pass there in direct violation of the law which prohibits the issue of notes for small sums; but as great art is employed to send them abroad, the issuers of them are enabled to evade the penalties. They are drawn as if they were the weigh-bills of corn dealers, with the letters I. O. U. or bearer, with a date antecedent to the act. The amount of this species of paper, is, however, inconsiderable; yet, I must remark, that I found it in full circulation at Kilrush, a town belonging to Mr. Vandeleur, who resides there, and is a commissioner of the revenue. Prior to the act for preventing the issue of these notes, an account was taken by the collectors of the revenue of the several districts, and sent to the Irish Exchange Committee, which sat in the year 1804, and it appears by their report, that there were no bankers in the following districts:

\* May 10th, 1808.—The following circumstance was related to me by a gentleman, on whose veracity I can depend: Being agent for a nobleman in the south of Ireland, he received one-half year when collecting the rents £900. in notes and post bills of a provincial bank in high credit; on the next Saturday he applied at the bank to exchange this paper for Bank of Ireland notes, and was requested by one of the partners to call the next morning, (that is on Sunday); he did so, but the partners had all gone out. Having remained in town with great inconvenience till next day, he was told that the post bills were not accepted, and of course could not be paid till the expiration of ten days. He waited that period, and when he called at the shop was presented with a bill on Dublin at thirty-one days sight for the whole, which was the only payment he could procure.

Armagh,	Drogheda,	Letterkenny,
Athlone,	Dundalk,	Lisburne,
Belfast,	Ennis,	Mullingar,
Clones,	Foxford, and Newport,	Newry,
Coleraine,	Killybegs,	Sligo,
Donaghadee,	Larne,	Strabane.

There were, however, 295 issuers of paper currency in other parts, forming a motley body of merchants, shop-keepers, stationers, grocers, bakers, cornfactors, millers, chandlers, cabinet-makers, shoe-makers, linen-drapers, wool-combers, apothecaries, retail spirit dealers, maltsters, brewers, with many others, who issued notes from six shillings to so low a value as  $3\frac{1}{4}d.$ ; at that time coin was circulating in the districts above mentioned.

4th.—Bills of exchange greatly facilitate transfers, and supply the place of circulating medium, those drawn on Dublin especially.

5th.—Tally payments. In many parts of Ireland, a considerable transfer of property, as well as payment of labour, takes place by this method between landlord and tenant; the whole of the latter being set against rent and money due to the landlord; this I detailed at length in the chapter on Rural Economy.

6th.—It is a general opinion, that guineas are hoarded in various parts of the country, and some facts have come to my knowledge which confirm this idea.\*

\* August 1st, 1808. ROCHFORD.—I met with a farmer who occupies forty acres of land at fifty-two shillings: he acknowledged that he hoards up guineas, which he buries in the earth, or hides in a hole in the wall. When a guinea is once concealed in this manner, nothing will induce the owner to touch it. If farmers be straitened for the payment of rent, their only expenditure, they will borrow at the exorbitant interest of one shilling a month for every pound; they will even sell their cows rather than touch the sacred deposit.

Nov. 26th, 1808.—Mr. Oliver thinks that guineas are hoarded; some catholics have a scruple in regard to receiving interest. Mr. Newenham, in his *Statistical Inquiry*, p. 166, gives the following note, which corroborates the circumstances I have here mentioned. "A great variety of anecdotes illustrative of this fact might be related, the following one will suffice: A representative of one of the southern counties of Ireland, a gentleman on whose scrupulous veracity I have long been in the habit of relying, whose character, indeed, exhibits an extraordinary assemblage of all the more amiable and exalted moral qualities, informed me, that shortly after he left his country residence last spring, in order to attend parliament, he was waited upon by one of his tenants; a farmer who holds from him nearly 200 acres, but whose mode of living with respect to diet, like that of most persons of that description, at least in the provinces of Munster and Connaught, differs, notwithstanding, but very little from the mode of living which prevails among the Irish labourers. The object of the farmer's visit was, as he said, to accommodate his landlord with a few guineas, as he heard they were as scarce in England as in Ireland; the latter thanked him, but declined accepting his offer, having provided sufficient for his occasion. The farmer was greatly distressed by the refusal, and entreated his landlord to take the gold, as he feared to keep it any longer in the house. This occasioned an inquiry as to the amount

It would be difficult to ascertain with any correctness, the quantity of gold at present circulating in Ireland, or that which is hoarded in various parts of the country: that great quantities have been sent thither of late years, is proved by the following extract from the evidence procured by a committee of the House of Commons, and inserted in one of their Reports ordered to be printed on the 4th of May, 1804.\*

amount of the sum, and the landlord was not a little surprised at the farmer's producing a bag containing 500 guineas."

Decem. 9th, 1808. CURRAGHMORE.—Lord Waterford is of opinion, that the farmers in his neighbourhood hoarded money.

Decem. 12th, 1808. FAITHLEG.—Mr. Bolton thinks the farmers hoard guineas.

Jan. 23d, 1808. CASTLEBORO, WEXFORD.—Mr. Carew, says, that in Kilkenny much money is hoarded. A custom prevails among the farmers of paying a daughter's fortune in guineas; there is seldom an instance to the contrary, though it amounts only to twenty. This may be assigned as one reason for hoarding. Mr. Tighe observed the same circumstance in Kilkenny. Survey, p. 558. "Small farmers are fond of hoarding both gold and silver. It is not uncommon on the marriage of their daughters or sisters, to give a certain sum in a bag, which is again transferred to another in the same way upon a similar occasion, and being scarcely ever opened except in case of necessity, may continue thus withdrawn from circulation a great length of time."

August 1st, 1808.—Saw a girl tried at the assizes for robbing her father of 800 guineas, which he had hoarded for years, and concealed in a hole in the wall.

Sept. 23d, 1809. TULSK. ROSCOMMON.—Mr. Kelly's farming man married lately, and had with his wife a fortune of fifty guineas and two feather beds.

October 23d, 1809. DROMOLAND. CLARE.—Rode to the house of Mr. Singleton, the daughter of whose herd had been just married, and received as her portion fifty guineas.

July 16th, 1809. NEW ROSS.—The farmers hoard guineas; Mr. Roe, a banker in this town, sells 4000 per month; his price at present is 1s. 1d. on each guinea. Mr. Morley Saunders having let an estate in the Queen's county, for a fine of one thousand guineas and an annual rent, was paid the fine in tarnished gold, but the rent has been invariably paid him in paper.

In October last, a smuggling vessel at Miltown Malbay, in the county of Clare, had her cargo, amounting in value to some hundred pounds, paid for in guineas in the course of twenty-four hours. I have been assured by several persons, that they always lay by every guinea they receive, looking upon them as a rarity; and I am certain, that many on that account, affix to coin an ideal value greater than what really belongs to it. One man told me that he had borrowed bank notes at 12 per cent. interest, to pay his rent, though he had gold by him which he would not on any account touch.

July 5th, 1808. BROOKHILL.—The weavers, who all attend the races, invariably pay and receive bets in guineas, considering it as unlucky on those occasions to use any other kind of money. Mr. Watson, says, that a fellow with scarcely a rag to his back, and whose family is known to be starving, will frequently produce twenty guineas in gold at the races, though during the rest of the year, no trace can be discovered of his possessing one.

\* Page 9.—This evidence was obtained from the books of Mr. Jackson, a proprietor of the Holyhead coach, and contains an account of the guineas which paid insurance from robbers, and neglect of the proprietors. Those uninsured, therefore, are not included.

	Guineas sent to Ireland.	Received from Ireland.
1795 . . . . .	633,782 . . . . .	53,200.
1796 . . . . .	579,000 . . . . .	29,430.
1797 . . . . .	733,359 . . . . .	5,600.
1798 . . . . .	684,280 . . . . .	. . . . .
1799 . . . . .	171,228 . . . . .	. . . . .
1800 . . . . .	. . . . .	66,000.
1801 . . . . .	. . . . .	235,000.
	2801,649	389,230

According to the evidence of Mr. Franks, on the 28th of April, 1804,\* (the greatest bullion dealer in Dublin), the quantity of gold in Ireland has been much diminished since the year 1795. This gentleman stated it as his belief, that between the first of January in that year, and the time he was examined, 3,000,000 of guineas had been sent out of Ireland; for the particulars I must refer to his evidence.

Mr. Franks was of opinion that 2,000,000 of guineas, including what are locked up in the Bank of Ireland, and other banks, and what are in circulation in the north, together with what may be hoarded there, is a reasonable estimate of the quantity now remaining in that country.

As a farther corroboration of this opinion, Mr. Franks stated, that 1,000,000 had passed through his own hands, for the purpose of being sent to England.

It is to be recollected, that in 1804, guineas were in very general circulation throughout the north of Ireland; but between that period and 1808, when three Belfast banks were established, they gradually diminished. It is reasonable, therefore, to suppose, that guineas were collected, in exchange for the paper issued by these banks, although at first in this they experienced great opposition; yet I am inclined to think, that they afterwards effected their purpose, since I was informed, in the autumn of 1809, the Bank of Ireland was in the receipt of large quantities of gold from Belfast, and unless the circulation of coin had been much more general than it seemed to be, the difference of currency must have injured the country, as is pretty well proved by the account I have given of the conduct of agents. These people were the great opponents of the banks. The linen merchants had previously held meetings to support them. On the whole, I do not believe that there is much gold specie now in circulation in Ireland. A considerable sum, no doubt, is hoarded throughout the country; but money secreted in holes cannot be considered as forming any part of the circulating medium. I was in Ireland during the greater part of the years 1808 and 1809, and excepting as counters at the card table, never saw a guinea.†

\* House of Commons' Papers, p. 110.

† Dec. 26, 1809. WORKINGTON, CUMBERLAND.—Mr. Curwen says, that formerly the masters of the coal vessels trading to Ireland, used to pay them entirely in guineas, now they never see one. He has known £90,000. received in coin, in this and the two adjoining ports in the course of a year.

By the emigration of late years to America, much coin has been carried there from Ireland. Six guineas per head is about the average sum paid for a passage, and coin being the currency most likely to pass in a foreign state, every kind of property has been converted into gold and silver by those, who were about to leave the country. In that part of Ireland where guineas still circulate, two prices are set upon every article exposed to sale,\* and it is common for purchasers to agree for the article at the coin price, and to pay in paper; in which case, they pay in addition what is called "the discount," which, however, is another name for the premium on guineas.

The quantity of gold, in the north of Ireland, has, I believe, been much over-rated. I have known the agents of absentee proprietors supply a shopkeeper with a few

\* July 5, 1809. BELFAST.—Purchased some saddles, and as I had ordered the saddler to pay a trifling sum of custom-house fees for a few things which I had sent by sea, I offered him bank of Ireland notes in payment of the whole. "There is not enough," replied he. Not enough! I have given you the amount of your bill. "But the discount on the notes, Sir." How much? "Eight pence a guinea."

April 20, 1804.—House of Commons' Papers, p. 120. Mr. Thomas Thorpe Franks says, "when gold was the most plentiful, the greatest quantity that I have purchased in the north was £30,000. in guineas, and the smallest, when gold was scarce, as it is now, 5,000. I consider my house to do as much business as all the houses in Dublin." The premium Mr. Franks gave for guineas may be seen in the Appendix to the report.

September 1808. LONDONDERRY.—Lord Leitrim's agents at Kilmagrannan, when they receive his rent, pay a discount of five-pence in the pound.

July 8, 1808. LISBURN.—A Spanish dollar passes here for 4s. 6d.; in Dublin for 4s. 10d.

The price of a guinea on the 8th of July, 1808, in Lisburn, was 8d.; in 1803, 2s. 8½d. Innkeepers would not give change out of a bank note without this premium.

September 21st. MONEYMORE.—Monthly fair to-day, for articles of every kind, but chiefly for linens. A money price and a paper price, invariably set upon every thing, but especially on linens, because they amount to a sum which more clearly exhibits the difference.

December 10, 1808. CURRAGHMORE.—Lord Waterford says, the agents sell guineas for bank notes, and bank notes, for bills, at 31 and 61 days.

Page 88, of the Irish Exchange Committee, Mr. Roach stated as follows: "What is the premium given for guineas?" "It is now, I believe, 7 or 8 per cent. I recollect the premium to be as high as 2s. in the guinea, which is 10 per cent., and even as high as 2s. 6d. for a guinea. I have known sums of two and three thousand guineas bought at that rate; I have bought and sold guineas to a large amount."

Mr. John C. Beresford, in his evidence before the Irish Committee of the House of Commons, p. 188, said, "they have two prices for their linen, a paper price and a gold price."

July 5, 1808. MOYALLAN.—The linen-drappers constantly buy guineas to purchase their linens with, in the market; but since 1803, their price has fallen from 2s. 8½d. to 5d. or 6d.

July 8, 1808. LISBURN.—I was asked 25 guineas for a horse, which I offered to pay for in Bank of Ireland notes, but the seller refused them, and said, "that was the price in guineas." He asked £30. in bank notes, but the innkeeper said he was imposing, as he ought only to charge "the discount," which on that day was 8d. a guinea.

June 30, 1808. MOYALLAN.—The premium here for guineas was, first 2s. 2d., then 1s. 7½d.; at present it is settled at from 5d. to 6d. When notes are received in payment of rent, 6d. in the pound extra is paid, under the general denomination of discount.

guineas for sale, at a premium to the tenants on the day that their rents were due, which, when the rents were paid, were again sent to the shopkeeper to be re-sold many times, even on the same day. This unprincipled practice, for so it must be called, being a most iniquitous deception, imposed on the ignorance and simplicity of the people, is confined to the north; where, it is presumed, that guineas circulate, and where the agents stigmatize their employers, by pretending that the latter insist on having their rents paid in gold. This shameful manœuvre is extremely oppressive to the tenants, and brings an odium on the proprietors, which, it is to be hoped, they do not in all cases deserve.\*

7th, Dollars are imported by private persons chiefly from Liverpool, and circulate without a stamp; their value is regulated by weight at the market price of silver.

8th, Bank tokens are issued by the treasury to the Bank of Ireland, who distribute them to the public. They are of silver, and pass for five-pence, ten-pence, and thirty-pence. A dollar weighs six ten-penny pieces, and one five-penny piece; and these tokens, being made from the silver of the dollar, are of the same alloy. The act which prohibits individuals from coining them, directs that they shall be received at the exchequer, and thus secures their value to the public. They bear the impression, "Bank Tokens," because the bank had previously circulated dollars so stamped, and it was, therefore, deemed a less innovation. They were issued for the above sums, to answer as change for the pound, twenty-four amounting nominally to that sum, although of really less value, that their circulation might be confined to Ireland. They are a species of silver exchequer bills, for small sums payable without interest, their amount is stated at £955,000. sterling. The King's proclamation has not made them current like mint coin.

9th, The copper coin consists of pence, halfpence, and farthings. Since 1804, there has been a new coinage of six hundred tons. Thirteen of these pence represent a British shilling.

10th, English mint silver is seldom seen, and current only in Cork and the neighbourhood; owing, as appears to me, to the frequent intercourse which that city has with English shipping.

11th, In the King's County, Lord Charleville has issued a copper piece, about the size and weight of a penny piece, promising the payment of thirteen-pence every Tuesday in Tullamore, which is the current medium in all transactions in that neighbourhood.

In the month of March 1804, exchange having risen to the enormous rate of

\* This fact I stated to the Bullion Committee of the House of Commons, who printed it in the Appendix to their Report. It was subsequently stated in the House of Peers, by the Earl of Lauderdale.

£17. 12s. per cent.,\* the attention of parliament was naturally attracted to so extraordinary a circumstance; and a committee was appointed to inquire into the state of the circulating paper of Ireland, its specie, and its current coin; and the exchange between that part of the united empire and Great Britain. The committee, greatly to its credit, procured on this occasion a most valuable and important body of evidence, for the details of which I must refer the reader to the papers printed by order of the House of Commons. It may be necessary, however, to observe, that it establishes the fact, that the issues of the Bank of Ireland, on the 1st of January 1804, were £2,986,999. It also demonstrates, that there were no private bankers in the north of Ireland, except Sir Andrew Ferguson at Londonderry; not a single banker was registered in the whole province of Ulster,† and till within a few months of their sitting, every transfer, even in that part of Ireland, was effected by coin.‡ It shews also, that there were fifty private bankers§ in Ireland, forty-eight of whom issued notes; and two hundred and ninety-five shopkeepers, spirit dealers, apothecaries, or traders of different descriptions, inundating the south and south-west of the country, with an issue of paper called *silver currency*, from three-pence halfpenny to six-pence in amount.|| That the city of Dublin was filled with a depreciated silver currency; and that when it was no longer possible to circulate it, a meeting was held of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, to take the subject into consideration.¶ A deputation of these persons waited on the then Secretary, Sir Evan Nepean, who handed them the following note, for public communication:

“That there is no intention; at present, of ordering the discontinuance of the receipt of the best of the silver now in circulation, at the public offices as usual.” On receiving this intimation, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen entered into a resolution, that “they would recommend it to their fellow citizens, to receive in payment the best of the silver coin then in circulation, as usual.”\*\* This occurred on the

\* See House of Commons' Papers, p. 30. Appendix A.

† Ibid. p. 41. App. A.

‡ P. 108. Mr. Beresford's evidence was to this effect. P. 199, Mr. Franks says, “guineas are paid for produce by the northerns, to the north-west and Mayo, and thus circuitously find their way round to Dublin, where they are sold for the north again.”

Mr. Henry Parnell, in the 3d edit. of his *Observations, &c.*, Debrett, 1804, in a note, p. 48, says, “a general meeting of the linen merchants was held last November at Dungannon, for the purpose of inducing the landlords of the north to take bank paper in payment of their rents, in order that they might be relieved from the expense of purchasing guineas to pay their weavers.”

§ P. 48, Appendix K 66 are registered, but some firms were a double registry, arising from a change of partners. P. 35, Appendix F. it will be found that 48 of these paid to the stamps.

|| House of Commons' Papers, p. 51, Appendix N., gives a list of these bankers.

¶ P. 19, is an account of the meeting of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of Dublin, on this subject.

\*\* House of Commons' Papers, p. 97 and 80.

28th of March, 1804, when the intrinsic value of each 21s. was not worth more than 5s.\*

It appears, likewise, that notwithstanding the intention of government, and the resolution and recommendation of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, the carriers to the post office refused this money, alleging that the Treasury at the Castle refused it. The date of this circumstance is not stated. Mr. Franks said, "it had occurred since he left Dublin, which was on the 23d of March;"† the date of Sir Evan Nepean's note is not ascertained. Such was the fact: and all minor transfer of property among retail dealers was suspended in consequence, and all the evils, which are usual attendants on such a wretched state of things, took place from the moment that the letter-carriers refused the money.

It farther appears, that the copper coinage issued by Mr. Camac, the owner of the Wicklow copper mines, by no means represented its real value.‡

It was then the opinion of the best informed men,§ among whom were Mr. Colville, Mr. Franks, &c. that the amount of specie in Ireland, previous to the restriction, was about £5,000,000.; and according to the evidence of the latter, there was good reason for believing that it was reduced to £2,000,000.|| That guineas bore a premium of ten per cent.¶ That the rate of exchange was £17. 12s., being £9. 5s. 4d. against Ireland.\*\* That there was a rate of exchange between Belfast and Dublin, which, in fact, was the price between guineas and bank notes.†† These extraordinary circumstances were ascribed to the following causes: a balance of payment

\* P. 97, by Mr. Franks' evidence.

|| P. 130.

† P. 77, consult Mr. Franks' evidence of these facts.

¶ P. 44, Appendix L.

‡ P. 81, stated by Mr. Franks.

\*\* P. 30.

§ P. 97.

†† Principle of Currency and Exchange, by H. Parnell, Esq. London, 1805.

Exchange between Belfast and London, and Belfast on Dublin.

1803. June 1st	Belfast on London	- - -	8½
July 1st	— on Dublin	- - -	5½
July 1st	— on London	- - -	8½
Aug. 1st	— on Dublin	- - -	6
Aug. 1st	— on London	- - -	8½
Sept. 1st	— on Dublin	- - -	7
Sept. 1st	— on London	- - -	7
Oct. 1st	— on Dublin	- - -	11½
Oct. 1st	— on London	- - -	7½
Nov. 1st	— on Dublin	- - -	8½
Nov. 1st	— on London	- - -	5½
Dec. 1st	— on Dublin	- - -	11¼
Dec. 1st	— on London	- - -	5½
	— on Dublin	- - -	11½

against Ireland ; the depreciated state of the silver coin ; an excess of paper currency ; the issues of the national bank extended to too great an extent by the bank directors ; and the restriction from paying in specie, imposed by parliament on the bank. It is not improbable, that each of these circumstances may have had some effect in producing the evil, and that when combined, they gave rise to the uncommon situation in which the country was then placed.

It is only justice to those gentlemen who composed the Committee that examined into this subject, to state, that they instituted an elaborate inquiry, which included the amount of loans, exports, imports, and various information connected with the matters they were appointed to investigate ; yet it is extraordinary that three of the most material points escaped their observation.

1st, The real price of bullion throughout the world, as an article of commerce ; for they seem to have considered the mint price as the only measure of its value, although it must always bear a value relative to the demand throughout the habitable globe.

2d, Little inquiry was made to ascertain the extent of hoarded gold, which, in whatever quantity, is as equally withdrawn from circulation, as if it were sent out of the country.\*

3d, They did not sufficiently attend to the situation of the province of Ulster, where gold was more valuable by one-half per cent. than in Dublin.† This district is inhabited by people who blend the occupations of agriculture, manufacture, and commerce, in a manner that necessarily creates a constant and daily transfer of property, which had been heretofore represented by coin ; and its situation was rendered still more peculiar, by the desire of the people to impede the government, which they thought they could accomplish, by refusing to accept paper in payment.‡

Another circumstance which deserved consideration, is, that the greater part of the province is the property of absentees ;§ many of whose agents soon discovered, that their interest would be promoted were cash continued as the circulating medium ; as they would derive a considerable profit from its sale. Had the proprietors of the estates been there, they must have become acquainted with this circumstance, which would, perhaps, have altered the case. It was in Ulster that the great demand for guineas prevailed ; there is no evidence to shew that they were purchased for any other part of

\* P. 129 of the Appendix of the Irish Exchange Committee.

† According to Mr. Franks, p. 110 of the Appendix to the Report of the Irish Exchange Committee.

‡ Mr. Parnell's Principles of Currency, p. 23.

§ Three-fourths of Londonderry county belongs to the London Companies. An income of £60,000. in Antrim to the Marquis of Hertford, &c.

Ireland; and nothing farther is stated, than that they were sent to Dublin to be sold,\* from every place but Ulster; which is a proof that they, in part, bore an artificial premium for a particular purpose. Mr. Henry Thornton,† in his very able publication, has shewn that a county, situated like the province of Ulster, will naturally resort to a paper currency; but the real state of things there was at variance with this opinion.

It is, indeed, extraordinary, considering its commercial improvement, that the banking system should not have been sooner introduced into this part of Ireland; but it may be accounted for by the act which prevented the wealthy traders from commencing bankers, without giving up other lucrative pursuits; and it is not improbable, that the want of public confidence in others may have contributed to produce this effect.

I have reason to believe that payments by tally are much more general in Ireland than is to be concluded from the evidence which I procured; and I conjecture that this had been the case in a still greater degree at the time the committee were making their inquiries. In the grazing counties it forms the entire mode of transfer among the common people; it prevails throughout Connaught, and a great part of Munster; and I consider it as the cause of the silver note having currency in the South and West, while nothing but specie passed in Ulster.

In a country where the people are little accustomed to the use of any symbol in their transfers, the inhabitants of towns can issue currency of any kind; at first, perhaps, it is given to the passing stranger, and then gradually introduced among themselves, until it become general in the dealings of the country. But in Ulster, where every owner of a cabin is a merchant on his own risk, who purchases flax to sell in the manufactured state, the usual custom of transfers makes him acquainted with the solidity of the circulating medium, which he accepts; and, with such a man, the change from specie to paper must be progressive and slow. This has been the case throughout the linen-manufacturing districts of Ireland; and the people there, having now adopted paper, they will guard against its being issued by any persons but those of undoubted property. A shopkeeper, apothecary, or retail spirit-dealer, could not there circulate his 3<sup>d</sup>. notes, as was done among the ignorant labourers of the south, who were accustomed to settle with their employer once a year, or, at most, once in six months.

The committee finally reported to parliament, as their opinion, that "the great

\* See Appendix to the Irish Exchange Committee.

† Speaking of banks, he says, "They seem naturally to belong to commercial countries; but are more particularly likely to be multiplied in a country like ours, in which the mercantile transactions are extended, the population is great, and the expenditure of individuals considerable." *Thornton, on Paper Credit*, London, 1802.

and effectual remedy would be the repeal of the restriction act.\* Yet they abandoned all idea of recommending the adoption of that measure,† as they believed “its continuance to be connected with political considerations,” which they, no doubt, thought of sufficient importance to warrant their conduct on that occasion. However lamentable the situation of the country, which could render necessary such a proceeding as that of restricting the bank payments in specie, the character of the times was not such as to warrant the trial of experiments in an establishment resting on so delicate a foundation, merely to gratify individuals who seemed to be guided too much by speculative ideas. I am, therefore, convinced, that removing the restriction at a time when bullion bore a value in England of £4. 5s. per ounce, could have produced no other effect than that of drawing from the bank the whole specie in its possession.‡ The public interest would thus have been sacrificed to the private advantage of those, who would have sold whatever gold they could get into their hands for the sake of the premium. Had the restriction been taken off, the bank, as yet in its infancy, and exerting itself for the good of the country and of its inhabitants, must have been completely ruined. I am sanguine in the belief, that a time may arrive, when the national banks of both countries may, without any danger, again pay in gold; but this can never be the case while the price of bullion holds forth a temptation to foreigners, and even to subjects, to sell our specie,§ which, in circulation, is confined to the mint value.|| If our mint coined gold only into ounces, half-ounces, quarter-ounces, and sixteenths of an ounce,¶ the stamp would mark its alloy; and it would assume at the bank, and every where else, its intrinsic value. The banks, in that case, might pay in specie, without any risk; because they would not issue gold at £3. 17s. 10½d. per ounce, if its market price were £4. 4s. 8d., or £4. 10s. If it came from their lockers at the price of the market, where would be the inducement to the dealer to melt it down? Neither the merchant nor manufacturer would be anxious to carry about with them a weighty metal, when they could supply its place by its more com-

\* See Report of the Irish Exchange Committee, p. 14.

† Ibid. p. 15.

‡ See Lord King's Thoughts on the Restriction, &c. p. 88. May, 1803.

§ For the price of gold bullion on the Continent, I refer to the tables in Mr. Rutherford's Hints from Holland, p. 26 and 27.

|| Harris, on Money and Coins, edit. 1768, p. 86, says, “it is not the mint, but the mark, and the universal consent of mankind, that make money.”

¶ In the reign of William the Conqueror, the money received at the Exchequer was by weight, and not by tale. *Adam Smith*, vol. i. book 1. ch. 4. p. 38.

Sir J. Steuart, in his answer to Mr. Francis' Letter, says: “that if ever principles were invented after facts, I believe it has happened so in the business of coinage. Coin of old, consisted as to its value in weight and fineness.” Vol. v. of his Works, edit. 1805. p. 144.

modious representative, paper.\* Mr. Burrows, who was examined before the committee, recommended a consolidation of the banks of England and Ireland;† but the committee declined making any proposal on this subject.‡ They, however, suggested, that the bank of Ireland should be obliged to pay their notes in those of the Bank of England; and a motion was made to that effect, but negatived in the House of Lords.§ This is followed by another recommendation, which must, I conceive, be adopted before many years have elapsed, namely, the equalization of the monies of account and of circulation in both countries,|| and which would obviate all the difference arising from exchange (the risk and carriage excepted): as this part of their report fully coincides with my ideas, I shall give it in their own words.¶ “They would also strongly urge the doing away the name of exchange, and putting an end to its calculation, by equalizing the monies of account and monies of circulation in both countries, and fixing the future interchange by bills at a stated number of days, adequate to defray the expense of remitting at all times; so as fully to adopt the same practice which prevails between Edinburgh and London; and between Liverpool and the latter.”

In mentioning Liverpool, which is separated from Dublin only by the intervention of the Irish channel, it is worthy of remark, that Mr. Irving states, “the separation of Ireland from Great Britain by the sea, not to be an obstacle to fixing an invariable exchange between Dublin and London, because it seldom happens that the variation of posts exceeds many days;” and Mr. Mansfield’s evidence deserves to be quoted, where it is said, “that no inconvenience of any kind had resulted to Scotland from the system, except the temporary one of the bank having to provide funds in London.” The committee recommended, “that the Bank of Ireland, at any rate, should establish a sufficient fund in London\*\* for drawing on;” by which the report says, “they may gradually reduce the exchange, in a manner somewhat resembling that which was adopted by the Edinburgh bank.” But they connected it with a plan of “vesting government with a power to issue treasury bills to the bank, not to be used unless they should be found necessary to support the credit.”†† This is a scheme for throwing into circulation a government paper currency, which, I believe to be in every case ineffectual, injurious, and baneful to every country by which it has ever been issued; and I am happy that this part of their plan was not adopted.

\* The reader is requested to consult Harris, on Coins, edit. 1758, part ii. chap. 48. This author ably shews the impossibility of there being two standards, gold and silver. Farther information on the same subject may be found in Locke.

† Report of the Irish Exchange Committee, p. 15.

‡ Ibid. p. 15, 16, 17.

§ See note in Lord King’s Thoughts on the Restriction, p. 58.

|| Report of the Irish Exchange Committee, p. 17.

¶ Ibid. p. 18.

\*\* Ibid. p. 17.

†† Ibid. p. 19.

The report proceeds with a very strong recommendation of a restriction of the issues of the national bank;\* a measure which seems to me very unwise, and upon which I shall take the liberty of commenting. Previously to 1797, the Bank of Ireland was an establishment so recent, as not to have amalgamated itself, if I may use the expression, with the industry of the people or the prosperity of the country. Its issues were only £621,917.†; parliament, at that time, restricted the directors from paying their notes in gold. Before that period, the two old established banks of Messrs. Latocche, and Sir William Newcomen and Co. had circulated notes. From motives of private consideration, the partners in those firms paid all their out-standing notes, and converted their establishments into banks of deposit, instead of those of emission. It was expedient, therefore, that the vacuity occasioned by the payment of their notes, should be filled up. Mr. Franks, estimated that three out of the five millions of specie had been sent out of the country;‡ and this sum was also, by some way, to be replaced. The bank found it necessary, between 1797, and 1804, to issue a circulating medium of £2,300,000., which was thought to be proportioned to the wants of the country.§ To me it appears, that this measure was absolutely requisite; and as I proceed with the subsequent history of these events, its wisdom will be proved by the result. Were I asked, if the increase of the bank issues equalled the sum withdrawn from circulation by the two private banking houses, which I have before mentioned, or by the hoarding of gold, or the amount withdrawn from different causes; my reply would be, that the additional amount of notes sent forth by the Bank of Ireland, was not equal to this general diminution of circulating medium;|| and that, in consequence of the chasm which had been thus made not being completely filled up, an opportunity was presented for private persons to establish a bank for the issue of paper money. I am ready to concede, that there was an increased issue of paper; but an examination of the present amount

\* Report of the Irish Exchange Committee, p. 19.

† Parnell's Observations, third edit. Debrett, 1804, p. 58.

‡ Report of the Irish Exchange Committee, p. 129.

§ By deducting £621,917., the issues on the 1st of January 1797, from £2,986,999., the issues on the 1st of January 1804, the increased issue of £2,300,000., as I have stated, will be found.

|| Mr. Malthus appears to have entertained the same opinion of the issues then made by the Bank of England; and I believe, that the case was really the same in Ireland at the period of which I am speaking; "the three millions and a half added to its former average issues, were not, probably, much above what was sufficient to supply the quantity of specie that had been withdrawn from the circulation. If this supposition be true, and the small quantity of gold which made its appearance at that time, furnishes the strongest reason for believing, that as much as this must have been withdrawn, it would follow, that the part of the circulation originating in the Bank of England, though changed in its nature, had not been increased in its quantity, and with regard to the effect of the circulating medium on the price of all commodities, it cannot be doubted, that it would be precisely the same, whether it were made up principally of guineas, or of pound notes and shillings, which would pass current for guineas." *Malthus on Population*, edit. 1803, p. 402.

of the circulating medium, will afford the best proof, that these were not excessive: and the observation of that very able financier, Mr. Henry Thornton, was correct, when he said that the situation of the banks of England and Ireland was very dissimilar. The Bank of Ireland does not manage and regulate the circulation of the country.\*

But it was not with this report alone that the bank had to contend; public opinion had been some time manifestly against it, and this unfavourable prepossession was strengthened by the sentiments of the committee. The press teemed with pamphlets and essays, deprecating their conduct: at the head of these stands one from the classical pen of Lord King, which will long bear testimony to his lordship's enlarged and accurate knowledge of the nature and effects of currency. Differing, however, from him in the conclusion which he then drew, that there was an excessive issue of Bank of Ireland paper; I am, nevertheless, happy to render my humble tribute to so much talent and worth, and to subscribe to many principles advanced in that work, which I consider as applicable to general commerce.

Mr. Henry Parnell, member for the Queen's county, and son of a late Chancellor of the Exchequer for Ireland, followed Lord King with a publication on the same subject.

As the legislature did not adopt any of the suggestions of the committee, it remains for me to shew what has taken place. An act was brought in, to prevent the issue of all private bankers' notes under one pound: by these means, a stop was put to the quantity of that depreciated currency, called *silver notes*, with which a great part of Ireland was inundated.†

Had not the state of exchange been unprecedented, no committee would have been appointed; and it now appears, that this extraordinary state of the exchange, arose entirely from the premium given for guineas, a consequence, no doubt, of the bank restriction bill: for I agree with the writer in the Edinburgh Review, who says, "In the mean time we may be permitted to observe, that the excess of the market price over the mint price of gold in both countries, that is, the alleged depreciation of the coin, both where it is confounded with the paper money, and where it is entirely separated from it, serves to afford ground for doubting, whether the loss of

\* I request the reader to consult his Speech on the 13th Feb. 1804. *Cobbett's Parliamentary Register*, vol. i. p. 1090.

† Dublin, April 1st, 1809. When this kind of paper was in circulation, a corn-buyer at Taghmon had issued £6,000. in these notes; but finding a difficulty to pay some of them, he procured a stamp, similar to one used at the bank of Ireland, and whenever one was presented for payment, he pulled out his stamp, and marked "Forgery," in large letters upon it. There was no witness to the note being his signature; and if there had been, who would have sued him for 3½d. or 6d. at most? I am assured, that this practice was carried to such an excess, that, in some cases, these notes bore the mark, instead of the signature; of the issuer; and in others, that they were issued without any account being taken of them. It is calculated, that three-fourths were never paid. A similar circumstance, in currency, is not, I believe, on record.

value is, in every case, to be ascribed to the state of the paper ; since it is not easy to conceive, that the value of coin should be depressed in England, because it is at par with paper, and in Ireland, because it is of much higher value.\* This doubt of the reviewer has, I think, been realized, in the state of the money market in Ireland, where the premium for coin has fallen ; as paper was substituted for it in circulation, and has thus proved, that it was not the "state of the paper" which was then depreciated.

An issue of £200,000. dollars, by the bank, took place ; and, at the same time, an issue by the treasury, not in paper, but in silver, of £950,000., in a currency called tokens, together with a coinage of 600 tons of copper into pence and half-pence.

Four northern banks, one at Lurgan, and three at Belfast, in Ulster, have been established ; the circulating medium of that province is now no longer confined to specie. The premium upon guineas was reduced from 2s. 6d. each to 7d. ; the rate of exchange has returned to par, and the issues of the bank are rather extended than contracted.

Circumstances, therefore, are much altered for the better : yet I will not assert, that there is not room yet left for amelioration. The grand object to be kept in view, is the equalization of the currency of the two countries ; which, I trust, will be effected when the situation of the times will permit their respective banks to pay in specie : were this measure carried into execution, it would ensure a reduction of the rate of exchange to the mere expense and risk of the transit.

Taking every thing, therefore, into consideration, I am confident that the present state of the circulating medium in Ireland, refutes in a great measure those arguments employed to support the most dismal forebodings, in which Mr. Parnell took the lead ; when he said, "that the paper currency is depreciated ; that this depreciation is the sole cause of the unfavourable state of the exchange ; and that the degree of it is not less than ten per cent."† Had this been true in 1804, what must have been the depreciation now, in 1810 ? It is not to be denied, that there may be an excess of circulating medium, of whatever it may be composed ;‡ but the situation of Ireland, up to 1811, proves that this was not the case in 1804. The

\* No. XVII. p. 132.

† P. 26.

‡ Sir Francis Baring, in his *Observations on the Publication of Walter Boyd, Esq.* edit. 1801, p. 6, says : "That the knowledge of this fact has been the alphabet, or first principle, of every financier and merchant for above a century." The whole of the pamphlet is worth attention. The author pointed out in it the necessity of a certain quantity of circulating medium to a country ; and this is the very point which I wish to impress on the reader, in regard to Ireland. If there were no tally payments, would not the circulating medium be increased, and supply their place, without raising the prices ? It is singular, that the son of this celebrated merchant, Mr. Alexander Baring ; should, in the House of Commons, sneer at the principles which had been advanced on this subject by Bacon, Newton, Burleigh, and Locke, as unsuited to the times

in

bank has not withdrawn a pound, and exchange has returned to par: let these facts be kept in remembrance, and presented to those who foretold ruin from an issue of bank paper, which, as is now discovered, filled up the vacancy occasioned by the specie and private notes withdrawn from circulation. But Mr. Parnell's conclusions were, in all probability, deduced from a calculation, that the paper currency of Ireland was 20 millions in 1804.\* It is impossible to read the passage in this work without perceiving the error of such an opinion: so long as the notes of private bankers are payable, on demand, in bank of Ireland notes, so long these national notes form a restriction against their excessive issue; as those by whom they are issued, are as liable to be called upon for bank notes as for currency. Hence, there can be no reason for supposing that private bankers issued notes to eight times the extent of their capital,† because they were only payable in bank of Ireland notes; whilst, if the restriction had been on guineas, instead of bank of Ireland notes, their issues would have been confined to four times the amount of their capitals.‡ Neither am I aware in what way Mr. Parnell calculated the amount of the capitals of the private bankers of Ireland at that time; he stated the amount of their capitals at a sum nearly as large as their issues in 1811. It is with great regret I make these observations; and nothing but the public situation of this gentleman could have drawn them forth. The same reason induces me to point out a proposition which Mr. Parnell made to parliament, on the 18th of April, 1809: "And in order to secure the currency of bank of England paper in Dublin, with a view of obtaining an assimilation of paper currency, as well as the currency of coin, I shall propose, that this paper shall be made a legal tender in Ireland, equally with the bank of Ireland paper."§ This was reprobated by Mr. Foster: Mr. Parnell, in explanation, said, "he only meant as legal a tender in Ireland, as in England, not simply a legal tender."|| I have never heard of any paper forming a legal tender in England: the explanation appears weaker than the proposition.

To those who have read the works of Sir James Steuart,¶ Harris, Dr. Adam Smith,\*\* and Professor Millar,†† or the pamphlet of Lord King,‡‡ it is needless to point out the advantage which arises to a country, when part of its circulating medium consists of paper. But I by no means wish to recommend its exclusive substitution for

in which we live; as if such general principles were not suited to all ages and countries. His sentiments were uttered with an expression of contempt, which never could have been manifested by a man who had read and understood the works of these sages; and worthy, alone, of the financier, who could entertain such an opinion as that bank notes should be made a legal tender.

\* Parnell on the Currency of Ireland, p. 4.

+ Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

§ Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates, vol. xiv. p. 87.

|| Ibid. p. 91.

¶ Vol. iii. edit. 1805. book 4, ch. iii. p. 107.

\*\* Vol. i. p. 442.

†† Millar on the English Government, edit. 1803. vol. iv. p. 112.

‡‡ On the Bank Restrictions, p. 65.

metallic currency: public banks, well conducted, are highly useful, but they are so liable to abuse, that if not watched with a jealous eye, they may be mistaken for real wealth; and the public apprehending the rise of prices produced by the increase of paper, to be the consequence of an increase of national prosperity, may be fatally deceived by such an illusion. Besides, the government of a country, the circulating medium of which consists of paper, is more liable to subversion from internal convulsion or foreign attack. Of the theory of the former position, a practical demonstration may be seen in Ulster; where the exclusive use of coin has not only been an inconvenience, but a burden unnecessarily imposed upon the country; and of this the mercantile part of the community, seem to be perfectly aware.\* It may be of some importance, also, to remark, that in 1804, when the exchange was supposed to be from 10 to 12 per cent. against Ireland, in remittances from Dublin to London, the paper circulation was payable only in silver greatly depreciated, and even the mint value was not ensured to the public. At the same period, the rate of exchange fluctuated at par between Belfast and London, where depreciated silver was not in circulation; at present, the debased silver currency of Dublin has disappeared, and its place has been supplied by an issue of silver tokens, the nominal value of which at the mint price of silver is ensured to the public, and exchange between Dublin and London is at par. This seems to authorize the opinion, that Irish paper currency has, in fact, never been depreciated; and that many of those embarrassments connected with the circulating medium of both countries, may be traced to the singular policy, which, for the last hundred years, has been endeavouring to establish gold as the measure of value, and to degrade silver to the mere service of dividing the gold coin into fractional parts for small payments; while, throughout the world, and even in some of our British colonies,† silver is the measure of value, as well as the standard of exchanges, and gold only a commodity.‡ These principles will, perhaps, be more clearly understood from the annexed table, constructed by my friend Mr. Rutherford, which exhibits the variations that have existed between silver and gold in Great Britain.

Dr. Adam Smith thought, that "the great quantities of silver carried annually from Europe to India, have in some of the English settlements gradually reduced the value of that metal in proportion to gold."§ It is generally stated, that the export

\* So stated by Mr. Parnell, p. 48.

† "Gold coins pass only as bullion by weight." *Weld's Travels in Lower Canada*, vol. ii. p. 3.

‡ Adam Smith, vol. i. p. 331, upon the authority of Meggins, states the proportion of the precious metals imported into Europe, as one ounce of gold to twenty-two ounces of silver. Humboldt, vol. iii. book iv. chap. ii. page 435, says, "Meggins found the proportion between gold and silver from 1748 to 1753, as 1 to 22s. from 1753 to 1764, as 1 to 26 $\frac{2}{3}$ . Mr. Gerbouz, supposed it in 1803, as 1 to 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ ." But Humboldt himself asserts, "that from 1750 to 1800, the quantity of gold imported into Europe, was to the quantity of silver imported, in the proportion of 1 to 40."

§ Vol. i. book i. ch. ii. p. 330.

(now 1811) has ceased: being a subject connected more immediately with the monetary system of Great Britain than that of Ireland, I have not ascertained the fact; but if it be so, it may, in some measure, account for the difference in the value of gold and silver.

Since the reign of King William, silver has scarcely been coined in this country to an extent greater than just to gratify the whim of those who wished to have new coins for the purpose of bestowing them in presents. During the reign of that prince, the great silver coinage, as it is styled, took place; the tally of the money called in on that occasion, amounted to £6,732,111.\* Postlethwayte says, that the loss by discounts on tallies, clipt and hammered money, exchange, and extraordinary charges of the mint during the years 1694, 1695, 1696, and 1697, amounted to £2,540,552. 9s. 6½d.† On the 24th of June, 1696, the loss on clipt money alone was £2,297,415.‡ The silver coinage by George II., was only £304,360. The whole amount of money, coined in the reign of George III., is as follows: from 1760, to 1809, £66,214,774. in gold, and £63,419. in silver: this shews that gold has been coined over and over again. The mint issues gold, as a pump throws water from a well into a channel that continually returns it. In 1798, all silver coinage was prohibited.

It will be seen, that the principal part of this chapter was written previous to 1811; and on revising it, I find no reason, from any events that have occurred since, to make an alteration; but it may be proper to observe, that since that time the value of bullion in Ireland has experienced a considerable change. In January 1811, guineas were at a premium of 8d.; in October, the premium was 4s.; in December, 7s. 7d. The silver, which in January 1810, was an encumbrance to the bank, has now, in October, considerably disappeared. A friend of mine, who resides in Ulster, borrowed, some years since, £6,000., when gold was the circulating medium; the money has been called in in this year, 1811, and he has been obliged to pay £1,200., the difference between paper and gold.

The observations which I have hitherto made refer to the state of the circulating medium of Ireland, which is now more intimately connected with that of the empire in general; but the facts I have adduced, and the arguments founded thereon, arose from English bank notes and guineas circulating in that country at par; which was the case at the time I left it, in January 1810, when an English bank note bore the same premium as a guinea; indeed, in 1804, it was more valuable.§ The monetary system of England is a wide field, which it is neither my business nor intention to enter upon, because any discussion on that subject, whatever may be the state of bank notes in England, would be foreign to my work; all that is necessary to state is, that in

\* Harleian M.S. No. 6838.

† History of the Revenue, 1759, p. 34.

‡ Harleian M.S. ut supra.

§ According to Mr. Frank's evidence, Appendix to Irish Exchange Report, p. 110.

Ireland, Irish bank notes, up to January 1811, were not depreciated. My proofs rest on this fact, that a depreciated paper currency must continue falling till it completely destroys itself. In Ireland the premium upon bullion fell, and from the moment of the issue of silver currency, it vanished; when I say vanished, I mean that it was reduced to *8d.*, and that it was difficult to be procured.

I have called the present circulating medium of Ireland "inadequate" to the wants of the country, both in this work, and in my evidence before the Bullion Committee of the House of Commons: what I wish to be understood by this expression is, that the payment by tally, from whatever cause it may originate, is generally used in Ireland, instead of an exchange of commodities by money tokens; and all the observations I have made on the state of society in that country, convince me, that the existence of this practice is attended with the most injurious consequences to the public prosperity. The notes of the Bank of Ireland are still unknown in various parts of the island: I am inclined to think, that were confidence in them more general, it would tend to abolish this pernicious custom. Mr. Malthus appears to be aware of the possibility of a country standing in need of an increase of circulating medium, when he says, "in the single article of the weekly payment of labourers' wages, including the parish allowances, it is evident, that a very great addition to the circulating medium of the neighbourhood would be wanted."\* This observation is applicable to Ireland; for a considerable addition to its circulating medium is required for the weekly payment of labour, and this addition might be made without enhancing the prices in a sensible degree.

Did I attempt to trace the general state of our circulating medium, and the measures which have been pursued to render our standard *agio* coin, I own I should consider the depreciated state of our silver currency, and the acts for preventing the exports of coin,† as much greater evils than the excessive issue of bank notes. I should also remark, that before any permanent good can be effected, there must be a new silver currency, which will be futile unless the old one is called in.‡ Connected with this subject is our foreign expenditure, our intercourse and relations with the different nations of Europe, the United States of America, and the British colonies in the West Indies, the Spanish possessions in South America, and the British empire in the East. This subject has engaged no small share of my attention; and I at one time intended to enter into it at some length, but I have since given up that intention.

There is, however, one circumstance in the present paper currency of Ireland, to

\* Malthus on Population, edit. 1803, p. 403.

† The reader will do well to consult Harris on Coins, particularly part ii. p. 3; also, Considerations on Money and Bullion, by an anonymous writer; published by the printer to the Royal Society in 1772.

‡ Colquhoun, in his Treatise on the Police, relates some pertinent facts connected with this subject, pp. 179, 186, 208.

Mr. Conduit, who held the same office in the mint, as Sir Isaac Newton, published a pamphlet on this subject in 1730; let the reader consult it, p. 36 to 46.

## 192. THE PRESENT STATE OF MONEY AND CIRCULATING MEDIUM.

which I shall advert, namely, the paucity of bankers who issue paper. The consequence is, that the amount of issues by the present bankers, is individually immense, much exceeding those of the most respectable establishments in England. This circumstance has arisen from an act of parliament, of the wisdom of which I entertain very great doubts. The act to which I allude, confines a banker to that business only; and like all legislative provisions, having a tendency to cramp and embarrass the operations of trade, it has been attended with evil consequences. Lord King,\* and Dr. Adam Smith,+ appear to be authorities sufficient to warrant this remark.

By the evidence taken before the bullion committee in the spring of 1810, the average issue of private banks in England, is about £30,000. each. In Ireland, a banker would not consider it worth his while to commence business upon such an issue.

I shall now consider the probable amount of the circulating medium of Ireland; but must first observe, that as hoarded specie cannot be said to be in active use, I shall not take it into the account.

Bank of Ireland notes were on the 1st of June 1810, £9,165,579. 11s. 1 d. ‡

The issues of private bankers in 1804, according to the evidence procured by the Irish Exchange Committee, were as follows:

Mr. Roach was of opinion, that the private notes then in circulation were £3,000,000.

Cork had in circulation . . . . .	£1,000,000.
Limerick . . . . .	200,000.
Waterford and } . . . . .	200,000.
Clonmell each }	
Dublin . . . . .	1,000,000.

The rest was circulating in different towns in Ireland; and he added, "I form my opinion on the information given to me from time to time, of the separate issues of different bankers of the several towns I have named, except Dublin, and from bankers and other individuals."

Mr. Colville supposed, that the issues of private paper were equal to the issues of the bank. §

\* "The multiplication of banks, as is observed by Dr. A. Smith, instead of diminishing, greatly increases the security of the public. The circulation of notes being divided into a greater number of parts, the failure of any one company becomes of less importance, and occasions less embarrassment. The competition of rival banks produces in all of them greater caution, and a more skilful and judicious management." *Thoughts on the Restriction*, p. 67.

† "By dividing the whole circulation into a greater number of parts, the failure of any one company, an accident which in the course of things, must sometimes happen, becomes of less consequence to the public." *Smith's Wealth of Nations*, vol. i. p. 498.

‡ As by an account rendered to Parliament, ordered to be printed 4th March, 1811.

§ *Ibid.* 97.

Mr. Beresford thought the issue of private bankers in Dublin to be £700,000.\*

He calculated that Waterford and the surrounding district, had in circulation £200,000.

Cork, three times as large as Waterford, he estimated at . . . . . £600,000.

Limerick equal to Waterford . . . . . 200,000.

Clonmell, Kilkenny, and other small places; Tuam and its neighbourhood 200,000.

To the north of Dublin, very little, except Dublin paper, circulates, and that chiefly of the Bank of Ireland. The people of the north require one-sixth part of the Bank of Ireland along with any private paper which they receive.

From this statement it may be concluded, that the issues were then about £3,000,000. I know, that the issues of private bankers in Ulster are, at present, about £400,000. But it is to be recollected, that in this province, the notes of the Bank of Ireland circulate freely; and in some counties, Derry in particular, the case is the same with the notes of the private bankers of Dublin.† I, therefore, am of opinion, that the circulating medium of Ulster amounts to £1,000,000., independently of the specie which still remains.

I have taken credit in the account of the Bank of Ireland notes of these issues. They again circulate to the north-west, and as far as Sligo; and to the west, till they interfere with the paper issued by the banks of Tuam, Galway, and Birr.

The western part of Leinster is principally confined to Dublin paper.

I have heard the amount of the issues of three Dublin bankers stated at a very large amount. In 1804, Mr. Beresford thought they were £700,000.; Mr. Roach mentioned £1,000,000.; according to my estimate, they are at present £1,000,000. The failure of the Kilkenny, New Ross, and Cotter's Cork bank, proved that the issue of the southern banks was much larger than the calculation of Mr. Beresford; although I am inclined to think, that his estimation for Waterford, making the amount £200,000., is near the truth. In that district he includes Kilkenny and Youghal. I should now state the paper circulation of these districts at £ 250,000.

Wexford . . . . . 100,000.

Clonmell, Fermoy, Mallow, and the city of Cork, cannot be less than 1,000,000.

Limerick and Ennis I do not extend beyond the estimation of Mr.

Beresford, in 1804 . . . . . 200,000.

Birr, I have heard stated, I know not how accurately, at . . . . . 120,000.

\* Page 105.

† MAY 20th, 1810. BELFAST.—Full one-half of the notes in circulation in Ulster are Dublin notes, and chiefly those of the Bank of Ireland.

AUG. 28th, 1809. ENNISKILLEN.—Circulating medium here is Dublin notes, which are subject to constant forgeries, that occasion great loss to the poor.

Galway, which issues the whole circulating medium of Connaught, and where Lord French's Tuam bank is, probably, the largest . . . . .	£200,000.
Silver notes may amount to, but cannot exceed . . . . .	100,000.
The guineas in circulation, as I have stated under that head, must be very few.	
Bank tokens . . . . .	950,000.
Bank issues in silver dollars . . . . .	200,000.
Copper coin . . . . .	
Lord Charleville's copper promissory notes . . . . .	3,000.

Guineas, unstamped dollars, forged notes, and bills of exchange, must all add to this amount.

Having mentioned the data on which I have founded these calculations, the reader will be able to form his own opinion of the amount of those items which have not been filled up.

As far as I can judge, the amount of the circulating medium in paper is now about £6,305,000., independently of bills of exchange. In coin, it cannot be three millions; perhaps, nine millions for the whole is too large a calculation; and, indeed, in comparison with that of Great Britain, it appears extravagant. But it must be recollected that a poor country requires, in proportion, a greater amount than a rich one; because its capital circulates at a much slower rate,\* which overcomes, in my opinion, the circumstances in opposition of tally payments not requiring a circulating medium. Circulating medium, in this respect, is similar to profit; a much larger per centage is acquired on a small capital than on a large one; so in the circulation of a poor country, consisting of a collection of small capitals, a much larger per centage profit will be made, than in a country in a more forward state of commercial intercourse. A wealthy nation obtains that credit which is denied to a poor one; and the universal establishment of banking liberates a quantity of circulating medium, which countries that are without it, require to remain unemployed† until it be wanted. Ireland, to a certain degree, possesses these banks, and in the opinion of some, they are too numerous. But so long as transfers are only settled by tally, so long shall I consider that the banks of that country are not upon such an established system, as to allow them to interfere much with the circulation of the country.

\* "This shews the necessity of some proportion of money to trade, but what proportion that is, is hard to determine; because it depends not barely on the quantity of money, but the quickness of circulation; the very same shilling may at one time pay twenty men in twenty days, at another rest in the same hands one hundred days together; this makes it impossible exactly to estimate the quantity of money needful in trade." *Locke's Works*, ninth edit. vol. iv. p. 23.

† "By the assistance of these banks, whether public or private, the nation has obtained a variety of resources for procuring money upon sudden demand, and for turning it to an immediate account as soon as the demand is over; so that the quantity of current specie which must ever lie unemployed in the hands of an individual, has been rendered more and more insignificant." *Professor Millaron the Advancement of Manufactures, Commerce, and the Arts*, edit. 1803, vol. iv. p. 113.

Sir William Petty says, that in 1672, interest in Ireland was ten per cent, it is now by law six per cent. but it is not confined to this rate in any part of Ireland. In the commercial province of Ulster, 1s. per month for a pound, paid monthly, is common; and in large transactions, nothing is more usual than advertisements, offering a *douceur*, to be paid down, for the loan of money at legal interest; and in the account which I have transcribed of the manner in which the late discount offices in Belfast and Cork transacted their business, it will be observed, that sometimes much more than legal interest was paid.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

IT would be a useful object of legislative interference, to equalize the weights and measures of the United Empire; but one which would require considerable industry to carry it into execution.

Formerly, a cubic foot of water was assumed as a general standard for liquids, and weighed  $62\frac{1}{2}$  lbs.; this cubic foot multiplied by 32, gives 2,000, the weight of a ton: hence, eight cubic feet of water made a hogshead, and four hogsheads a ton, in capacity and denomination.\* Dry measures were raised on the same model: a bushel of wheat, assumed as a general standard for all sorts of grain, also weighed  $62\frac{1}{2}$  lbs.; 8 of these bushels made a quarter; 4 quarters a ton in weight.

Coals were sold by the chaldron, supposed to weigh a ton, or 2,000 lbs.; hence a ton in weight is the common standard for liquids, corn, and coals. If this analogy had been preserved, it would have prevented much of the present confusion: it may reasonably be presumed, that corn, and other commodities, both dry and liquid, were first sold by weight, and that measures, for convenience, were afterwards introduced, bearing some analogy to the weights before used. The word ton is applied both to weight and liquid measure, because the same quantity of liquid is a ton, both in weight and measure. Hence the word quarter may be also explained: Bishop Fleetwood† judged that it signified the fourth part of some weight, and not of any measure; and it seems to signify the fourth part of a ton, or 2,000 lbs.‡

The origin of our weights is the grain of wheat, gathered in the middle of the ear; 32 of these, well-dried, make a pennyweight; 20 penny-weights an ounce; 12 ounces a pound Troy;§ and hence arose our £. of account, consisting of 240 pence, or in silver, one pound Troy weight, and is lighter by three quarters of an

\* Transactions of the Royal Society, No. 453, p. 457.

† Chronicon Pretiosum, p. 72.

‡ Phil. Trans. abridged, vol. ix. p. 459.

§ Stat. 51 Hen. III. 31 Edw. I. 12 Hen. VII.

ounce, or 360 grains, than the Saxon pound, discontinued by Henry VII. The pound avoirdupois was legally established by the 24th of Henry VIII.; the particular use to which it is applied is the weighing of butchers' meat in the market. How or when it came into private use is not certainly known;\* it contains sixteen ounces.

The discussion of all the points connected with this subject I shall not attempt; my intention being only to hint at the beautiful simplicity of the origin of weights and measures, as a foundation for the reasoning of those who may hereafter be inclined to reduce to order the confusion which at present exists.

The following tables will exhibit the state of Ireland in this particular. Mr. Croker had it once in contemplation to bring the subject before parliament; and he would certainly render an important service to the public, by yet pursuing his plans.

\* Phil. Transactions, vol. 65, part i. art. 3.

A Comparative Table of Wine and Dry Measures of Ireland with those of Great Britain, as furnished from the Custom House, Dublin.

	WINE MEASURE.			DIFFERENCE.		DRY MEASURE.			DIFFERENCE.		
	Gallons.	English Solid Inch.	Irish Solid Inch.	Solid Inch.	Gallons.	Gallons.	English Solid Inch.	Irish Solid Inch.	Solid Inch.	Gallons.	
Gallon - -	1	231	217 $\frac{1}{16}$	13 $\frac{1}{16}$	— $\frac{11}{16}$	Gallon - -	1	268 $\frac{1}{16}$	217 $\frac{1}{16}$	51 $\frac{1}{16}$	— $\frac{51}{16}$
Barrel - -	31 $\frac{1}{2}$	7,276 $\frac{1}{2}$	6,854 $\frac{1}{2}$	422 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1024}{16}$	Bushel - -	8	2,158 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,740 $\frac{1}{2}$	409 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1220}{16}$
Hogshead -	63	14,553	13,708 $\frac{1}{2}$	844 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 $\frac{1215}{16}$	Barrel - -	32	8,601 $\frac{1}{2}$	6,963 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,638 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 $\frac{11}{16}$
Puncheon -	84	19,404	18,278 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,125 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 $\frac{175}{16}$	Quarter -	64	17,203 $\frac{1}{2}$	13,926 $\frac{1}{2}$	3,276 $\frac{1}{2}$	15 $\frac{11}{16}$
Butt - - -	126	29,106	27,417 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,688 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 $\frac{165}{16}$						
Tun - - - -	252	58,212	54,835 $\frac{1}{2}$	3,376 $\frac{1}{2}$	15 $\frac{1122}{16}$						

The Unit Weight is alike in both Countries.

GRAIN WEIGHT.	LONG MEASURE.	COAL MEASURE.
14 $\frac{1}{2}$ Stones - - - 1 Barrel of Flour.	5 $\frac{1}{2}$ Yards - make - 1 English Pole or Perch	Regulated by Act 1st. Geo. II.
30 Stones of Meslin, Peas, Rye, Beans, or Wheat - - - 1 Barrel.*	7 Yards - - - 1 Irish ditto.	Bottom. Top at least Winchester Measure.
16 Stones - - - 1 Barrel of Bere or Barley.	1760 Yards - - - 1 English mile.	Half Barrel - 24 Inch. 25 $\frac{1}{2}$ Inch. 20 Gallons
14 Stones - - - 1 Barrel of Oats.	2240 Yards - - - 1 Irish mile.	Bushel - 15 do. 16 do. 10 do.
8 Stones - - - 1 Bar. of Oatmeal.	54 $\frac{1}{2}$ Irish miles - - 1 Degree of the Equator.	Half Bushel - 11 do. 12 do. 5 do.
12 Stones - - - 1 Barrel of Malt.	11 Irish miles - - 14 English miles.	Peck - 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ do. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ do. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ do.
2 Barrels - - - 1 Quarter.		Half Peck
4 Cwt. - - - 1 Load of Straw or Hay.		
* And is to the English Quarter as 70 to 129: the English Quarter of Wheat being 56lb.—The English Quarter of Barley has 42lb.—and of Oats 30 $\frac{1}{2}$ lb.	LAND MEASURE.	LIQUID MEASURE.
	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ Inches - - - 1 English Link.	All Liquids in Ireland are measured by the Gallon, containing 217 $\frac{1}{16}$ Cubical Inches.
	10 $\frac{1}{4}$ Inches - - - 1 Irish Link.	4 Naggins make - 1 Pint.
	100 Links - - - 1 Chain.	2 Pints - - - 1 Quart.
	5 $\frac{1}{2}$ Yards - - - 1 English Perch.	2 Quarts - - - 1 Pottle.
	7 Yards - - - 1 Irish Perch.	2 Pottles - - - 1 Gallon.
	22 Yards - - - 1 English Chain.	18 Gallons - - - 1 Rundlet.
	28 Yards - - - 1 Irish Chain.	40 Gallons - - - 1 Barrel of Ale.
	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ Yards - - - 1 Scotch Chain.	31 $\frac{1}{2}$ Gallons - - - 1 Barrel of Wine.
	10 Sq. Chains. - - 1 Square Acre.	42 Gallons - - - 1 Tierce or Awme.
	121 Irish Acres - - 196 English Acres.	63 Gallons - - - 1 Hogshead.
	In Builders' work, 21 feet long, 1 foot high, and 18 inches thick, make 1 Perch of Mason's work. 21 Feet long, 1 foot high, and 9 inches thick, make 1 Perch of Bricklayers' work. So that 31 $\frac{1}{2}$ solid feet make 1 Perch of Masonry, and 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ solid feet make 1 Perch of Brick work.	84 Gallons - - - 1 Puncheon.
		2 Hogsheads - - - 1 Pipe or Butt.
		4 Hogsheads or } - 1 Tun.
		252 Gallons - }
	SQUARE MEASURE.	ALE MEASURE.
	30 $\frac{1}{2}$ Square Yards = 1 Square Perch English.	10 Gallons make - 1 Firkin.
	49 Square Yards - 1 Sq. Perch Irish.	2 Firkins - - - 1 Kilderkin.
	4840 Square Yards - 1 English Acre.	2 Kilderkins - - 1 Barrel.
	7840 Square Yards - 1 Irish Acre.	8 Barrels - - - 1 Tun of Ale.
YARN MEASURE.		
120 Threads make - 1 Cut.		
12 Cuts - - - 1 Hank.		
4 Hanks - - - 1 Spindle.		

## WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

TABLE OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES  
IN VARIOUS PARTS OF IRELAND.

Divisions.	Places.	Authorities.	Weights.	Measures.	Observations.
ULSTER. Antrim	Templepatrick	Rev. Wm. Gooch	60lb. = Cwt. = 112lb. Except of Beef, Pork, Wool, But- ter, Flax, Pota- toes, Hay, all of which 120lb. lb. = 16oz.	1 bush. of potatoes a Corn Bush- el = 32 Quarts	Weights and Measures dif- fer almost at every place in the same County.
	Ballintoy - Brookhill, near Lieburn	Rev. Mr. Trail James Watson		Bush. = 32 quarts lb. = 16oz. 1 Stone = 14lb. Cwt. = 8 Stone	Winchester Bushel.
Armagh	Ardress -	George Ensor	4 Stone =	1 Bushel 1 Stone = 16lb.	Measures are here nominal for the most part, as all things are sold by weight, except pota- toes, which are generally sold by the bushel.
		Cooté's Survey, p. 285.	- - - Corn St. = 14lb. avoird. Wool St. = 16lb. Feather St. = 16lb. Flax St. = 14lb. Tallow St. = 16lb.	Irish Gal. = 217.6 cubic inches Barrel of Bar- ley = 16 St. of Wheat = 20 St. of Potatoes = 24 to 32 St. of Oats kiln- dried = 12 St. Do. raw = 14 St. of Malt = 12 St. of Bran = 6 St.	Liquors are sold by Wine Measure, as are all liquids. Hides and Butter are sold by the Cwt. of 112lb. — Coals by the Ton of 8 bushels. — Lime by the Barrel of 33 gallons.
Cavan Donegal	Tullyhaw - Woodhill, near Glentis	Thos. Armstrong James Nesbit	- - - Stone = 14lb.	- - - Peck = 28 Quarts	Usual in Ireland.
		M'Parlan's Sur- vey of Donegal, p. 121.	- - - 3 St. of Potatoes = 8 lb. of Meal =	1 Measure 1 Peck	The Dry measures and weights are Troy, and Avoirdupois weights; the Liquids are pints &c. as throughout Ireland. From Ballybofoe to the sea, potatoes are generally sold by measure, each measure sup- posed to contain about 1 stone. Oats and Barley meal some- times sold by peck, supposed to contain 8 stone. These are the principal instances in which measure is substituted for weight. Weights all avoi- dupois. Selling Oats by mea- sure abolished.
Down	Moyallon, near Guilford Dromore	Mr. O'Donnel T. C. Wakefield Rev. H. E. Boyd	Cwt. = { 112lb. 120lb. Cwt. = 112lb.	Cwt. = { 112lb. 120lb.	Boll = 10 Bushels Bush. = 32 quarts
		Dubourdieu's Survey of Down, p. 250.	Cwt. = 8 Stone Stone = 14lb. Ton = 20 Cwt.	Bush. = 32 quarts 32 Quarts = 1 Gal. 1 Hog. = 12 Win- chester Bush.	Oats are now the only grain sold in this County by measure.

Divisions.	Places.	Authorities.	Weights.	Measures.	Observations.
ULSTER. Down		Dubourdieu's Survey of Down, p. 250.	Oatmeal sold by Cwt. of 120lb. Potatoes, Stone of 14lb. Undressed and hackled Flax, Stone of 16lb. Beef & Pork when sold by Cwt. have 120lb. Tallow, Stone of 16lb. Hides, Cwt. of 120lb.	Boll=10 Winchester bushels	
Fermanagh	Brookborough	Mr. Brooke	20 St. of 14lb. = 16 St. =	1 Bar. of Wheat 1 Bar. of Bere and Barley	
Monaghan	Castle Blaney	Rev. Wm. Gooch	14 St. = 20 St. = 4 St. = 12 St. = 20 St. = 16 St. =  14 St. = 12 St. = 16lb. = 1 St. Flax 8 St. = 1 Cwt. 120lb. = 1 Cwt. of Beef & Pork 16oz. = 1 lb. 16lb. = 1 St. of Wool. 8 St. = 1 Cwt. of Wool, excepting what is stated above as 112lb. to the Cwt.	1 Bar. of Oats 1 Bar. of Malt 40 Gal. of Bere = 1 Bar. 1 Bush. = 40 Qrts. 1 Barrel of Lime = 46 quarts. 7 St. 2lb. = 1 bush. of Potatoes 1 Bar. of Potatoes is 28 St. 8lb.	Weights and Measures differ in almost every place in the same County.
Londonderry	Newtown, Lemivady	Leslie Alexander  Sampson's survey of Londonderry, p. 502.	Three different weights under denomination of Cwt. 1st long Cwt. = 120lb. 2nd mid. Cwt. = 112lb. 3rd short Cwt. = 100lb. Great varieties of lbs. also, 1 of 20 oz. 1 of 18 oz. 1 of 16 oz.	1 Bush. = 40 qrts. 4 Bush. = 1 Bar. of Wheat 5 Bush. = 1 Bar. of Rye 6 Bush. = 1 Bar. of Barley & Oats 1 Boll = 12 Bush. 1 English Perch = 16½ feet 1 Scotch = 18½ ft. 1 Irish Perch = 21 feet.	Very various.  In the city of Londonderry, Oats and Potatoes are sold by stone, but in the country parts by the bushel. Barley is sold either by the stone or bushel. It has been usual to heap the measure, which has occasioned the construction of a measure called a full, which contains 2 bushels, and so contracted as to admit of a very small heap. As to long measures, English and Irish miles; and English, Irish, and Scotch acres.

## WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

Divisions.	Places.	Authorities.	Weights.	Measures.	Observations.
ULSTER. Tyrone		M'Evoy's Survey of Tyrone, p. 207.	6 Stone of 14lb. avoird. = 7 Stone = 12 Stone = Cwt. of Flour = 112lb. 10lb. = 1 long Cwt. or 120lb. = 8 St. of potatoes = 40 St. of Potatoes = 18 oz. = 1 lb. of fresh Butter Salt Butter 16oz. = 1 lb. 1 St. of Wool = 16 lb. 1 lb. = 16 oz. 14 lb. = 1 St. 20 St. = 16 St. = 14 St. = 20 St. = 16 St. = 14 St. = 20 St. =	1 Meas. of Oats = 3 Meas. 1 Bar. 1 Meas. of Barley = 3 Meas. 1 Bar. 1 Bar. of Malt 1 Peck of Oatm. 12 Pks. of Oatm. = 20 Pks. = 1 Bar. of Meal 1 Measure, when heaped, which is usual, the measure is equal to 9 St. 1 Barrel, from 60 to 70 Gals. of flax seed to the Hogshead 1 Bar. of Wheat 1 Bar. of Bere & Barley 1 Bar. of Oats 1 Bar. of Wheat 1 Bar. of Barley 1 Bar. of Oats 1 Bar. of Potatoes 8 Bar. = 1 Ton of Coals 1 Kish of Turf, 4½ feet by 2 & 3 feet deep Perch 21 feet in length, & 8 feet in width 1 Bushel of Wheat 1 Bush. of Barley 1 Bush. of Oats 1 Bush. of Potatoes 1 Bushel of Vetches	Grain is commonly sold by weight in the public market, but Oats are generally sold by measure between Farmers. Barley is seldom sold at the public market. Private distillers buy great quantities of it by contract and by sample. A Measure of Potatoes weighs more in winter than in spring and summer. The same remark may hold good for Oats. Hides and Tallow are sometimes sold by the short Cwt. of 112lb., and also by the long Cwt. of 120lb. Candles are sold by the lb., and Soap by the stone and the lb. Hay, garden, and flax seed sown by the bushel. The common lawful English weights, and the Winchester bushel.
LEINSTER. Carlow	Carlow	Rob. Fishborne			
	Dublin	Isaac Weld, jun.			
	Barony of Fingal	George Evans			

Divisions.	Places.	Authorities.	Weights.	Measures.	Observations.
LEINSTER. Dublin		Archer's Survey of Dublin, p.237.	- - -	- - - 1 Bar. of Roach Lime by the Irish statute is 40 gal. of 217 <sup>6</sup> / <sub>100</sub> cubic inches	All weights and measures are under the control of the Lord Mayor, and standards for each are kept in his possession. Rough Tallow is sold 15lb. to the stone.
Kilkenny	near Kilkenny Kilkenny	Rob. St. George Mr. Robertson	- - - 18 oz.=1 lb. of fresh Butter	- - - The wine measure heaped for dry articles, except for Culm & Lime, and for these the Winchester	The same as those returned for Dublin. The same in other respects as Dublin.
King's County	Durragh, near Tullamore	Tighe's Survey of Kilkenny, p. 641. R. H. Stepney	21 Stone to the 24 and sometimes 32 St.=	Bar. of Potatoes 1 Bar. of Potatoes Lime at the kiln 32 Gal.=1 Bar.	30 St. is the legal measure, but 1 St. is allowed for dirt.
Kildare	Kilkac	John Green -	Usual weights	and measures, except Bran	
Louth Longford	Collon Edgeworth-Town	Rev.Dr. Beaufort R. L. Edgeworth	6 St. of Bran= Statute weights Usual grain wgt.	1 Barrel and measures and measures 16 Pecks=1 Bar. 10 Quarts and 1 Pint=1 Peck	
Meath		Thomson's Survey of Meath,	21 St.and in some places 25St.to the Cwt. at Kells =120lb. at Navan=112lb. Flour Cwt. =112lb. Oatmeal in some places 112lb. to the Cwt. in others 120lb.	Bar. of Potatoes	The great diversity of weights and measures used throughout this County, and the different quantities under the same denomination in different parts of it, are productive of infinite trouble and perplexity.
	Causes Town	Matt. Grainger	- - -	Statute Barrel of Lime is 40 Gal. which Mr.G. says is seldom made use of, 32 Gal. being constantly given.	
QueensCounty Westmeath Wexford Wicklow	Abbleix - Parkenhamhall Enniscorthy near Arklow	Vist. De Vesci Earl of Longford Rev. R. Ratcliffe Mr. Graham	Statutory weights Usual Stat. wgt. Usual Usual	and measures and measures	

## WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

Divisions.	Places.	Authorities.	Weights.	Measures.	Observations.	
MUNSTER. Clare		Dutton's Survey of Clare p. 353.	Usual weights 16lb.=1 Stone of Potatoes in summer 18lb.=1 Stone of potatoes in winter 7 St. of Oats=	and measures : A Skibbal 27 Inches= a Bundle	although in some cases Corn is sold by the long barrel, which is exactly double the statute measure. Frequently the weights are of stones of various sizes; pieces of iron, or lead, or mutilated weights.	
	Barony of Ibrikane	Thomas Marony	5 St. of Wheat= 4 St. of Barley= 3 St. of Malt= 3½ St. of Oats= 12st.ofpotatoes=	1 Bushel 1 Bar.=8 Bush. 1 Bushel 1 Bar.=8 Bush. 1 Bushel 1 Bar.=8 Bush. 1 Bushel 1 Bar.=8 Bush.		
	Cork	Rich. Aldworth	8 St. to the Cwt. 112lb. to the cwt.			
	Castle Martyr	Earl of Shannon Townsend's Survey of Cork, p. 242.	Usual weights 12 St.= 11 St.=	and measures 1 Kilderkin 3 Kild.=1 Bar. of Barley 1 Kilderkin 3 Kild.=1 Bar. of Oats	The English acre used through all the southern parts of the county. Potatoes, when retailed in market, are sold by a measure called a weight, generally containing five,	
	Kerry	Carneine, near Killarny	Rich. T. Herbert	Usual weights 112lb. to the cwt.		
	Limerick	Bruff Adare	Hon. W. Quin, M. P.	Statute weights and measures ;	but vary much in neighbouring parishes: are very inconvenient, and require to be regulated in all the south and west of Ireland.	
CONNAUGHT	Galway	Woodlawn	Lord Ashtown	Statute weights and measures		
	Leitrim		Rob. Davis, procured by Owen Wynne, Esq.	24 St. of Oats= 1 Sack 10 Quarts of meal =1 Peck ½ Cwt.=1 Peck of potatoes 10 Cwt.=1 Bar. of potatoes		
	Mayo	Westport	M'Parlan's Survey of Leitrim, p. 109.			
	Roscommon	Castlegar	Mr. Mahon	Usual weights 112lb. to the cwt. 120lb. to the cwt. of meal	and measures	Grain &c. is all sold by avoirdupois weight, 14lb. to the stone. In some parts of the county the number of stones to the barrel varies, but it is avoirdupois all through. Grain is bought by the cwt.
	Sligo	Hazelwood	Mr. Mahon Ross Mahon Owen Wynne	½ Cwt.Potatoes= 10lb. Oatmeal= 24 St. of Oats= 14 St. of Barley=	1 Peck 1 Peck 1 Sack 1 Barrel	
			M'Parlan's Survey of Sligo p. 113			

CHAPTER XVIII.

PRICES in 1779, extracted from Mr. Arthur Young's Irish Tour.

Rental . . . . .	£. s. d.	A Goose . . . . .	£. s. d.	Bacon, per Fitch . . . . .	£. s. d.
or 6s. 4d. per English Acre.	0 11 0	Lime, per Barrel . . . . .	0 0 8½	Lard, per Cwt. . . . .	1 0 0
Grazing a Cow . . . . .	1 11 3	Wool, on the average, from	0 0 9	Bread, per Cwt. . . . .	0 10 0
Potatoes, per Barrel . . . . .	0 4 9	years 1764 to 1779, the	0 13 8	Hogs, each . . . . .	0 15 0
Rent of Potatoe Ground . . . . .	3 8 6	Saone of 16lbs. . . . .	0 16 0	Flax, per Stone . . . . .	0 7 2
Labour, during Hay and		Average Price of Beef per		Flax Seed, per Hogshead	3 10 0
Harvest . . . . .	0 0 8½	Cwt. of Bullocks weighing		Undressed Flax, per Cwt.	2 8 0
Labour, year round . . . . .	0 0 6½	4½ Cwt. upon an Average,		Undressed Hemp . . . . .	1 12 0
Carpenter . . . . .	0 1 9	from 1756 to 1776 . . . . .	0 16 0	Earnings of Weavers of Fine	
Mason . . . . .	0 1 9	Butter, per Cwt. on an Ave-		Linens, per diem . . . . .	0 1 5
Thatcher . . . . .	0 1 3	rage, from 1764 to 1777 . . . . .	2 5 6	Coarse Linens . . . . .	0 1 0½
Beef, per lb. . . . .	0 0 2½	Tallow, per Cwt. ditto . . . . .	2 2 6	Women Spinners . . . . .	0 0 3½
Mutton . . . . .	0 0 2½	Candles . . . . .	2 10 0	Herrings, per Barrel . . . . .	0 15 0
Veal . . . . .	0 0 3½	Pork, per Barrel . . . . .	2 6 6	Cod, per Cwt. . . . .	0 14 0
Pork . . . . .	0 0 2½	Ox Hides of 112lbs. from the		Make, per Cwt. . . . .	0 15 0
Butter . . . . .	0 0 5½	year 1756 to 1776 . . . . .	1 5 1	Salmon, per Tbn . . . . .	13 0 0
A Chicken . . . . .	0 0 2½	Tanned Hides . . . . .	1 13 4	Mackarel, per Barrel . . . . .	1 0 0
A Turkey . . . . .	0 0 10½				

PRICES in January and February 1789, from a Paper inserted in the Annals of Agriculture, vol. xii. p. 268.

ARTICLES.	CORK.			LIMERICK.			WATERFORD.			KILKENNY.			AVERAGE.												
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.										
Wheat, per Bag	1	3	0	per Stone	0	1	0½	per Barrel	1	3	0	per Barrel	0	18	9	per Barrel	1	0	10½						
Oats, per Barrel	0	17	0	per Stone	0	0	7					per Barrel	0	9	9			0	13	4½					
Old ditto	1	0	0															1	0	0					
Malt to the Country	2	6	9									per Barrel	0	14	0				0	14	0				
Barley	1	2	0	per Stone	0	0	6½					per Barrel	0	10	6					0	16	3			
Potatoes, per Weight	0	0	2½																per Weight	0	0	2½			
Oatmeal, per Cwt.	0	7	6			0	9	6						0	10	0				0	9	0			
Hay, per Ton	2	2	6																	2	2	6			
Beef, 5½ to 6 Cwt. } per Cwt.	0	19	0																		0	19	0		
Cows, 4½ to 6 Cwt. } 4 to 4½	0	18	0																		0	18	0		
3½	0	17	0																		0	17	0		
Small Beef	0	16	0																		0	16	0		
Pork, per Cwt.	0	16	0			0	12	9			0	17	0			1	1	0				0	17	0	
Fresh Butter, per lb.	0	0	8			0	0	5½			0	0	7½									0	0	7	
Hides	1	18	9																			1	18	9	
Small ditto	1	14	0																			1	14	0	
Wool, per Stone	0	17	6			0	17	9					0	18	0							0	17	9	
Tallow, per Ditto	0	5	4½			0	5	4	per Cwt.	2	15	0	per Cwt.	2	10	0	per Cwt.	2	12	6			2	12	6
Butter in full Bounds } per Cwt.						1	19	0														1	19	0	
Ditto in clean coarse } Casks, per Cwt.						1	17	0			2	8	0		2	8	6					2	8	6	
Rape, per Barrel						1	3	0														1	3	0	
Potatoes, per Stone						0	0	2½					0	0	2							0	0	2	
Beef, per lb.						0	0	2½			0	0	2½			0	0	2½				0	0	2½	
Mutton						0	0	2½			0	0	3½			0	0	3½				0	0	3	
Fresh Salmon at the } Fish House, per lb.						0	0	2														0	0	2	
Whitehaven Coals, } per Barrel											0	2	8½		0	3	0					0	2	10	
Swamea Coal, per Do.											0	2	8		0	2	8					0	2	8	
Beer, per Barrel															0	8	6					0	8	6	
Second Flour, per } Stone															0	17	0					0	17	0	
Third Ditto																0	14	6				0	14	6	
Scotch Coal, per } Barrel																0	2	4				0	2	4	

PRICES FROM 1790 TO 1802 INCLUSIVE.

Taken from the undermentioned County-Surveys.

ARTICLES.	Prices in	Cavan,	Down,	Dublin,	Donegal,	London-	Meath,	Monaghan,	Kilkenny,	Average.
	Kilkenny,	1802.	1802.	1801.	1802.	derry,	1802.	181.	1800.	of 1800 to
	1790.					1800.				1802.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Labouring Man the } year round -	0 0 8	0 0 7	0 0 8½	0 1 6	0 0 9	0 0 8	0 0 7½	0 0 11	0 0 9	0 0 9½
Woman	0 0 5	0 0 5½	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 0 6½	0 0 6
Carpenter, Mason, or } Slater	0 1 8	0 2 0	-	-	-	0 3 0	-	-	0 2 2	0 2 4½
Quarry-Man	0 1 6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 2 0	0 2 0
Thresher	0 1 7½	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 2 2	0 2 2
Mason, by the perch	0 1 0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 1 4	0 1 4
Slater, by the square	0 4 0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 6 0	0 6 0
Bricklayer, do perch	0 1 0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 1 4	0 1 4
Hire of a Car and } Horse, per day	0 1 7½	-	-	-	-	0 5 5	-	-	0 3 3	0 4 4
— of a Saddle-Horse	0 3 3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 5 5	0 5 5
— of a Plough	0 6 6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 11 4½	0 11 4½
Grazing a Cow, p' week	0 1 1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 3 9	0 3 9
Do. Horse do	0 3 9½	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 7 7	0 7 7
Blacksmith's work } per lb.	0 0 5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 0 8	0 0 8
Do. - per day	0 1 8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 2 2	0 2 2
Iron per stone	0 2 4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 4 4	0 4 4
Fencing per perch	0 0 8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 1 1	0 1 1
Turf per kish	0 2 8½	-	-	-	-	-	0 1 0	-	0 5 5	0 3 2½
Sea-Coal per barrel	0 6 6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 8 8	0 8 8
Kilkenny Coal per cwt.	0 0 10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 1 7½	0 1 7½
Culm per barrel	0 1 6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 2 8	0 2 8
Furze per 1,000	4 0 0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6 16 6	6 16 6
Heath per faggot	0 0 1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 0 2	0 0 2
Charcoal per barrel	0 3 3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 5 5	0 5 5
Oak per foot	0 2 6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 3 0	0 3 0
Ash - do.	0 1 4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 2 8½	0 2 8½
Laths	0 2 2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 3 3	0 3 3
Bricks per 100	0 2 2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 3 3	0 3 3
Lime per barrel	0 0 10	-	0 1 1½	-	-	-	-	-	0 1 7½	0 1 4½
Dung per Cart Load	0 0 10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 1 1	0 1 1
Sand and Gravel per } Load	0 0 4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 0 5	0 0 5
Plough Timber	0 5 0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 11 4½	0 11 4½
A Car mounted	0 15 0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 10 0	1 10 0
Bran per barrel	0 2 6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 10 4	0 10 4
Potatoes per stone	0 0 2½	0 0 2	-	0 1 3	0 0 2½	0 0 9	0 0 4	0 0 2½	0 1 1	0 0 10
Butter, salt, per lb.	0 0 8	-	-	-	-	0 0 11	-	-	0 1 2	0 1 1
Do. fresh do.	0 0 10	-	-	0 1 2	-	0 1 3	-	-	0 1 6	0 1 4
Hay - per ton	1 10 0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4 11 0	4 11 0
Straw - do. Load	0 6 0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 12 0	0 12 0
Whiskey do. gallon	0 5 0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 18 0	0 18 0
Ale - do. quart	0 0 2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 0 3½	0 0 3½
Beef - do. lb.	0 0 2½	-	-	0 0 8½	0 0 3½	0 0 6	-	-	0 0 5	0 0 5
Mutton do. do.	0 0 2½	-	-	0 0 8	0 0 3	0 0 5	-	-	0 0 5	0 0 5
Pork - do. do.	0 0 2	-	-	-	0 0 0	0 0 5½	-	-	0 0 5½	0 0 6
Veal - do. do.	-	-	-	0 0 8	-	0 0 8	-	-	-	-
Lambs	0 8 3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 13 0	0 13 0
Cheese - per lb.	0 0 6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 0 10	0 0 10
Bacon do. do.	0 0 7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 0 11	0 0 11½
Frieze per yard	0 1 1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 1 10	0 1 10
Stuff	0 0 5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 0 6	0 0 6
Hats, woollen	0 3 3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 4 10½	0 4 10½
Brogues per pair	0 4 4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 6 6	0 6 6
Shoes - do.	0 6 6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 8 8	0 8 8
Leather per lb.	0 0 10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 2 2	0 2 2
Salt per stone	0 0 6½	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 1 4	0 1 4
Mowers per Day, and } Food	0 1 1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 1 7½	0 1 7½
Mowing per acre	0 3 3	0 5 0	0 3 9½	0 8 3	-	-	0 3 8½	-	0 4 4	0 5
Slates per 1,000	0 11 6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0 16 0	0 16 0
A Car	2 0 0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3 0 0	3 0 0

PRICES FROM 1790 TO 1802 INCLUSIVE.

ARTICLES, (continued.)	Prices in Kilkenny, 1790.	Cavan, 1802.	Down, 1802.	Dublin, 1801.	Donegal, 1802.	London- derry, 1800.	Meath, 1802.	Monaghan, 1802.	Killarney, 1800.	Average.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
A Kish - - - - -	0 3 3	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	0 3 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 3 9
A Spade - - - - -	0 3 3	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	0 4 0	0 4 0
A Shovel - - - - -	0 2 0	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	0 2 8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 2 8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Swedish Iron per ton	19 0 0	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	34 0 0	34 0 0
Russian do. do.	17 0 0	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	32 0 0	32 0 0
Lime per barrel - - -	0 0 10	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
Flax, undrest, per } stone - - - - - }	0 4 9	- - -	0 11 4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	- - -	- - -	0 0 6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	- - -	- - -	0 1 1	0 1 1
— Hacked - - - - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	0 1 2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	- - -	0 8 0	0 10 10	0 10 1
— Tow - - - - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	0 0 7	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
Fowl per couple - - -	0 0 8	0 0 10	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	0 0 10	0 1 4	0 1 0
Turkey a piece - - -	0 2 2	0 1 9	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	0 1 6	0 3 9	0 2 4
Wheat, per barrel - - -	1 5 0	1 10 0	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	1 17 7	1 10 0	3 8 3	2 1 5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Barley - do. - - - - -	0 12 0	0 19 0	per cwt. 0 5 6	- - -	- - -	per Stone. 0 3 1	0 16 6	1 1 0	2 0 0	1 4 1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Oats - do. - - - - -	0 8 0	- - -	0 5 6	- - -	- - -	0 3 1	0 12 5	- - -	1 12 0	1 2 2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Malt - - - - -	0 13 0	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	2 0 0	2 0 0
Flour, 1st. per cwt. - -	0 13 0	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	1 5 6	- - -	- - -	1 5 6
— 2d. do. - - - - -	0 9 0	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	1 11 0	1 11 0
— 3d. do. - - - - -	9 0	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	1 5 0	1 5 0
Goose per pair - - - -	- - -	0 1 2	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	0 0 10	- - -	0 1 0
Duck do. - - - - -	- - -	0 0 10	- - -	- - -	- - -	0 2 8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	- - -	0 0 6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	- - -	0 1 0
Codfish per lb. - - - -	- - -	0 0 2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	- - -	- - -	- - -	0 1 1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	- - -	0 0 2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	- - -	0 0 6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
Oatmeal per cwt. - - -	- - -	0 12 0	- - -	0 3 6	0 10 0	0 3 2	0 11 6	- - -	- - -	- - -
Potatoe and Flax } Land per acre - - - }	- - -	5 11 8	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	3 8 3	5 5 0	- - -	4 5 0
Hides per cwt. - - - -	- - -	2 2 6	2 7 6	0 0 4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	- - -	2 3 9	- - -	- - -	- - -	2 4 7
Tallow per stone - - -	- - -	0 8 0	0 8 6	3 16 0	- - -	2 12 6	- - -	- - -	- - -	0 4 3
Quicks per 1,000 - - -	- - -	0 4 6	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	0 4 6
Turf-cutting & bak- } ing per Day - - - }	- - -	- - -	0 1 7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	0 1 7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Weaver of fine Linen } per Day - - - }	- - -	- - -	0 1 5	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	0 1 5
Do. coarse - - - - -	- - -	- - -	0 1 1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	0 1 1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Spinners - - - - -	- - -	- - -	0 0 3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	- - -	- - -	0 0 2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	- - -	- - -	- - -	0 0 3
Wool per stone - - - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	0 16 6	- - -	- - -	0 18 0	- - -	- - -	0 17 3
Barley Meal per stone -	- - -	- - -	- - -	0 3 3	- - -	0 1 3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	- - -	0 12 0	- - -	0 3 3
Herrings per 100 - - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	0 5 2	- - -	0 5 0	- - -	- - -	- - -	0 5 1
Fresh Fish per lb. - - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	0 0 2	- - -	0 0 0	- - -	- - -	- - -	0 0 2
Milk per quart - - - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	0 0 5	- - -	0 0 0	- - -	- - -	- - -	0 0 5
Eggs per 100 - - - - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	0 6 6	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	0 6 6
Bread 3lb. 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> oz. - - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	0 1 0	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	0 1 0
Flax-Seed per Hogs- } head - - - - - }	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	5 5 0	- - -	- - -	- - -	5 5 0
Salmon cured per lb. -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	0 0 2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	- - -	- - -	- - -	0 0 2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Do. fresh - - - - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	0 0 7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	- - -	- - -	- - -	0 0 7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>

RATES OF EXCHANGE, PREMIUM ON GUINEAS, &c.

THE RATES of EXCHANGE, DUBLIN on LONDON, and the PREMIUM on GUINEAS in DUBLIN during the following Periods, as returned to Parliament by THOS. F. FRANK.

	1799.		1800.		1801.		1802.		1803.		1804.	
	Guineas.	Bills.										
January	2 1/2	9 1/2	2 1/2	12 1/2	2	12	2 1/2	12	3	11 1/2	9 1/2	16
February	2 1/2	9 1/2	2 1/2	10 1/2	2 1/2	11 1/2	3	11 1/2	3	12	10	17 1/2
March	1	9 1/2	2	11 1/2	2 1/2	12 1/2	3	11 1/2	3 1/2	12 1/2	9	16 1/2 at 12 1/2
April	1 1/2	9 1/2	2	10 1/2	3	12 1/2	3	12 1/2	4 1/2	13	—	a 16 1/2
May	1 1/2	10 1/2	2 1/2	10 1/2	3 1/2	14 1/2	3	11 1/2	4 1/2	13 1/2	—	—
June	1 1/2	10 1/2	2	9 1/2	3 1/2	13 1/2	2 1/2	11 1/2	4 1/2	13 1/2	—	—
July	2	10 1/2	1 1/2	9 1/2	4	14	3	11 1/2	6	14 1/2	—	—
August	2 1/2	10 1/2	1 1/2	10 1/2	4 1/2	13	3	11 1/2	8	16 1/2	—	—
September	2 1/2	10 1/2	1 1/2	10 1/2	3	12 1/2	3	10 1/2	8	14 1/2	—	—
October	3	11	2	9	2 1/2	11 1/2	2	10	7 1/2	14 1/2	—	—
November	2 1/2	11 1/2	1 1/2	9 1/2	2 1/2	11	2 1/2	10 1/2	9	15 1/2	—	—
December	2 1/2	13 1/2	1 1/2	9 1/2	2 1/2	10 1/2	2	10 1/2	9	16 1/2	—	—

STATEMENT of the SALE of GUINEAS, as furnished by Mr. GRAINGER, of Navan, who procured it from a Money Dealer in Dublin.

- 1805.—The beginning of this year, 13d.; towards the end, 11d.
- 1806.—All this year pretty stationary, 11d.
- 1807.—Fell at the beginning of this year to 4d.; fluctuated all the year from 4d. to 5d.
- 1808.—This year began at 5d.; to June 6d.; to July 7d.; all the remainder from 8d. to 9d. and 10d.
- 1809.—Fell at the beginning of this year to 8d.; continuing gradually to decrease to the end, 4d.
- 1810.—January 4d.; February 7d.; March 7d.; April and May 5d.; June and July 4d.; rising to the end, 8d.
- 1811.—January 8d.; February 11d.; March 1s. to 2s.; April 2s. 3d. to 4s.; May 3s. to 3s. 9d.; June 3s. 9d.; July 3s. 9d. to 3s.; August 3s. to 4s. 6d.; October 4s. to 5s.; November 5s. to 5s. 8d.; December 5s. 6d. to the end.
- 1812.—January 5s. 6d. to 4s. 9d.; February 4s. 9d. to 4s. 6d.

RATES of GUINEAS from December 1803 to March 1812, per THOMAS D. ATKINSON, Dame-Street, Dublin.

1803 Dec. 2	8 to 0 p <sup>r</sup> Ct.	1804 Dec. 17	3 1/2 to 0 p <sup>r</sup> Ct.	1806 April 28	4 to 0 p <sup>r</sup> Ct.	1811 Mar. 11	5 to 0 p <sup>r</sup> Ct.
1804 Jan. 18	8 — 9 do.	24	3 — 0 do.	May 30	4 — 4 1/2 do.	21	6 1/2 — 0 do.
27	10 — 0 do.	31	3 — 0 do.	Oct. 29	4 — 0 do.	April 1	9 — 0 do.
Mar. 2	9 — 0 do.	21	3 1/2 — 0 do.	Dec. 15	4 1/2 — 0 do.	5	10 — 0 do.
14	8 — 0 do.	Feb. 1	4 — 0 do.	1807 Feb. 5	4 — 0 do.	10	10 — 0 do.
21	9 — 0 do.	13	3 — 0 do.	Mar. 11	3 — 0 do.	23	14 1/2 — 15 do.
April 6	8 — 0 do.	4	— 0 do.	April 6	3 1/2 — 0 do.	May 17	15 — 0 do.
May 23	7 — 0 do.	Mar. 20	4 — 0 do.	May 29	3 — 0 do.	June	15 — 0 do.
25	6 — 0 do.	May 22	3 — 0 do.	July 20	2 1/2 — 0 1/2 do.	July	18 — 0 do.
June 1	5 1/2 — 0 do.	June 5	3 1/2 — 0 do.	Dec. 21	2 1/2 — 0 do.	Aug.	20 — 22 do.
July 4	5 — 0 do.	July 24	4 — 0 do.	1808 April 27	2 1/2 — 0 do.	Sept.	22 — 25 do.
9	5 1/2 — 0 do.	July 15	5 — 0 do.	May 3	3 — 0 do.	Oct.	25 — 0 do.
Aug.	5 1/2 — 0 do.	22	6 — 0 do.	23	2 1/2 — 0 do.	Nov.	25 — 0 do.
Sept.	5 — 0 do.	Oct. 4	5 — 0 do.	Sept. 21	2 1/2 — 0 do.	Dec.	20 — 22 do.
Oct. 4	6 — 0 do.	30	4 1/2 — 0 do.	Oct. 5	2 — 0 do.	1812 Jan.	15 — 18 do.
17	6 1/2 — 0 do.	Nov. 18	4 — 0 do.	1809 Jan.	2 1/2 — 0 1/2 & on	Feb.	15 — 16 do.
Nov. 2	6 — 0 do.	Dec. 2	4 — 0 do.	to Dec. 2; to 3.		Mar. 2	15 — 16 do.
12	6 — 0 do.	20	4 1/2 — 0 do.	1810 Feb. 26	2 1/2 — 3 do.		
Dec. 1	5 — 0 do.	1806 Jan. 20	5 — 0 do.	1811 Jan. 1	3 — 0 do.		
10	4 — 0 do.	Feb. 10	4 — 4 1/2 do.	Mar. 4	3 — 0 do.		

March 1st. 1812.—On Belfast 'Change, last week, 34,800 Guineas, the property of a gentleman lately deceased, were offered for sale

PRICES of HIDES and TALLOW since 1800, at Limerick, furnished by Mr. JAMES PHELPS.

Ox Hides 40s. to 46s. per cwt.—Cow ditto 30s. to 40s.—per cwt.—Tallow in general about 8s. 8d. per stone of 16lbs.; it was one year as low as 6s. 6d. and when the Importation of Foreign was stopped, it went as high as 14s.

PRICES of OX and COW HIDES, ROUGH TALLOW, and GRAIN at Cork, procured by Mr. THOMAS NEWENHAM; the Price of Hides furnished that Gentleman by Mr. HACKET TANNER; of Tallow, by Mr. HAWKES, tallow-chandler; and of Corn, by Mr. Good, corn-merchant, 30th October, 1811.

	1801.	1802.	1803.	1804.	1805.	1806.	1807.	1808.	1809.	1810.	1811.	
Ox Hides . . . . .	s. 53	s. 41	s. 55	s. 56	s. 46	s.	per Cwt.					
Cow Hides . . . . .	42	56	54	56	50	46	34	32	34	36		—
Rough Tallow . . . . .	9s. 6d.	13	12	9s. 3d.	8	per stone of 16lbs.						
Wheat . . . . .	36	40	36	36	34	34	38	36	88	37	44	per barrel of 20 stone.
Barley . . . . .	42	42	41	40	39	39	42	44	44	44	40	— 36 —
Oats . . . . .	26	29	28	28	27	27	27	36	36	35	34	— 33 —

PRICES of PORK, BEEF, BUTTER, HIDES, and TALLOW, since 1800, at Waterford, furnished by Mr. PENROSE NEVINS, 3d October, 1811.

	1800.		1801.		1802.		1803.		1804.		1805.		
Pork . . . . .	s. 36	s. 44	s. 60	s. 70	s. 37	s. 51	s. 35	s. 45	s. 31	s. 45	s. 31	s. 36	per cwt.
Beef . . . . .	35		35		35		40		31		36		—
Butter . . . . .	110 a 125		68 a 110		80 a 100		95 a 110		80 a 100		80 a 96		—
Hides } Cow	50 a 54		48 a 53		38 a 44		45 a 50		37 a 40		50 a 54		—
Hides } Ox	60 a 68		55 a 65		58 a 62		60 a 65		60 a 65		60 a 68		—
Tallow . . . . .	8s. 9d. a 9s. 2d.		9s. 2d. a 10s. 6d.		9s. 7d. a 9s. 6d.		9s. 9d. a 10s.		10s. 4d. a 10s.		10s. a 8s. 6d.		pr. st. of 14lbs.

Continued.

	1806.		1807.		1808.		1809.		1810.		1811.		
Pork . . . . .	s. 38	s. 45	s. 36	s. 44	s. 35	s. 42	s. 36	s. 50	s. 44	s. 50	s.	s.	per cwt.
Beef . . . . .	33		30		37		38		36		38		—
Butter . . . . .	75 a 110		90 a 130		110 a 120		95 a 110		90 a 112		105 a 140		—
Hides } Cow	50 a 56		40 a 45		36 a 42		40 a 45		40 a 46				—
Hides } Ox	60 a 66		50 a 54		50 a 54		55 a 58		54 a 60				—
Tallow . . . . .	7s. 6d. a 8s.		7s. 3d. a 9s. 2d.		8 a 14		11s. 4d. a 11.		10 a 10				per st. of 14lb.

TABLE of PRICES in 1811.	ANTRIM.			Average.	TABLE of PRICES in 1811.—continued.	ANTRIM.			Average.
	Returned by Rev. W. Gooch, Temple- Patrick, Feb. 1811.	Returned by J. Wat- son, Brook- hill, near Lisburn, 21 Feb. 1811.	Returned from Ballintoy, 21st March 1811.			Returned by Rev. W. Gooch, Temple- Patrick, Feb. 1811.	Returned by J. Wat- son, Brook- hill, near Lisburn, 21 Feb. 1811.	Returned from Ballintoy, 21st March 1811.	
Man the year round	£. s. d. 20 0 0	£. s. d. 0 1 0	£. s. d. 19 10 6	£. s. d. 19 15 3	Hats, Woollen - -	£. s. d. 0 5 5	£. s. d. 0 5 0	£. s. d. 0 5 5	£. s. d. 0 5 3½
Woman do.	- - -	0 0 9	0 0 7	0 0 8	— Beaver - -	1 2 9	1 5 0	1 1 0	1 2 11
Carpenter per day	0 2 8½	0 2 8½	0 2 7	0 2 8	Brogues, per pair	0 5 5	0 9 0	0 5 5	0 6 7
Mason do.	0 3 3	0 3 0	0 2 7	0 2 11½	Shoes do.	0 8 8	0 10 0	0 8 4	0 9 0
Slater do.	- - -	0 3 0	0 3 0	0 3 0	Leather, per lb.	0 2 9½	- - -	0 2 2	0 2 5½
Quarry-man do.	0 3 3	0 1 8	0 1 4½	0 2 1	Salt, per stone	0 0 11	0 1 0	0 1 2	0 1 0½
Thresher do.	per Boll. 0 1 3	per Day. 0 1 0	per Day. 0 1 0	0 1 0	Spades, each	0 7 0	0 5 5	lb. 6 4½	0 6 3
Mason, per perch	0 2 4	0 2 6	0 4 6	0 3 1½	Shovels do.	0 3 4	0 2 0	0 0 10	0 2 8
Slater, per square	0 6 6	0 7 0	0 8 9½	0 7 5	Swedish Iron, p <sup>r</sup> cwt.	1 5 0	1 6 0	1 8 6	1 6 6
Bricklayer, per perch	0 1 3	0 2 6	None.	0 1 0½	Russian do. do.	- - -	- - -	None.	- - -
Car and Horse per day	0 3 9½	0 2 8½	0 2 8½	0 3 0	Flax, undressed, p <sup>r</sup> cwt.	6 0 0	8 4 0	0 1 1	7 2 0
A Saddle-horse do.	- - -	0 5 5	None.	0 5 5	Wool, per stone	0 16 0	1 6 8	0 1 11	1 1 4
A Plough do.	0 11 4½	0 8 1½	None.	0 9 9	Land Carriage from you to Dublin, per cwt.	0 6 6	0 5 0	0 7 7	- - -
Grass a Cow per week	- - -	0 3 0	3 16 9½	0 3 0	Fowls, per couple	0 1 8	0 2 0	0 1 11	0 1 8½
Ditto a Horse do.	0 4 6	0 4 6	3 19 7	0 4 6	Turkeys, per head	0 3 3	0 2 8½	0 2 8½	0 2 10½
Blacksmith work p <sup>r</sup> lb.	0 0 7	0 0 8	0 0 8	0 0 7½	Geese do.	0 2 2	0 2 0	0 1 1	0 1 9
Ditto per day	0 3 4	0 2 0	None.	0 2 8	Wheat	- - -	- - -	per Cwt. 0 16 0	per Cwt. 0 14 9
Price of Iron p <sup>r</sup> stone	0 3 2	0 3 0	0 3 6	0 3 2½	Barley	- - -	- - -	per Cwt. 0 9 0	per Cwt. 0 8 8
Fencing per perch	0 2 0	0 1 3	0 2 11	0 2 0½	Oats	- - -	- - -	per Cwt. 0 9 0	per Cwt. 0 7 6
Turf per kish	0 5 8	0 5 5	0 1 6½	0 4 2½	Malt	2 5 0	1 15 0	per Bushel. 0 3 3	per Bushel. 0 3 3
Sea-Coal, per barrel	0 5 0	0 7 6	None.	0 6 3	Wheaten Bread	0 0 2½	0 0 10	per lb. 0 0 10	per lb. 0 0 10
Kilkenny Coal, cwt.	- - -	- - -	do.	0 0 0	Flour, 1sts. per cwt.	1 12 0	1 16 0	3ib. 10 oz. 0 10 0	3ib. 5 oz. 0 14 0
Culm, per barrel	- - -	per Ton. 0 8 6	per Ton. 0 5 5	0 6 11½	— 2nds. do.	1 10 0	1 14 0	0 14 0	0 14 0
Furze, per thousand	- - -	- - -	do.	- - -	— 3rds. do.	1 8 0	1 10 0	1 10 0	1 12 0
Heath, per faggot	- - -	- - -	do.	- - -	Oat-meal	0 17 6	0 17 6	0 16 0	0 16 10
Charcoal per barrel, which is necessary to light the Stone Coal	- - -	- - -	do.	- - -	Labour in Harvest of Hay and Corn, per day	0 1 8	0 1 3	0 1 5	0 1 4½
Oak per foot	0 5 0	0 5 0	0 3 6	0 4 6	Day labour of Children	- - -	0 0 8	0 0 4	0 0 6
Ash do.	0 3 0	0 3 6	0 3 6	0 3 4	Mowing Grass, per acre	0 7 7	0 3 3	Irish. 0 5 1½	0 5 3½
Laths	- - -	- - -	0 4 8	0 4 8	Deal, White	0 3 0	0 3 1	0 3 5	0 3 2
Bricks, per thousand	3 0 0	1 5 0	1 2 9	1 15 11	Deal, Red	0 3 0	0 3 5	None.	0 3 2½
Lime, per barrel	0 1 6	0 1 5	0 1 1	0 1 4	Hoops, - - -	- - -	- - -	per hund. 0 5 4	0 5 4
Plough Timber	0 11 4½	- - -	0 17 4	0 14 4½	Osiers, per hundred	- - -	0 0 8	0 1 10	0 1 3
A Car mounted	6 16 6	7 0 0	5 2 4½	6 6 3	Rabbits, per couple	0 1 10	0 0 10	0 0 8	0 1 1½
Bran, per barrel	- - -	0 8 0	0 8 6	0 8 3	Milk per quart	0 0 2	0 0 2	0 0 1½	0 0 1½
Potatoes, per stone	0 0 4	0 0 4	0 0 11½	0 0 4	But <sup>r</sup> -milk, d <sup>o</sup> in summ <sup>r</sup>	0 0 0½	0 0 0½	0 0 0	0 0 0
Butter, salt, per cwt.	6 0 0	0 1 1	0 1 0	6 0 0	D <sup>o</sup> - d <sup>o</sup> in winter	0 0 0½	- - -	None.	0 0 0½
— fresh per lb.	0 1 0	0 1 2	0 0 9½	0 0 11½	Salted Eels, per cwt.	0 15 0	- - -	None.	0 15 0
Hay, per ton	3 0 0	4 0 0	2 10 0	3 3 4	Fish, Salt Hake do.	- - -	- - -	None.	- - -
Whiskey, per gallon	0 10 0	0 9 0	0 7 10	0 8 11½	— Rush Ling do.	- - -	- - -	None.	- - -
Ale, per quart	0 0 4	0 0 4	0 0 5	0 0 4½	— Dungarvon do.	- - -	- - -	None.	- - -
Porter, per gallon	0 0 5	0 2 0	0 4 4	0 1 10	— Salt Cod do.	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
Beef, per lb.	0 0 6	0 0 6	0 0 4½	0 0 5½	Herrings, per hundred	0 10 0	0 6 0	0 5 0	0 7 6
Mutton	0 0 7	0 0 7	0 0 5	0 0 6½	Oak Bark, per ton	17 0 0	- - -	20 0 0	18 10 0
Veal	0 0 8	0 0 7½	0 0 5	0 0 6½	Meadow do.	10 0 0	6 16 6	- - -	8 8 3
Pork	0 0 5	0 0 5	0 0 4½	0 0 4½	— Salt do.	5 0 0	5 0 0	- - -	5 0 0
Lambs, per score	- - -	16 0 0	15 10 0	14 17 6	— Flax, per rood	4 10 0	6 0 0	- - -	5 15 0
Eggs do.	0 0 9	0 0 10	0 0 4	0 0 7½	— Corn Acres	- - -	- - -	- - -	5 5 0
Cheese, per lb.	0 0 9	0 0 6½	0 0 6	0 0 7					
Bacon do.	0 0 8	0 0 9	0 0 10	0 0 9					
Shoeing a Horse	0 3 0	0 3 3	0 3 4	0 3 2					
Prieze, per yard	0 3 3	0 2 2	0 1 8	0 2 4½					
Linsey do.	0 1 8	0 1 8	0 1 1	0 1 5½					

## OBSERVATIONS ON PRICES IN ANTRIM.

Note References  
to p. 208.

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Gooch observes, that in the district about Templepatrick, few reductions for loss of time take place; half the year labour is 8s. per week, and the other half 9s., in all £22. 2s. per annum. From this he deducts £2. 2s. for loss of time.

The gentleman who returns from Ballintoy states, that a labouring man has by the year from ten guineas to twenty pounds, with a house, and grass for his cow summer and winter.

<sup>b</sup> Women, in harvest, are paid the same per day as men, being esteemed as good reapers.—*Templepatrick*.

Women in this neighbourhood are not hired for agricultural work by the year. When employed in common work they get from 6d. to 8d. per day. In the bog and in harvest 13d.—*Ballintoy*.

<sup>c</sup> Mr. Gooch observes that this price, (3s. 3d.) is paid when blowing is necessary, which is a work of skill and danger.

<sup>d</sup> Mason work, by the perch of 21 feet, from 3s. to 6s., but when the building rises above one story, 9s. In this valuation the builder furnishes all materials and attendance.—*Ballintoy*.

<sup>e</sup> Mr. Watson observes the price varies according to the quality of the slates.

<sup>f</sup> Mr. Gooch observes, that the summer's grazing of a cow is £3. 5s. 3d. At Ballintoy the grazing of a cow from May to November is from 34s. 1½d. to three guineas, and the half of that sum for the winter. The grazing of a sheep there is from 4s. 4d. to 11s. 4½d.

<sup>g</sup> Blacksmiths' work generally 8d. per lb. when steel is used in the work, or screw nails; all the articles which accompany these are weighed together, and 10d. per lb. is paid. The hangings of a gate for the same.—*Ballintoy*.

<sup>h</sup> No sea coal at Ballintoy, being in the neighbourhood of Bally Castle colliery, where at the pit, coals are sold for 10s. 10d. per ton of 8 barrels. Culm, half of that price.

<sup>i</sup> Oak.—Green, at 3s. 6d. per square foot, and it must be drawn from a distance of upwards of 30 miles. Square timber, 4s. 4d.—*Ballintoy*.

<sup>j</sup> Mr. Gooch reports, that the high price of bricks arises from including the carriage for 10 miles, which cost 16s. 11½d. per 1,000. At Ballintoy the price is stated as paid at Ballycastle, four miles distant.

<sup>k</sup> Potatoes from 10d. to 1s. 1d. per bushel, weighing from 60 to 70 lb.—*Ballintoy*.

<sup>l</sup> Mr. Gooch observes, that the prices of meat, stated by him, apply to such as is used by the middle orders. The best prices, such as appear at gentlemen's tables, are 3d. and 4d. and often 6d. per pound more.

<sup>m</sup> Brogues from 3s. 4d. to 3s. 9½d.—Double brogues, 5s. 5d. per pair.—*Ballintoy*.

<sup>n</sup> Leather:—Calf skin, 3s. per lb.; neat, 2s. 10d. per lb.; but, 1s. 8d. to 2s. 2d. per lb.; ben, 2s. 2d. per lb. Women's leather shoes, 5s. 5d.; finer sort, 6s. 6d.—*Ballintoy*.

Mr. Watson states, leather for soles at from 1s. 6d. to 2s. 3d. per lb. and upper leather from 2s. 10d. to 3s. 6d.

<sup>o</sup> Spades, at Templepatrick, home-made.

<sup>p</sup> Land carriage from Ballintoy to Dublin, 7s. 7d. per cwt.; to Belfast 3s. 3d.; of a pipe of wine from Belfast to Ballintoy from 34s. 11d. to 45s. 6d. according to the season of the year.

<sup>q</sup> Oatmeal 16s. per cwt. of 120lb.—*Ballintoy*.

TABLE of PRICES in 1811.	ARMAGH.		CAVAN.		DONEGAL.		TABLE of PRICES in 1811.—continued.	ARMAGH.		CAVAN.		DONEGAL.	
	Returned by George Ensor, Address, Feb. 1811.	Returned by Thomas Armstrong, Templeport Aug. 1811.	Returned by Mr. O'Donnell, Oct. 1811.	Returned by Mr. Nesbitt, Woodhill, June 1811.	Returned by George Ensor, Address, Feb. 1811.	Returned by Thomas Armstrong, Templeport Aug. 1811.		Returned by Mr. O'Donnell, Oct. 1811.	Returned by Mr. Nesbitt, Woodhill, June 1811.				
Man the year round	£. 7 0 0	s. 6 16 6	d. 9 2 0	£. 8 0 0	s. 0 0 0	d. 0 0 0	Linsey - do.	£. 0 1 8	s. 0 0 0	d. 0 0 10	£. 0 3 6	s. 0 3 6	d. 0 3 6
Woman - do.	2 5 6	2 0 0	4 11 0	0 0 0	0 5 0	0 6 6	Hats, woollen	0 5 0	0 6 6	0 5 0	0 4 6	0 4 6	0 4 6
Carpenter per day	0 3 3	0 1 8	0 2 2	0 3 3	0 16 0	1 0 0	Beaver	0 16 0	1 0 0	0 15 2	0 15 0	0 15 0	0 15 0
Mason - do.	0 3 3	0 2 2	0 2 6	0 3 3	0 5 0	0 6 6	Brogues, per pair	0 5 0	0 6 6	0 4 4	0 6 0	0 6 0	0 6 0
Slater - do.	0 3 9 <sup>1</sup>	0 2 6 <sup>h</sup>	0 3 3	0 3 3	0 8 8	0 10 0	Shoes - do.	0 8 8	0 10 0	0 9 0	0 7 7	0 7 7	0 7 7
Quarry-man do.	0 1 4	0 1 0 <sup>1</sup>	0 2 0	0 2 2	0 2 3	0 2 2	Leather, per lb.	0 2 3	0 2 2	0 2 1	0 2 4	0 2 4	0 2 4
Thresher - do.	0 1 7 <sup>1</sup>	0 1 0 <sup>h</sup>	0 1 6	0 1 1	0 1 2	0 1 1	Salt, per stone	0 1 2	0 1 8	0 0 10	0 1 1	0 1 1	0 1 1
Mason per perch	0 2 6	0 1 6 <sup>1</sup>	0 1 6	0 5 5	0 4 4	0 4 4	Spades, each	0 4 4	0 4 6	0 4 2	0 3 3	0 3 3	0 3 3
Slater, per square	0 9 9	0 10 0	0 5 0	0 7 7	0 2 2	0 2 6	Shovels, do.	0 2 2	0 2 6	0 2 6	0 2 8	0 2 8	0 2 8
Bricklayer, per perch	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 1 6	0 0 0	1 6 8	1 12 0	Swedish Iron, p <sup>r</sup> cwt.	1 6 8	1 12 0	1 5 0	1 8 0	1 8 0	1 8 0
Car and Horse per day	0 3 4	0 3 4	0 2 6	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	Russian do. do.	0 0 0	0 0 0	1 3 6	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
A saddle horse do.	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 3 3	0 4 4	4 8 0	4 11 0	Flax, undressed, cwt.	4 8 0	4 11 0	2 0 0	2 10 0	2 10 0	2 10 0
A plough - do.	0 7 7	0 11 4 <sup>1</sup>	0 5 0	0 0 0	1 4 0	1 0 0	Wool, per stone	1 4 0	1 0 0	1 2 6	1 1 0	1 1 0	1 1 0
Graz <sup>a</sup> a Cow per week	0 2 2	0 2 6	0 2 0	0 1 6	0 5 5	0 5 5	Land Carriage from you to Dublin, per cwt.	0 5 5	0 5 5	0 10 0	0 8 8	0 8 8	0 8 8
Ditto a Horse do.	0 4 4	0 6 6	0 12 0	0 5 8	0 1 8	0 1 8	Fowls, per couple	0 1 8	0 0 10	0 1 8	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 1 0
Blacksmith work p <sup>r</sup> lb.	0 0 6	0 0 10	0 0 7	0 0 8	0 2 8 <sup>1</sup>	0 1 6	Turkeys, per head	0 2 8 <sup>1</sup>	0 1 6	0 1 8	0 2 0	0 2 0	0 2 0
Ditto - per day	0 2 0	0 1 0	0 2 6	0 0 0	0 2 2	0 1 8	Geese - do.	0 2 2	0 1 8	0 1 4	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 1 0
Price of iron p <sup>r</sup> stone	0 2 6	0 4 0	0 3 6	0 3 6	1 16 0	1 16 0	Wheat, per barrel	1 16 0	1 16 0	16s. p <sup>r</sup> cwt.	2 5 6	2 5 6	2 5 6
Fencing per perch	0 1 1 <sup>1</sup>	0 1 0	0 0 0	0 1 3	0 1 2	1 p <sup>r</sup> bar <sup>1</sup>	Barley, per stone	0 1 2	1 p <sup>r</sup> bar <sup>1</sup>	1 8 0	1 10 0	1 10 0	
Turf per kish	0 1 0	0 0 6 <sup>m</sup>	0 0 0	0 1 8	0 1 0	0 14 d <sup>o</sup>	Oats, per do.	0 1 0	0 14 d <sup>o</sup>	1 0 1	1 0 0	1 0 0	
Sea-coal p <sup>r</sup> bar. Swans.	0 5 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 2 6	1 5 d <sup>o</sup>	Malt, per do.	0 2 6	1 5 d <sup>o</sup>	1 8 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	
Kilkenny Coal, cwt.	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 1 1	0 0 0	Wheaten bread, 4lbs.	0 1 1	0 0 0	Loaf 1 6	none	none	
Culm, per barrel	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	1 10 0	1 10 0	Flour, 1sts. per cwt.	1 10 0	1 10 0	2 17 0	1 16 0	1 16 0	
Furze, per thousand	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	1 8 0	1 8 0	2nds. do.	1 8 0	1 8 0	2 5 0	1 8 0	1 8 0	
Heath per faggot	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	1 4 0	1 6 0	3ds. do.	1 4 0	1 6 0	2 3 6	1 0 0	1 0 0	
Charcoal per barrel, which is necessary to light the Stone Coal	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 17 0	0 15 0	Oatmeal	0 17 0	0 15 0	0 18 0	0 18 0	0 18 0	
Oak - per foot	0 5 5	0 5 0	0 4 0	0 3 0	Labour in Harvest of Hay and Corn, per day		0 1 7 <sup>1</sup>	0 1 0	0 2 2	0 1 1	0 1 1	0 1 1	
Ash - do	0 3 3	0 0 0	0 3 0	0 4 0	Day labour of Children		0 0 6	0 0 6	0 0 4	0 0 6 <sup>1</sup>	0 0 6 <sup>1</sup>	0 0 6 <sup>1</sup>	
Laths, per hundred	0 5 5	1 p <sup>r</sup> thous <sup>d</sup>	0 0 0	0 0 0	Mowing Grass, per acre		0 4 4	0 5 0	0 5 5	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	
Bricks, per thousand	2 2 0	0 0 0	1 10 0	1 2 9	Deal White		0 4 4	0 3 6	0 2 6	0 3 6	0 3 6	0 3 6	
Lime, per barrel	0 2 4	0 1 0	0 1 4	0 1 4	Deal Red		0 0 0	0 3 6	0 2 8	0 3 6	0 3 6	0 3 6	
Plough timber	0 11 4 <sup>1</sup>	0 8 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	Hoops, per hundred		1 5 0	0 0 0	1s. p <sup>r</sup> doz.	0 2 8	0 2 8	0 2 8	
A Car mounted	6 0 0	4 11 0	6 0 0	2 5 6	Osiers - do.		-	0 5 0	0 4 0	0 3 3	0 3 3	0 3 3	
Bran, per cwt.	0 6 6	-	0 0 0	0 0 0	Rabbits, per couple		0 1 1	0 2 6	0 0 6	0 0 2	0 0 2	0 0 2	
Potatoes, per stone	0 0 3 <sup>1</sup>	0 0 4	0 0 4 <sup>1</sup>	0 0 3	Milk, per quart		0 0 1	0 0 2	0 0 2	0 0 2	0 0 2	0 0 2	
Butter, salt, per cwt.	5 0 0	5 5 0	6 0 0	4 0 0	But <sup>r</sup> -milk, d <sup>o</sup> in summ <sup>r</sup>		0 0 0 <sup>1</sup>	0 0 0 <sup>1</sup>	0 0 1	0 0 1	0 0 1	0 0 1	
fresh, per lb	0 1 0	0 0 10	0 0 11	0 0 10	D <sup>o</sup> - d <sup>o</sup> in winter		0 0 0 <sup>1</sup>	0 0 0 <sup>1</sup>	0 0 1 <sup>1</sup>	0 0 1 <sup>1</sup>	0 0 1 <sup>1</sup>	0 0 1 <sup>1</sup>	
Hay, per ton	4 11 0	2 5 6	3 8 3	2 5 6	Salted Eels, per cwt.		0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 2 0	0 2 0	0 2 0	
Whiskey, per gallon	0 10 10	0 7 0	0 8 6	0 5 0	Fish, Salt Hake do.		0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 5	0 0 5	0 0 5	
Ale, per quart	0 0 4	0 0 4	0 0 3 <sup>1</sup>	0 0 4	Rush Ling do.		0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	
Porter, per gallon	0 1 4	0 1 8	0 1 4	0 1 8	Dungarvon do.		0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	
Beef per lb.	0 0 6	0 0 6	0 0 4	0 0 4	Salt Cod do.		0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	doz. 4	4	4	
Mutton -	0 0 8	0 0 6	0 0 4	0 0 5	Herrings, per hundred		0 0 0	0 10 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	
Veal -	0 0 8	0 0 6 <sup>1</sup>	0 0 8	0 0 6	Oak Bark, per ton		0 0 0	16s. p <sup>r</sup> cwt.	22 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0	
Pork -	0 0 4	0 0 4	0 0 3	0 0 4	Oats - per acre		0 0 0	5 15 0	10 9 0	6 0 0	6 0 0	6 0 0	
Lambs, per score	0 0 0	15 0 0	5 0 0	0 0 0	Meadow - do.		4 11 0	4 11 0	4 11 0	6 0 0	6 0 0	6 0 0	
Eggs, per dozen	0 0 6	0 0 0	0 0 10	0 0 4	Flax, per rood		0 0 0	7 12 3	16 0 0	2 5 0	2 5 0	2 5 0	
Cheese, per lb.	0 0 6 <sup>1</sup>	0 0 0	0 1 2	0 1 4			0 0 0	2 0 0	6 16 6	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	
Bacon - do.	0 0 8	0 0 8	0 0 6	0 0 8									
Shoeing a Horse	0 1 4	0 1 4	0 3 0	0 3 4									
Frieze, per yard	0 2 2	0 3 4	0 2 0	0 1 6									

<sup>a</sup> Living in the master's house.    <sup>b</sup> This not included in average of the province.    <sup>c</sup> Ditch five feet by four.    <sup>d</sup> A plough made  
<sup>e</sup> The iron the proprietor's.    <sup>f</sup> To 3s. 3d. with meat and drink.    <sup>g</sup> With meat and drink.    <sup>h</sup> With meat and drink  
<sup>i</sup> With meat and drink.    <sup>k</sup> With meat and drink.    <sup>l</sup> Found with materials.    <sup>m</sup> On the bank.    <sup>n</sup> Mr. Nesbitt says  
female labourers.    <sup>o</sup> Land is let for Potatoes for the advantage obtained by the ground from the crop. The person planting the potato  
finding the dung.    <sup>p</sup> Mr. Nesbitt says 12s. in winter.    <sup>q</sup> Mr. Nesbitt says every person who uses malt makes it.    <sup>r</sup> The old  
Eel Fishery is at Ballyshannon; there our fisheries in the winter have failed for twenty years. The fish taken in summer are carried away  
other markets, consisting of cod and ling, carried on by fishermen from Skerrys, Baldoyle, and Howth, and not by the inhabitants.

PRICES IN 1811.

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TABLE of PRICES in 1811.	Average of Donegal.	DOWN.		Average of Down.	TABLE of PRICES in 1811.—continued.	Average of Donegal.	DOWN.		Average of Down.
		Returned by the Rev. H. E. Boyd, Dromore, Feb. 1811.	Returned by T. C. Wakefield, Moyallon, Mar. 1811.				Returned by the Rev. H. E. Boyd, Dromore, Feb. 1811.	Returned by T. C. Wakefield, Moyallon, Mar. 1811.	
Man the year round	£. s. d. 8 11 0	£. s. d. 0 1 1	£. s. d. 18 0 0	£. s. d. 18 0 0	Linsey - - -	£. s. d. 0 2 2	£. s. d. 0 1 2	£. s. d. 0 0 0	£. s. d. 0 1 2
Woman ditto	3 15 6	0 0 6	12 0 0	9 0 0	Hats, Woollen - -	0 4 9	0 4 6	0 4 4	0 4 5
Carpenter per day	0 2 7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 3 3	0 3 3	0 3 3	— Beaver - - -	0 15 1	0 18 0	1 2 9	1 0 4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Mason - - -	0 2 10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 3 0	0 3 0	0 3 0	Brogues, per pair	0 5 2	0 5 5	0 8 0	0 6 8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Slater - do. - -	0 3 3	0 3 3	0 3 3	0 3 3	Shoes - do. - -	0 8 2	0 9 9	0 9 9	0 9 9
Quarry-man do. -	0 2 1	0 1 8	0 2 8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 2 2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	Leather, per lb. -	0 2 2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 2 0	0 0 0	0 2 0
Thresher - - -	0 1 3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 1 1	0 1 4	0 1 2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	Salt, per stone -	0 0 11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 1 2	0 0 0	0 1 2
Mason, per perch	0 3 5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 2 0	0 2 2	0 2 1	Spades, each - -	0 3 8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 4 4	0 4 2	0 4 3
Slater, per square	0 6 3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 5 5	0 8 8	0 7 0 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	Shovels do. - - -	0 2 7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 2 6	0 0 0	0 2 6
Bricklayer, per perch	0 1 6	0 2 2	0 2 2	0 2 2	Swedish Iron, p <sup>r</sup> cwt.	1 6 6	1 8 0	0 0 0	1 8 0
Car and Horse, per day	0 2 6	0 3 4	0 3 3	0 3 3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	Russian do. do. -	1 3 6	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
A Saddle-horse do.	0 3 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 5 0	0 4 4	0 4 10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	Flax, undressed, cwt.	2 5 0	4 0 0	4 0 0	4 0 0
A Plough - - do.	0 5 0	0 8 8	0 8 8	0 8 8	Wool per stone -	1 1 9	0 18 0	1 1 0	0 19 6
Grass a Cow per week	0 1 9	0 3 0	0 3 3	0 3 1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	Land carriage from you to Dublin, } per cwt. - - -	0 0 0	0 4 0	0 4 4	0 4 2
Ditto a Horse do	0 8 10	0 5 5	0 5 0	0 5 2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	Fowls, per couple	0 1 4	0 1 8	0 2 2	0 1 11
Blacksmith work p <sup>r</sup> lb.	0 0 7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 0 6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 0 6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 0 6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	Turkeys, per head	0 1 4	0 2 8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 3 3	0 2 10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Ditto - per day	0 2 6	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	Geese - do. - -	0 1 2	0 2 6	0 2 8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 2 7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Price of iron p <sup>r</sup> stone	0 3 6	0 2 6	0 0 0	0 2 6	Wheat per barrel	2 5 6	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0
Fencing per perch	0 1 3	0 2 2	0 3 3	0 2 8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	Barley - do. - -	1 9 0	1 7 6	1 0 0	1 3 9
Turf per kish	0 1 10	0 3 6	0 2 6	0 3 0	Oats, per cwt. - -	1 0 6	0 9 0	bar <sup>r</sup> 15. 6	0 0 0
Sea-Coal per barrel		0 6 0	0 5 0	0 5 6	Malt, per barrel -	1 8 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
Kilkenny Coal, cwt.					Wheaten Bread - -	0 1 6	lbs. 1 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
Cobs, per barrel					Flour, 1sts. per cwt.	2 6 6	1 12 0	1 12 0	1 12 0
Furze, per thousand					— 2ds. - do. - -	1 16 6	1 10 0	1 10 0	1 10 0
Heath, per faggot					— 3ds. - do. - -	1 11 9	1 8 0	1 8 0	1 8 0
Charcoal per barrel, which is necessary to light the Stone Coal - - -					Oatmeal - - - -	0 18 0	0 18 0	0 17 0	0 17 6
Oak - per foot	0 3 6	0 5 5	0 4 6	4 11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	Labour in Harvest of Hay and Corn, per day - - -	0 1 7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 1 8	0 1 1	0 1 4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Ash - do. - - -	0 3 6	0 4 0	0 3 0	3 6	Day labour of children	0 0 5	0 0 6	0 0 6	0 0 6
Laths - - - -		0 5 5	0 0 0	5 5	Mowing Grass, per acre - - - -	0 5 5	0 8 8	0 5 5	0 7 0 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Bricks, per thousand	1 6 4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	1 10 0	1 16 0	1 13 0	Deal, White - - -	0 3 0	0 3 3	0 0 0	0 3 3
Lime, per barrel	0 1 4	0 1 8	0 1 8	0 1 8	Deal, Red - - - -	0 3 1	0 3 4	0 0 0	0 3 4
Plough Timber - -		0 4 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	Hoops, per dozen	0 1 7	0 1 0	0 0 0	0 1 0
A Car mounted - -	4 2 9	7 0 0	6 16 6	6 18 3	Osiers, per hundred	0 3 7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 3 4	0 0 0	0 3 4
Bran, per barrel	0 0	0 3 4	0 3 4	0 3 4	Rabbits, per couple	0 0 4	0 0 10	0 1 4	0 1 1
Potatoes, per stone	0 0 3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 0 4	0 0 3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 0 3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	Milk - per quart	0 0 1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 0 2	0 0 2	0 0 2
Butter, salt, per cwt.	5 0 0	6 0 0	6 10 0	6 5 0	But <sup>r</sup> -milk, d <sup>r</sup> in summ <sup>r</sup>	0 0 1	0 0 0 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 0 0 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 0 0 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
— fresh, per lb.	0 0 10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 1 1	0 1 1	0 1 1	D <sup>r</sup> - d <sup>r</sup> in winter	0 0 1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 0 1	0 0 0 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 0 0 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Hay, per ton - - -	2 16 10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	3 0 0	5 10 0	4 5 0	Salted Eels, per cwt.	2 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
Whiskey, per gallon	0 6 9	0 10 0	0 8 8	0 9 4	Fish, Salt Hake do.	0 5 <sup>p</sup> d <sup>m</sup>	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
Ale, per quart - -	0 0 3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 0 4	0 0 4	0 0 4	— Rush Ling do.	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
Porter, per gallon	0 1 6	0 1 8	0 1 4	0 1 6	— Dungarvon do.	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
Beef, per lb. - - -	0 0 4	0 0 6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 0 5	0 0 5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	— Salt Cod, per doz.	0 4 6	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
Mutton - - - -	0 0 4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 0 8	0 0 6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 0 7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	— Herrings, per hundred - - -	0 0 0	0 10 0	0 0 0	0 10 0
Veal - - - - -	0 0 7	0 0 10	0 0 7	0 0 8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	Oak Bark, per ton	21 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
Pork - - - - -	0 0 3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 0 5	0 0 4	0 0 4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	Corn Acres } Oats - per acre	8 0 0	8 0 0	7 10 0	7 15 0
Lambs, per score	5 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	— Meadow - do. -	5 5 6	4 11 0	6 16 6	5 13 9
Eggs - do. - - -	0 0 7	0 0 4	0 0 10	0 0 7	— Potatoe Land -	9 2 9	4 11 0	none set	4 11 0
Cheese, per lb. - -	0 1 3	0 0 8	0 0 8	0 0 8	— Flax, per rood -	6 16 6	5 0 0		5 0 0
Bacon - do. - - -	0 0 7	0 0 0	0 0 8	0 0 8					
Shoeing a Horse	0 3 2	3 4 0	0 5 3	0 3 3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>					
Frieze, per yard -	0 1 9	0 2 0	0 0 0	0 2 0					

\* Mr. Wakefield observes, the general wages of a man are from 13d. to 16d. per day, and that few women are employed except in harvest, when paid 2s. 2d. per day.    † Horses and man fed.    ‡ Mr. Wakefield says this is Best Wigan price, and that Scotch coal is used for making.    § Mr. Wakefield observes, carts are more generally used.    ¶ Duty paid.    \*\* Mr. Wakefield says women are mostly employed.



TABLE of PRICES in 1811.	Average of ULSTER.	LEITRIM.	MAYO.	ROSCOMON.	TABLE of PRICES in 1811.—continued.	Average of ULSTER.	LEITRIM.	MAYO.	ROSCOMON.
		Returned by Robt Davis, Lurganboy, Oct. 1811.	Returned by Mr. Mahon, West Port.	Returned by Mr. Rosa Mahon Castlegar, May, 1811.			Returned by Robt Davis, Lurganboy, Oct. 1811.	Returned by Mr. Mahon, West Port.	Returned by Mr. Rosa Mahon Castlegar, May, 1811.
Mason the year round -	£. s. d. 14 12 6	£. s. d. 9 2 0	£. s. d. 12 0 0	£. s. d. 6 0 0	Linsay, per yard	£. s. d. 0 1 6	£. s. d. 0 1 6	£. s. d. 0 1 4	£. s. d. 0 0 0
Women - do.	4 5 3	3 16 0	9 2 6	3 0 0	Hats, Woollen -	0 5 2	0 5 0	0 4 4	3 0 3 6
Carpenter per day	0 2 11 1/2	0 3 0	0 3 3	0 2 8 1/2	— Beaver	0 19 5 1/2	1 0 0	0 10 3	3 0 0 0
Mason - do.	0 2 10	0 2 6	0 2 8 1/2	0 2 8 1/2	Brogues, per pair	0 6 7	0 6 0	0 6 0	3 0 6 6
Slater - do.	0 3 0	0 3 0	0 3 3	0 3 8 1/2	Shoes - do.	0 9 5 1/2	0 8 0	0 9 9	3 0 9 0
Quarry-man do.	0 1 8	0 1 1	0 1 8	0 1 7 1/2	Leather, per lb.	0 2 7	0 1 8	0 1 8	0 0 0
Thresher do.	0 1 2 1/2	0 1 1	0 1 1	0 0 9 1/2	Salt, per stone	0 1 2 1/2	0 0 1	0 1 4	3 0 1 1
Mason, per 21 feet	0 2 5 1/2	0 1 8	0 1 1	0 1 6	Spades, each	0 4 7	0 3 0	0 5 5	0 2 8 1/2
Slater, per square	0 8 7	0 11 4 1/2	0 8 0	0 6 6	Shovels, do.	0 2 4	0 1 10	0 1 8	3 0 3 0
Blacklayer, per perch	0 1 8 1/2	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	Swedish Iron, p' cwt.	1 4 11 1/2	1 4 10	1 4 0	1 8 0
Car and Horse per day	0 2 11	0 5 0	0 5 0	0 2 5 1/2	Russian do. do.	1 3 9	1 6 10	1 4 0	0 0 0
A Saddle-horse do.	0 4 10	0 3 0	0 2 6	0 5 5	Flax, undressed, cwt.	4 6 4	0 0 0	3 0 0	3 0 16 0
A Plough - do.	0 8 11 1/2	0 5 5	0 2 6	0 5 5	Wool, per stone	1 1 2	1 2 9	1 2 9	0 19 6
Grass a Cow per week	0 2 7 1/2	3 p' year	0 2 0	0 0 0	Land carriage from you to Dublin,	0 0 0	0 6 6	0 7 7	0 4 4
Ditto a Horse do.	0 5 7	4 p' year	0 3 0	0 0 0	per cwt.	0 1 6 1/2	0 0 6 1/2	0 1 2	0 1 8
Blacksmith work p' lb.	0 0 6 1/2	0 0 6	0 0 2	0 0 1 1/2	Fowls, per couple	0 2 5 1/2	0 1 8	0 2 8	3 0 0 0
Ditto - per day	0 2 1 1/2	0 5 0	0 3 3	0 0 3 3	Turkeys, per head	0 1 2 1/2	0 1 4	0 1 8	0 1 1
Price of Iron p' stone	0 3 2 1/2	0 3 6	0 3 6	0 2 8 1/2	Geese - do.	0 1 2 1/2	0 0 0	1 12 6	3 0 14 1 1/2
Fencing, per perch	0 1 10 1/2	0 1 6	0 1 4	0 0 0	Wheat, per barrel	0 0 0	0 0 0	1 10 6	3 0 12 0
Turf per hush	0 2 0	0 4 0	0 3 0	0 0 9	Barley, do.	0 0 0	0 0 0	1 10 6	3 0 12 0
Sea-Coal, per barrel	0 6 6	0 0 0	0 2 0	Not used	Oats, - do.	0 17 6	0 19 0	0 17 6	3 0 8 0
Kilkenny Coal, p' ton	1 16 10	0 0 0	0 2 6	0 0 0	Malt, - do.	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 16 0	1 14 1 1/2
Chalk, per barrel	0 3 4	0 0 0	0 1 0	0 0 0	Wheaten Bread	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
Iron, per thousand	None.	None	None	None	Flour, 1sts. per cwt.	1 10 0	1 6 0	1 6 0	1 10 0
Heath, per faggot	None.	None	None	None	2ds. do.	0 14 0	0 14 0	0 14 0	0 14 0
Charcoal, p' barrel, which is necessary to light the Stone Oak	None.	None	None	None	3ds. do.	0 15 0	0 15 0	0 15 0	0 15 0
Oak, per foot	0 4 7 1/2	0 4 6	0 5 6	0 4 10 1/2	Oatmeal, per cwt.	0 14 0	0 14 0	0 12 6	0 14 0
Ash - do.	0 3 4 1/2	0 3 0	0 3 5	0 2 11 1/2	Labour in Harvest of Hay and Corn, per day	0 1 7	0 1 1	0 1 8	3 0 1 1
Laths	0 5 2	0 6 0	0 2 6	0 0 0	Daylabour of Children	0 0 5 1/2	0 0 0	0 0 8	3 0 0 5 1/2
Bricks, per thousand	1 18 7	0 0 0	1 2 9	0 15 0	Mowing Grass, per acre	0 5 5 1/2	0 5 6	0 6 0	0 4 4
Lime, per barrel	0 1 8 1/2	0 1 1	0 1 1 1/2	0 1 7 1/2	Deal, White	0 3 4 1/2	0 3 5	0 3 6	3 0 10 0
Plough Timber	0 15 5	0 5 0	0 8 0	0 0 0	Deal Red	0 3 4 1/2	0 3 6	0 3 6	3 0 10 0
A Car mounted	5 11 9	4 11 0	3 0 0	3 15 0	Hoops, per dozen	0 1 0	0 5 0	0 0 8	0 3 9 1/2
Bean, per bushel	0 3 7 1/2	0 0 0	cwt. 6 8	0 3 3	Osiars, per hund.	0 3 9 1/2	0 0 0	0 4 6	0 0 4
Potatoes, per stone	0 0 8 1/2	0 0 2 1/2	0 0 3	0 0 3	Rabbits, per couple	0 1 3 1/2	0 0 0	0 0 10	4 0 3 3
Butter, salt, per cwt.	5 5 8	5 8 0	5 0 0	0 0 0	Milk, per quart	0 0 8	0 0 2	0 0 2	0 0 2
— fresh, per lb.	0 0 11 1/2	0 0 10	0 0 8	1 1 0	Bur-milk, d' in summer	0 0 0 1/2	4 qu 0 1	0 0 1	0 0 0
Eggs, per ton	3 4 7 1/2	1 10 0	3 0 0	2 3 10 0	Do - do in winter	0 0 0 1/2	3 qu 0 1	0 0 1	0 0 0
Whiskey, per gallon	0 8 7	0 6 0	0 8 8 1/2	0 8 9	Salted Eels, per cwt.	1 7 6	0 8 0	0 5 0	0 5 0
Ale, per quart	0 0 4	0 0 3 1/2	0 0 3 1/2	0 0 3	Fish, Salt Hake, do.	0 5 0	0 10 0	0 5 0	0 5 0
Porter, per gallon	0 1 6	0 2 2	0 1 4	0 1 4	— Rush Ling, do.	2 7 9	0 10 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
Beef, per lb.	0 0 5 1/2	0 0 5	0 0 7	0 0 7 1/2	— Dungarvon, do.	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 4 6	0 13 0
Mutton	0 0 6 1/2	0 0 5	0 0 7	0 0 6 1/2	— Salt Cod, p' doz.	0 4 6	0 13 0	0 8 10 1/2	0 0 0
Veal	0 0 7 1/2	0 0 7	0 0 10	0 0 7	— Herrings, per hundred	0 8 10 1/2	0 0 0	0 6 0	0 8 8
Pork	0 0 4	0 0 5	0 0 3	0 0 3	Oak Bark, per ton	19 0 0	19 0 0	1 2 9	0 22 0 0
Lambs, per score	11 12 6	15 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 6	Oats, acre	7 6 10	6 0 0	7 10 0	5 10 3
Eggs, per doz.	0 0 8	0 0 10	0 0 8	0 0 6	— Meadow, do.	5 3 10	4 11 0	4 0 0	4 6 0 0
Cheese, per lb.	0 0 9 1/2	0 1 4	0 0 10	None made	Potatoe Land, do.	7 3 0	9 2 0	2 5 10 0	4 4 7 6
Bacon, do.	0 0 7 1/2	0 10	0 0 8	0 0 10	Flax, per rood	4 2 1	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0
Shoeing a Horse	0 3 4	0 3 4	0 3 3	0 4 0					
Prize, per yard	0 2 6 1/2	0 2 6	0 3 3	0 2 10					

\* The result of this average taken from those returns in which the annual gains are specified, compared with the returns of those counties in which the price per day has been made, will shew that the average price of labour in the province of Ulster is not much short of 2s. 1d. per day for three days on which work is done. And six following are dieted. Seldom grazed by the week. This and the five following articles not used here. Not made here. About three-fourths of the statute barrel. First-rate workman. † Variable from 6d. to 1s. 1d. ‡ Much illegal spirits sold at 6s. per gallon. § Spring prices. ¶ With diet. \*\* If a spinner. †† From 2s. 2d. to 3s. 3d. without diet, according to his abilities. ††† From 6d. to 1s. according to the season. †††† Found in assistants. ††††† Not usual in this country. †††††† From 1s. 8d. to 3s. 3d. according to season and demand. ††††††† But not usual. †††††††† being generally 6d. per mile. ††††††††† With four horses. †††††††††† Not usual, but from 40s. to 5l. per ann. according to pasture. †††††††††† Generally hulked by the year. ††††††††††† Not usual, from 2s. 8d. to 3s. 9d. †††††††††††† For English iron. ††††††††††††† Quere, of what description. †††††††††††††† From 6d. to 1s. according to season and circumstances. ††††††††††††††† From 1s. 10d. to 2s. 8d. according to season. †††††††††††††††† From 3s. 3d. to 6s. 6d. very scarce. ††††††††††††††††† From 2s. 2d. to 3s. 9d. according to quality. †††††††††††††††††† According to length, deal laths 4 feet long, 20s. per thousand. †††††††††††††††††† 15s. per thousand 9 inch. by 4. ††††††††††††††††††† Per statute barrel. †††††††††††††††††††† About 2s. 8d. per foot cubic. †††††††††††††††††††† Barrel contains 6 stone. †††††††††††††††††††† From 1d. to 4d. per stone, according to the year's crop. †††††††††††††††††††† From 2s. to 5l. according to crop. †††††††††††††††††††† From 7s. to 9s. according to strength. ††††††††††††††††††††† By retail. †††††††††††††††††††† From 3d. to 12d. according to season. †††††††††††††††††††† From 3d. to 9d. according to season. †††††††††††††††††††† From 6d. to 9d. according to season and quality. †††††††††††††††††††† From 2d. to 4d. according to demand for exportation. †††††††††††††††††††† From 15l. to 25l. †††††††††††††††††††† From 20d. to 4s. according to quality. †††††††††††††††††††† Loys rather. †††††††††††††††††††† Rarely sold in this way. †††††††††††††††††††† Seldom sown. †††††††††††††††††††† 24 stone. †††††††††††††††††††† Not sold here. †††††††††††††††††††† Sligo price, with 10d. per cwt. carriage. †††††††††††††††††††† Seldom employed. †††††††††††††††††††† Sligo price, with carriage. †††††††††††††††††††† Seldom sold here. †††††††††††††††††††† Per doz. †††††††††††††††††††† Per 20 stone. †††††††††††††††††††† From 9l. to 5s. according to quality. †††††††††††††††††††† Not worn by the lower orders. †††††††††††††††††††† From 6s. to 7s. †††††††††††††††††††† From 2s. to 10s. according to size and quality. †††††††††††††††††††† English 10s. †††††††††††††††††††† From 2s. to 4s. according to size. †††††††††††††††††††† Once scutched. †††††††††††††††††††† From 1s. 8d. to 3s. 3d. †††††††††††††††††††† To 40s. according to quality. †††††††††††††††††††† To 18s. ditto. †††††††††††††††††††† To 14s. ditto. †††††††††††††††††††† With diet. †††††††††††††††††††† To 8d. †††††††††††††††††††† Home growth about half price. †††††††††††††††††††† Ditto. †††††††††††††††††††† With the skins. †††††††††††††††††††† Not usually sold. †††††††††††††††††††† Down to 16l. according to demand and quality. †††††††††††††††††††† To 4l.

PRICES IN 1811.

TABLE of PRICES in 1811.	S L I G O.			GALWAY.	TABLE of PRICES in 1811—continued.	S L I G O.			GALWAY.
	Returned by Owen Wynne, Esq. Nov. 1811.	Returned by Owen Wynne, Esq. from Geo. Black- man, Nov. 1811.	Average of Sligo.	Returned by Lord Ashtown, Wood- Lawn.		Returned by Owen Wynne, Esq. Nov. 1811.	Returned by Owen Wynne, Esq. from Geo. Black- man, Nov. 1811.	Average.	Returned by Lord Ashtown, Wood- Lawn.
Man the year round	£. s. d. 18 0 0	£. s. d. 0 0 11½	£. s. d. 16 10 0	£. s. d. 11 7 6	Hats, Woolen	£. s. d. 0 4 4	£. s. d. 0 5 5	£. s. d. 0 4 10½	£. s. d. 0 4 6
Woman	2 12 0	0 0 6	0 0 6	6 10 0	— Beaver	1 2 9	1 5 0	1 3 10½	0 6 6
Carpenter per day	0 3 3	0 2 8½	0 2 11½	0 2 2	Brogues per pair	0 6 6	0 5 5	0 5 11½	0 8 0
Mason do.	0 3 3	0 2 8½	0 2 11½	0 2 8½	Shoes do.	0 9 2	0 9 2½	0 9 2½	0 9 9
Slater do.	0 3 9½	0 2 8½	0 3 3	0 2 8½	Leather per lb.	0 2 0	0 2 4	0 2 2	-
Quarry-man do.	0 2 2	0 1 6	0 2 2	0 1 1	Salt per stone	0 1 1	0 1 1	0 1 1	0 1 1
Thresher do.	0 1 8	0 1 6	0 1 7	0 0 9	Spades, each	0 6 6	0 5 5	0 5 11½	0 3 0
Mason per perch	0 2 0	0 1 6	0 1 9	0 2 2	Shovels do.	0 2 8	0 2 0	0 2 4	0 2 8
Slater per square	0 9 0	0 8 8	0 8 10	0 8 8	Swedish Iron, p <sup>r</sup> cwt.	1 5 0	1 7 0	1 6 0	1 8 6
Bricklayer per perch	0 5 0	0 0 0	-	-	Russia do. do.	1 5 0	1 7 0	1 6 0	-
Car and Horse per day	0 5 5	0 5 0	0 5 2½	0 2 2	Flax, undressed, cwt.	4 0 0	3 0 0	3 10 0	3 14 8
A Saddle-horse do.	0 5 0	0 5 5	0 5 2½	0 4 4	Wool per stone	1 1 8	1 2 9	1 2 2½	1 0 0
A Plough do.	0 11 4	0 16 3	0 13 9½	0 5 5	Land Carriage from you to Dublin, per cwt.	0 6 6	0 5 8½	0 6 1½	0 4 6
Grass a Cow per week	0 2 0	4 11 0	0 3 5½	2 15 0	Fowls per couple	0 1 1	0 1 8	0 1 4½	0 1 6
Ditto a Horse do.	0 5 0	6 16 3	0 5 0	-	Turkeys per head	0 1 7½	0 1 7½	0 1 7½	0 2 0
Blacksmith work p <sup>r</sup> lb.	0 0 1½	0 0 5	0 0 3½	0 0 2	Geese do.	0 1 4	0 1 7½	0 1 5½	0 1 6
Ditto per day	0 1 4	0 2 6	0 1 11	0 4 1	Wheat per barrel	1 15 0	2 0 0	1 17 6	1 14 1½
Price of Iron p <sup>r</sup> stone	0 3 0	0 3 6	0 3 3	-	Barley do.	0 1 1	0 15 2	0 15 2	0 14 0
Fencing per perch	0 1 6	0 1 1	0 1 3½	-	Oats do.	0 10 0	0 10 6	0 10 3	0 10 6
Turf per kish	0 5 0	0 3 4	0 4 2	0 0 6½	Malt do.	1 10 0	-	1 10 0	1 11 0
Sea-Coal per barrel	0 2 8	-	0 2 2	-	Wheaten Bread	-	-	-	0 0 3
Kilkenny Coal, p <sup>r</sup> cwt.	0 4 0	4 11 p <sup>r</sup> ton	0 4 0	cwt. 3 0	Flour, 1sts. per cwt.	1 10 0	1 10 0	1 10 0	1 9 4
Coal per barrel	0 1 7	1 2 9 d <sup>r</sup>	0 1 7	-	— 2nds. do.	1 6 0	1 4 0	1 5 0	1 4 0
Furze per thousand	0 0 0	-	-	-	— 3rds. do.	1 4 0	0 15 0	0 19 6	0 17 3
Heath per faggot	0 0 1	-	0 0 1	-	Oat-meal per cwt.	0 16 0	0 16 6	0 16 3	0 14 0
Charcoal per barrel, which is necessary to light the Stone Coal	-	-	-	{ Turf chared instead }	Labour in Harvest of Hay and Corn, per day	0 1 8	0 1 7	0 1 7½	0 1 1
Oak per foot	0 5 5	0 5 0	0 5 2½	0 4 0	Day Labour of Chil- dren	0 0 10	0 0 6	0 0 8	0 0 5
Ash do.	0 5 0	0 3 6	0 4 3	0 3 3	Mowing Grass, per acre	0 7 6	0 5 0	0 6 3	0 4 4
Laths, per hundred	0 5 5	0 3 3	0 4 4	1 2 9	Dead, White	0 2 10	per Ton. 8 0 0	0 2 10	7 10 0
Bricks per 1000	1 0 0	1 2 9	1 1 4½	1 0 0	Deal, Red	0 3 0	per Ton. 10 0 0	0 3 0	9 10 0
Lime per barrel	0 1 8	0 1 1	0 1 4½	0 1 2	Hoops per doz.	0 0 10	per hund. 0 5 0	0 0 10	3 9 0
Plough Timber	0 6 0	0 16 3	0 11 1½	0 2 8	Oxen per 100	0 0 6½	0 0 8½	0 0 7½	-
A Car mounted	6 16 6	5 13 9	6 5 1½	4 11 0	Rabbit per couple	0 1 8	0 1 1	0 1 4½	0 1 1
Bran per barrel	0 5 4	p <sup>r</sup> st. 8	0 5 4	0 3 3	Milk per quart	0 0 1	0 0 1½	0 0 1½	0 0 2
Potatoes per stone	0 0 4	0 0 5	0 0 4½	0 0 3½	But <sup>r</sup> -milk, d <sup>r</sup> in summ <sup>r</sup>	0 0 0½	0 0 1	0 0 0½	0 0 0½
Butter, salt, per cwt.	5 4 0	5 0 0	5 2 0	4 13 4	Do. do. winter	0 0 1	0 0 1½	0 0 1½	-
— fresh per lb.	0 1 1	0 1 1	0 1 1	0 1 0	Salted Eels per cwt.	-	-	-	-
Hay per ton	2 0 0	2 16 10½	2 8 5½	3 3 0	Salt Hake per doz.	-	0 4 4	0 4 4	0 14 1
Whiskey per gallon	0 8 0	0 8 0	0 8 0	0 9 0	Rush Ling per cwt.	-	-	-	2 16 0
Ale, per quart	0 0 3	0 0 3½	0 0 3½	0 0 3	Dungarvon do.	-	-	-	-
Porter per gallon	0 1 8	0 1 8	0 1 8	0 1 6	Salt Cod per doz.	-	0 6 0	0 6 0½	-
Beef per lb.	0 0 5	0 0 6½	0 0 5½	0 0 5	Herrings per 100	0 4 0	0 7 6	0 5 9	0 4 6
Mutton do.	0 0 6	0 0 6½	0 0 6½	0 0 5½	Oak Bark per	1 0 8	-	-	16 16 0
Veal do.	0 0 8	0 0 8	0 0 8	0 0 8	Oats per acre	8 0 0	11 0 0	9 10 0	5 13 9
Pork do.	0 0 3½	2 p <sup>r</sup> cwt.	0 0 3½	0 0 3½	Meadow do.	5 13 9	4 15 6	5 4 7½	6 0 0
Lambs per score	11 7 6	18 0 0	14 13 9	19 10 0	Potatoe Land	9 2 0	10 0 0½	9 11 0	8 10 0
Eggs do.	0 0 10½	0 0 8	0 0 9½	0 0 9	Flax per rood	2 5 6	4 0 0	3 2 9	2 2 0
Cheese per lb.	0 1 4	0 1 1	0 1 2½	0 1 4					
Bacon do.	0 0 6½	0 0 8	0 0 7½	0 0 6					
Shoeing a Horse	0 3 4	0 3 4	0 3 4	0 4 4					
Frieze, per yard	0 3 3	0 3 3	0 3 3	0 2 2					
Linsey do.	0 1 6	0 1 6	0 1 6	-					

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Blackman states 1s. 1d. from 25th March to 29th September, and 10d. per day the rest of the year. <sup>b</sup> Mr. B. states from 1s. 1d. to 1s. 6d. according to the quarry. <sup>c</sup> Mr. B. states attendance found. <sup>d</sup> Mr. B. says ton slating 12s. per square. <sup>e</sup> Mr. B. states 16s. 3d. per day, or £1. 1. per acre for ploughing and harrowing. <sup>f</sup> Mr. B. states £4. 11. per annum for grazing a cow, and the other Return states 2s. per week, three guineas per annum. <sup>g</sup> Mr. B. states 16s. 3d. for grazing a horse per month in summer, and 11s. 4d. in winter. <sup>h</sup> Mr. B. states the American Oak; Irish Oak 6s. per foot. <sup>i</sup> Mr. B. says Lambs' Wool £1. 5. <sup>k</sup> Mr. B. says whey good and set in corn acres.

TABLE of PRICES in 1811.	GALWAY.		CON- NAUGHT.	CARLOW.	TABLE of PRICES in 1811.—continued.	GALWAY.		CON- NAUGHT.	CARLOW.
	Returned by Michael Burke, Ballydou- gan.	Average of Galway.	Average of the Province of Connaught.	Returned by Robert Fishbourne, 7th April 1811.		Returned by Michael Burke, Ballydou- gan.	Average of Galway.	Average of the Province of Connaught.	Returned by Robert Fishbourne, 7th April 1811.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.		£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Man the year round	0 0 9	11 10 9	13 4 3	0 1 1	Frieze per yard	- - -	0 2 2	0 2 9½	0 0 3 0
Woman - do.	- - -	6 10 0	7 16 3	0 0 8	Linsey do.	- - -	- - -	0 1 5½	0 0 1 4
Carpenter per day	- - -	0 2 2	0 2 9½	0 3 3	Hata, Woollen	0 4 0	0 4 3	0 4 4½	0 0 4 6
Mason - do.	0 2 3	0 2 5½	0 2 8½	0 3 3	— Beaver	- - -	0 6 6	0 16 7½	1 0 0 0
Slater - do.	0 1 10	0 2 3½	0 2 10½	0 3 3	Brognes, per pair	- - -	0 8 0	0 6 5½	0 0 5 5
Quarry-man do.	- - -	0 1 1	0 1 7½	0 2 2	Shoes - do.	- - -	0 9 9	0 9 1½	0 0 8 8
Thresher - do.	- - -	0 0 9	0 1 0½	0 1 6	Leather per lb.	- - -	- - -	0 1 7½	0 0 2 1
Mason per perch	- - -	0 2 2	0 1 7½	0 1 8	Salt per stone	- - -	0 1 1	0 1 1½	0 0 1 4
Slater per square	- - -	0 8 8	0 8 8	0 6 6	Spades, each	- - -	0 3 0	0 4 0	0 0 2 2
Bricklayer per perch	- - -	- - -	- - -	0 1 8	Shovels do.	- - -	0 2 8	0 2 8½	0 0 3 3
Car and Horse per day	0 1 3	0 1 8½	0 3 10½	0 3 3	Swedish Iron p <sup>r</sup> cwt.	- - -	1 8 6	1 6 3	1 4 0
A Saddle-horse do.	- - -	0 4 4	0 4 1	0 5 5	Russian do. do.	- - -	- - -	1 3 7	1 4 0
A Plough per day	- - -	0 5 5	0 7 7½	0 7 7	Flax, undressed, cwt.	- - -	3 14 8	3 5 2	- - -
Graz <sup>a</sup> a Cow per week	0 2 3	0 2 3	0 2 6½	0 2 0	Wool per stone	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 1 5½	0 19 0
Ditto a Horse do.	- - -	- - -	0 4 0	0 5 0	Land Carriage from you to Dublin,	0 6 3	0 5 4½	- - -	- - -
Blacksmith work p <sup>r</sup> lb.	- - -	0 0 2	0 0 2	0 0 8	per cwt.	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
Ditto per day	- - -	0 4 1	0 3 6	- - -	Fowls per couple	0 1 10	0 1 8	0 1 5½	0 0 2 2
Price of Iron p <sup>r</sup> stone	- - -	- - -	0 3 3	0 3 6	Turkeys per head	- - -	0 2 0	0 2 0	0 0 3 0
Fencing per perch	- - -	- - -	0 1 4½	- - -	Geese - do.	- - -	0 1 6	0 1 5	0 0 2 6
Turf per kish	0 1 10	0 1 2½	0 2 7	0 0 10	Wheat per barrel	2 2 9	1 18 5½	- - -	0 0 0 0
Sea-Coal per barrel	- - -	- - -	0 2 1	0 7 0	Barley - do.	0 17 0	0 15 6	- - -	1 0 0 0
Kilkenny Coal, cwt.	- - -	0 3 0	0 3 2	0 1 4	Oats - do.	0 9 8	0 10 1	- - -	0 14 0
Calm per barrel	- - -	- - -	0 1 3½	0 4 0	Malt - do.	2 0 0	1 15 6	- - -	1 14 0
Furze per thousand	- - -	- - -	- - -	6 10 0	Wheaten Bread	- - -	0 0 3	- - -	- - -
Heath per faggot	- - -	- - -	0 0 1	- - -	Flour, 1sts. per cwt.	- - -	1 9 4	- - -	1 10 0
Charcoal per barrel, which is necessary to light the Stone Coal	- - -	- - -	- - -	{ None used or sold here. }	— 2nds. do.	- - -	1 4 0	- - -	1 5 0
Oak per foot	- - -	0 4 0	0 4 10½	0 5 0	— 3rds. do.	- - -	0 17 0	- - -	0 16 0
Ash do.	- - -	0 3 3	0 3 9½	0 4 4	Oat-meal per cwt.	- - -	0 14 0	- - -	0 16 0
Laths per thousand	3 0 0	2 1 4½	1 10 9½	0 6 6	Labour in Harvest of Hay and Corn, per day	- - -	0 1 1	0 1 3½	0 0 2 2
Bricks - do.	- - -	1 0 0	0 19 9½	1 12 6	Day labour of Children	- - -	0 0 5	0 0 6½	0 0 6 ½
Lime per barrel	0 0 11	0 1 0½	0 1 2½	0 2 2	Mowing Grass, per acre	0 4 9	0 4 6½	0 5 3½	0 0 6 0
Sq. Foot.					Deal, White	- - -	7 10 0	0 3 3	0 6 0
Plough Timber	0 4 0	0 2 8	0 8 0	1 5 10 0	Deal, Red	- - -	9 10 0	0 3 3	0 7 0
A Car mounted	- - -	4 11 0	4 8 6	0 3 4	Hoops per 100	- - -	3 9 0	p <sup>r</sup> doz. 9	0 3 0
Bran per barrel	- - -	0 3 3	0 3 11	0 9 3	Osiers do.	- - -	- - -	0 1 9½	0 5 0
Potatoes per stone	0 0 3½	0 0 3½	0 0 3½	0 15 0	Rabbits per couple	- - -	0 1 1	0 1 7½	0 2 2
Butter, salt, per cwt.	2 16 0	3 14 8	4 16 2	0 1 6	Milk per quart	0 0 2	0 0 2	0 0 1½	0 0 2½
— fresh, per lb.	0 1 4½	0 1 2½	0 1 0½	0 1 6	But <sup>r</sup> -milk, d <sup>o</sup> in sunn <sup>r</sup>	- - -	0 0 0½	0 0 0½	0 0 0½
Hay per ton	2 10 0	2 17 6	2 13 2	6 10 0	Do. do. winter	- - -	- - -	0 0 0½	0 0 0½
Whiskey per gallon	- - -	0 9 0	0 7 11	0 9 6	Salted Eels per cwt.	- - -	- - -	0 8 0	- - -
Ale per quart	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3½	0 0 3	Fish, Salt Hake do.	- - -	0 14 1	0 7 2	- - -
Porter per gallon	- - -	0 1 6	0 1 7	0 1 4	— Rush Ling do.	- - -	2 16 0	0 10 0	2 6 8
Beef - per lb.	0 0 6	0 0 5½	0 0 6	0 0 7	— Dungarvon do.	- - -	- - -	0 0 0	- - -
Mutton - do.	0 0 6½	0 0 6	0 0 6	0 0 7	— Salt Cod - do.	- - -	- - -	0 9 6	0 6 8
Veal - do.	- - -	0 0 8	0 0 8	0 0 8	— Herrings per hundred	0 6 0	0 5 3	0 6 5	0 6 6
Pork - do.	- - -	0 0 3½	0 0 3½	0 0 5	Oak Bark per ton	- - -	16 16 0	19 5 4	18 0 0
Lambs per score	- - -	19 10 0	17 0 11	0 18 0 0	— Oats - per acre	5 0 0	5 6 10½	6 17 0	- - -
Eggs - do.	- - -	0 0 0	0 0 8½	0 0 10	Meadow - do.	7 7 10½	6 13 11½	5 5 10	- - -
Cheese per lb.	- - -	0 1 4	0 1 2	0 0 10	Potatoes Land do.	6 5 1½	7 7 6½	8 4 11	- - -
Bacon - do.	- - -	0 0 6	0 0 8½	0 0 10	Flax per rood	1 14 1½	1 18 0½	2 4 1	- - -
Shoeing a Horse	- - -	0 4 4	0 3 7½	0 3 4					

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Burke says such labourers as hold land in general are paid 6d. in summer and 5d. in winter, and hired men are paid 10d. in summer and 5d. in winter. <sup>b</sup> Mr. Burke says a 5 feet dry wall. <sup>c</sup> Mr. Burke says tenants 1s. a day, and hired men from 1s. 6d. to 2s. <sup>d</sup> Mr. Burke says four men in exchange for a plough. <sup>e</sup> Mr. Burke states veal from 9s. to 16s. 3d. per quarter. <sup>f</sup> In general, when by the barrel; varies according to the corn and season. <sup>g</sup> For two horses, and varies with the season and demand. <sup>h</sup> This, in general, by the night, the charge then 10d. <sup>i</sup> This also varies. <sup>j</sup> Kilkenny, Tolerton, which is not so good, at 3s. <sup>k</sup> Varies according to quality. <sup>l</sup> That is 10d. per stone, and varies according to demand. <sup>m</sup> And varies according to quality and sort. <sup>n</sup> Not sold in such number in this market. <sup>o</sup> Lord Ashtown observes, wheaten bread little used, except in town and opulent private families. <sup>p</sup> Not manufactured here. <sup>q</sup> Not generally sold. <sup>r</sup> According to size they charge. <sup>s</sup> On an average. <sup>t</sup> According to size, they alter. <sup>u</sup> Ditto. <sup>v</sup> For butt—3s. 2d. for calf skins. <sup>w</sup> Without mounting, with mounting a shilling more. <sup>x</sup> None, all go by water. <sup>y</sup> None sold here. <sup>z</sup> Called 10 feet boards by two inch. <sup>aa</sup> In winter; in summer 2d. <sup>ab</sup> Scarcely to be bought. <sup>ac</sup> Those are not sold here, except, a chance time, at a sheriff's sale; of course no value to be stated, as that may be guided by caprice.

TABLE of PRICES in 1811.	COUNTY OF DUBLIN.			KILDARE	TABLE of PRICES in 1811.—continued.	COUNTY OF DUBLIN.			KILDARE
	Returned by Colonel Talbot, Oct. 1811.	Returned by George Evans, Portrave, May, 1811.	Average of Dublin.	Returned by John Green, Kilras. Mar. 1811.		Returned by Colonel Talbot, Oct. 1811.	Returned by George Evans, Portrave, May, 1811.	Average of Dublin.	Returned by John Green, Kildare, Mar. 1811.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.		£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Man the year round -	23 8 0	0 1 6	23 8 0	0 1 6	Linsay - - - - -	- - -	Dubl <sup>a</sup> price	Dubl <sup>a</sup> price	0 1 4
Woman - do. - - -	15 12 0	0 1 0	15 12 0	0 1 0	Hats, Woolen - - -	- - -	ditto	ditto	0 5 5
Carpenter per day -	0 4 4	0 3 4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 3 10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 3 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	— Beaver - - - -	1 2 9	ditto	1 2 9	0 18 0
Mason - do. - - -	0 3 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 3 8	0 3 8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 3 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	Brogues - per pair -	0 7 0	- - -	0 7 0	0 7 7
Slaty - do. - - -	0 5 0	0 3 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 4 4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 3 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	Shoes - do. - - -	0 9 0	- - -	0 9 0	0 10 10
Quarry-man do. - -	0 2 0	- - -	0 2 0	0 2 8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	Leather, per lb. - -	- - -	Dubl <sup>a</sup> price	0 1 0	0 2 4
Thresher - do. - -	0 2 0	barrel 10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 2 0	0 2 2	Salt, per stone - - -	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 2 2
Mason, per 21 feet -	- - -	0 1 1	0 1 1	0 1 6	Spades, each - - -	0 4 0	- - -	0 4 0	0 5 5
Slaty, per square -	2 - 0	- - -	2 0 0	0 7 7	Shovels, - do. - - -	0 2 6	- - -	0 2 6	0 3 9
Bricklayer, per perch	- - -	0 2 2	0 2 2	0 4 4	Swedish Iron, p <sup>r</sup> cwt.	1 10 0	Dubl <sup>a</sup> price	1 10 0	1 3 6
Cart and Horse per day	0 4 0	0 2 8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 3 4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 4 0	Russian do. do. - -	- - -	ditto	- - -	- - -
A Saddle-horse do. -	- - -	- - -	- - -	0 8 1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	Flax undressed, cwt.	- - -	ditto	- - -	5 0 0
A Plough - do. - - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	1 0 0	Wool, per stone - -	1 6 0	ditto	1 6 0	7 0 18 0
Gras <sup>a</sup> a Cow per week	0 3 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 3 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 3 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	5 3 3	Land Carriage from	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
— Ditto a Horse do. -	0 - 0	0 7 7	0 7 3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	5 3 3	you to Dublin, }	0 0 6	0 0 11	0 0 8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 2 0
Blacksmith work, p <sup>r</sup> lb.	- - -	- - -	- - -	0 4 0	per cwt. }	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
Ditto, - per day - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	0 4 0	Fowls, per couple -	0 4 0	- - -	0 4 0	0 1 4
Price of Iron, p <sup>r</sup> stone	- - -	Dubl <sup>a</sup> price	Dubl <sup>a</sup> price	0 3 6	Turkeys, per head -	0 2 6	Dubl <sup>a</sup> price	0 2 6	0 3 0
Fencing, per perch -	- - -	0 4 4	0 4 4	0 2 0	Geese - do. - - -	0 1 7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	ditto	0 1 7	0 2 2
Turf, per kish - - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	0 1 6	Wheat, per barrel -	2 0 0	ditto	- - -	2 0 0
Sea-Coal, per barrel	0 3 6	0 3 3	0 3 4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	10 5 5	Barley, do. - - -	2 0 0	ditto	- - -	2 1 0 0
Kilkenny Coal, cwt.	- - -	- - -	- - -	0 1 6	Oats - do. - - -	0 18 0	ditto	- - -	20 15 0
Calm, per ton - - -	0 3 6	0 3 1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 3 3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 2 2	Malt - do. - - -	2 5 6	ditto	- - -	2 1 18 0
Furze, per thousand	- - -	8 10 0	8 10 0	5 13 9	Wheaten Bread - - -	0 1 0	ditto	- - -	20 0 11
Heath, per faggot -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	Flour, 1st. per cwt.	2 12 0	ditto	- - -	1 12 8
Charcoal per barrel,	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	— 2ds. do. - - -	1 18 0	ditto	- - -	1 7 0
which is necessary	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	— 3ds. do. - - -	1 6 0	ditto	- - -	0 18 0
to light the Stone	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	Oatmeal - - - - -	stone 3 0	ditto	- - -	0 18 0
Coal - - - - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	Labour of Harvest }	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
Oak, per foot - - -	- - -	Dubl <sup>a</sup> price	Dubl <sup>a</sup> price	0 3 3	of Hay or Corn, }	0 2 0	corn 2 6d	0 2 3	0 2 8
Ash, do. - - - - -	- - -	ditto	ditto	0 3 3	per day - - - - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
Laths - - - - -	- - -	ditto	ditto	p <sup>r</sup> hun 2 4	Day labour of Children	0 0 6	0 0 7	0 0 6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 0 10
Bricks, per thousand	2 0 0	ditto	2 0 0	1 10 0	Mowing Grass, per }	0 8 8	- - -	0 8 8	0 7 7
Lime, per barrel - -	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 2 0	acre - - - - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
Plough Timber - - -	- - -	1 2 9	1 2 9	p <sup>r</sup> foot 2 2	Deal, White - - - -	- - -	Dubl <sup>a</sup> price	- - -	29 0 0
A Car mounted - - -	6 0 0	3 8 3	4 14 1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	5 0 0	Deal, Red - - - - -	- - -	ditto	- - -	2 11 0 0
Bran, per barrel - -	0 6 0	- - -	0 6 0	1 0 5 0	Hoops, per doz. - -	- - -	ditto	- - -	2 1 1 0 0
Potatoes, per stone -	0 0 6	0 0 6	0 0 6	20 0 5	Osters, per hundred	- - -	ditto	- - -	- - -
Butter, salt, per cwt.	5 0 0	Dubl <sup>a</sup> price	5 0 0	5 13 9	Rabbits, per couple	0 1 10	ditto	0 1 10	0 2 2
— fresh, per lb. - -	0 1 4	ditto	0 1 4	0 1 5	Milk - per quart - -	0 0 3	0 0 1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 0 2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 0 2
Hay, per ton, - - -	5 0 0	4 10 0	4 15 0	3 0 0	But <sup>r</sup> -milk, d <sup>o</sup> in summ <sup>r</sup>	0 0 1	0 0 0 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 0 0 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 0 0 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Whisky, per gallon -	0 9 0	Dubl <sup>a</sup> price	0 9 0	0 8 8	D <sup>o</sup> - d <sup>o</sup> in wint <sup>r</sup>	0 0 1	0 0 0 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 0 0 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 0 0 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Ale, per quart - - -	0 0 3	ditto	0 0 3	0 0 3	Salted Eels, per cwt.	- - -	- - -	- - -	0 18 8
Porter, per gallon -	0 1 2	ditto	0 1 2	0 1 2	Fish, Salt Hake do. -	- - -	- - -	- - -	2 0 0 0
Beef, per lb. - - -	0 0 7	ditto	0 0 7	0 0 6	— Rush Ling, do. - -	- - -	1 15 0	1 15 0	per lb. 7
Mutton - - - - -	0 0 8	ditto	0 0 8	0 0 8	— Dungarvon do. - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
Veal - - - - -	0 0 10	ditto	0 0 10	0 0 8	— Salt Cod do. - - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
Pork - - - - -	0 0 4	ditto	0 0 4	0 0 4	— Herrings, per }	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
Lambs, per score - -	16 0 0	ditto	16 0 0	16 0 0	hundred - - - - -	- - -	Dubl <sup>a</sup> price	- - -	0 10 0
Eggs, - do. - - - -	0 0 10	ditto	0 0 10	per doz. 9	Oak Bark, per ton - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	16 0 0
Cheese, per lb. - - -	0 1 4	ditto	0 1 4	0 0 8	— Oats - per acre - -	- - -	few or none	- - -	2 7 0 0
Bacon, - do. - - -	0 1 0	ditto	0 1 0	0 0 5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	Meadow - do. - - -	- - -	7 10 0	7 10 0	6 0 0
Shoeing a Horse - -	0 4 0	0 3 4	0 3 8	0 4 4	Potatoe Land do. - -	- - -	10 0 0	10 0 0	2 6 16 6
Frieze, per yard - -	0 4 4	Dubl <sup>a</sup> price	0 4 4	0 3 3	Flax, per rood - - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	2 4 0 0

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Evans says 9d. a barrel for threshing barley and oats, and 1s. for wheat. <sup>b</sup> Mr. E. says, ditch 7 feet by 6. <sup>c</sup> Mr. E. says, exclusive of carriage. <sup>d</sup> Mr. E. says Scotch drays much in use. <sup>e</sup> This and six following, per day. <sup>f</sup> With four horses or bullocks. <sup>g</sup> Through the year, on average. <sup>h</sup> For making a new ditch. <sup>i</sup> Note—it is brought forty-two miles by canal. <sup>j</sup> No beath in this neighbourhood. <sup>k</sup> The barrel of six stone. <sup>l</sup> On average per year. <sup>m</sup> This is a scarce or dear year. <sup>n</sup> Very dear this year. <sup>o</sup> For the prime, and 5d. for general. <sup>p</sup> Mr. E. says, a deduction of from 7d. to 1s. is made to the buyer for the duties levied in Dublin market. <sup>q</sup> When bought by the stone. <sup>r</sup> According to weight. <sup>s</sup> And carriage, suppose 2s. <sup>t</sup> Supposed to be much the same. <sup>u</sup> Reckoned very high this year. <sup>v</sup> High this year. <sup>w</sup> Bars deer. <sup>x</sup> Of 20 stone. <sup>y</sup> Of 16 stone. <sup>z</sup> Of 14 stone. <sup>aa</sup> Of 12 stone. <sup>ab</sup> Quartern leaf. <sup>ac</sup> Per ton. <sup>ad</sup> Per ton. <sup>ae</sup> No hoops in this neighbourhood, nor osters for sale. <sup>af</sup> None in this neighbourhood. <sup>ag</sup> Exclusive of tithe, reaping, &c. the crop must be good. <sup>ah</sup> Without seed, or labour. <sup>ai</sup> If good.

TABLE of PRICES in 1811.	KING'S COUNTY.				TABLE of PRICES in 1811.—continued.	KING'S COUNTY.			
	Returned by Thomas Bernard, M. P. Ballyboyle, Oct. 1811.	Returned by Richard Herbert, Stepney, Durragh, Apr. 1811.	Returned by Mr. Trench, Cangor Park, 28th Mar. 1811.	Average.		Returned by Thomas Bernard, M. P. Ballyboyle, Oct. 1811.	Returned by Richard Herbert, Stepney, Durragh, Apr. 1811.	Returned by Mr. Trench, Cangor Park, 28th Mar. 1811.	Average.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.		£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Man the year round	0 0 10	0 0 10	14 0 0	14 0 0	Linsey	0 1 2	0 1 1	-	0 1 1½
Woman do	0 0 5	0 0 6	-	0 0 5½	Hats, Woollen	0 5 5	0 6 6	0 5 0	0 6 6
Carpenter, per day	0 2 8½	0 3 3	2s. to 4s.	0 2 11½	— Beaver	0 16 3	0 16 3	-	0 16 3
Mason do	0 2 8½	0 3 3	2s. to 3s.	0 2 9½	Brogues, per pair	0 6 6	0 7 7	0 6 0	0 6 8½
Slater do	0 3 9½	0 3 9½	-	0 3 9½	Shoes, per lb.	0 9 9	0 9 9	0 10 0	0 9 10
Quarry-man do	0 1 0	0 2 0	-	0 1 6	Leather, per lb.	0 1 0	0 2 6	-	0 1 3
Thresher do	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 1 0	Salt, per stone	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 1 8	0 1 2½
Mason, per perch	0 1 2	0 1 7½	-	0 1 4½	Spades, each	0 3 0	0 5 5	-	0 4 2½
Slater, per square	0 9 9	0 6 6	0 7 0	0 8 1½	Shovels, do	0 3 6	0 2 4	-	0 2 11½
Bricklayer, per perch	-	-	-	-	Swedish Iron, p <sup>c</sup> cwt.	1 8 0	1 10 0	1 12 0	1 10 0
Car and Horse per day	0 2 8	0 2 2	0 2 6	0 2 5½	Russian do. do.	-	-	-	-
A middle-horse, do	0 5 5	0 5 5	0 5 0	0 5 3½	Flax, undressed, p <sup>c</sup> cwt.	2 10 0	3 0 8	-	2 15 4
A Plough, with 2 horses	0 5 5	0 7 0	0 10 0	0 7 5½	Wool, per stone	0 18 6	0 18 0	0 19 6	0 18 8
Graz <sup>a</sup> a Cow p <sup>c</sup> week	0 1 0	0 1 5½	40s. to 5l. y <sup>r</sup>	0 1 1½	Land Carriage from you to Dublin, per cwt.	0 2 8½	0 2 0	0 4 0	0 2 10½
Ditto a Horse do.	0 1 6	0 1 8	0 5 0	0 2 8½	Fowls, per couple	0 1 8	0 1 0	0 0 10	0 1 2
Blacksmith work p <sup>c</sup> lb.	0 0 3	0 0 3½	-	0 0 3½	Turkeys, per head	0 2 2	0 1 10	0 2 0	0 2 0
Ditto per day	0 3 3	0 2 6	2s. to 4s.	0 2 11	Geese do.	0 2 2	0 1 7½	0 1 6	0 1 9
Price of Iron, p <sup>c</sup> stone	Swed. 3 6	0 2 6	4s. to 2s.	0 3 4½	Wheat, per barrel	1 15 0	1 18 0	1 18 0	1 17 0
Fencing, per perch	-	0 1 6	1s. to 10d.	0 1 8	Barley	1 0 0	0 18 0	0 16 0	0 18 0
Turf, per Kind	0 1 0	0 0 8	0 0 3½	0 0 6	Oats	0 14 0	0 12 0	-	0 11 8
Sea-Coal, per barrel	-	-	-	-	Malt	2 0 0	1 12 0	-	1 16 0
Kilkenny Coal, cwt.	0 2 6	0 2 8½	2s. to 2s. 6d.	0 2 5½	Wheatan Bread	-	-	all size	-
Calm, per barrel	0 2 0	0 3 3	-	0 2 7½	Flour, 1sts. per cwt.	1 15 0	1 8 0	1 12 0	1 12 8
Furze, per thousand	-	-	-	-	— 2nds. do.	1 19 0	1 4 0	1 8 0	1 7 4
Heath, per faggot	-	-	-	-	— 3rds. do.	1 1 0	0 16 0	0 14 0	0 17 0
Charcoal, p <sup>c</sup> barrel, which is necessary to light the Stone Coal	-	-	-	-	Oat-meal	0 18 0	0 14 0	0 18 0	0 16 8
Oak per foot	0 4 0	0 5 0	0 4 0	0 4 4	Labour in Harvest of Hay and Corn, per day	0 2 2	0 1 1	0 1 8	0 1 7½
Ash do.	0 4 0	0 3 6	0 3 6	0 3 8	Day labour of Children	0 0 4	0 0 6½	0 0 4	0 0 4½
Laths	-	2 0 0	-	2 0 0	Mowing Grass, per acre	0 5 5	0 5 5	4s. to 8s.	0 5 7½
Bricks, per thousand	1 2 9	1 10 0	0 15 0	1 2 7	Deal, White, per foot	-	-	0 3 0	0 3 0
Lime, per barrel	0 1 3	0 1 1	0 0 9	0 1 0½	Deal, Red do.	-	-	0 3 6	0 3 6
Plough Timber	-	0 9 0	-	0 9 0	Hoops	-	-	-	-
A Car mounted	5 13 9	3 8 3	4 0 0	4 7 4	Osiers, per hundred	-	-	-	-
Brass, per barrel	0 4 4	0 4 6	-	0 4 5	Rabbits, per couple	0 1 7½	0 2 2	0 3 0	0 2 3
Potatoes, per stone	0 0 3	0 0 3	2d. to 5d.	0 0 3	Milk per quart	-	0 0 2½	0 0 3	0 0 2½
Butter, salt, per cwt.	5 15 0	5 0 0	4 0 0	4 18 4	But <sup>c</sup> -milk, d <sup>c</sup> in summ <sup>r</sup>	-	0 0 0½	0 0 0½	0 0 0½
— fresh, per lb.	0 1 4	0 1 1	0 1 2	0 1 2½	D <sup>c</sup> do in winter	-	0 0 0½	-	0 0 0½
Hay, per ton	3 10 0	3 0 0	3 0 0	3 3 4	Salted Eels, per cwt.	-	-	-	-
Whiskey, p <sup>c</sup> gall <sup>a</sup> comm <sup>a</sup>	0 8 8	0 8 8	0 8 0	0 8 5½	Fish, Salt Hake do.	-	-	-	-
Ale, per quart	0 0 3½	0 0 3	0 0 4	0 0 3½	— Rush Ling do.	-	-	-	-
Porter, per gallon	0 1 4	0 1 2	0 1 4	0 1 3	— Dungarvon do.	-	-	-	-
Beef, per lb.	0 0 4½	0 0 4	3d. to 6d.	0 0 4	— Salt Cod do.	-	-	-	-
Mutton	0 0 5	0 0 5	ditto	0 0 5	— Herrings, per hundred	-	-	0 2 6	0 2 6
Veal	0 0 8	0 0 6½	5d. to 8d.	0 0 7	Oak Bark, per ton	-	16 0 0	14 0 0	15 0 0
Pork	0 0 4	0 0 4	0 0 3	0 0 3½	— Oats per acre	8 8 0	5 18 9	-	7 3 4½
Lambs per score	20 0 0	20 0 0	25 0 0	20 0 0	— Meadow do.	5 0 0	5 0 0	4l. to 8l.	5 6 8
Eggs, per piece	0 0 0½	-	0 0 0½	doz. 0 6½	— Potatoe Land do.	8 10 0	8 0 0	8l. to 10l.	9 4 11
Cheese, per lb.	0 0 7	0 0 8	0 0 6½	0 0 7	— Flax, per rood	6 0 0	2 0 0	7 0 0	5 0 0
Bacon do.	0 0 6½	0 0 8	0 0 8	0 0 7½					
Shoeing a Horse	0 3 4	0 1 6	0 3 0	0 2 7½					
Prize, per yard	0 2 2	0 3 6	0 2 2	0 2 7½					

• Colonel Stepney remarks that stone is alone used in building.  
 • Colonel Stepney remarks that the prices of all meat are very variable according to the time of the year. The prices he has given he conceives to be the average. Pork almost always the cheapest meat; as cottagers who chiefly supply pork allow, or rather are allowed, to feed their pigs on their neighbours.  
 • Colonel Stepney states the flax to be scutched.  
 • Colonel Stepney remarks that their bakers do not attend to the assize.  
 • Colonel Stepney states the price of labour in harvest to be given along with meat. He adds, that they have men enough for their work, which makes the price lower than in Kildare and some of the neighbouring counties.

TABLE of PRICES in 1811.	KILKENNY.				TABLE of PRICES in 1811.—continued.	KILKENNY.			
	Returned by Mr. Robertson, Feb. 1811.	Returned by Rob. St. George, Feb. 1811.	Returned by W. Long, for William Tighe, Esq., Inistigoe, Mar. 1811.	Average.		Returned by Mr. Robertson, Feb. 1811.	Returned by Rob. St. George, Feb. 1811.	Returned by W. Long, for William Tighe, Esq., Inistigoe, Mar. 1811.	Average.
Man the year round	£. s. d. 0 1 1	£. s. d. 0 0 10	£. s. d. 0 0 9	£. s. d. 0 0 10½	Linsey per yard	£. s. d. 0 1 2	£. s. d. 0 1 7	£. s. d. 0 1 8½	£. s. d. 0 1 5½
Woman - do.	0 0 6½	0 0 6½	0 0 6½	0 0 6½	Hats, Woolen	0 4 10½	0 5 0	0 6 0	0 5 3½
Carpenter per day	0 3 3	0 2 2	0 3 1½	0 2 10	— Beaver	1 3 4	-	1 6 6	1 4 11
Mason - do.	0 3 3	0 3 0	0 3 1½	0 3 1½	Brogues, per pair	0 8 1	0 7 7	0 6 6	0 7 4½
Slater - do.	0 3 3	0 3 3	0 3 0	0 3 2	Shoes - do.	0 9 9	0 8 10½	0 9 4½	0 9 3½
Quarry-man do.	0 2 6	0 1 1	0 2 2	0 1 11	Leather per lb.	0 2 3	0 0 3½	Butt 2s. 2d.	0 2 2½
Thresher do.	0 1 10½	0 1 1	0 1 6	0 1 5½	Salt per stone	0 1 2	0 1 1	0 1 2	0 1 1½
Mason, per perch	0 2 2	0 1 6	-	0 1 10	Spades, each	0 4 4	0 3 3	0 2 3	0 3 3½
Slater, per square	0 6 6	0 8 0	-	0 7 3	Shovels do.	0 3 9½	-	0 3 9	0 3 9½
Bricklayer, per perch	0 2 2	-	-	0 2 2	Swedish Iron p <sup>r</sup> cwt.	1 14 1½	1 12 0	p <sup>r</sup> st. 3 7½	1 13 0½
Car and Horse per day	0 3 3	0 3 0	0 3 6	0 3 3	Russia do. do.	-	-	per stone.	per stone.
A Saddle-horse do.	0 5 5	0 0 6	-	0 5 5	Flax, undressed, cwt.	0 14 0	4 15 6	0 3 6	0 3 6
A Plough - do.	0 6 6	0 6 6	0 7 7	0 6 10½	Wool per stone	1 0 0	0 18 0	1 3 4½	1 0 5½
Grass a Cow per week	0 5 5	4 5 6	-	0 5 5	Land Carriage from you to Dublin, per cwt.	0 3 3	0 5 0	0 3 4	-
Ditto a Horse do.	0 7 7	5 13 9	-	0 7 7	Fowls per couple	0 1 9	0 2 3	0 1 6	0 1 10
Blacksmith work p <sup>r</sup> lb.	0 0 7	-	-	0 0 7	Turkeys per head	0 2 8	0 2 3	0 1 10	0 2 3
Ditto - per day	0 2 2	0 2 2	-	0 2 2	Geese - do.	0 2 4	0 2 1	0 1 8½	0 2 0½
Price of Iron p <sup>r</sup> stone	0 2 8½	0 4 0	0 3 7½	0 3 5½	Wheat per barrel	1 16 0	1 16 0	1 18 0	1 16 8
Fencing per perch	0 3 3	0 1 6	-	0 2 4½	Barley - do.	0 16 8	0 17 0	1 0 0	0 17 10½
Turf per kish	0 4 4	0 1 1	0 3 0	0 2 9½	Oats - do.	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 10 0	0 11 4
Sea-Coal, per barrel	0 9 2	0 0 0	0 5 6	0 7 1	Malt - do.	2 0 0	1 15 0	1 15 0	1 18 8
Kilkenny Coal, cwt.	0 1 11	0 1 7½	0 1 7½	0 1 8½	Wheaten Bread, 1 lb. 12 oz.	0 0 4	-	-	0 0 4
Culm, per barrel	0 3 3	0 2 2	0 4 7½	0 3 4	Flour, 1sts. per cwt.	-	1 12 0	-	1 12 0
Furze, per thousand	7 9 6	3 0 0	-	5 4 9	— 2nds. do.	1 5 0	1 5 0	per Bag. 2 13 0	1 5 0
Heath, per faggot	0 0 1	-	-	0 0 1	— 3rds. do.	0 18 4	1 9 0	2 0 0	0 19 2
Charcoal per barrel, which is necessary to light the Stone Coal	0 6 0	-	-	0 6 0	Oat-meal	0 16 0	0 16 9	0 16 0	0 16 3
Oak - per foot	0 5 5	0 5 5	0 3 0	0 4 5	Labour in Harvest of Hay and Corn, per day	0 2 5	0 1 6½	0 1 6	0 1 9½
Ash - do.	0 4 4	0 5 0	0 2 9	0 4 0½	Daylabour of Children	0 0 5	0 0 5	0 0 3	0 0 4½
Laths	0 5 0	-	-	0 5 0	Mowing Grass, per acre	0 4 0	0 7 7	0 6 6	0 6 0½
Bricks, per thousand	2 0 0	1 14 1½	1 5 0	1 13 0	Deal, White	0 12 0	0 10 0	-	0 11 0
Lime, per barrel	0 1 11	0 0 10	0 1 4	0 1 4½	Deal Red	10 per ton.	0 13 3	-	0 13 3
Plough Timber	0 7 0	-	-	0 7 0	Hoops per doz.	0 2 5	-	-	0 2 5
A Car mounted	3 3 4	3 8 3	3 15 0	3 8 10½	Osiers per hundred	0 3 1½	-	-	0 3 1½
Bran, per barrel	0 6 8	0 8 0	0 6 3	0 6 10½	Rabbits per comple	0 1 5½	0 2 10½	0 1 3	0 1 10
Potatoes, per stone	0 0 2½	0 0 3	0 0 3½	0 0 3	Milk per quart	0 0 1½	0 0 3	0 0 2	0 0 2½
Butter, salt, per cwt.	5 10 0	5 5 0	5 12 0	5 9 0	But <sup>r</sup> -milk, do. summer	0 0 0½	0 0 0½	3 quarts 1d.	0 0 0½
— fresh per lb.	0 1 7	0 1 1	0 1 4	0 1 4	Do. do. winter	0 0 1½	0 0 1	-	0 0 1½
Hay, per ton	6 16 6	3 4 1½	6 15 0	5 11 10½	Salted Eels, per cwt.	-	-	-	-
Whiskey, per gallon	0 10 0	0 10 0	0 8 8	0 9 6½	Salt Hake - per lb.	0 0 3	1s. each.	-	0 0 3
Ale, per quart	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3	Rush Ling do.	0 0 6	-	-	0 0 6
Porter, per gallon	0 1 4	0 1 4	0 1 4	0 1 4	Dungarvon do.	0 0 4	-	-	0 0 4
Beef, per lb.	0 0 5	0 0 4	0 0 4½	0 0 4½	Salt Cod - do.	0 0 3	2s. 8d. each	-	0 0 3
Mutton - do.	0 0 5	0 0 5½	0 0 6½	0 0 5½	Herrings per 100	0 5 5	0 8 10	-	0 7 1½
Veal - do.	0 0 5	0 0 6	0 0 7	0 0 6	Oak Bark per ton	17 12 6	-	15 10 0	16 11 3
Pork - do.	0 0 4	0 0 4	-	0 0 4	Corn Acres Oats - per acre	9 0 0	9 0 0	-	9 0 0
Lambs, per score	11 7 6	20 0 0	-	15 13 9	Meadow - do.	9 0 0	9 0 0	-	9 0 0
Eggs - do.	0 1 0	0 2 6	0 0 10	0 1 4½	Potatoe Land do.	10 10 0	9 0 0	-	9 15 0
Cheese, per lb.	0 0 6½	0 1 6	0 1 4	0 1 1	Flax per rood	-	-	-	-
Bacon - do.	0 0 7	0 0 7	0 0 6½	0 0 6½					
Shoeing a Horse	0 2 8½	0 3 3	0 3 4½	0 3 1½					
Rieze, per yard	0 4 11	0 2 4	0 3 1	0 3 5½					

\* Mr. Robertson says the prices which he has returned are rather above the average rate, but scarcely sufficient to afford the necessaries of life, none of the comforts. He gives his labourers cabins worth £3. per annum in addition. <sup>b</sup> Mr. Robertson remarks labour only. Mr. St. George says with redcement. <sup>c</sup> Mr. Robertson makes the same remarks as with a mason. <sup>d</sup> Mr. Robertson means English, and Mr. St. George Swedish Iron. <sup>e</sup> Mr. St. George returns the price of turf at the bog. <sup>f</sup> Mr. Robertson says that turf is now used instead of charcoal for lighting the stove coal. <sup>g</sup> Mr. Robertson states hard bricks £2. and soft from £1. 10s. to £1. 15s. <sup>h</sup> States the price of plough timber made of oak. <sup>i</sup> Mr. Robertson states hay very high this season, average £3. 8s. 3d. <sup>j</sup> Mr. Robertson says veal is sold at mutton price, or by hand. <sup>k</sup> Mr. Robertson states the price of lambs at £11. 7s. 6d. in summer, and £22. 15s. in spring. <sup>l</sup> Mr. Robertson states Bacon at 7d. per pound by the fitch, and 10d. when sold by pounds. <sup>m</sup> Mr. St. George says Brogues will not wear half the time of English shoes. <sup>n</sup> Mr. Robertson says ready home-made shovels 5s. 5d. <sup>o</sup> Mr. Robertson states fleece-wool £1.; pinions 24s., and lambs-wool 35s. per stone. <sup>p</sup> Mr. Robertson states the price of labour in harvest with diet. In hay-time nearly the ordinary wages are paid. <sup>q</sup> Mr. Robertson states, instead of butter-milk, sour milk with the cream skimmed off. <sup>r</sup> Mr. Robertson says no oats per acre.

TABLE of PRICES in 1811.	COUNTY OF LOUTH.			LONGFORD.	TABLE of PRICES in 1811—continued.	COUNTY OF LOUTH.			LONGFORD.
	Returned by the Rev. Dr. Beaufort, Collon, Dec. 1811.	Returned by Mr. Stratton, Dundalk, Dec. 1811.	Average.	Returned by Richard Lovell Edgeworth Dec. 1810.		Returned by the Rev. Dr. Beaufort, Collon, Dec. 1811.	Returned by Mr. Stratton, Dundalk, Dec. 1811.	Average.	Returned by Richard Lovell, Edgeworth, Dec. 1810.
Man the year round -	£. s. d. 15 0 0	£. s. d. 16 10 0	£. s. d. 15 15 0	per day £. s. d. 0 0 8	Hats, Woollen - -	£. s. d. 0 6 6	£. s. d. 0 5 5	£. s. d. 0 5 11½	£. s. d. 0 5 5
Woman ditto - - -	10 0 0	3 0 0	10 0 0	- - -	Do. Beaver - - -	1 2 9	1 2 9	1 2 9	0 16 3
Carpenter per day -	0 3 9½	0 3 9	0 3 9½	0 2 6	Brogues, per pair -	0 7 7	0 6 6	0 7 0½	0 7 0
Mason - do. - - -	0 3 3	0 3 3	0 3 3	0 2 6	Shoes, - do. - - -	0 9 9	0 9 9	0 9 9	0 8 8
Slater - do. - - -	0 3 9½	0 3 9½	0 3 9½	0 3 0	Leather, per lb. -	0 2 0	0 2 0	0 2 0	0 1 4
Quarry-man do. - -	0 2 0	0 1 8	0 1 10	0 1 1	Salt, per stone - -	0 0 11½	0 0 10	0 0 10½	0 1 2
Thresher - - - - -	0 1 7½	0 1 6	0 1 6½	0 0 8	Spades, each - - -	0 4 4	0 5 5	0 4 10½	0 3 9
Mason, per perch -	0 2 6	0 11 4½	0 2 6½	0 1 4	Shovels, do. - - -	0 2 6	0 2 8	0 2 7½	0 1 6
Slater, per square -	0 10 10	2 10 0	1 10 5	0 10 0	Swedish Iron, p' cwt.	1 8 0	1 5 6	1 6 9	1 4 0
Bricklayer, per perch	0 2 6	0 13 0	0 7 9	- - -	Russian do. do. - -	- - -	1 6 0	1 6 0	1 0 0
Car and Horse, per day	0 3 3	0 5 5	0 4 4	0 4 0	Flax undressed, cwt.	3 3 4	3 0 0	3 1 8	2 5 6
A Saddle-horse, do. -	- - -	0 10 10	0 10 10	0 3 3	Wool, per stone - -	1 1 8	1 2 9	1 2 3½	1 2 9
A plough - - - - -	0 12 0	0 11 4½	0 11 8½	0 11 4½	Land carriage from you to Dublin, } per cwt. - - - - -	0 2 2	0 4 6	0 3 4	0 3 0
Grass a Cow, per week	0 3 3	0 5 5	0 4 4	0 4 0	Fowls, per couple -	0 2 0	0 1 8	0 1 10	0 0 10
Ditto a Horse, do. -	0 5 5	0 7 7	0 6 6	- - -	Turkeys, per head -	0 2 8½	0 3 3	0 2 11½	0 1 10
Do. a Horse per year	- - -	- - -	- - -	6 16 6	lean	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
Blacksmith work p' lb.	0 0 6	0 0 7	0 0 6½	0 0 2	lean	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
Ditto - per day - -	0 2 2	0 2 2	0 2 2	0 2 6	Geese, - do. - - -	0 2 2	0 2 2	0 2 2	0 1 2
Price of Iron, p' stone	0 3 9½	0 3 6	0 3 7½	0 3 6	Wheat, per barrel -	2 5 6	2 10 0	2 7 9	2 5 6
Fencing, per perch -	0 3 3	0 7 7	0 5 5	0 2 0	Barley, do. - - - -	1 5 0	1 5 0	1 5 0	1 1 0
Turf, per kish - - -	0 4 6	0 4 4	0 4 5	0 1 1	Oats, - do. - - - -	0 17 0	0 18 6	0 17 9	0 12 0
Sea-Coal, per barrel -	0 5 0	0 6 6	0 5 9	- - -	Malt, - do. - - - -	2 5 6	2 5 6	2 5 6	2 0 0
Kilkenny Coal, p' cwt.	0 1 6	0 1 6	0 1 6	0 4 0	Wheaten Bread - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
Calm, per barrel - -	0 4 0	0 3 9½	0 3 10½	- - -	Flour, 1sts. per cwt.	1 12 0	1 15 0	1 12 6	1 2 0 0
Furze, per thousand -	- - -	1 12 0	1 12 0	- - -	2ds. do. - - - - -	1 10 0	1 12 0	1 11 0	1 15 0
Heath, per faggot - -	- - -	0 0 3	0 0 3	- - -	3ds. do. - - - - -	1 8 0	1 10 0	1 9 0	- - -
Charcoal, per barrel } which is necessary } to light the Stone } Coal - - - - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	Oatmeal - - - - -	0 18 6	1 0 0	0 19 3	0 15 0
Oak - per foot - - -	0 5 9	0 5 5	0 5 7	0 4 6	Labour in Harvest } of Hay or Corn, } per day - - - - -	0 2 2	0 1 8	0 1 11	0 1 1
Ash - do. - - - - -	0 3 6	0 3 3	0 3 4	0 4 6	Day labour of Children } Mowing Grass, per } acre - - - - -	0 0 6	0 0 6½	0 0 6½	0 0 5
Laths, log, oak, or fur	- - -	per hundred 0 5 5	per hundred 0 5 5	0 16 8	per foot - - - - -	0 6 9	0 10 10	0 8 9	0 5 5
Bricks, per thousand	2 5 6	1 2 9	1 14 1½	1 0 0	per foot - - - - -	0 3 0	0 2 6	0 2 9	10 0 0
Lime, per barrel - -	0 1 8	0 1 6	0 1 7	0 1 4	per foot - - - - -	0 3 3	0 2 2	0 2 8½	13 0 0
Plough Timb' unmade	- - -	0 2 6	0 2 6	0 10 0	per foot - - - - -	0 4 4	0 4 4	0 4 4	0 5 0
A Car, mounted - - -	5 13 9	5 13 9	5 13 9	4 11 0	Osiers, per hund. -	- - -	0 6 8	0 6 8	0 2 0
Brass, per barrel - -	0 5 0	0 4 6	0 4 9	0 3 6	Rabbits, per couple	0 2 2	0 2 2	0 2 2	0 2 6
Potatoes, per stone -	0 0 3½	0 0 3½	0 0 3½	0 0 3	Milk, per quart - -	0 0 3	0 0 4	0 0 3½	0 0 2½
Butter, salt, per cwt.	5 0 0	4 10 0	4 15 0	5 10 0	Butt'-milk, d' in summer	0 0 1	0 0 1	0 0 1	0 0 0½
fresh, per lb. - - -	0 1 1	0 1 1	0 1 1	0 1 0	D' - d' in winter	0 0 1½	0 0 1½	0 0 1½	0 0 1
Hay, per ton - - - -	3 0 0	4 0 0	3 10 0	4 11 0	Fresh Eels, per doz.	- - -	- - -	- - -	0 3 0
Whiskey, per gallon	0 7 7	0 10 0	0 8 9½	0 6 6	Salted Eels, per cwt.	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
Ale, per quart - - -	0 0 4	0 0 4	0 0 4	0 0 3	Fish, Salt Hake - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
Porter, per gallon -	0 1 4	0 1 4	0 1 4	0 1 2	— Rush Ling - - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
Beef, per lb. - - - -	0 0 6	0 0 6	0 0 6	0 0 5	— Dungarvon - - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
Mutton - - - - -	0 0 7	0 0 6½	0 0 7	0 0 6½	— Salt Cod - - - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
Veal - - - - - - -	0 0 8	0 0 8	0 0 8	0 0 8	— Herrings, per } hundred - - - - -	- - -	0 4 2	0 4 2	0 9 4
Pork - - - - - - -	0 0 5	0 0 5	0 0 5	0 0 4	Oak Bark, per cwt.	0 18 0	0 17 6	0 17 9	0 13 0
Lambs, per score - -	- - -	20 0 0	20 0 0	- - -	Oats, per acre - - -	5 13 9	15 0 0	10 6 10½	5 18 9
Eggs, - do. - - - -	0 1 6	0 1 8	0 1 7	0 0 0	Meadow, do. - - -	7 6 9	10 10 0	8 18 4½	6 0 0
Cheese, per lb. - - -	0 1 4	0 1 1	0 1 2½	0 0 6	Potatoe Land, do. -	8 0 0	10 0 0	9 0 0	8 0 0
Bacon, - do. - - - -	0 0 8	0 0 10	0 0 9	0 0 8	Flax, per rood - - -	2 5 6	2 16 10½	2 11 2	2 0 0
Shoeing a Horse - -	0 3 4	0 3 4	0 3 4	0 3 9					
Price, per yard - - -	0 5 0	0 4 4	0 4 8	0 4 0					
Limey, do. - - - - -	0 3 6	0 3 3	0 3 4½	0 1 4					

Mr. Stratton states a labouring man, the year round, £5. 5s.; a woman £3. with food.—A common labourer £15. per ann.; and a good one at all work £18. Mr. Stratton states the grazing a cow, for the six good months, £4. 11s. Mr. Stratton states this price for soft bricks; hard bricks from £1. 10s. to £2. The other year sold hard bricks £3. 4s., and soft £1. 10s.; but this was owing to a scarcity. Not sold here by the score; 25s. and 30s. each last August. Three for a penny in summer. Mr. Stratton states upland mowing 7s. 7d. per acre. Mr. Stratton states this price for osiers for planting; when dressed for basket making, 9s. 9d. per bundle. The white loaf, 3½lbs. for a shilling, made of first flour. As retailed in this town. Ditto. Not sold here. With the skins; 2s. without the skins. Three-pence per quart in winter. Two-pence halfpenny a couple, retail.

TABLE of PRICES in 1811.	M E A T H.				TABLE of PRICES in 1811.—continued.	M E A T H.			
	Returned by Mr. Hopkins, Athboy, 27th Feb. 1811.	Returned by Mr. Thompson, Navan, 21st Feb. 1811.	Returned by Mr. Gustavus Lambert, Beauport, 1st April 1811.	Returned by Mr. Grainger, Cawse- Town, Navan, Feb. 1811.		Returned by Mr. Hopkins, Athboy, 27th Feb. 1811.	Returned by Mr. Thompson, Navan, 21st Feb. 1811.	Returned by Mr. Gustavus Lambert, Beauport, 1st April 1811.	Returned by Mr. Grainger, Cawse- Town, Navan, Feb. 1811.
Man - per day - -	£. s. d. 0 0 8	£. s. d. 20 0 0	£. s. d. 0 1 1	£. s. d. 0 0 11	Friase per yard - -	£. s. d. 0 4 4	£. s. d. 0 2 8	£. s. d. 0 5 0	£. s. d. 0 4 4
Woman - do. - -	- - - -	- - - -	0 0 10	0 0 6½	Linsey - - - -	0 1 8	0 1 4	0 1 6	0 1 4
Carpenter do. - -	0 2 6	0 3 9	0 3 9½	0 3 11½	Hats, Woollen - -	0 5 5	0 5 10	0 9 9	0 5 5
Mason - do. - -	0 3 3	0 3 6	0 3 3	0 2 8½	— Beaver - - -	1 2 9	- - -	1 5 0	1 0 0
Slater - do. - -	0 3 3	0 3 6	0 3 9½	0 3 6	Brogues per pair	0 8 8	0 7 7	0 7 7	0 7 7
Quarry-man do. - -	0 0 2	0 2 2	0 2 2	0 1 10	Shoes - do. - -	0 9 9	0 9 9	0 9 9	0 8 8
Thresher - do. - -	0 1 1	0 1 8	0 1 3	- - -	Leather per lb. - -	0 3 0	0 2 2	- - -	0 3 3
Mason per perch - -	0 1 4	0 2 2	0 1 8	0 1 10	Salt per stone - -	0 1 3	0 1 4	0 1 1	0 1 0
Slater per square - -	0 8 11	0 8 8	0 9 9	0 11 0	Spades, each - -	0 5 5	0 4 4	0 6 6	0 5 0
Bricklayer per perch	- - -	0 2 6	- - -	- - -	Shovels do. - -	0 2 6	0 2 8	0 2 6	0 2 2
Car and Horse per day	0 2 6	0 3 9½	0 3 3	0 1 11	Swedish Iron p' cwt.	1 6 0	1 15 0	1 10 0	1 8 0
Saddle-horse - do. -	0 4 4	0 5 5	0 5 5	0 5 5	Russian do. do. - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	0 17 4
A Plough - do. - -	0 13 0	0 10 10	0 15 0	0 11 4½	Flax, undressed, cwt.	3 0 0	4 0 0	4 4 0	0 9 10
Grazing a Cow do. - -	0 1 11	2 5 6	0 2 10	0 2 8½	Wool per stone - -	1 0 0	1 2 9	1 2 9	1 1 4½
Ditto a Horse do. - -	0 3 9½	0 4 0	0 3 6	0 4 0	Land Carriage from you to Dublin, } per cwt. - - - -	0 1 6	0 6 0	0 1 4	0 1 2
Blacksmith work p' lb.	0 0 1½	0 0 9	0 3 0	0 1 6	Fowls per couple - -	0 1 2	0 1 4	0 1 6	0 1 6
Ditto - per day - -	- - -	- - -	0 3 9½	0 2 8½	Turkeys per head - -	0 2 2	0 2 6	0 2 2	0 3 3
Price of Iron p' stone	0 3 9	0 3 9	0 2 6	0 2 10	Geese - do. - -	0 1 0	0 2 2	0 2 6	0 2 6
Fencing per perch - -	0 2 6	- - -	0 4 0	0 2 9	Wheat per barrel - -	2 3 0	2 0 0	2 4 6	2 3 0
Turf per kish - -	0 1 6	0 1 3	0 2 6	0 3 3	Barley - do. - -	1 0 0	0 15 2	1 0 6	1 0 6
Sea-Coal per barrel - -	- - -	- - -	0 4 4	0 4 0	Oats - do. - -	0 13 0	0 10 0	0 14 0	0 13 6
Kilkenny Coal, cwt.	0 3 3	- - -	- - -	0 3 3	Malt - do. - -	2 2 0	2 5 0	- - -	2 3 0
Culm per barrel - -	0 3 3	- - -	0 3 0	- - -	Wheaten Bread - -	- - -	- - -	0 1 1	0 1 0
Furze per thousand - -	1 1 8	- - -	3 15 0	4 15 0	Flour, 1sts. per cwt.	1 14 6	1 12 0	1 12 0	1 9 0
Heath per faggot - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	— 2nds. do. - -	1 6 0	1 10 0	1 10 0	1 8 0
Charcoal per barrel } which is necessary } to light the Stone } Coal	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	— 3rds. do. - -	0 15 0	1 2 0	1 5 0	1 3 0
Oak per foot - -	0 5 6	0 5 0	0 6 6	0 7 0	Oat-meal - - -	0 15 0	0 16 0	0 17 0	0 16 0
Ash - do. - -	0 3 6	0 3 6	0 3 3	0 4 0	Labour in Harvest } of Hay and Corn, } per day - - - -	0 2 6	0 1 10	0 2 6	0 2 0
Laths - - - -	- - -	2 5 6	0 5 5	0 5 0	Day Labour of Children	0 0 4	0 0 6	0 0 6	0 0 5
Bricks per thousand	2 5 6	1 11 0	2 3 4	2 3 4	Mowing Grass, per } acre - - - -	0 5 5	0 5 0	0 6 0	0 6 3½
Lime per barrel - -	0 1 0	0 0 10	0 1 4	0 1 5	Deal, White - - -	0 3 6	0 3 3	- - -	0 2 0
Plough Timber - -	- - -	0 13 0	0 3 0	0 15 7	Deal, Red - - -	0 4 0	12 0 0	- - -	0 3 3
A Car mounted - -	5 0 0	5 13 9	5 13 9	4 11 3	Hoops per doz. - -	0 6 0	0 4 0	- - -	0 12 6
Bran per barrel - -	0 4 4	- - -	0 5 0	0 4 0	Osiers per hundred - -	- - -	0 3 4	- - -	- - -
Potatoes per stone - -	0 0 4	0 0 2½	0 0 3½	0 0 3	Rabbits per couple - -	0 2 0	- - -	0 2 8½	0 2 2
Butter, salt, per cwt.	5 5 0	5 12 0	5 2 4	4 18 4	Milk per quart - -	0 0 3	0 0 2	0 0 4	0 0 3½
— fresh, per lb. - -	0 1 4	0 1 0	0 1 1	0 1 2	But'-milk, do. summer	0 0 0½	0 0 0½	- - -	0 0 0½
Hay per ton - -	4 0 0	4 0 0	3 3 0	4 0 0	Do. do. winter	0 0 1	0 0 1	0 0 0½	0 0 0½
Whiskey per gallon - -	0 8 0	0 9 0	0 13 0	0 8 8	Salted Eels per cwt.	2 16 0	- - -	- - -	- - -
Ale, per quart - -	0 0 4	0 0 3½	0 0 3½	0 0 3	Fish, Salt Hake do.	2 0 0	- - -	- - -	- - -
Porter per gallon - -	0 1 4	0 1 6	0 1 4	0 1 4	— Rush Ling - - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	0 0 6
Beef per lb. - -	0 0 7	0 0 6	0 0 6½	0 0 7	— Dungarvon - - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
Mutton do. - -	0 0 7	0 0 6	0 0 7	0 0 8	— Salt Cod - - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
Veal - do. - -	0 0 8	0 0 7	0 1 0	0 0 10	— Herrings, per } hundred - - - -	0 7 6	0 6 8	0 7 7	0 6 0
Pork - do. - -	0 0 4	0 0 4	0 0 5	0 0 5	Oak Bark per ton - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	17 0 0
Lambs per score - -	20 0 0	11 7 6	22 15 0	20 0 0	— Oats - per acre	7 10 0	11 7 6	8 0 0	8 0 0
Eggs - do. - -	0 0 6	0 0 8	0 1 0	0 1 0	— Meadow - do.	7 0 0	3 8 3	6 16 6	8 0 0
Cheese per lb. - -	0 1 5	0 0 6	0 1 4	0 1 6	— Potatoe Land do.	8 10 0	9 2 0	8 2 0	8 0 0
Bacon - do. - -	0 0 6½	0 0 10	0 0 8	0 0 8	— Flax per rood - -	2 5 6	2 0 0	2 5 6	1 17 7
Shoeing a Horse - -	0 3 4	0 3 4	0 3 4	0 3 4					

## OBSERVATIONS ON MEATH.

\* Mr Lambert remarks that 1s. 1d. is the price of labour in his neighbourhood per day, when no conveniences are given; but he adds, that with respect to himself, he gives 10d. in winter, and 1s. in summer, and his charge for conveniences is £4. 15s. per annum, for which the labourer has a comfortable house and small garden, half an acre of potatoes, which if planted with the plough, is so far done at his, Mr. Lambert's expense; half an acre of meadow, and the grazing of one acre of grass land, on which they are allowed to keep a cow and a calf till it becomes a yearling. These conveniences, such as Mr. Lambert gives, are worth £10. per annum; deduct from this £4. 15s. the charge thus remains £5. 5s. in favour of the labourer, which makes his total wages amount to about 1s. 3d. per diem. Mr. Lambert adds, that his wish would be to raise the rent, and also to increase the price of wages; for at present, to use his own words, he conceives, he pays a premium for idleness; in each idle day the workman is receiving the three-hundredth part of 105 shillings, whether he works or not. One of the great sources of the laziness of his countrymen, he thinks, arises from the mode in which they are paid their remuneration for their labour, it appears to be so small; whereas, if the whole were to be paid in money, the benefit of labour would be apparent.

Mr. Grainger says, if the labourers be dieted, they are paid only 6½d. per day, but with a cabin, grass for a cow the year round, half an acre of potatoe ground, 7d. per day; in which case the labourer pays £9. the year for rent, viz. 90s. for the cow, and 30s. for the cabin.

Mr. Thompson says, even in this neighbourhood differences appear with respect to labour, many paying more in commodity than cash, and others paying entirely in cash. The price of labour alters very much as you approach towns, as does also the price of potatoe land. Within one and a half miles of Navan, land lets for potatoes at the rate of £10. per annum; and where I live, about three miles from Navan, land of equal value does not bring in that way more than six guineas. When I plough, dung, drill, and harvest the potatoes with my own horses, I get eight guineas the acre. Lea land, a long time laid down, (say 10 or 15 years) will let for six guineas for two crops of potatoes, without dung, the second generally better than the first. In many cases the tenant pays the rent before he gets leave to dig.

† Mr. Grainger says women receive in harvest 1s. per day.

‡ Mr. Grainger says a Hedge Carpenter receives only 2s. 2d. per day.

§ Mr. Thompson says a Slater receives per square from 8s. 8d. to 11s. 4½d.

¶ Mr. Lambert says there are no brick walls in his neighbourhood.

‡ Mr. Thompson states the hire of a plough for the summer half year 10s. 10d. Mr. Grainger says that sometimes a guinea an acre is paid for ploughing.

§ Mr. Thompson states the grazing a cow for summer half year £2. 5s. 6d.

¶ No average of Blacksmith's work can be struck from the returns. Mr. Hopkins and Mr. Thompson mean this price per pound, the one the blacksmith furnishing materials, and the other not. Mr. Lambert states 3s. per stone, and Mr. Grainger 1s. 6d.; probably, the one means in the same manner furnishing materials to the blacksmith, and the other without materials.

TABLE of PRICES in 1811.	Average of MEATH.	WEXFORD.			TABLE of PRICES in 1811.—continued.	Average of MEATH.	WEXFORD.		
		Returned by Col. Barry, Newtown- Barry, 21st May 1811.	Returned by Mr. Harvey, Kyle, 3d March 1811.	Returned by Rev. Rich. Radcliffe, Enniscorthy 31st May, 1811.			Returned by Col. Barry, Newtown- Barry, 21st May 1811.	Returned by Mr. Harvey, Kyle, 3d March 1811.	Returned by Rev. Rich. Radcliffe, Enniscorthy 31st May, 1811.
		£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.			£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Man - per day	0 0 10½	0 1 1	0 0 10	16 0 0	Bacon do. - - -	0 0 8	0 0 8	0 0 10	0 0 9
Woman - do. - -	0 0 8½	0 0 6½	0 0 6	10 0 0	Shoeing a Horse - - -	0 3 4	0 3 3	0 3 3	0 3 4
Carpenter do. - -	0 3 3	0 2 6	0 2 8½	0 2 8½	Frieze per yard - - -	0 4 1	0 3 6	0 3 0	0 3 3
Mason - do. - -	0 3 2½	0 2 6	0 3 3	0 2 8½	Linsley - - -	0 1 5½	0 1 1	0 1 8	0 1 4
Slater - do. - -	0 3 6	0 2 6	0 3 3	0 2 8½	Hats, Woollen - - -	0 6 7½	0 4 4	0 5 0	0 4 0
Quarry-man do. - -	0 2 1	0 1 8	0 2 6	0 2 2	— Beaver - - -	1 2 7	1 2 9	0 17 0	0 18 0
Thresher do. - -	0 1 0	0 1 1	-	0 1 4	Brogues per pair - - -	0 7 10	0 6 6	0 6 6	0 6 6
Mason per perch - -	0 1 9	0 1 6	-	0 1 6	Shoes - do. - - -	0 9 5½	0 10 0	0 8 8	0 9 0
Slater per square - -	0 9 7	0 8 8	0 9 0	0 6 0	Leather per lb. - - -	0 3 1½	-	0 3 3	-
Bricklayer per perch	0 2 6	-	-	0 1 0	Salt per stone - - -	0 1 2	0 1 4	0 1 0	0 1 2
Car and Horse per day	0 2 10½	0 3 3	0 2 8½	0 3 3	Spades each - - -	0 5 3½	0 2 6	0 2 8½	0 3 10
A Saddle-horse do.	0 5 1½	0 0 6	0 3 3	0 8 6	Shovels do. - - -	0 2 3	0 2 6	0 2 2	0 3 10
A Plough - - do.	0 12 6½	0 5 5	0 5 5	0 5 5	Swedish Iron p <sup>r</sup> cwt.	1 9 9	-	-	1 4 0
Grass a Cow per week	0 2 5½	3 0 0	0 2 6	0 2 6	Russia do. do.	0 17 4	-	-	1 10 0
Ditto a Horse do. - -	0 3 9½	3 0 0	0 3 3	0 2 8½	Flax, undressed, cwt.	3 14 0	-	4 11 0	4 0 0
Blacksmith work p <sup>r</sup> lb.	0 0 0	-	0 0 6	0 0 4	Wool per stone - - -	1 1 8½	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 2 9
Ditto - per day - -	3 2½	-	0 3 3	0 3 3	Land Carriage from you to Dublin, } per cwt. - - -	-	0 3 0	0 2 6	0 4 4
Price of Iron p <sup>r</sup> stone	0 3 2½	0 6 6	0 3 9	0 3 0	Fowls per couple - - -	0 1 4½	0 2 6	0 4 0	0 1 5
Fencing per perch - -	0 3 1	0 2 2	-	0 0 8	Turkeys per head - - -	0 2 6½	0 3 3	0 2 2	0 2 2
Turf per kish - - -	0 2 1½	0 3 4	0 3 9	0 3 9½	Geese - do. - - -	0 2 0½	0 2 8½	0 1 6	0 1 4
Sea-Coal per barrel - -	0 4 2	2 3 4	0 4 4	0 4 6	Wheat per barrel - - -	2 2 7½	2 2 0	2 0 0	2 0 0
Kilkenny Coal, cwt.	0 3 3	0 2 0	-	-	Barley - do. - - -	-	1 4 0	1 0 0	1 2 9
Calm per barrel - - -	0 3 1½	0 5 5	1 2 9	0 2 10	Oats - do. - - -	-	0 14 0	0 14 0	0 15 0
Furze per 1000, faggot	3 3 10½	4 3 4	-	5 0 0	Malt - do. - - -	-	-	1 15 0	2 0 0
Heath per faggot - - -	-	0 0 1	-	0 0 1	Wheaten Bread - - -	-	-	-	-
Charcoal per barrel, } which is necessary } to light the Stone } Coal - - - - -	-	-	-	-	Flour, 1sts. per cwt. - - -	-	-	1 10 0	2 12 0
Oak per foot - - -	0 6 0	0 5 0	0 3 6	0 3 6	— 2nds. do. - - -	-	-	1 0 0	2 6 0
Ash - do. - - -	0 3 6½	0 3 0	0 3 3	0 3 3	— 3rds. do. - - -	-	-	-	1 10 0
Laths per 100, 4 feet	0 5 2½	0 5 0	0 4 0	0 5 6	Oat-meal - - -	-	-	0 16 0	0 16 0
Bricks per thousand	2 0 4½	1 14 1½	1 5 0	2 3 4	Labour in Harvest } of Hay and Corn, } per day - - -	0 2 2½	0 2 2	0 1 6	0 1 4
Lime per barrel - - -	0 1 2½	0 3 0	0 2 0	0 4 4	Day labour of Children } Mowing Grass, per } acre - - - - -	0 0 5½	0 0 4	0 0 6	0 0 4
Plough Timber - - -	0 10 6	2 5 6	0 5 5	0 5 5	Deal, White, per ton - - -	0 2 7½	7 0 0	0 3 6	7 10 0
A Car mounted - - -	5 4 7½	5 13 9	2 5 6	7 7 10½	Deal, Red - do. - - -	0 3 7½	7 15 0	0 3 6	7 10 0
Bran per barrel - - -	0 4 5½	0 5 0	0 3 0	0 5 0	Hoops per doz. - - -	0 11 3	-	-	0 5 0
Potatoes per stone - -	0 0 3½	0 0 3	0 0 6	0 0 3	Osiars per hundred - - -	0 3 4	-	-	0 6 6
Butter, salt, per cwt.	5 4 5	5 0 0	-	5 15 0	Rabbits per couple - - -	0 2 3½	0 1 2	0 1 4	0 2 2
— fresh per lb. - - -	0 1 1½	0 1 6	0 1 6	0 1 1	Milk per quart - - -	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 2½
Hay per ton - - -	3 15 3	4 0 0	5 0 0	4 10 0	But <sup>r</sup> -milk do. summer	0 0 0½	0 0 1	0 0 0½	0 0 0½
Whiskey per gallon - -	0 9 8	0 10 0	0 10 0	0 9 0	Do. do. winter - - -	0 0 0½	-	0 0 1	0 0 1
Ale per quart - - -	0 0 3½	0 0 4	0 0 4	0 0 4	Salted Eels per cwt.	2 16 0	-	-	-
Porter per gallon - - -	0 1 4½	0 1 6	0 1 4	0 1 4	Fish, Salt Hake do. - - -	2 0 0	-	-	0 18 0
Beef - per lb. - - -	0 0 6½	0 0 5½	0 0 5	0 0 4	— Rush Ling do. - - -	0 0 6	-	-	2 16 0
Mutton do. - - -	0 0 7	0 0 6	0 0 6	0 0 5	— Salt Cod - do. - - -	-	-	-	1 8 0
Veal - do. - - -	0 0 9½	0 0 6½	0 0 5	0 0 4	— Herrings per } hundred - - -	0 6 11½	0 5 0	0 5 0	0 5 0
Pork - do. - - -	0 0 4½	0 0 4	0 0 4½	0 0 3½	Oak Bark per barrel	17 0 0	1 5 0	1 15 0	1 8 0
Lambs per score - - -	18 10 7½	14 0 0	10 0 0	12 0 0	Oats - per acre	8 14 4½	-	-	7 4 0
Eggs per doz. - - -	0 0 9	0 0 8	0 1 8	0 0 10	— Meadow - do. - - -	6 6 2	4 0 0	-	5 4 0½
Cheese per lb. - - -	0 1 2½	0 1 0	0 0 4	0 0 8	Potatoe Land do. - - -	8 8 0	11 7 6	-	4 7 0½
					Flax per rood - - -	2 2 1½	-	-	3 0 0

\* Mr. Radcliffe remarks that this price is paid for a Car with spoke wheels, and that the price for a common one is 4l. 11s.      \* Mr. Radcliffe remarks that near a town  
 remarks that Whiskey frequently is sold for 18s. or 20s.      \* Mr. Harvey remarks, in his neighbourhood, it is not usual to let land in this way.  
 A hay crop is sometimes sold according to its produce from three to six guineas per acre.      \* Mr. Radcliffe remarks that near a town  
 Potatoe ground maured will set for 10l. an acre.

TABLE of PRICES in 1811.	Average of Wexford.	QUEEN'S COUNTY.	WEST- MEATH.	WICKLOW.	TABLE of PRICES in 1811.—continued.	Average of Wexford.	QUEEN'S COUNTY.	WEST- MEATH.	WICKLOW.
		Returned by Lord De Vesci, Abbeleix, July 9th 1811.	Returned by Earl Longford, Packen- hamhall, 21st Mar. 1811.	Returned by Mr. Graham, Gold- Mountain, 31st Mar. 1811.			Returned by Lord De Vesci, Abbeleix, July 9th 1811.	Returned by Earl Longford, Packen- hamhall, 21st Mar. 1811.	Returned by Mr. Graham, Gold- Mountain, 31st Mar. 1811.
Man - per day -	£. s. d. 16 p <sup>r</sup> year	£. s. d. 0 1 0	£. s. d. 0 0 10	£. s. d. 0 1 0	Hats, Woollen -	£. s. d. 0 4 5	£. s. d. 0 6 6	£. s. d. 0 7 0	£. s. d. 0 5 0
Women - do. -	8 do.	0 6 ½	0 0 6	0 0 6	— Beaver -	0 19 3	1 2 9	1 2 9	1 2 9
Carpenter per day -	0 2 7	2 8 ½	0 2 6	0 2 6	Brogues, per pair -	0 6 6	0 6 6	0 7 7	0 5 5
Mason - do. -	0 2 9 ½	2 8 ½	0 3 0	0 2 6	Shoes - do. -	0 9 2 ½	0 9 9	0 9 0	0 9 0
Slater - do. -	0 2 9 ½	2 8 ½	0 3 0	0 2 6	Leather, per lb. -	0 3 3	0 3 6	-	1 8
Quarry-man do. -	0 2 1 ½	1 1	0 1 4	0 1 7 ½	Salt, per stone -	0 1 2	0 1 6	0 1 6	0 1 1
Thresher do. -	0 1 2 ½	1 1	0 1 4	0 1 0	Spades, each -	0 3 0	0 3 3	0 4 10	0 2 6
Mason, per perch -	0 1 6	1 4	0 1 7 ½	0 1 10	Shovels, do. -	0 2 10	0 3 0	0 2 8 ½	0 2 2
Slater, per square -	0 7 10 ½	0 7 0	0 17 0	0 8 8	Swedish Iron, p <sup>r</sup> cwt. -	1 4 0	1 10 0	1 8 0	1 6 0
Bricklayer, per perch -	0 1 0	-	0 1 7 ½	0 2 0	Russian do. do. -	1 10 0	1 0 0	-	-
Car and Horse per day -	0 3 1	0 3 3	0 2 6	0 3 3	Flax, undressed, cwt. -	4 5 6	3 0 0	3 15 0	-
A Saddle-horse do. -	0 5 10 ½	0 5 5	0 5 5	0 5 5	Wool, per stone -	1 0 11	0 18 0	1 0 0	1 8 0
A Plough - do. -	0 5 5	0 6 6	1 2 9	-	Land carriage from you to Dublin, } per cwt. -	0 3 3 ½	0 3 3	0 2 2	0 2 6
Grass a Cow per week -	0 2 8	0 1 6	0 1 4	0 2 2	Fowls, per couple -	0 2 7	0 1 1	0 1 8	0 2 0
Ditto a Horse do. -	0 3 0	0 1 8	0 2 0	0 3 3	Turkeys, per head -	0 2 6 ½	0 1 7 ½	0 2 6	Pouls 2s.
Blacksmith work p <sup>r</sup> lb. -	0 0 5	0 0 7	0 0 2	0 0 3	Geese - do. -	0 1 8	1 1	0 2 2	Goalsins 1s.
Ditto - per day -	0 3 3	0 3 3	0 3 0	-	Wheat, per barrel -	2 0 8	1 15 0	1 16 0	1 18 0
Price of Iron p <sup>r</sup> stone -	0 4 5	0 4 0	0 3 6	0 3 3	Barley, do. -	1 2 3	0 18 0	1 0 0	0 18 0
Fencing, per perch -	0 1 5	-	-	0 2 6	Oats, - do. -	0 14 4	0 14 0	0 15 0	0 12 0
Turf per kish -	0 3 3 ½	0 1 8	0 0 10	0 2 0	Malt, - do. -	1 17 6	1 16 0	2 0 0	1 18 0
Sea-Coal, per barrel -	0 4 5	-	0 5 0	0 5 0	Wheaten Bread -	-	No assize.	-	-
Kilkenny Coal, cwt. -	0 2 0	0 1 7	0 3 9 ½	0 2 8 ½	Flour, 1sts. per cwt. -	-	1 10 0	1 10 0	1 12 0
Calm, per barrel -	0 10 4	0 2 2	0 4 0	-	— 2ds. do. -	-	1 4 0	1 6 0	1 8 0
Furze, per thousand -	3 5 5 ½	-	-	-	— 3ds. do. -	-	0 18 0	0 16 0	0 18 0
Heath, per faggot -	0 0 1	0 2 4	-	-	Oatmeal, per cwt. -	0 16 0	0 18 0	0 15 0	0 16 0
Charcoal, p <sup>r</sup> barrel, which is necessary to light the Stone Coal -	-	0 3 3	-	-	Labour in Harvest of Hay and Corn, per day -	0 1 8	0 1 4	0 2 2	0 1 4
Oak, per foot -	0 4 0	0 3 0	0 5 5	0 4 4	Day labour of Children Mowing Grass, per acre -	0 0 4 ½	0 0 4	Very few.	0 0 6
Ash - do. -	0 3 2	0 4 0	0 5 0	0 3 3	Deal, White -	0 3 6	-	-	0 4 4
Laths per thousand -	0 4 10	1 15 0	2 0 0	5s. p <sup>r</sup> hund.	Deal Red -	0 3 6	-	-	0 4 4
Bricks, per thousand -	1 1 ½ 1 ½	2 0 0	1 14 1 ½	2 0 0	Hoops, per dozen -	0 5 0	-	-	-
Lime, per barrel -	0 3 1 ½	0 0 1 1	1 8	0 6 0	Osiens, per hund. -	0 6 6	-	-	-
Plough Timber -	0 5 5	0 7 7	p <sup>r</sup> foot 5s.	-	Rabbits, per couple -	0 1 6 ½	0 2 2	0 1 8	0 2 8
A Car mounted -	5 2 4 ½	3 8 3	8 0 0	3 0 0	Milk, per quart -	0 0 3	0 0 2 ½	0 0 3	0 0 3
Bran, per stone -	0 4 4	0 6 8	p <sup>r</sup> bar. 4 4	0 4 0	But <sup>r</sup> -milk, d <sup>o</sup> in summer <sup>r</sup> d <sup>o</sup> - d <sup>o</sup> in winter	0 0 0 ½	0 0 0 ½	0 0 0 ½	3 quarts 1 0 0 2
Potatoes, per stone -	0 0 4	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3 ½	Salted Eels, per cwt. -	0 18 0	-	-	-
Butter, salt, per cwt. -	5 7 6	5l. to 6l.	5 5 0	5 12 0	Fish, Salt Hake, do. -	0 18 0	-	-	-
— fresh, per lb. -	0 1 4 ½	0 1 0	0 1 0	0 1 1	— Rush Ling, do. -	2 16 0	0 5 0	-	-
Hay, per ton -	4 10 0	3 8 3	6 0 0	4 0 0	— Dungarvon, do. -	2 16 0	0 4 0	p <sup>r</sup> lb. 3	-
Whiskey, per gallon -	0 9 8	0 9 0	0 9 9	0 9 0	— Salt Cod, p <sup>r</sup> doz. -	1 8 0	-	-	-
Ale, per quart -	0 0 4	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3 ½	— Herrings, per hundred -	0 5 0	0 10 0	0 8 4	0 4 4
Porter, per gallon -	0 1 4 ½	0 1 8	0 1 2	0 1 4	Oak Bark, per ton -	1 9 4	17 0 0	22 15 0	1 4 0
Beef, per lb. -	0 0 4 ½	0 0 4 ½	0 0 6	0 0 6	(Oats, acre -	7 4 0	-	6 16 6	-
Mutton - do. -	0 0 5 ½	0 0 5 ½	0 0 7	0 0 6	Meadow, do. -	4 12 0 ½	4l. to 7l.	6 16 6	5 0 0
Veal - do. -	0 0 5	0 0 6	0 0 10	0 0 6	Potatoe Land, do. -	9 3 9	10 dunged.	7 0 0	9 2 0
Pork - do. -	0 0 4	0 0 4	0 0 6	0 0 4	Flax, per rood -	3 0 0	2 10 0	2 0 0	-
Lambs, per score -	12 0 0	25 <sup>a</sup> year old	16 0 0	12 0 0					
Eggs, per doz. -	0 1 0 ½	0 0 10	5s. p <sup>r</sup> hund.	each 0 ½					
Cheese, per lb. -	0 0 8	0 0 6	0 0 10	0 0 8					
Bacon, do. -	0 0 9	0 0 8	0 0 6 ½	0 0 7					
Shoeing a Horse -	0 3 3 ½	0 2 8 ½	0 2 8 ½	0 2 0					
Friese, per yard -	0 3 3	0 4 4	0 2 8 ½	0 5 0					
Linsey, per yard -	0 1 4 ½	0 1 4	0 2 2	0 1 4					

\* No diet.    b Dry work, and mortar work 4s. 6d.    c He finding Iron.    d Risen latterly, but 3s. 6d. before.    e Small Timber, and gross mill timber 3s.    f Common log wheels and wooden axle.    g Varies frequently.    h Finding their own labourer.  
 i Generally per acre.    k Too variable to fix.    l Very dear.    m Roach or quick.    n Being very dear.    o Per day the year round.    p Ditto.    q Pasture grass.    r Ditto.    s Finding iron.    t Swedish iron.    u Making new ditches.  
 v Finding iron.    w Calf skin, and sole leather 3s.    x Not ascertained this season.    y Young.    z Present price, often varies.    aa None set in this county.    bb 20 stone.    cc 16 Ditto.    dd 14 Ditto.    ee 12 stone.    ff Little sold, generally home-baked.    gg And Diet.    hh Varies according to size and length.    ii But leather, carried, 2s. 6d.

PRICES IN 1811.

TABLE of PRICES in 1811.	Average of Leinster.	CLARE.	KERRY.	Tipperary.	TABLE of PRICES in 1811.—continued.	Average of Leinster.	CLARE.	KERRY.	Tipperary.
		Returned by Thomas Morony, Ibrickane. 1811.	Returned by R. T. Herbert, Killarney. 1811.	Returned by Rev. N. Herbert, Carrick on Suir. 1811.			Returned by Thomas Morony, Ibrickane. 1811.	Returned by R. T. Herbert, Killarney. 1811.	Returned by Rev. N. Herbert, Carrick on Suir. 1811.
Man the year round	0 1 1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 0 10	0 1 0	20 0 0	Linsey	0 1 7	0 0 10	-	0 2 4
Woman do.	0 0 7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	-	0 0 5	10 0 0	Bundle Cloth, about half yard wide	-	5d. to 8d.	-	-
Carpenter per day	0 3 0	0 3 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 2 8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 3 0	Hats, Woollen	0 5 6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 3 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 5 5	0 5 11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Mason do.	0 3 1	0 3 3	0 2 8	0 3 0	Beaver	1 0 8	-	-	1 1 1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Slater do.	0 3 4	0 3 9	0 2 8	0 3 0	Brogues - per pair	0 6 7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 8 1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 9 0	0 5 5
Quarry-man do.	0 1 10	0 1 7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 2 2	0 1 6	Shoes do.	0 9 2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 9 9	0 9 9	0 9 5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Thresher do.	0 1 5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 2 2	0 1 7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 2 0	Leather, per lb.	0 1 11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	-	0 1 10	0 1 11
Mason, per perch	0 1 6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 7 7	0 1 6	0 7 0	Salt, per stone	0 1 3	0 1 3	0 0 8	0 1 6
Slater, per square	0 6 10	0 7 7	0 5 5	0 5 6	Spades, each	0 1 11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 3 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 2 4	0 3 0
Bricklayer, per perch	0 2 11	-	-	0 6 6	Shovels, do.	0 2 9	0 2 8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	-	0 2 9
Car and Horse per day	0 3 4	0 3 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 4 4	0 3 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	Swedish Iron, p <sup>r</sup> cwt.	1 6 0	-	1 8 0	1 6 0
A Saddle-horse do.	0 5 11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	-	0 5 5	0 6 6	Russian do. do.	1 2 10	-	1 8 0	1 6 0
A Plough do.	0 11 2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 6 6	0 2 8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 8 0	Flax undressed, cwt.	3 12 10	-	-	4 11 0
Grass a Cow per week	0 3 0	0 2 6	0 3 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 2 6	Wool, per stone	1 1 2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	1 2 9	1 4 0	0 18 0
Ditto a Horse do.	0 4 8	0 5 10	0 9 9	0 10 0	Land Carriage from you to Dublin,	-	-	0 15 0	0 3 3
Blacksmith work, p <sup>r</sup> lb.	0 0 5	-	0 0 2	0 0 6	per cwt.	-	-	-	-
Ditto, per day	0 2 11	-	0 2 2	0 3 0	Fowls, per couple	0 2 0	0 1 4	0 1 1	0 1 11
Price of Iron, p <sup>r</sup> stone	0 3 2	-	0 3 6	0 2 4	Turkeys, per head	0 2 8	0 1 1	0 1 9	0 2 10
Fencing, per perch	0 3 0	1 0 2	0 0 6	0 2 6	Geese do.	0 1 7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 1 0	0 2 0	0 2 7
Turf, per kish	0 1 11	1 2 9	0 0 5	0 2 6	Wheat, per barrel	-	44 40 st.	2 0 0	2 5 6
Sea-Coal, per barrel	0 5 0	-	-	0 4 8	Barley, do.	-	2 32 st.	p <sup>r</sup> st. 1	1 0 0
Kilkenny Coal, cwt.	0 2 4	-	0 5 6	0 2 10	Oats do.	-	17s. 28 st.	do. 0 10	0 13 6
Culm, per ton	0 3 10	-	-	bar. 4 0	Malt do.	-	-	-	1 5 0
Furze, per thousand	4 17 1	-	0 16 3	-	Wheaten Bread	-	-	-	0 1 0
Heath, per faggot	0 0 9	-	-	0 0 4	Flour, 1sts. per cwt.	-	1 10 0	1 12 0	3 0 0
Charcoal per barrel, necessary to light the Stone Coal	0 4 7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	-	-	None used	do. do.	-	1 7 0	1 8 0	2 12 0
Oak, per foot	0 4 6	-	0 2 8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 3 6	do. do.	-	1 4 0	1 1 8	2 2 0
Ash, do.	0 3 7	-	0 2 8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 4 2	do. do.	-	-	0 5 5	0 14 0
Laths, per thousand	1 12 6	1 12 6	1 6 0	0 6 0	Oatmeal	-	-	-	-
Bricks, per thousand	1 13 2	1 1 0	1 5 0	0 15 0	Labour in Harvest of Hay or Corn, p <sup>r</sup> day	0 1 10	diet 1 1	0 1 7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 1 6
Lime, per barrel	0 1 11	0 1 4	0 1 8	0 1 8	Day labour of Children	0 0 5	ad. to 6d.	0 0 3	0 0 6
Plough Timber	0 14 7	-	1 2 9	0 11 4	Mowing Grass, p <sup>r</sup> acre	0 6 2	0 5 5	0 5 5	0 5 0
A Car mounted	4 19 9	4 10 0	6 16 6	1 2 9	Deal, White	0 4 8	-	-	11 f 9 6
Bran, per barrel	0 4 10	-	cwt. 5 0	cwt. 6 6	Deal, Red	0 5 5	-	-	do. 10 6
Potatoes, per stone	0 0 3	0 0 2	0 0 4	0 0 4	Hoops, per doz.	0 5 2	-	-	0 3 10
Butter, salt, per cwt.	5 6 11	4 11 0	5 16 0	7 10 0	Osiers, per hundred	0 4 0	-	-	1 0 0
do. fresh, per lb.	0 1 2	0 1 2	0 1 2	0 1 8	Rabbits, per couple	0 2 1	-	0 1 1	0 1 6
Hay, per ton	4 7 3	2 5 6	3 0 0	4 11 0	Milk - per quart	0 0 2	0 0 2	0 0 2	0 0 2
Whiskey, per gallon	0 9 0	0 8 8	0 10 6	0 8 6	Butt <sup>r</sup> -milk, d <sup>o</sup> in summ <sup>r</sup>	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 1	0 0 1
Ale, per quart	0 0 3	0 0 2	0 0 2	0 0 3	do. do. in wint <sup>r</sup>	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 2	0 0 2
Porter, per gallon	0 1 3	1 8	0 1 6	0 1 4	Salted Eels, per cwt.	1 17 4	-	-	0 0 6
Beef, per lb.	0 0 5	0 0 6	0 0 5	6 d. to 7 d.	Fish, Salt Hake do.	1 9 0	-	-	1 0 0
Mutton	0 0 6	0 0 6	0 0 5	6 d. to 7 d.	Rush Ling, do.	2 3 8	-	-	2 0 0
Veal	0 0 7	-	0 15 0	8 d. to 9 d.	Dungarvon do.	2 16 0	-	-	1 18 0
Pork	0 0 4	0 0 3	0 0 4	0 0 3	Salt Cod do.	1 8 0	-	-	-
Lambs, per score	17 0 4	0 5 5	0 11 4	0 11 4	Herrings, p <sup>r</sup> 100	0 6 7	3s. to 6s.	salt 6 6	0 4 2
Eggs, do.	0 0 10	0 10 0	0 10 0	0 10 0	Oak Bark, per ton	16 15 7	-	32 0 0	16 0 0
Cheese, per lb.	0 0 10	-	0 1 8	0 1 0	Oats - per acre	8 17 3	-	6 16 6	7 0 0
Bacon, do.	0 0 8	-	0 1 1	0 0 6	Meadow do.	6 9 0	5 13 9	5 13 9	5 13 9
Shoeing a Horse	0 3 2	0 3 4	0 3 0	0 3 4	Potatoe Land do.	8 14 8	6 0 0	15 3m 0	12 0 0
Frieze, per yard	0 3 7	0 2 2	0 3 0	0 3 3	Flax, per rood	2 18 3	As potatoes	-	-

<sup>a</sup> Per diem, or about 8 guineas per annum, with his diet and lodging. <sup>b</sup> He finding attendance, and all materials. <sup>c</sup> Paid as a mason by the day. <sup>d</sup> Per diem, with the owner and his horses. <sup>e</sup> In summer, but in winter grazed for her milk. <sup>f</sup> In summer. <sup>g</sup> Done by the job. <sup>h</sup> Brought from Limerick, and sold in small quantities. <sup>i</sup> This is a bank of sods, with a gripe at both sides. <sup>j</sup> For each hundred kishes cut, saved, and ricked on the bog. <sup>k</sup> This is in the country, but not worked. <sup>l</sup> Neither of those used, as turf in such plenty is to be had every where, and of the finest kind. <sup>m</sup> Bog deal is used as a substitute for those, which is found very fine here. <sup>n</sup> Per thousand, made of bog deal. <sup>o</sup> Made in the country, none other used. <sup>p</sup> Slacked, and delivered any where within five miles; Roach-lime 2s. 2d. <sup>q</sup> Of the finest and best kind. <sup>r</sup> Or £5. according to quality. <sup>s</sup> In a good season. <sup>t</sup> A great quantity is made privately from Oats. <sup>u</sup> Those liquors are not made here, but sold by retail at this rate. <sup>v</sup> Immense numbers of pigs sold here alive in winter, and taken to Limerick. <sup>w</sup> Those vary from 5s. to 10s. or 12s. each, according to the breed. <sup>x</sup> Not generally cured for sale. <sup>y</sup> The smith finding iron, otherwise 2s. 2d. <sup>z</sup> The bundle is the general measure for those articles, being 27 inches. <sup>aa</sup> Per day, for working days. <sup>ab</sup> Per day. <sup>ac</sup> No brick-work in this county. <sup>ad</sup> Or 3d. per lb. <sup>ae</sup> The kish is four feet long, two in height, and two in breadth. <sup>af</sup> No coal used in this county. <sup>ag</sup> Used for kiln-drying wheat and malt. <sup>ah</sup> No culm in this county. <sup>ai</sup> Per thousand. <sup>aj</sup> The Bristol barrel. <sup>ak</sup> For the timber, rough, of one plough. <sup>al</sup> With spoke wheels. <sup>am</sup> Eighteen ounces to the pound. <sup>an</sup> Per quarter. <sup>ao</sup> For each lamb. <sup>ap</sup> Per set, four shoes, smith finding iron. <sup>aq</sup> Not made here. <sup>ar</sup> Forty stone to the barrel: much wheat does not grow here, but is in great plenty between me and the Shannon. <sup>as</sup> No brewery within fifteen miles, and therefore very little malt used except in private. <sup>at</sup> No flour made here, but sold at this rate. <sup>au</sup> None made, except for home consumption. <sup>av</sup> According to age and strength. <sup>aw</sup> The country is too bleak for timber of any kind. <sup>ax</sup> None for sale. <sup>ay</sup> This coast affords the greatest plenty of very fine fish of every kind, but is totally neglected for want of industry and encouragement. <sup>az</sup> Caught in abundance in the months of October and February. <sup>ba</sup> Not set in this way. <sup>bb</sup> Or £6. or guineas, according to quality. <sup>bc</sup> Manured by the tiller with sea weed, or sea sand, which now is found better. <sup>bd</sup> For felts. <sup>be</sup> Not had for sale. <sup>bf</sup> Average price of twenty stone to the barrel. <sup>bg</sup> Per plantation acre. <sup>bh</sup> Per quart, of thirteen noggins. <sup>bi</sup> Per ton. <sup>bj</sup> Plantation measure.

TABLE of PRICES in 1811.	TIPPERARY.		Waterford.	Limerick.	TABLE of PRICES in 1811.—continued.	TIPPERARY.		Waterford.	Limerick.
	Returned by Mr. Gayson, Shanbally, 1811.	Average of Tipperary.	Returned by Thomas Wallis, Waterford, Aug. 1811.	Returned by James Phelps, Limerick, Sep. 1811.		Returned by Mr. Gayson, Shanbally, 1811.	Average of Tipperary.	Returned by Thomas Wallis, Waterford, Aug. 1811.	Returned by James Phelps, Limerick, Sept. 1811.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.		£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Man the year round	0 1 1	18 8 0	18 0 0	0 1 2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	Linsey - do. - -	-	-	-	0 1 10
Woman - do. - -	-	-	8 0 0	0 0 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	Hats, woollen - -	0 5 5	0 5 8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	5s. to 10s.	0 5 8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Carpenter per day	0 2 2	0 2 7	0 4 0	0 3 6	— Beaver - - -	0 15 0	0 18 0 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	-	0 13 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Mason - do. - -	0 2 9	0 3 3	0 4 0	0 3 6	Brogues, per pair	0 5 5	0 5 5	0 7 0	0 7 7
Slater - do. - -	0 2 2	0 2 7	0 4 0	0 3 6	Shoes - do. - -	0 9 0	0 9 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 9 9	0 10 0
Quarry-man do. -	0 2 2	0 1 10	0 2 4	0 1 7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	Leather, per lb.	-	0 1 11	0 1 8	slitter 1 9
Thresher - do. - -	-	0 2 0	0 2 0	0 1 11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	Salt, per stone -	cwt. 9 0	0 1 6	0 1 1	0 1 2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Mason per perch	0 2 2	0 4 7	-	10 3 0	Spades, each - -	0 2 4	0 2 9	0 3 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 5 1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Slater, per square	-	0 5 6	0 10 0	10 9 0	Shovels, do. - -	0 2 6	0 2 6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 2 2	0 1 10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Bricklayer, per perch	-	0 6 6	-	10 2 6	Swedish Iron, p <sup>r</sup> cwt.	1 14 1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	1 10 0	1 5 0	1 7 0
Car and Horse per day	0 3 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 3 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 5 0	0 4 7	Russian do. do. -	-	1 6 0	-	1 3 10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
A saddle horse do. -	-	0 6 6	0 4 0	0 11 4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	Flax, undressed, cwt.	2 16 0	3 13 6	-	st. 10 6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
A plough - do. - -	0 6 6	0 7 3	0 11 4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 8 8	Wool, per stone -	0 18 6	0 18 3	0 16 0	1 3 4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Grass a Cow per week	-	0 2 6	0 5 0	0 7 7	Land Carriage from you to Dublin, per cwt. - - - - -	0 4 6	0 3 10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 10 0	0 5 9
Ditto a Horse do. -	-	0 10 0	0 6 6	0 7 7	Fowls, per couple	0 1 6	0 1 8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 1 8	0 1 8
Blacksmith work p <sup>r</sup> lb.	-	0 0 6	0 0 1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 0 6	Turkeys, per head	0 1 8	0 2 3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 2 8	0 3 1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Ditto - per day	0 2 8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 2 10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 2 2	0 1 7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	Geese - do. - -	0 2 2	0 2 4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 2 2	0 3 0
Price of iron p <sup>r</sup> stone	-	0 2 4	0 3 6	0 3 3	Wheat, per barrel	2 0 0	2 2 9	2 2 0	1 19 0
Pricing per perch	0 1 1	0 1 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	-	0 7 7	Barley, per stone -	0 16 0	-	1 0 0	1 0 8
Turf per kish - -	0 1 1	0 1 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	-	0 4 11	Oats, per do. - -	stone 0 10	-	0 15 0	0 12 0
Sea-coal per barrel	1 10 ton	0 4 8	0 5 0	0 4 8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	Malt, per do. - -	-	-	1 15 0	2 2 9
Kilnenny Coal, cwt.	0 3 3	0 3 0 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 2 0	0 3 8	Wheat <sup>b</sup> bread, 2lb. 7oz.	-	-	-	0 0 6
Coal, per barrel	0 5 5	0 4 8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 4 0	0 2 8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	Flour, 1sts. per cwt.	Same as	-	-	1 11 0
Furze, per thousand	-	0 0 4	8 6 8	4 15 0	— 2nds. do. - -	Dublin.	-	1 5 0	1 6 8 0
Heath per faggot	-	0 0 4	None.	-	— 3ds. do. - -	-	-	0 19 0	0 15 0
Charcoal per barrel, which is necessary to light the Stone	-	-	None.	-	Oatmeal - - - -	0 16 0	-	0 17 0	0 16 6
Coal - - - - -	-	-	-	-	Labour in Harvest of Hay and Corn, per day - - - -	0 1 1	0 1 3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 2 0	0 1 10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Oak - per foot - -	-	0 3 6	0 4 2	0 5 3	Day labour of Children	0 0 6	0 0 6	0 0 4	0 0 8
Ash - do. - - - -	-	0 4 2	0 4 2	0 5 2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	Mowing Grass, per acre - - - - -	0 5 11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 5 5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 5 0	0 12 0
Laths - - - - -	-	0 6 0	-	0 4 6	Deal White - - -	-	11 <sup>f</sup> 9 6	6 10 0	10 <sup>f</sup> 4 6
Bricks, per thousand	1 14 1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	1 4 6	0 18 0	1 6 4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	Deal Red - - - -	-	do. 10 6	7 10 0	do. 4 10
Lime, per barrel -	0 1 1	0 1 4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 1 4	0 0 8	Hoops, per hundred	-	0 3 10	-	1 12 bar.
Plough timber - -	-	0 11 4	-	0 8 8	Osiers - do. - -	-	1 0 0	-	-
A Car mounted - -	3 0 0	2 1 4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	-	6 5 0	Rabbits, per couple	0 2 2	0 1 10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	-	0 1 6
Bran, per cwt. - -	-	0 6 6	0 4 0	stone 0 9	Milk, per quart -	0 0 2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 0 2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 0 3	0 0 2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Potatoes, per stone	0 0 2	0 0 3	0 0 3	0 0 3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	But <sup>m</sup> -milk, d <sup>r</sup> in summer	0 0 1	0 0 1	0 0 1	0 0 0 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Batter, salt, per cwt.	5 7 0	6 8 6	1 5 0 0	5 0 6	Do - d <sup>r</sup> in winter	0 0 1	0 0 1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	p <sup>r</sup> pint 1	0 0 1
— fresh, per lb.	0 1 0	0 1 4	0 1 8	0 1 4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	Salted Eels, per cwt.	-	-	-	fresh 12 0
Hay, per ton - - -	5 5 0	4 18 0	3 10 0	2 17 0	Fish, Salt Hake do.	-	1 0 0	7d. p <sup>r</sup> lb.	-
Whiskey, per gallon	0 8 6	0 8 6	0 8 0	0 9 0	— Rush Ling do.	-	2 0 0	-	1 19 0
Ale, per quart - -	-	0 0 3	0 0 3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 0 4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	— Dungarvon do.	-	1 18 0	3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> d. p <sup>r</sup> lb.	-
Porter, per gallon	-	0 1 4	0 0 10	0 1 4	— Salt Cod do.	-	-	-	0 19 0
Beef, per lb. - - -	0 0 6	0 0 6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 0 5	0 0 6	— Herrings, per hundred - - -	0 10 0	0 7 1	-	0 10 0
Mutton - - - - -	0 0 6	0 0 6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 0 6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 0 6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	Oak Bark, per ton	-	16 0 0	17 0 0	18 0 0
Veal - - - - -	0 0 7	0 0 7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 0 7	0 0 6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	Oats - per acre	-	7 0 0	-	11 7 6
Pork, per lb. - - -	1 10 cwt.	0 0 3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 0 4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 0 3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	Meadow - do.	8 0 0	6 10 10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	-	8 11 0
Lambs, per score	-	each 11 4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	20 0 0	12 0 0	°Potatoe Land do.	9 0 0	11 10 0	-	17 10 0
Eggs, - do. - - -	0 0 4	0 0 7	p <sup>r</sup> doz. 8	0 1 3	Flax, per rood -	-	-	-	4 5 6
Cheese, per lb. - -	-	0 1 0	1s. English	0 0 11					
Bacon - do. - - -	-	0 0 6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	-	0 0 7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>					
Shoeing a Horse -	0 2 8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 3 0	0 3 4	0 3 10					
Friese, per yard -	0 3 6	0 3 4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 5 0	0 3 3					

\* Mr. Gayson states, including diet. <sup>b</sup> Ditto. <sup>c</sup> Ditto. <sup>d</sup> Mr. Gayson says, no cheese sold by the pound. <sup>e</sup> When labouring men and women are hired by the year, they get diet and lodging besides their wages. <sup>f</sup> Little done in that way. <sup>g</sup> According to the price of coal. <sup>h</sup> The price according to the kind, from £6. to £30. <sup>i</sup> Often higher. <sup>j</sup> The last winter 2s. the pound, of 20 ounces. <sup>k</sup> Finding materials, 7s. 7d. <sup>l</sup> Finding materials, 2s. <sup>m</sup> Finding materials, 9s. 6d. <sup>n</sup> For a distance of 28 miles. <sup>o</sup> With horses. 8s. 8d. per day. <sup>p</sup> Generally sold by the ton of 32 bushels, at 30s. to 45s. 4d. per ton. The former price, at 34s. 1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d. for Whitehaven, Workington, and the latter for Wigan. <sup>q</sup> Not used here for this purpose, and so little used in any other way, that none is offered for sale. <sup>r</sup> Salt butter varies very much in price; it was as high this season as 130s. for first, 126s. second, and 108s. for fourth quality; and was so low as 104s. 100s. 92s. and 82s. <sup>s</sup> In summer 1s. 1d. to 1s. 4d. in winter 1s. 4d. to 1s. 8d. <sup>t</sup> Hay varies in price almost every year; this year, in consequence of a good crop, the price will be 34s. 1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d. to 40s. per ton; last year it was from 80s. to 91s. per ton. <sup>u</sup> Veal is generally sold by the joint, which may be about these rates per pound. <sup>v</sup> Mr. Gayson says, spades without handles. <sup>w</sup> Mr. Gayson says, flax badly scatched. <sup>x</sup> Mr. Gayson says, women receive 10d. <sup>y</sup> Mr. Gayson says, with diet. <sup>z</sup> Mostly imported from England, from 15s. to 30s. <sup>aa</sup> English iron 17s. per cwt. <sup>ab</sup> Varies with the price of Wheat. <sup>ac</sup> In winter 4d. <sup>ad</sup> For three pints. <sup>ae</sup> Very fluctuating. <sup>af</sup> All these articles vary in price, according to political causes, or the apprehension of a good season. The assize of bread is regulated according to the price of wheat and flour.

TABLE of PRICES in 1811.	LIMERICK.			CORK.	TABLE of PRICES in 1811.—continued.	LIMERICK.			CORK.
	Returned by Charles Creed, Bruff, 1811.	Returned by the Hon. Windham Quin, M. P. Adair, Apr. 1811.	Average of Limerick.	Returned by Thomas Newenham, Coolmore, Parish of Carrigolin.		Returned by Charles Creed, Bruff, 1811.	Returned by the Hon. Windham Quin, M. P. Adair, Apr. 1811.	Average of Limerick.	Returned by Thomas Newenham, Coolmore, Parish of Carrigolin.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	
Man the year round	0 1 1	0 0 10	0 1 0 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 1 1	Frisee, per yard	0 2 2	0 2 8	0 2 8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	
Woman ditto	0 0 10	0 0 6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 0 8	0 0 8	Linsey	-	-	0 1 10	
Carpenter per day	0 3 9	0 3 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 3 8	0 3 3	Hats, Woollen	0 5 0	-	0 5 4	
Mason	0 3 9	0 3 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 3 8	0 3 3	— Beaver	0 16 3	-	0 15 0 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	
Slater do.	0 3 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 3 3	0 3 6	0 3 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	Brogues, per pair	0 8 8	0 9 0	0 8 5	
Quarry-man do.	0 2 2	0 1 1	0 1 7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 1 6	Shoes do.	0 10 10	0 11 4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 10 8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	
Thresher	0 1 7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 1 7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 1 8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 1 1	Leather, per lb.	-	-	0 10 7	
Mason, per perch	0 2 6	0 2 2	0 2 6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 1 8	Salt, per stone	0 2 6	cwt. 8 0	0 1 10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	
Slater, per square	0 7 6	0 7 0	0 7 10	-	Spades, each	0 4 8	0 5 0	0 4 8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	
Bricklayer, per perch	0 2 6	-	0 2 6	-	Shovels do.	0 2 6	-	0 2 2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	
Car and Horse, per day	0 4 4	0 4 4	0 4 5	0 3 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	Swedish Iron, p <sup>r</sup> cwt.	1 8 0	1 10 0	1 8 4	
A Saddle-horse do.	0 5 5	-	0 8 4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 6 0	Russian do. do.	-	1 10 0	1 6 11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	
A Plough do.	0 11 4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	-	0 10 0 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 14 0	Flax, undressed, cwt.	4 0 0	-	4 0 0	
Gras <sup>a</sup> a Cow per week	0 3 3	per Annum. 6 16 0	0 5 5	-	Wool, per stone	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 1 1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	
Ditto a Horse do	0 5 3	per Annum. 6 16 0	0 6 5	-	Laud carriage from you to Dublin, per cwt.	-	0 5 0	-	
Blacksmith work p <sup>r</sup> lb.	0 0 6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 0 7	0 0 6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	-	Fowls, per couple	0 1 6	0 1 1	0 1 5	
Ditto per day	0 3 3	0 4 0	0 2 1	-	Turkeys, per head	0 2 6	0 2 2	0 2 7	
Price of iron p <sup>r</sup> stone	0 3 6	0 2 6	0 3 10	1 8 cwt.	Geese do.	0 2 2	0 2 2	0 2 5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	
Fencing per perch	0 2 2	-	0 4 0 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 3 0	Wheat per barrel	2 0 0	2 0 0	bag 11.12s. <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	
Turf, per kish	0 1 4	-	0 3 1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	-	Barley do.	stone 1 3	Limerick Prices.	-	
Sea-Coal, per barrel	-	-	0 4 8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 8 0	Oats, per cwt.	do. 0 10	stone 2 8	-	
Kilkenny Coal, cwt.	0 5 0	0 3 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 4 1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	-	Malt, per barrel	do. 1 8	-	2 0 6	
Culm, per barrel	0 5 0	0 4 10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 4 2	0 8 0	Wheaten Bread	-	-	-	
Furze, per thousand	-	-	4 15 0	10 0 0	Flour, 1sts. per cwt.	1 18 0	1 6 0	1 13 0	
Heath, per faggot	-	-	-	-	— 2ds. do.	-	1 3 0	1 10 0	
Charcoal per barrel, which is necessary to light the Stone Coal	-	-	-	-	— 3ds. do.	-	0 14 0	1 7 0	
Oak per foot	0 6 0	0 5 0	0 5 5	9 4 ton	Oatmeal	-	cwt. 16 0	0 17 6	
Ash do.	0 5 0	0 6 0	0 5 4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	9 4 do.	Labour in Harvest of Hay and Corn, per day	0 1 6	0 1 7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 1 8	
Laths, per hundred	0 4 6	-	0 4 6	-	Day labour of children	0 0 8	0 0 4	0 0 6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	
Bricks, per thousand	1 10 0	1 5 0	1 7 1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	1 9 0	Mowing Grass, per acre	0 6 6	0 8 0	0 8 10	
Lime, per barrel	0 3 3	0 2 4	0 2 1	0 1 8	Deal, White	10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> ft. 10s.	-	0 4 11	
Plough Timber	-	-	0 8 8	-	Deal, Red	do. 12s.	-	0 5 6	
A Car mounted	9 2 0	6 16 6	7 7 10	13 0 0	Hoops, per thousand	-	-	2 10 0	
Bran, per cwt.	-	0 5 0	0 5 0	0 6 6	Oslers, per hundred	-	-	0 3 3	
Potatoes, per stone	0 0 3	0 0 2	0 0 2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 0 6	Rabbits, per couple	0 2 6	-	0 2 0	
Butter, salt, per cwt.	6 0 0	6 0 0	5 13 6	5 10 0	Milk per quart	0 0 2	-	0 0 2	
— fresh, per lb.	0 1 6	0 1 2	0 1 4	0 1 5	But <sup>r</sup> -milk, d <sup>o</sup> in summ <sup>r</sup>	None sold	-	0 0 0 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	
Hay, per ton	3 0 0	2 10 0	2 15 8	5 0 0	D <sup>o</sup> - d <sup>o</sup> in winter	-	-	0 0 1	
Whiskey, per gallon	0 10 0	0 8 6	0 9 2	0 8 2	Salted Eels, per cwt.	-	-	-	
Ale, per quart	0 0 3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	-	0 0 4	-	Fish, Salt Hake do.	-	-	lb. 0 0 3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	
Porter, per gallon	0 1 4	0 1 4	0 1 4	0 1 2	— Rush Ling do.	-	-	1 19 0	
Beef, per lb.	0 0 6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 0 5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 0 6	-	— Dungarvon do.	-	-	2 2 6	
Mutton	0 0 6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 0 6	0 0 6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	-	— Salt Cod, per doz.	-	-	0 19 0	
Veal	0 0 9	0 0 6	0 0 7	-	— Herrings, per hundred	-	0 5 0	0 4 8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	
Pork	0 0 5	2 0 cwt.	0 0 4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	-	Oak Bark, per ton	-	18 0 0	18 0 0	
Lambs, per score	-	11 7 6	11 13 9	-	Oats per acre	7 0 0	6 0 0	8 2 6	
Eggs do.	0 0 10	0 1 6	0 1 2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	-	Meadow do.	6 16 6	5 0 0	6 15 10	
Cheese, per lb.	0 1 0	0 0 6	0 0 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	-	Potatoe Land	10 0 0	6 16 6	11 8 10	
Bacon do.	0 0 8	0 0 8	0 0 7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	-	Flax, per rood	3 0 0	2 0 0	3 1 10	
Shoeing a Horse	0 3 4	0 3 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 3 7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	0 4 0				0 12 2	

<sup>a</sup> A perch contains 31<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> solid feet.      <sup>b</sup> Of 100 superficial square feet.      <sup>c</sup> With a pair of horses.      <sup>d</sup> Very scarce in this neighbourhood, the bogs being almost exhausted.      <sup>e</sup> Mr. Creed says, butter-milk is never sold, but given to the poor.      <sup>f</sup> These prices, exclusive of the price of seed and tillage, together with 13s. per acre, that is paid for tithe of tillage, and 6s. 6d. for mowing.      <sup>g</sup> Peck of seed.

TABLE of PRICES in 1811.	C O R K.				TABLE of PRICES in 1811—continued.	C O R K.			
	Returned by the Rev. H. Townshend Cloghna- kilty.	Returned by the Earl of Shannon, Castle- Martyr, District of Inniskilly.	Returned by Rich. Aldworth, for District called Roches Country.	Average of Cork.		Returned by the Rev. H. Townshend Cloghna- kilty.	Returned by the Earl of Shannon, Castle- Martyr, District of Inniskilly.	Returned by Rich. Aldworth, for Disrrict called Roches Country.	Average of Cork.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	
Man - per day -	0 0 10	0 0 10	0 1 1	0 0 11½	Hats, Woollen -	-	0 5 5	0 5 0	0 5 5½
Woman - do.	0 0 6	0 0 6	0 0 6½	0 0 6½	Beaver -	-	0 15 0	1 5 0	1 3 1
Carpenter per day -	0 3 0	0 2 8½	0 3 0	0 2 11½	Brogues per pair -	-	0 5 5	0 7 7	0 6 10
Mason - do.	0 3 0	0 2 8½	0 2 2	0 2 9½	Shoes - do.	0 10 10	0 8 8	0 10 0	0 10 0½
Slater - do.	0 3 0	0 3 5	0 3 9½	0 3 5½	Leather per lb.	-	0 2 4	0 0 3½	0 1 6½
Quarry-man do.	0 1 6	0 2 2	0 1 7½	0 1 8½	Salt per stone -	0 1 6	0 1 2	0 1 6	0 1 4½
Thresher do.	0 1 0	0 2 0	0 1 7½	0 1 5	Spades, each -	-	0 2 8½	0 3 0	0 2 7½
Mason per perch -	-	0 1 6	0 1 4	0 1 6	Shovels do. -	-	0 2 4	0 3 0	0 2 7
Slater per square -	0 5 5	0 7 7	0 7 0	0 6 8	Swedish Iron, p <sup>r</sup> cwt.	-	1 10 0	1 8 0	1 7 0
Bricklayer per perch -	-	-	0 1 3	0 1 3	Russia do. do.	-	1 6 0	1 3 0	1 4 6
Car and Horse per day	0 4 4	0 3 9½	0 4 0	0 3 11½	Flax, undressed, cwt.	-	4 11 0	3 4 0	3 17 6
A Saddle-horse do.	-	0 5 5	0 5 5	0 5 7½	Wool per stone -	-	1 0 0	1 2 9	1 1 3
A Plough - do.	0 7 7	0 8 8	0 9 0	0 9 9½	Land Carriage from you to Dublin, per cwt. -	-	0 8 8	0 6 8	0 8 3½
Grass a Cow p <sup>r</sup> week	-	0 2 0	0 2 8½	0 2 4½	Fowls per couple -	0 1 4	0 1 6	0 2 2	0 1 10
Ditto a Horse do.	-	0 2 6	0 3 0	0 2 9	Turkeys per head -	0 2 0	0 2 2	0 3 0	0 2 8
Blacksmith work p <sup>r</sup> lb.	-	0 0 6	0 0 3½	0 0 4½	Geese - do.	0 1 0	0 1 1	0 2 6	0 2 0
Ditto - per day -	-	0 1 1	0 3 9½	0 2 5½	Wheat per barrel -	2 0 0	2 5 6	2 0 0	-
Price of English } Iron per stone - }	-	0 2 3	0 1 7½	0 1 11½	Barley do. -	2 5 0	2 10 0	2 10 0	-
Fencing per perch -	-	0 2 8½	0 1 8	0 2 3½	Oats - do. -	1 10 0	0 14 0	1 13 0	-
Turf per kish -	-	0 3 3	0 2 0	0 2 7½	Malt - do. -	-	-	-	-
Sea-Coal per barrel -	0 7 7	0 8 6	0 12 6	0 9 1½	Wheaten Bread -	-	0 0 3½	-	-
Kilkeny Coal, p <sup>r</sup> cwt.	-	-	0 3 9	0 3 9½	Flour, 1st. p <sup>r</sup> cwt.	-	2 0 0	1 14 0	-
Calm per barrel -	0 7 0	0 6 10	0 7 9½	0 7 4½	2nds. do.	-	1 12 0	1 9 0	-
Furze per thousand	-	7 10 0	5 8 4	7 12 9	3rds. do.	-	1 4 0	1 0 0	-
Heath per faggot -	-	-	0 9 1½	0 0 1½	Oat-meal per cwt. -	-	0 16 6	0 17 0	-
Charcoal per barrel, which is necessary to light the Stone Coal -	-	-	-	-	Labour in Harvest of Hay and Corn, per day -	-	0 1 6	0 2 4	0 1 11½
Oak per foot -	-	0 5 6	0 4 0	0 4 9	Day Labour of Chil- dren -	-	0 0 4	0 0 4	0 0 6½
Ash - do. -	-	0 4 6	0 4 0	0 4 3	Mowing Grass, per acre -	0 3 6	0 5 5	0 4 4	0 4 6½
Laths, per hundred -	0 3 5	0 4 0	0 4 6	0 3 11½	Deal, White -	-	0 8 2	0 6 6	0 6 6½
Bricks per 1000 -	-	1 12 6	1 5 0	1 8 10	Deal, Red -	-	0 10 0	0 8 0	0 7 10
Lime per barrel -	0 5 0	0 1 6	0 1 9	0 2 5½	Hoops per doz. -	-	0 8 6	0 1 0	0 4 9
Plough Timber -	-	0 7 7	0 4 0	0 5 9½	Osiers per 100 -	-	0 0 5	-	0 1 10
A Car mounted -	-	3 8 3	18 4 0	11 10 9	Rabbits per couple -	0 1 0	0 1 8	0 2 6	0 1 9½
Bran per cwt. -	0 5 0	0 6 6	0 4 0	0 4 0	Milk per quart -	-	0 0 2	0 0 3	0 0 2½
Potatoes per stone -	0 0 5	0 0 4	0 0 3	0 0 4½	But <sup>r</sup> -milk, d <sup>r</sup> in summ <sup>r</sup> Do. - do. winter -	-	0 0 1	0 0 1	0 0 0½
Butter, salt, per cwt. fresh per lb. -	-	6 5 0	7 12 0	6 9 0	Salted Eels p <sup>r</sup> cwt. -	-	-	-	-
Hay per ton -	4 0 0	5 13 9	6 0 0	5 3 5	Salt Hake per lb. -	-	-	-	0 0 3½
Whiskey per gallon -	-	0 8 6	0 8 0	0 8 2½	Rush Ling per cwt. -	-	2 0 0	2 5 6	2 2 9
Ale, per quart -	-	0 0 2	0 0 4	0 0 3	Dungarvon do. -	-	-	-	2 2 6
Porter per gallon -	-	0 1 2	0 1 2	0 1 2	Salt Cod per lb. -	-	-	-	0 0 3½
Beef - per lb. -	0 0 5	0 0 6	0 0 7	0 0 6½	Herrings per hun- dred -	-	0 6 6	0 6 0	0 5 8½
Mutton - do. -	0 0 5	0 0 7	0 0 7½	0 0 6½	Oak Bark per ton -	20 0 0	12 0 0	16 0 0	16 0 0
Veal - do. -	-	-	0 0 6½	0 0 6½	Oats - per acre -	-	-	-	7 15 0
Pork - do. -	0 0 4	0 0 5	0 0 3½	0 0 4	Meadow - do. -	-	-	6 0 0	6 2 6½
Lambe per score -	5 0 0	11 7 6	14 0 0	10 2 6	Potatoe Land -	-	-	6 16 6	9 2 0
Eggs - do. -	0 0 8	0 0 10	0 1 0	0 0 10	Flax per rood -	-	-	-	-
Cheese per lb. -	-	0 1 6	0 0 8	0 1 1					
Bacon do. -	-	0 0 8	0 0 6½	0 0 7½					
Shoeing a Horse -	0 2 6	0 3 3	0 4 0	0 3 5½					
Frieze, per yard -	0 3 3	0 2 8	0 3 0	0 2 7½					
Linsay do. -	0 1 7½	0 1 4	-	0 1 5½					

## OBSERVATIONS ON CORK.

<sup>a</sup> The Reverend Mr. Townsend remarks, that the price of labour varies in different parts, being higher in and near towns, and lower in remote and less cultivated places.

<sup>b</sup> Mr. Aldworth says, when paid in cash only.

<sup>c</sup> The Rev. Mr. Townsend says, carpenters, masons, and slaters of the highest order charge more, and some of inferior descriptions may be had for less.

<sup>d</sup> The Rev. Mr. Townsend. Mason's perch work varies. Walls of the best description cost from 1s. 10d. to 2s. 2d. per perch. Dry walls laid without mortar and frequently built for fences, cost from 8d. to 10d. per perch; our stone, which is mostly shistose, makes very good walls in this way, when dashed or rough cast on the outside with lime mortar.

<sup>e</sup> The Rev. Mr. Townsend; a plough with two horses. Earl Shannon; with a pair of horses and man. Mr. Aldworth; with a pair of horses.

<sup>f</sup> The Rev. Mr. Townsend says, in this part of the country cows and horses are never, as I know, grazed by the week; cows are sent in summer to graze on the mountains, at 1s. 6d. to 2s. per quarter.

<sup>g</sup> The Rev. Mr. Townsend. Blacksmith's charge 8d. per pound for working up iron; they do not here work by the day. Earl of Shannon: iron found by the smiths.

<sup>h</sup> The Rev. Mr. Townsend: turf varies greatly, according to situation; and is daily rising in price, from increased demand and consumption of bog. In this neighbourhood bog is hired for making the turf on, and they pay according to the quantity of ground covered, at the rate of 11s. 4½d. per rope, that is the fiftieth part of an acre. The turf is of that species called hand-turf, and in this mode of management the clods are made very large. Three guineas per hundred kishes, has been a common price in Cloughnakilty.

<sup>i</sup> The Rev. Mr. Townsend: the South West Quarter of the County of Cork is wholly destitute of lime-stone, hence the great differences of prices.

<sup>k</sup> No fine hats are sold but in Cork; the coarse are somewhat dearer in country towns; many are sold in fairs.

<sup>l</sup> The Rev. Mr. Townsend: spades and shovels are sold ready made in Cork, many of them being imported. The country price of the former is 2s. 2d. of latter 2s.

<sup>m</sup> Mr. Aldworth: none made for sale but by brewers and distillers.

<sup>n</sup> The Rev. Mr. Townsend: bread made in the country towns, being subject to no excise, is small, and excepting Bandon, where it is very good, as also in Cloughnakilty, of inferior quality.

<sup>o</sup> The Rev. Mr. Townsend: flour sells for much the same price in Cork as in the country. Whiskey, spirits, and wine are higher. Country retailers deal with the wholesale Cork merchants, and according to their distance from the city, charge higher prices.

<sup>p</sup> The Rev. Mr. Townsend: harvest labour rises considerably above common, and varies according to circumstances: travelling labourers, who reap and dig potatoes, get from 1s. 4d. to 2s. per day, and victuals.

<sup>q</sup> The Rev. Mr. Townsend: milk varies in price at different seasons; in summer 1½d., in winter 2½d. to 3d. per quart; butter-milk, or rather sour milk, that is, milk which has stood to have the cream-taken from it, sells for about a halfpenny per quart; it is used almost entirely for human consumption, except such as is employed in rearing calves:

<sup>r</sup> The Rev. Mr. Townsend: price of fish very various; in summer, fresh fish is very cheap all along the southern coast. In winter too, when the weather favours it, it is to be had at moderate prices. Hake is the principal dried fish, and sold generally for two pounds, &c. 120 fish.

<sup>s</sup> The Rev. Mr. Townsend: it is not easy to estimate the acreable value of tillage-land, a well dunged acre of potatoes, ploughed and ready for setting, lets for the crop, in the neighbourhood of Cork and Bandon, ten guineas on the average, sometimes a good deal more, and sometimes less, according to the goodness of the ground. Land prepared for flax tillage, lets from four to six pounds per acre. I do not know that other tillage is ever let by the annual crop. Manured land in the country, for a potatoe crop, will bring from four to six guineas.

<sup>t</sup> Mr. Aldworth says, little sown except for family use.

TABLE of PRICES in 1811.	MUNSTER.	AVERAGE OF THE KINGDOM	CITY OF DUBLIN.	TABLE of PRICES in 1811.—continued.	MUNSTER.	AVERAGE OF THE KINGDOM	CITY OF DUBLIN.
	Average of the Province of Munster.	in 1811.	Returned by Isaac Weld, Esq. 15th June 1811.		Average of the Province of Munster.	in 1811.	Returned by Isaac Weld, Esq. 15th June 1811.
Man - per day -	£. s. d. 0 1 0	£. s. d. 0 1 0	£. s. d. 0 2 2	Beef - per lb. -	£. s. d. 0 0 6	£. s. d. 0 0 5½	£. s. d. 4d. to 8d.
Woman - do. -	0 0 6½	0 0 6½	-	Mutton - do. -	0 0 6	0 0 6½	6d. to 8½d.
Carpenter do. -	0 3 2½	0 3 0	0 4 4	Veal - do. -	0 0 7	0 0 7½	6d. to 10d.
Mason - do. -	0 3 2	0 2 11½	0 4 4	Pork - do. -	0 0 4	0 0 4	4d. to 5d.
Slater - do. -	0 3 4	0 3 1½	0 4 4	Lambs per score	11 3 0	14 4 2½	10s. to 20s.
Quarry-man do. -	0 1 10	0 1 9	0 2 11½	Eggs, new laid, each	p <sup>r</sup> score 9½	p <sup>r</sup> score 9½	1d. to 2d.
Thresher - do. -	0 1 10	0 1 4½	-	Market, per doz.	-	-	0 0 9
Mason per perch	0 7 3½	0 1 10½	0 2 2	Cheese per lb.	0 1 1½	0 0 11½	1s. to 1s. 4d.
Slater per square	0 7 2	0 7 9	0 9 9	Bacon - do. -	0 0 9	0 0 8½	0 0 10
Bricklayer per perch	0 3 5	0 2 8	0 2 2	Shoeing a Horse	0 3 4	0 3 4½	0 4 0
Car and Horse per day	0 4 2½	0 3 7	0 5 5	Frieze per yard	0 3 5	0 3 1½	3s. 9d. to 4s. 4d.
A Saddle-horse do.	0 5 11	0 5 2½	7s. 7d. to 11. 4½	Linsay do. -	0 2 0	0 1 7½	1s. 6d. to 1s. 8d.
A Plough per day	0 6 5	0 3 9	-	Hats, Woollen	0 5 1½	0 5 0½	3s. 3d. to 7s. 7d.
Grass a Cow per week	0 3 7	0 2 11½	3s. 3d. to 7s. 7d.	Beaver -	0 18 9	0 18 10½	10s. to 1l. 6s.
Ditto a Horse do. -	0 6 10½	0 5 3½	1 0 8 8	Brogues, per pair	0 7 5½	0 6 9½	0 4 0
Blacksmith's Wages } per week - }	0 0 5½	-	1l. 6s. to 2l.	Shoes - do. -	0 9 10	0 9 5	5s. to 9s.
Ditto per day -	0 2 6	0 2 9	-	Leather per lb.	0 1 8½	0 1 11½	-
Price of Cast Iron } per lb. - }	0 2 10½	0 3 1½	3d. to 4d.	Salt per stone -	0 1 3½	0 1 2½	0 1 1
Do. Unwrought Iron } per lb. - }	-	0 2 2	4d. to 6d.	Spades, each -	0 3 6	0 3 6	0 4 10
Fencing per perch	0 2 4½	0 2 1½	0 3 9	Shovels do. -	0 2 5	0 2 6½	1s. 8d. to 2s. 2d.
Turf per kish -	0 2 0	0 4 10½	0 2 0	Handles for ditto	-	-	10d. to 1s. 1d.
Sea-Coal per eight } barrels or ton }	0 5 10½	-	1 6 0	Swedish Iron p <sup>r</sup> cwt.	1 6 10	1 6 0	1 6 0
Kilkenny Coal, cwt.	0 3 8	-	0 2 6	Russia do. do.	1 6 4½	1 4 1½	-
Calm per barrel -	0 4 10	5 17 7	-	English do. do.	-	-	0 18 0
Furze, per Load of } 25 Sheaves - }	6 18 1	-	2s. 6d. to 5s.	Flax, undressed, cwt.	3 13 8	3 14 0	-
Heath, Brooms per } dozen - }	0 2 0½	-	0 2 2	Wool per stone -	1 0 6½	1 1 1½	1s. 2d. to 6s.
Charcoal per Load } of 10 or 12 Bush- els, which is neces- sary to light the Stone Coal }	-	-	1 2 9 to } 1 10 0 }	Fowls per couple -	0 1 6	0 1 7½	0 4 4
Oak per foot -	0 4 1	0 4 6½	3s. to 7s.	Crammed Fowls	0 2 2	0 2 4	4s. to 8s.
Ash do. -	0 4 0	0 3 8½	0 2 4	Turkeys per head	0 2 0	0 1 9	4s. to 6s.
Laths per hundred	0 4 10	-	-	Geese - do. -	2 0 9	-	1l. 2s. 9d. to 1l. 7s.
Bricks per thousand	1 4 0	1 8 10½	30s. to 45s. 6d.	Wheat p <sup>r</sup> bar. 20 st.	0 19 7	-	1l. to 1l. 5s.
Lime in Dublin per } Hhgs. (unslacked, double price) - }	0 1 8½	0 1 8	0 1 1	Barley do. 16 st.	0 13 6	-	14s. to 1l. 2s. 9d.
Price of Plough } Timber, vide Ash }	0 9 5	0 11 9½	-	Oats - do. 14 st.	1 14 3	-	1l. 16s. to 2l.
A Car mounted	6 9 3	5 7 4	6 16 6	Malt per barrel	-	-	0 0 11½
Bran per barrel -	0 5 9½	0 4 6½	5s. to 6s. per cwt.	Wheaten fine Bread } the quarter loaf }	-	-	0 0 9½
Potatoes per stone -	0 0 3½	0 0 3½	3s. 3d. to 4s. 4d.	Ditto Household -	-	-	1l. 10s. to 1l. 18s.
Butter, salt, per cwt.	5 16 0	5 6 2½	5l. to 5l. 15s	Flour, 1sts. per cwt.	-	-	1l. 4s. to 1l. 8s.
fresh, per lb. -	0 1 4	0 1 1½	0 1 4	2nds. do. -	-	-	9s. to 1l.
Hay per ton -	3 12 1	3 9 3½	4 0 0	3rds. do. -	-	-	15s. to 1l. 2s.
Straw, Wheaten, per } Load, 35 Sheaves or 4 cwt. - }	-	-	9s. to 17s.	Oat-meal per cwt.	0 16 1½	-	2s. 6d. to 4s. }
Whiskey p <sup>r</sup> gal. best	0 8 10	0 8 7	0 9 6	Labour in Harvest } of Hay and Corn, } per day - }	0 1 7½	0 1 7½	or 5s. rare }
Table Beer, per bar- rel of 48 gallons -	-	-	1 0 0	Day labour of Children	0 0 5	0 0 5½	4d. to 6d.
Ale per quart -	0 0 2½	0 0 3½	2 2 0	Mowing Grass, per } acre - }	0 5 9½	0 5 8	5s. to 6s.
Common Ale p <sup>r</sup> bar.	-	-	-	Deal, White -	-	0 3 9	-
Porter, hogshead, } 63 gallons - }	p <sup>r</sup> gal. 1 3½	p <sup>r</sup> gal. 1 5	30s. to 67s.	Deal, Red -	-	0 4 0½	-
				Hoops per 1000	per doz 0 4 3½	-	For barrels. 2l. to 2l. 10s.
				Osiers per bundle, } 3 feet in girth - }	-	-	1s. 2d. to 2s. 6d.
				Rabbits per couple -	0 1 8	0 1 8	0 2 0
				Milk per quart -	0 0 2½	0 0 2½	0 0 4
				But <sup>r</sup> milk, d <sup>r</sup> in summ <sup>r</sup>	0 0 0½	0 0 0½	0 0 1
				Do. do. winter	0 0 1½	0 0 1	0 0 1
				Fish, Rush Ling or } Shetland - }	-	-	2 0 0
				Salt Herrings per } hundred - }	-	-	0 5 0
				Oak Bark per ton -	17 8 8	18 2 3	15 0 0
				Oats - per acre	7 8 6	7 12 4	-
				Meadow - do.	6 5 4	5 16 0	-
				Potatoe Land do.	10 12 2	8 13 2	-
				Flax per rood -	3 1 10	3 1 7	-

## OBSERVATIONS ON MUNSTER AND CITY OF DUBLIN.

- <sup>a</sup> With attendance. <sup>b</sup> With iron,—for labour 1½*d.*
- <sup>c</sup> Per day, employed all the year round in the city of Dublin and vicinity:—County of Dublin, 7*s.* 7*d.*, near Bray, 9*s.* 9*d.*; Kildare side, 7*s.* 7*d.* per week; odd days in Dublin, 2*s.* 8½*d.*
- <sup>d</sup> Women weeders in gardens per day, 8*d.* Ditto Hay making, from 1*s.* 4*d.* to 1*s.* 7½*d.*
- <sup>e</sup> Their wages were as high as 5*s.* 5*d.* per day, but as the price, with the increased price of timber, put a stop to building, they were lowered.
- <sup>f</sup> Stones, delivered in Dublin, the load of 7 cwt. 1*s.* 8*d.*
- <sup>g</sup> The perch is 21 feet long and 1 foot high. The stone work perch 18 inches broad, and the brick work perch 9 inches broad to 14; square 10 feet by 10 feet.
- <sup>h</sup> According to the sort of work.
- <sup>i</sup> A landau and 4 horses for an excursion to County of Wicklow, to go 30 miles per day, owner finding food for driver and horses, two guineas per day.
- <sup>k</sup> According to quality of pasture and distance from Dublin, 7*s.* 7*d.* only very near Dublin.
- <sup>l</sup> In good pasture, five miles from Dublin, government commissariat horses contracted for at about 10*d.* or 11*d.* per night. <sup>m</sup> According to nature of articles.
- <sup>n</sup> A ditch 5 feet broad; in free ground, near Bray, dearer; near Dublin, done by agreement.
- <sup>o</sup> A Kish 4½ feet long, 2 broad, and 3 deep.
- <sup>p</sup> At Canal Harbour, varies according to supply, more or less. This the cheapest, sometimes, rarely, as high as £3., fluctuates in winter, commonly from 35*s.* to 40*s.*
- <sup>q</sup> Cheaper than coal, as above.
- <sup>r</sup> According to the supply, used by bakers and confectioners. Price of cutting near Dublin 2*s.* 2*d.* per hundred sheaves. The people loath to take a gift of them and cut them. Brought to Dublin by mountain cars at idle times.
- <sup>s</sup> According to quality. <sup>t</sup> A steady price. <sup>u</sup> According to quality, delivered in Dublin.
- <sup>v</sup> The measure varies very much, and thus buyers are deceived about prices, which vary near Dublin. A hogshead of lime slacked fills two small sacks. The statute measure is 21 inch diameter, and 12 in height, but this is seldom regarded.
- <sup>w</sup> With wheels to revolve on axis: few others made now for sale, solid wheels, iron brims.
- <sup>x</sup> Prices last year, a very cheap one, apple potatoes 4*s.* 4*d.*, very best in Dublin.
- <sup>y</sup> Present price, owing to the Dutch supply being cut off from London.
- <sup>z</sup> Common average price in 1810-1, has been sold in small quantities at 7½ guineas. The Irish load 4 cwt. and 28 lb. usually allowed for draft and waste on bringing to market.
- <sup>aa</sup> Varies according to strength.
- <sup>ab</sup> November cheapest, March and April dearest. Taking the quarter. Prime roasting pieces dearer generally, but often had as cheap as by the quarter.
- <sup>ac</sup> Sometimes £25. <sup>ad</sup> English. Irish (very bad) as low as 5*d.*
- <sup>ae</sup> 2000 pairs of shoes made for the army, very good, offered for 7*s.* 7*d.* per pair.
- <sup>af</sup> Light hides for soles 1*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.* per lb., upper leathers 2*s.* 3*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* wholesale; but by retail 50 and 100 per cent. advanced in price. A large dealer from Edinburgh says, the best sole leather he ever saw was Dublin manufacture, made by one man only; very heavy hides, price wholesale, 2*s.* 5*d.* per lb. I have tried to account for its uncommon durability, eighteen months in tanning. Firm of House, Joe Dunn.
- <sup>ag</sup> Very great difference of late years, according to quality. <sup>ah</sup> Moderate size, barn-door.
- <sup>ai</sup> Present price. In average year £2. 5*s.* 6*d.* a high price, has been as high as £3. within three or four years. <sup>aj</sup> Present price. <sup>ak</sup> 16*s.* Present price. <sup>al</sup> Present price, and common.
- <sup>am</sup> Weight 4 lb. 5 oz. 8 dr. <sup>an</sup> Present prices, which are considered moderate.
- <sup>ao</sup> Present price. <sup>ap</sup> Rarely employed.
- <sup>aq</sup> The price has fluctuated of late from £9. to £16. per ton, Dublin; a very uncertain market, affected by a few cargoes, more or less, auctions.
- <sup>ar</sup> According to the quality and species. <sup>as</sup> Without skins.
- <sup>at</sup> The contract for the supply of the Foundling Hospital was renewed for five years, from 1810, at 11*d.* per gallon. 150 gallons daily supply. Cows to be fed only on grass and hay, by agreement
- <sup>au</sup> Ling and herring chiefly used in Dublin.
- <sup>av</sup> Before the great failure amongst tanners, last summer (1810), price as high as £18. and £20. At present fluctuating a little. Tanning lately a very bad trade.
- <sup>aw</sup> I set on lease 50 acres at Crumlin, three miles from Dublin, at £9., in 1808. I could have taken land in the same neighbourhood, better situate, but somewhat inferior, for ever. Produce in hay about 12 or 14 loads. Grazing 5*s.* 5*d.* per week for cows. Land, near Camden-street, £20. per acre; for draining £15. common. <sup>ax</sup> In corn acres rare, according to quality of land, widely different.
- <sup>ay</sup> Very nearly as much as the hay and making is worth. Yield near Dublin from 12 to 25 Irish loads per acre.
- <sup>az</sup> The perch, 21 feet long and 8 feet wide. At Templeogue, three miles from Dublin, on manured ground, 14*d.* per perch; at Bray, good ground, gravelled, old soil, 10*d.* per perch; at Killeney, six miles from Dublin, manured ground 6*d.* per perch, not manured 4*d.* per perch. The breadth of eight feet includes the trench. <sup>ba</sup> Too rare to estimate in the county of Dublin.

PRICES OF GRAIN, &c. FROM 1800 TO 1805.

COMPARATIVE TABLE of the Prices of Grain, Butchers' Meat, Labour, and various other Articles, at different Places in Ireland, from 1800 to 1805.

ARTICLES.	1800.		1801.		1802.		1803.		1804.		1805.	
	£. s. d.	Average.										
<b>WHEAT:</b>												
In Dublin, Barrel of 20 Stone	3 3 4	3 3 4	1 18 5	1 17 2½	1 10 10	1 8 4½	1 16 3	1 16 3	1 17 7	1 16 3	1 17 7	1 17 7
In Cork do.	-	-	1 16 0	-	2 0 0	1 15 5	1 16 0	1 16 0	1 14 0	1 16 0	1 14 0	1 14 0
In Limerick do.	-	-	-	-	-	1 11 0	1 11 0	1 11 9½	1 13 7	1 8 6	2 1 6	1 14 4
In Waterford	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>BARLEY:</b>												
In Dublin, Barrel of 16 Stone	1 11 9½	1 11 9½	1 1 9	1 1 9	0 12 10	0 16 0½	0 19 10	0 19 10	1 1 10	0 19 10	1 1 10	1 1 10
In Cork do. - 36 do.	-	-	2 2 0	-	2 2 0	2 1 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	1 18 0	2 0 0	1 18 0	1 18 0
In Limerick do. - 16 do.	-	-	-	-	-	0 11 0	0 13 6½	0 14 4	0 17 1	0 14 4	0 16 6	0 19 2
In Waterford	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>OATS:</b>												
In Dublin, Barrel of 14 Stone	1 5 8½	1 5 8½	0 13 10	0 13 10	0 10 4½	0 11 10½	0 14 3½	0 14 3½	0 14 1½	0 14 3½	0 14 1½	0 14 1½
In Cork do. - 33 do.	-	-	1 6 0	-	1 9 0	1 8 0	1 8 0	1 8 0	1 7 0	1 8 0	1 7 0	1 7 0
In Limerick do. - 14 do.	-	-	-	-	-	0 10 2½	0 11 0½	0 11 0½	0 12 10½	0 11 6	0 13 9	0 13 11½
<b>BEEF:</b>												
In Cork	1 15 0	1 15 0	-	-	1 15 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	-	-	-	-
In Waterford per cwt.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Government Contract, Tierce of 304 lbs.	8 16 4½	8 16 4½	8 7 3½	8 7 3½	-	8 11 0½	8 11 0	8 10 4	8 10 4	8 10 4	8 9 8	8 9 8
<b>PORK:</b>												
Government Contract, Tierce of 320 lbs.	8 10 2½	8 10 2½	13 19 10	13 19 10	-	9 12 5	9 13 5	8 3 4	8 3 4	8 3 4	8 0 0	8 0 0
Waterford, per cwt.	1 17 0	1 17 0	3 5 0	5 3 0	2 4 0	2 0 0	2 0 0	1 18 0	1 18 0	1 18 0	1 13 6	1 13 6
<b>OX-HIDES:</b>												
Cork per cwt.	-	-	3 13 0	2 16 6	2 13 0	2 13 0	2 13 0	2 13 0	2 13 0	2 13 0	2 13 0	2 13 0
Waterford	-	-	3 0 0	3 0 0	3 0 0	3 2 6	3 2 6	3 2 6	3 2 6	3 2 6	3 4 0	3 18 6
<b>COW-HIDES:</b>												
Cork	-	-	2 2 0	2 6 3	2 16 0	2 14 0	2 16 0	2 16 0	2 16 0	2 16 0	2 10 0	2 11 0
Waterford	-	-	2 10 6	2 6 3	2 1 0	2 7 6	2 10 9	2 10 9	2 7 6	2 18 6	2 12 0	2 11 0
<b>TALLOW:</b>												
Cork, Stone of 16 lbs.	-	-	0 9 6	0 9 6	0 9 6	0 9 6	0 9 6	0 9 6	0 9 6	0 9 6	0 9 6	0 9 6
Waterford, do. of 14 lb.	0 8 11½	0 8 11½	0 9 10	0 9 10	0 9 6½	0 9 10½	0 9 10½	0 10 6	0 10 6	0 10 6	0 9 3	0 9 3
<b>BUTTER:</b>												
Government Contract, p' cwt.	4 3 11½	5 0 8½	4 5 0½	4 7 0½	4 4 5	3 18 4½	4 10 5½	4 3 8	4 3 8	4 10 8	4 3 4½	4 5 8
Waterford	5 17 6	-	4 9 0	-	4 10 0	4 7 2½	-	4 10 8	4 7 2	4 10 8	4 8 0	4 5 8

PRICES OF GRAIN, &c. FROM 1806 TO 1810.

COMPARATIVE TABLE of the Prices of Grain, Butchers' Meat, Labour, and Various other Articles, at different Places in Ireland, from 1806 to 1810.

ARTICLES.	1806.		1807.		1808.		1809.		1810.	
	£. s. d.	Average.								
<b>WHEAT:</b>										
In Dublin, Barrel of 20 Stone	2 2 3½	-	2 0 9½	-	2 6 11	-	2 1 3	-	2 4 3½	-
do. - - - - -	1 14 0	-	1 18 0	-	1 16 0	-	1 18 0	-	1 17 0	-
In Cork	1 18 3	1 18 3½	1 18 0	1 18 11	1 19 9	2 0 11	2 5 6	2 1 6½	2 1 0	2 0 9
In Limerick, do.										
In Waterford										
<b>BABLEY:</b>										
In Dublin, Barrel of 16 Stone	0 18 6	-	0 19 0½	-	1 11 0½	-	1 3 7	-	1 2 8½	-
do. - - - - -	1 19 0	-	2 2 0	-	2 4 0	-	2 4 0	-	2 4 0	-
In Cork	0 16 9	0 17 7½	0 14 8	0 16 10½	0 18 6	1 4 10	1 0 6	1 1 11	1 1 3	1 1 11
In Limerick, do.										
In Waterford										
<b>OATS:</b>										
In Dublin, Barrel of 14 Stone	0 14 8½	-	0 16 0½	-	0 17 1½	-	0 15 8	-	0 15 1	-
do. - - - - -	1 7 0	-	1 7 0	-	1 16 0	-	1 16 0	-	1 15 0	-
In Cork	0 13 6	0 13 7½	0 13 0	0 14 7	0 15 9	0 16 5½	0 14 8	0 15 2	0 14 11	0 15 4
In Limerick, do.										
<b>BEEF:</b>										
In Cork	1 15 0	1 15 0	1 10 0	1 10 0	1 17 0	1 17 0	1 18 0	1 18 0	1 16 0	1 16 0
In Waterford, per cwt.	8 5 0	8 5 0	7 18 4	7 18 4	7 16 0	7 16 0	9 1 3	9 1 3	8 9 10½	8 9 10½
Government Contract, Tvarce of 304 lbs.										
<b>PORK:</b>										
Government Contract, Tvarce of 220 lbs.	6 18 0	6 18 0	8 1 10	8 1 10	9 4 11	9 4 11	8 18 11½	8 18 11½	8 8 6½	8 8 6½
Waterford, per cwt.	2 1 6	2 1 6	2 0 0	2 0 0	1 18 6	1 18 6	2 3 0	2 3 0	2 7 0	2 7 0
<b>OX-HIDES:</b>										
Cork, per cwt.	2 13 0	2 13 0	2 1 0	2 6 6	2 15 0	2 13 6	2 16 0	2 16 6	2 6 0	2 6 0
Waterford	2 3 0	2 3 0	2 12 0	2 6 6	2 13 0	2 13 6	2 16 6	2 16 6	2 17 0	2 17 0
<b>COW-HIDES:</b>										
Cork	2 6 0	2 9 6	1 14 0	1 18 3	1 18 0	1 15 6	1 14 0	1 14 0	1 16 0	1 16 0
Waterford	2 13 0	2 9 6	2 2 6	1 18 3	1 19 0	1 15 6	2 2 6	1 18 3	2 3 0	2 3 0
<b>TALLOW:</b>										
Cork, Stone of 16 lbs.	0 9 6	0 9 6	0 9 6	0 9 6	0 13 0	0 13 0	0 12 0	0 12 0	0 9 3	0 9 3
Waterford, do. 14 lbs.	0 7 9	0 7 9	0 7 8½	0 7 8½	0 11 0	0 11 0	0 11 2	0 11 2	0 10 0	0 10 0
<b>BUTTER:</b>										
Government Contract, p <sup>r</sup> cwt.	4 2 3½	4 7 5	4 9 9½	4 17 4½	5 10 9½	5 13 11	5 2 2½	5 2 10½	4 18 7½	4 19 10
Waterford	4 19 6	4 7 5	5 5 0	4 17 4½	5 15 0	5 13 11	5 2 6	5 2 10½	5 1 0	5 1 0

OBSERVATIONS UPON PRICES.

In the course of this work, I have inadvertently used the term, "depreciation of money," a circumstance, which can alone be exemplified by a rise in prices of various articles of the first necessity—yet a rise in prices may sometimes result from other causes, than a depreciation of money. To enter at large into this subject is no part of my present undertaking; but belongs to a statistical account of Great Britain. The Tables of Sir George Shugburgh, were intended to exhibit this effect, and have gained too great a share of public confidence; his researches after information have been very limited, nor does he seem to have taken into consideration, the increase of population, and the extent of our taxation and commerce, circumstances tending to create a rise in prices. This subject has engaged the attention of Mr. Young, who has formed such a collection of facts, as will supersede the Tables of Fleetwood and Shugburgh, and the publication of his labours ought to be a matter of general interest.

The following Table, formed from the documents already printed, will exhibit whether any rise in prices has taken place since 1800.

Years.	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Beef.	Pork.	Butter.	Ox hides.	Cow Hides.	Tallow.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.						
1800	3 3 4	1 11 9½	1 5 8½	8 16 4½	8 10 2½	5 0 8½	3 4 0	2 12 0	0 8 11½
1801	1 17 2½	1 1 9	0 13 10	8 7 3½	13 19 10	4 7 6½	2 16 6	2 6 3	0 9 10
1802	1 15 5	0 12 10	0 10 4½			4 7 2½	2 16 6	2 8 6	0 9 6½
1803	1 11 9½	0 13 6½	0 11 0½	8 11 0	9 12 5	4 10 5½	2 17 10	2 10 9	0 9 10½
1804	1 13 7	0 17 1	0 12 10½	8 10 4	8 3 4	4 7 2	2 17 9	2 7 6	0 10 6
1805	1 14 4	0 19 2	0 13 11½	8 9 8	8 0 0	4 5 8	2 18 6	2 11 0	0 9 3
1806	1 18 3½	0 17 7½	0 13 7½	8 5 0	6 18 0	4 7 5	2 18 0	2 9 6	0 7 9
1807	1 18 11	0 16 10½	0 14 7	7 18 4	8 1 10	4 17 4½	2 6 6	1 18 3	0 7 3½
1808	2 0 11	1 4 10	0 16 3½	7 16 0	9 4 11	5 12 11	2 13 6	1 15 6	0 11 0
1809	2 1 6½	1 1 11	0 15 2	9 1 3	8 18 11½	5 2 10½	2 16 3	1 18 3	0 11 2
1810	3 0 9	1 1 11	1 3 4	8 9 10	8 8 6½	4 19 10	2 18 6	1 19 6	0 10 0

This table demonstrates, that there has not been a mischievous extension of circulating medium during the last ten years; for had this been the case, it would have established a rise in prices.

I shall now direct the attention of the reader to a comparative rise in some other articles, taken from Mr. Young's tour in 1779, and my own minutes in 1811. During these thirty-two years, a considerable rise has taken place in the rent of land, but less upon the value of labour.

## PRICES.

	Labour.	Weaver.	Potatoes.	Potatoes acres.	Rent.
In 1779	6½d.	1s. 2½d.	2½d.	£3. 8s. 6d.	11s.
1811	1s. 0d.	1s. 3d.	3½d.	£8. 13s. 2d.	£1. 7s. 1d.

Much may be gathered from these few facts: they demonstrate, that labour has not risen in the same proportion as the rent of land; that the wages of weavers have remained stationary, whilst the value of land has been doubled; and, perhaps, they will shew, why the great increase of export and import has not improved the condition of the people, as much as might be expected from an inspection of the Custom-House Ledgers.

We may now discover, why the boasted linen manufacture of Ireland—the favourite object of the public, as well as of every Irish minister, has not reflected back upon the people, that happiness which the great amount in pounds, shillings and pence of its total, delusively points out. All articles have risen in price, excepting the wages of the manufacturer. No books on population can so demonstratively prove its excess, as this single fact; it equally applies, although at not so great a rate, to agricultural labourers

## CHAPTER XIX.

## REVENUE AND FINANCE.

A HISTORY of revenue and taxation, with an account of the expedients employed by sovereigns and states to raise money, would form an instructive work; and, besides furnishing useful hints to future ministers, might throw considerable light on some doubtful points of political economy.

In ancient times, and particularly under the feudal government, regular and permanent revenues for the support of states, were less necessary than at present; the inhabitants, in general, living upon their lands, and being bound to personal service. From this circumstance the defence of their independence, was not intrusted to hired troops; each great lord, or chieftain, on a requisition from the sovereign, leading forth to the field a stipulated number of his vassals, who served without pay, and were supported at their own expense. But, when it became expedient to maintain standing armies, the great bulk of the people were glad to be freed from personal service by the payment of taxes,\* which may be considered as a commutation for that burden. In the year 1443, when Charles VII. was engaged in a long war with the kings of England, who disputed with him the right to the monarchy of France, the services of the vassals of that kingdom by the edict of Saumur, dated Sept. 14th, were formally converted into the perpetual *taille*; and this seems to have been the foundation of the regular military force of the French nation.†

It appears, that in rude ages, when tribute was necessary, it was usually paid in kind, either as a voluntary contribution, or according to some fixed and established rule. We are informed, by an ancient historian, that the northern nations gave to their princes, of their own accord, a certain number of cattle, or a certain quantity of grain, as a token of honour and respect, and for the supply of their wants.‡ Even in countries where the use of money was known and coins in common use, sovereigns sometimes, for the convenience of a part of their subjects, consented to accept tribute in such a way as they might consider the least burdensome. Thus we find, that the kings of Persia, although they exacted silver from the inhabitants of the maritime provinces, because, by trade, perhaps, they might be

\* Nam neque quies gentium sine armis, neque arma sine stipendiis, neque stipendia sine tributis haberi queunt. *Tacit. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 74.* edit. Oberlini, Lips. 1801, p. 673.

† Sir John Stewart's Inquiry into the Principles of Polit. Economy, vol. ii. p. 442.

‡ Mos est civitatibus, ultro ac veritem conferre principibus nil armentorum, vel frugam, quod pro honore acceptum, etiam necessitatibus subvenit. *Tacit. de Morib. Germ. cap. xv. ut supra, p. 711.*

better able to pay in that manner, they were contented to receive from the people in the interior, colours, drugs, wool, sheep, and other commodities, the product of the districts wherein they resided.\* In Ireland, before it became subject to the authority of the English, the tribute was not paid in money to its native princes, but in cattle, and other necessaries of life; and if the account of Dr. Warner be correct, the revenue sent every year in this way to the palace of Kincora, in Munster, must have amounted to a considerable value.†

In modern times, the heavy and overwhelming expenses of foreign wars, and the maintenance of distant possessions, have rendered taxation exceedingly complex, and the business of finance, a science of no trifling difficulty and importance. In this art the Dutch, according to some writers, have particularly excelled; and for this advantage they were, perhaps, indebted to necessity: their country being small, and heavily burdened, great ingenuity was required to discover taxes which should be productive, and fall lightly upon the inhabitants. Public premiums were announced to persons who might invent new taxes having these properties; and this was the origin of a tax upon stamps, which, in consequence of the reward, was suggested by the ingenuity of a Frenchman.‡ They endeavoured, also, to make taxation a mean for amending the morals of the people; a circumstance which, by most financiers, has been totally overlooked. To promote concord and prevent litigation, they imposed a tax upon law-suits, enacting, that the party who lost the cause should contribute towards the public expenses a given sum, calculated upon the amount in dispute.§ How far an act of this kind would be beneficial in England, I will not pretend to decide; but if we may judge from our courts of law, it should seem as if it would be highly productive.

\* Πρώτιστα δ' ἐκ μὲν τῆς παραλίας ἀργύροι, ἐκ δὲ τῆς μεσογαίας ἃ φέροι ἰδιότου χώρα, ὡς τὸ καὶ χρῆματα καὶ φάρμακα καὶ τρίχα ἰρίαι, ἃ τὶ τοιοῦθ' ἴταροι, καὶ θρίμματα ἰμοίως. *Strab. Geog. lib. xv. edit. Amel. Amst. 1707, vol. ii. p. 735.*

† “Fourteen hundred and fifty oxen, three thousand six hundred and fifty cows, four thousand eight hundred hogs, two thousand six hundred wethers, one hundred horses, and eleven hundred and fifty mantles; besides contributions of men and ships from the Ostmen.” *Warner's Hist. of Ireland, b. x. p. 413.* This account is taken from the book of Rights of Munster, which, Dr. Raymond says, is the oldest book of history extant, next to the Greek and Roman; but the authenticity of it seems to be doubted by Lord Lyttleton. *See his Hist. of Henry II. vol. iv. p. 293.*

‡ Superioribus annis cum ærarium novo subsidio indigeret, ordines publico edicto ingenia excitarunt, ut aliquid excogitarent ærario utile et populo non grave. Tandem repertus fuit quidam Callus qui vectigal chartæ sigillatæ excogitavit, cujus hæc erat ratio, ut omnibus codicillis et actis publicis sigillum ordinum vel majus vel minus imprimeretur, et nullum instrumentum esset ratum, nisi tale sigillum haberet. *Hornii Ulyssæ sive studiosus Peregrinans, Lugd. Bat. 1671, p. 78.*

§ Fuit etiam aliud excogitatum vectigal, non minus utile, et ad pravos mores corrigendos necessarium; ut nimirum qui alii intendant litem, et causa cadunt, certam suæ pecuniæ summam persolverent. *Ibid. p. 79.*

As the power of the first English sovereigns in Ireland was very limited, the revenue they derived from that country was inconsiderable, and consisted of the following items, analogous to those which composed the English revenue at that time.

- 1st. Ancient demesne lands.
- 2d. Vacant bishopricks, abbeys, and priories.
- 3d. Yearly terms of counties, towns, and boroughs.
- 4th. Prizes and customs for duties on merchandise imported and exported; and duties on vessels trading from place to place.
- 5th. Wardship, marriage, relief, and other profits arising from the feudal tenures.
- 6th. Prizes, purveyance, and pre-emption.
- 7th. Fines, amerciaments, and oblata.

Some taxes, also, were levied by the prerogative of the sovereign, and particularly on occasions of emergency and danger; such as aids, scutage or escuage, hydage, and carucage. Scutage appears to have been established in the reign of Henry II., and fixed at 20s. for each knight's fee; but it was afterwards generally received at the rate of two marks, or £1. 6s. 8d.\* Henry, in imitation of William the Conqueror, granted large tracts of land to the most enterprising of his followers, and by these means, was enabled to extend his power with less expense to the crown.† It is probable, also, that those who received lands in this manner, held them under the condition of paying certain imposts, to assist in defraying the charge of maintaining his authority, and of affording them protection. The escuage was put in charge with the exchequer two years after the descent of the English, and several persons are charged under the title, "De cutagio milétum, qui nec abierunt in Hyberniam, nec milites nec denarios illuc miserunt."‡

Hydage was an impost on land; a hide being considered such a quantity as was sufficient to keep a plough going throughout the year.

Carucage was a similar impost upon land, in carucates, or quantities, of one hundred acres.§

Although the territory which Henry had gained in Ireland was an easy purchase, the expense of retaining it became exceedingly burdensome, not only to himself, but to several of his successors. Yet we find, that his son John demanded a subsidy from the Irish clergy, to enable him to oppose the progress of Philip, and to recover Normandy; "a pretence," says Leland, "which he employed to harass his subjects with oppressive demands, exacted without mercy, and lavished without honour or advantage."||

\* Madox Hist. and Antiq. of the Exchequer, vol. i. p. 624.

† Leland's Hist. of Ireland, 4to. edit. vol. i. p. 86.

‡ Madox, ut supra, 629, 658.

§ Clarendon's Sketch of the Revenue and Finances of Ireland, 1791, 4to. p. 3.

|| Leland, vol. i. p. 182.

It would appear that fines formed sometimes a part of the royal revenue. We are told that John sent a mandate for building a tower in Dublin, in which to secure his treasure; and the deputy was empowered to enlarge it into a royal palace, if he should find it expedient. Three hundred marks, a fine due from one of the king's barons of Ireland, were assigned towards defraying the expense.\*

In the chronicle of Harding, the earls of Ulster, that is, the Irish petty princes of that province, are said to have made their submissions to King John; and it is probable, that most of them consented to pay him tribute, but without investing him with their lands, resigning their sovereignties, or accepting the English laws.† We find, also, that when John was finally persuaded to restore the Laceys in their possessions, he received from Walter 2,500 marks, for Meath; and from Hugh 4,000 marks, for Ulster.‡

Under Henry III., Ireland was exposed to the most severe exactions, by the king, for his real or pretended necessities, and by the pope, for the prosecution of his schemes of avarice or ambition. In 1226, a fifteenth of all cathedral churches and religious houses, and a sixteenth of all ecclesiastical revenues, were demanded by the king, with the concurrence of the pope. Henry's quarrels with the Scots, with the Welsh, with France, and with the king of Castille, were all made the occasions of large demands, both from the clergy and the laity; but those of the see of Rome were still more oppressive; for the wretched laity were stripped, even of their very necessaries, and the churches of all their ornaments, to supply the rapacious demands of legates and nuncios.§

Edward I. had, by the interposition and assistance of the pope, obtained a tenth of all the revenues of the Irish clergy, on pretence of providing for an expedition to the Holy Land; but not content with this supply, he demanded, without the knowledge of the holy see, an additional fifteenth of all superfluities in the kingdom: the clergy, however, being neither disposed nor able to comply with this exorbitant demand, absolutely refused; and Edward, unwilling to irritate so powerful a body, had recourse, in this dilemma, to the laity; and, after some opposition and delay, obtained from them a fifteenth of their effects.||

Sir John Davies, speaking of the Scottish invasion of Ireland, under Edward Bruce, in the reign of Edward II., says: "the revenue of the land was far too short, and yet no supply of treasure was sent out of England."¶ Edward, however, notwithstanding the distressed state of the country, obtained from the pope a tenth of all the English revenues in Ireland, for two years. The laity, we are told, were duly obedient; but the clergy became refractory, and absolutely refused.\*\*

In the reign of Edward III., the mode of obtaining supplies began to assume a more regular form, as mention is made of money raised by application to parliament.

\* Leland, vol. i. p. 185.

† Ibid. p. 188.

‡ Ibid. p. 192.

§ Ibid. p. 232.

|| Ibid. p. 251.

¶ Ibid. p. 280.

\*\* Ibid. p. 282.

In a parliament convened at Kilkenny, by Sir William Windsore, an English knight, who had served under the duke of Clarence, and who was appointed the king's lieutenant, a subsidy of £3,000. was granted in the first session, and in the following one another of £2,000., for the support of the war against the Irish.\* Edward attempted, also, to raise money in the same way, to assist him in his foreign wars; but the parliament, assembled for that purpose, pleaded the poverty of the realm, and refused the supplies. The king was highly incensed at this disappointment, and a long and violent contest ensued between him and his Irish subjects; but history has not informed us in what manner it was terminated.†

In order to remedy the abuse of coyne and livery, and to relieve the subjects from the heavy oppression of such demands, it had been resolved, in a parliament held at Kilkenny, in the 21st of Edward III., to grant a subsidy for supporting the Irish war, of two shillings from every carucate of land, and two shillings in the pound from every subject whose personal fortune amounted to six pounds. As this grant extended to ecclesiastical persons, and the tenants of ecclesiastical lands, it was violently opposed by Kelly, archbishop of Cashel, who summoned his suffragans, and with their concurrence, issued an ordinance, in which he threatened to deprive of their livings, all beneficed clergymen; to excommunicate all lay tenants on the ecclesiastical lands, and to disqualify their children, even to the third generation, from being eligible to any ecclesiastical preferment, who should consent to pay their allotted portion of this subsidy. An information was exhibited against the prelate for his offence; but he denied the charge, and pleaded, that according to the great charter granted by the crown of England and Ireland, it was provided, that the church, in both, should be free. The archbishop and his suffragans, however, were found guilty; and though they repeatedly refused to appear in arrest of judgment, they seem to have been too powerful, and their cause too popular, for the offence to receive its due punishment.‡

According to Sir James Ware, the annual revenue derived from Ireland in 1360, amounted to nearly £10,000.§

About the year 1379, soon after the accession of Richard II., the parliament of England seems to have expressed great uneasiness at the expense attending the maintenance of the King's Irish dominions; and the subjects of Ireland repeated their complaints against the nobility and gentry of England, many of whom abandoned their Irish lands, in consequence of which, the residents that were left were unequal to the task of supporting the public burdens. This being represented to the king, it was ordained by a new law, that the absentees should either repair to

\* Leland, vol. i. p. 321.

† Ibid. p. 329.

‡ Ibid. p. 310.

§ Warai Hibernia, p. 136, edit. 1654. Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, vol. i. p. 562.

their Irish lands, or send deputies to provide for their defence, on failure of which they should be taxed to the amount of two-thirds of their Irish revenues, to be applied to the service of the kingdom. There was an exemption, however, in favour of those immediately in the king's service, students of the universities, and persons absent under the great seal of England, who were to be taxed only one-third of their revenues. At the same time, the king granted to his Irish subjects, liberty to dig for mines, on their paying to him a ninth of their produce. This was done under the pretence of coining money in the royal mint in Dublin, for the relief of Ireland, as the grant expresses it, and to hold a free trade with Portugal.\*

Henry V., dazzled by other objects more flattering to his ambition, neglected Ireland, and intrusted it to a rapacious governor, Sir John Stanley, who harassed the people by exactions of coyne and livery, imposed without remorse; and the consequence was, that their representatives convened at Dublin, under his successor Crawley, archbishop of that city, who had been appointed by the Irish council, refused to grant supplies.† Sir John Furneal, Lord Talbot, seems to have trodden in the steps of his predecessors; and on his departure, about 1417, he was execrated both by the clergy and laity whose lands he had ravaged, and left the country in debt. He was succeeded by the Duke of Ormonde, who endeavoured to repair the errors of his predecessors, and to conciliate the people by assurances of a more just and equitable government. The parliament, in return, seemed anxiously desirous to support his administration, and to provide in the most liberal manner for the exigencies of the state. The debts left by Furneal were, therefore, ascertained and discharged; and a subsidy was granted, amounting to one thousand marks, apportioned in such a manner on the English pale, as discovered both the poverty and confined limits of that district.‡

Sir John Sinclair states, among the articles which he enumerates as the revenue of Henry V., the sum of £2,339. 18s. 6d. for Ireland.§

In the succeeding reign, that of Henry VI., the territory which the English possessed in Ireland appears to have been very limited; they seemed to enjoy full power and security only in the county of Dublin and some of the adjacent districts. In these the jurisdiction of the crown was exercised without restraint, but in other parts the people were in a state of the utmost disorder, the English settlers, being blended with the refractory Irish, and joining with them in their opposition to the government.||

\* Leland, vol. i. p. 332.

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 9.

‡ Ibid. p. 13.

§ He quotes as his authority, Rymers Fœdera, vol. x. p. 113, and Ret. Parl. vol. iv. p. 433. Sir John Sinclair's Hist. of Public Revenue, p. 91.

|| Leland, vol. ii. p. 23.

About the year 1449, a general rebellion against the English being apprehended, Richard, Duke of York, was sent chief governor to Ireland; and it appears that the revenue at this time was exceedingly low, since this prince, when he accepted his office, stipulated to hold the government for ten years, on condition of receiving the revenue without account, together with an immediate advance of two thousand marks, and an annual pension of two thousand pounds from England.\*

In the reign of Edward IV. we find money raised for the service of government, by the imposition of duties. It being found necessary, under the government of Kildare, to fit out an armament of two hundred men and thirteen officers, called the Fraternity of St. George, for the purpose of opposing and subduing the Irish enemies and English rebels; the fraternity was empowered to demand 12*d.* in the pound out of all merchandise sold in Ireland, except hides, and the goods of freemen of Dublin and Drogheda.†

About this period we have a singular instance of the smallness of the Irish revenue. On the restoration of the earl of Kildare to the government, as deputy to Richard, Duke of York, this nobleman was commissioned to maintain a standing force of 140 horsemen; and if the Irish resources should prove unequal to its support, assistance was to be afforded from England. But strange as it may appear, although the annual expense of this small troop was estimated at only five hundred pounds, it was considered to be more than could at that time be raised in Ireland.‡

In the nineteenth year of Edward IV., among the instructions to the lord deputy, we find it particularly enjoined, that in no parliament hereafter holden, shall more than one subsidy be demanded in a year, and this not exceeding the sum of 1,200 marks, as hath been accustomed.§

In the reign of Henry VII., under the administration of Sir Edward Poynings, a parliament met at Drogheda, anno 1495, the first care of which was to bring about an effectual reform of the English pale, and to relieve the subject from those grievous impositions called coyne and livery, by which the great lords had desolated the land. In place of these was established a tax of 26*s.* 8*d.* on every six score acres of arable land, belonging either to lay or ecclesiastical proprietors, and to be paid for five years to the king. It was forbidden, at the same time, to receive the usual contributions from the land-holders, under the name of gift or reward, and even the giver was made liable to a penalty of 100 shillings.||

In the fifteenth year of this prince, a duty was granted of one shilling in the pound on all merchandise, imported or exported, wine and oil excepted, and a

\* Leland, vol. ii. p. 33.

† Ibid. ib. p. 61.

‡ Ibid. ib. p. 65.

§ Leland, vol. ii. p. 66.

|| Ibid. ib. p. 102.

tax of 13s. 4d., by way of subsidy, was imposed on every hide of land, for ten years. In a parliament summoned in his twenty-fourth year, this subsidy was renewed for the same term, with the remarkable provision, "that if this act, or grant of subsidy, be thought by our sovereign lord the king and his council, hurtful or prejudicial to his subjects of this land, then our said sovereign lord shall, at his will and pleasure, reform, diminish, extinct, adnull, or revoke the foresaid grant of subsidy, in part or in the whole." From this reign we may date the first revival of the English power in Ireland, which since the time of the Scottish war, in the reign of Edward II., had gradually declined into a miserable and precarious state of weakness.\* Under this prince, the revenue, of which we have any certain accounts, seldom exceeded £5,000 a year.†

In the reign of Henry VIII., about 1509, we find some traces of a regular establishment, for the maintenance of the government of Ireland. At that time parliament granted a subsidy of 13s. 4d. upon every plow land, to the king, for ten years, which appears to have become the usual supply. This was attended with the revival of the law against absentees, which vested two-thirds of their Irish revenues in the king, to be applied to the purposes of the state.‡

After Henry had introduced the reformation into Ireland, the revenue of the crown in that country seems to have been considerably increased from the changes which were made in the establishment of the church. By one act, twelve religious houses, and by another, the priory of St. Wolstans, were suppressed, and the domains belonging to the whole were vested for ever in the crown. Other acts were also passed for enlarging the royal revenues. The usual subsidy of 13s. 4d. on every plow land, was granted for ten years. The lands and honours possessed in Ireland by the Duke of Norfolk, and other absentees, were vested in the king, and the twentieth part of the annual profits of all spiritual promotions, a donation no less acceptable, was granted to him for ever.§

In the reign of Mary, the change which was again made in the religion of the country by the revival of popery, must have affected the revenue, as the payment of first fruits to the crown was discharged, and the church rectories, glebas, and other emoluments which had been vested in the crown since the twenty-eighth of Henry VIII., were restored, reserving only the lands granted to the laity, which no zeal for religion could induce them to resign.¶ Under this queen, however, we find a new source of revenue, which seems a reproach on the Irish at that time for their indolence and inactivity. It was a tribute paid by Philip II. of Spain, in consideration of his subjects being allowed to fish on the north-west coast of Ireland. This permission was granted in 1553, for the term of twenty-one years, on his agreeing to

\* Leland, vol. ii. p. 118.

† Clarendon's Sketches of the Revenue and Finances of Ireland, p. 3.

‡ Leland, ut supra, p. 124.

§ Leland, vol. ii. p. 165.

¶ Ibid. ib. p. 211.

pay £1,000. yearly; and it appears that this money was brought into the exchequer of Ireland.\*

In the time of Elizabeth we find a bill introduced for granting the queen a new impost on wines, which was exclaimed against as an oppressive innovation, yet it was revived and finally passed, in the fourth session of the same parliament in which it had been first proposed.†

About 1576, Ireland being in a very disordered state, Elizabeth resolved to intrust the management of it to a man of tried abilities and experience. She, therefore, made choice of Sir Henry Sydney, who having before held the office, was well acquainted with the great difficulties and arduous duties attending it: in order to overcome his scruples, and conquer his reluctance, she invested him with the most extensive powers, and promised him an annual remittance of £2,000., in aid of the ordinary revenues of the country.‡

In 1577, the enormous disproportion between the revenue of Ireland and the expenses of maintaining the English power, induced Sydney to concert measures for obviating, or as much as possible lessening so great an evil. It had been customary, for many years, to exact from the English districts a quantity of provisions for the supply of the royal garrisons, and the support of the governor's household. But the principal inhabitants compounded with the deputy and council, by paying a contribution instead of the articles required. Sydney conceived the design of converting this occasional subsidy into a regular and permanent revenue. The consequence of this bold and arbitrary act of government, was a violent and general discontent. Agents were sent to England by the inhabitants of the pale, to remonstrate against this infringement of their ancient liberties. These agents, however, were considered as contemners of the queen's authority, and thrown into the fleet, whence they were afterwards removed to the tower. This served only to increase the opposition; and the queen, fearful of the consequences, and, perhaps, entertaining some dread of her foreign enemies, abated a little of her imperious violence, and sent instructions to Sydney to bring, as soon as possible, this unpleasant dispute to a termination. A composition for purveyance was, therefore, agreed to by the deputy and council, with the lords and gentlemen of the pale, and established to be in force for seven years.§

In this reign a considerable addition must have been made to the revenue, by the forfeiture of the enormous domains of Desmond, which were vested in the crown, to be applied as the queen should deem most expedient for the reformation of her

\* See Burrough's Treatise on the Sovereignty of the British Seas, p. 80. Clarendon's Sketches of the Revenue and Finances of Ireland, p. 3.

† Leland, vol. iii. p. 243, 244.

‡ Leland, vol. ii. p. 263—266.

§ Leland, ib. p. 258.

Irish domains. The lands forfeited by this rebellion are said to have amounted to 574,628 acres.\*

Some idea of the annual expense incurred by government in this reign, in maintaining the dominion of Ireland, may be formed from the following circumstance : Sir John Perrot, the chief governor, proposed to the privy council of England, that £50,000., at which he estimated this expense, should be granted to him for three years; and he engaged on these conditions to maintain a body of 2,000 foot and 1,400 horse; to fortify seven towns, each of the extent of one mile; to build as many bridges, and to erect the like number of forts in proper situations. This he called the cheapest purchase which England had made for many a day; but the proposition, though repeated to the English parliament, was not accepted, either by the legislature or the crown.†

Clarendon remarks, on the authority of Sir James Ware, that Ireland had become such a burden to England by the time Elizabeth ascended the throne, that the charge of the first fifteen years of her reign amounted to £490,779. 7s. 6½d; while the whole produce of the Irish revenue, for the same period, was but £120,000. or £8,000. per annum.‡ This account differs from that of Sir John Sinclair, who says, "that the revenue of Ireland was reduced to the trifling sum of £6,000. per annum, and that it required £20,000. a year additional out of the exchequer of England to defray the charges of the ordinary peace establishment."§ He adds, "such was the weak state of the Irish government at this time, that it emboldened Tyrone to revolt; and his rebellion, which continued for the space of eight years, is said to have cost at the rate of £400,000. a year, before it was totally suppressed. In the year 1599 the sum of £600,000. was spent there in six months; and Sir Robert Cecil affirmed, that Ireland had cost in ten years' time £3,400,000."||

During the reign of James I., Ireland continued to be a load equally heavy on the exchequer of England as it had been in the time of his predecessor. At one period an army of 19,000 men was kept up there; the maintenance of which, in consequence of the great pay given to the soldiers, amounting to eight-pence a day, was not a little burdensome. Such also was the low state of the Irish treasury, that it became necessary to transmit the money from England.¶

In this reign parliament granted a subsidy to the king, his heirs and successors, of two shillings and eight pence in the pound, from every personal estate of the value of three pounds and upwards; from aliens twice that sum; and out of every real estate of the value of twenty shillings and upwards, four shillings in the pound. A

\* Leland, vol. ii. p. 289.

+ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 295.

‡ Clarendon's Sketch of the Revenue and Finances of Ireland, p. 3.

§ History of the Public Revenue of the British Empire, 4to. p. 124. Hume, vol. v. p. 398.

|| Hume, vol. iv. p. 474.

¶ Sir John Sinclair's History of the Public Revenue, p. 142. Hume, vol. vi. p. 59. 178.

grant so bountiful seems to have called forth from James the warmest acknowledgments of the zeal and alacrity of his subjects; for in a letter addressed to the lord deputy, he says, "we now clearly perceive, that the difficult beginnings of our parliament there, were occasioned only by ignorance and mistakings, arising through long disuse of parliaments there; and, therefore, we have cancelled the memory of them, and we are now so well pleased with this dutiful conformation of theirs, that we do require you to assure them from us, that we hold our subjects of that kingdom in equal favour with those of our other kingdoms; and that we will be as careful to provide for their prosperous and flourishing estate, as we can be for the safety of our own person."\*

Such, however, was the condition of the kingdom, that the necessities of James obliged him to reduce the army, which, on his accession, amounted to 2,000 men, to the inconsiderable number of 1735 foot, and 212 horse; and in 1622, it was farther reduced to 1350 foot, divided into 27 companies of 50 men each, and seven troops of horse, amounting to about 200. Nineteen of the companies and six of the troops were commanded by privy counsellors, men of great property and influence; and these captains were obliged to secure their own pay by stopping the rents which they owed to the crown, making the private men compound annually for their pay, at a third or fourth part of what was due to them by the establishment.† Notwithstanding this deranged estate of the finances, an augmentation of the army was necessary; but such was the poverty of the exchequer, that the revenue of Ireland fell considerably short of the expenditure; for, through want of economy in the military department, although the number of forces was small, it amounted to no less than £52,500. Irish. The Customs had, indeed, increased in the present reign from 50 pounds annually, to 3,000, 6,000, and afterwards to 9,700. The wards of Ireland, and the profits derived from them were, till the year 1617, at the absolute disposal of the deputy. The king then took them into his own hands; and, by erecting a special office, executed by commissioners, and afterwards by the establishment of a court of wards and liveries, contrived in a short time to raise the revenue from wardships and tenures, to £10,000. per annum.‡

Under the administration of Wentworth, in the reign of Charles I., commerce was considerably extended, and the customs are said to have amounted to almost four times their former sum.§ In this reign, we find also a voluntary contribution of £120,000., to be paid in three years, by way of three subsidies, each amounting to £40,000., which was accepted.||

Four entire subsidies were afterwards granted, but they met with considerable opposition on the part of the principal lords and officers of state; because, according to

\* Leland's Hist. of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 457.

† Ibid. vol. iii. p. 41.

‡ Leland, vol. ii. p. 471.

§ Ibid. p. 475-

|| Ibid. vol. ii. p. 483.

the old mode of voluntary contribution, they had found means to shift the public burden from their own shoulders to those of their inferiors; but in the assessment of the parliamentary grants, they had been rated in proportion to their superior fortunes.\* It appears, indeed, that this assessment must have been exceedingly burdensome, since the proportion of one year on the Earl of Cork, amounted to £3,600.; and the commons resolved, by way of explaining their declaration of the former session, that no subject should be taxed more than a tenth part of his estate, real or personal, which they called a moderate, parliamentary, easy, and equal rate.† This resolution, by which three of the subsidies were reduced to a sum scarcely worth collecting, was entered as the order of the house, and the rule by which the remaining subsidies should be raised. It, however, gave so such offence to the king, that he ordered the leaf in which it was inserted to be torn from the journals.‡

In this reign we meet with the first mention of an excise in Ireland.§ To keep the army from perishing; or being dispersed, the lords, justices, and council, as they found that they could obtain no relief from the English parliament, established, without consulting the king, an excise; and although this obnoxious tax amounted to half the value of the commodity, yet so great was the poverty of the kingdom, that it proved utterly inadequate to the necessities of the state.||

It is difficult to find any correct information on the state of the Irish revenue, under the administration of Cromwel. Sir John Sinclair says, that at that time it amounted to £207,790.\*\*

In an abstract of the money raised in England from November 3, 1640, to November 5, 1659, the same author enumerates the two following articles: "Compositions with delinquents in Ireland £1,000,000. Sale of Irish lands £1,322,500."†† According to Thurloe, the revenue of Ireland for two

years, ending Nov. 1, 1657, was	-	-	-	137,558	13	3
Expense of these two years	-	-	-	142,509	11	0

Expense more than the revenue††	£ 4,959 17 9
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Clarendon remarks, that the hereditary revenue of the crown in Ireland, was not only sufficient for the expenses of Charles II., but accomplished the object which he

\* Leland, vol. iii. p. 54.

† Ibid. ibid. p. 56, 59.

‡ Ibid. ibid. p. 50, 60.

§ The excise was first established in England by the long parliament, in 1643. It is supposed that the plan was adopted in consequence of its success in the neighbouring commonwealth of Holland. *Sir John Sinclair's Hist. of the Public Revenue*, p. 30.

|| Leland, vol. iii. p. 203, 204.

\*\* *Hist. of the Public Revenue*, p. 175. Sir John quotes *Com. Journ.* vol. vii. p. 627.

†† Ibid. p. 176.

‡‡ *Thurloe*, vol. ii. p. 325 and 444. *Macpherson's Annals of Commerce*, vol. iii. p. 473.

seemed always to have nearest his heart, that of being independent of parliament. Soon after he obtained this revenue, the parliament was dissolved, and it does not appear that he suffered another to meet in Ireland during the remainder of his reign.\*

James II., although he possessed few public virtues, was not without frugality, yet his necessities obliged him to apply to the parliament of Ireland for aid. This assembly, however, was so constituted, that it could hardly be said to consist of the representatives of the people, since we find that there were only six protestants, members of the House of Commons. Being entirely devoted to the will of James, they granted him a monthly subsidy of £20,000., to be levied from lands; yet this tax, however burdensome, was insufficient for his wants. Although the parliament was then sitting, James, by virtue of his prerogative, issued a proclamation, imposing another tax of £20,000. per month on all chattels, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his council against this arbitrary proceeding.† He then had recourse to the wretched expedient of issuing in Ireland a base coin, five pounds nominal value of which was not intrinsically worth more than four-pence. These acts of James and his pretended parliament, were annulled on the settlement made at the revolution.‡

After the revolution in 1688, when William II. and Mary had been placed on the throne, the expenses of the government were considerably above the revenue. The interposition of parliament, therefore, being necessary, one was called in 1692, after an interval of twenty-six years, from the dissolution of the last generally acknowledged parliament by Charles II. A supply of £70,000. was voted, and to raise it, certain duties were granted, which was the commencement of what is now known by the name of *Additional Duties*, because they were given in aid of the hereditary revenue, to defray the expenses of government. These duties were usually granted for one, two, or three years, according to the intervals between the sessions of parliament; this was always the case, excepting during the extraordinary efforts of the Commons of Ireland, to obtain some of their claims in 1779, at which time they were granted only for six months. By the 2 Geo. I. cap. i. they were granted for the same period, from November 21, 1715; and on the settlement of the Regency in 1789, they were granted only from the 25th of March to the 25th of May; afterwards they were voted annually for one year, ending the 25th of March.§

No account of the disposal of the king's revenue seems to have been laid before parliament till the year 1692. The crown having occasion at that time for farther supplies, a motion was made in the House of Commons, that such accounts should

\* Clarendon's Sketch, p. 25.

† Leland's Hist. of Ireland, vol. iii. p. 540.

‡ Clarendon, p. 27.

§ Clarendon's Sketch, p. 28.

be brought in, and the following reason, which appears on the journals, was assigned, "that it might be better known what supplies were necessary to be given to their majesties." After this period, the accounts were regularly brought in every session, to serve as a guide to the commons in making grants, and to enable them to judge of the supplies that might be requisite. These accounts contained the expenses of government, and the produce of the revenue, as well hereditary as additional. A committee was appointed to inspect them, and to report on them to the house; and this committee was also empowered to appoint sub-committees to examine them.\*

By a report of the committee of accounts inserted in the journal of the 23d of September, 1695, it appears that the receipt, from the 5th of June, 1690, to the 25th of September, 1692, amounted to £954,056. 8s. 7d. But that of this sum there had been transmitted from England for the payment of the army £678,905. 19s. 9d. †. The remainder was made up by the profit of exchange, and the rise in the value of guineas £399. 12s. 2d. ‡; and the entire product of the revenue at that time amounted only to £275,550. 0s. 11d. being little more than one third of what it had been farmed at in 1678. †

A subsequent report of the same session shews, that there were remaining in the hands of the farmers of the revenue, and under treasurers, from 1667 to 1690, a sum amounting to no less than £226,464. 7s. 1d. But, however considerable this sum might appear, so small a part of it was deemed receivable, § that the commons were compelled to lay on new and very obnoxious taxes in aid of those already granted. Among these was a poll tax of 1s. on all persons, of whatsoever age, sex, or condition; no person to pay for more than two children under sixteen years of age. Besides this, other sums were imposed upon various classes, according to their rank and condition, the rates of which may be seen in Clarendon's Sketch of the Revenue and Finances of Ireland. || The wives and daughters of day labourers living with their parents, and the sons of labourers under eighteen years of age, were exempted: widows, and persons living upon alms, were also excused from paying hearth-money. Bachelors of thirty years old and upwards, and traders, non-freemen, were to pay double. ¶

In 1697, although experience had shewn the poll tax to be unproductive, such was the increase of the king's debts, and the decline of trade, that it was found necessary

\* Howard's Treatise on the Exchequer and Revenue of Ireland. Dublin, 1776, 4to. vol. ii. Appendix, p. 237.

† This sum is not mentioned in the report, but appears from comparing the remittance and revenue with the total receipt.

‡ Clarendon's Sketch of the Revenue and Finances of Ireland, p. 30.

§ The commons a little before had passed a vote of censure on a commissioner of the revenue for fraudulent practices in converting forfeitures to his own use.

|| Page 32.

¶ Clarendon, p. 33.

to have recourse to a new one, in order to raise the supply. It was granted for two years, and the rate made double that of the former; 2s. per annum being levied on every person, of whatever age, sex, or condition, except as before, with additions according to rank, nearly as in the preceding act.\*

In 1698, the ancient mode of a tax upon land was revived, but in a new and peculiar manner. The sum of £120,000. was ordered to be raised upon all lands, tenements, and hereditaments in the kingdom, at four equal half-yearly payments. The first to be made on the 24th of June, 1699. That, towards each payment of £300,000.,

the province of Leinster should pay†	-	-	£. 10,000
Munster	-	-	8,940
Ulster	-	-	7,000
Connaught	..	-	4,010

For the easy applotting of this tax, it was ordered that each barony, &c. should bear such proportion as it had been usually assessed at, towards the public charges, by presentment of the grand juries at the assizes or quarter sessions; the said proportions to be ascertained by the major part of the commissioners appointed and made by this act.

In this session was passed that remarkable act which imposed an additional duty upon woollen manufactures exported out of Ireland; namely, four shillings per yard upon broad cloth of Irish manufacture, and two shillings in the pound value upon all new drapery, made or mixed with wool, friezes only excepted, for three years from Lady-day 1699. Revenue was not the object of this act; it is to be considered as a prohibition to satisfy the illiberal jealousy of the English woollen manufacturers.

In 1703, the committee of accounts were so particular in their examinations, that the House of Commons voted them thanks for the great care with which they discharged the trust reposed in them: it appeared that they had saved to the kingdom £103,368. 8s. 4d. which, by misrepresentation, was charged as a debt to the public.

The House afterwards resolved, "that Sir William Robinson, Deputy Receiver General, who had been guilty of this misrepresentation, is unfit for any public employment in this kingdom, and for his said offence, order him to be committed prisoner to the Castle of Dublin." He was not, however expelled.‡

In 1704, so wretched was the situation of the country, that the commons were not

\* Clarendon, p. 33.

Vol. II.

† Clarendon's Sketch, p. 34.

‡ K

‡ Ibid. p. 36.

able to make provision for repairing the necessary fortifications, or purchasing the arms and ammunition which the public safety required.

In 1707, the revenue was deficient and inadequate either to pay the army, or defray the charges of government;\* but at midsummer, 1710, it seems to have exceeded the expenditure, for there appears, at that time, to the credit of the nation, £11,544. 7s. 11d. †

It appearing in 1715, that large sums of money were yearly drawn out of the country by absentees; an act was passed, by which persons who had any salaries, profits of employments, fees, or pensions, in Ireland, should pay unto his majesty 4s. out of every twenty shillings, yearly, to which they were entitled, unless such persons should reside within the kingdom six months in every year. This was to be deducted annually out of all salaries and fees, by the persons who paid them, and to be transmitted to the vice-treasurers, to be accounted for to his majesty. There was an exception, however, in favour of the lord-lieutenant, or other governor of the kingdom, and his secretaries, and such persons as should be exempted by his majesty's sign manual, and officers of regiments ordered abroad, half-pay officers, widows of officers, and any officer under the rank of a field-officer. This tax was continued by several acts of parliament in subsequent sessions, till the year 1753, when it being found that the king's ministers had frequently prevailed on the crown to exercise the dispensing power, and in the case of pensions, often granted such addition as might be sufficient to defray the tax, it was allowed to cease, not from any disapprobation of it, but because it was thus rendered nugatory.

The first sums borrowed by parliament in Ireland, was £50,000. in the year 1715. This money, and the interest was provided for in the same bill, by which the old aids, or additional duties, were granted until the year 1729; but £150,000. having been then borrowed, distinct bills were used for these different purposes; and this method was continued ever after. Here then we find the first loan bill, by which, if there were any surplus of the duties thereon, appointed for the payment of the interest, it was ordered to be retained in the hands of the Vice-Treasurer, for the discharge of the principal sum; but there was no distinction in that act for keeping a separate account of those duties from the ordinary revenue.

In the year 1731, however, £100,000. more being borrowed, which made the debt £300,000., and the same duties appropriated, a separate account was ordered to be kept of these, as well as the other before-mentioned duties, by a statute 5 George II. ‡

\* Commercial Restraints of Ireland, p. 27, 28. † Clarendon's Sketch, p. 38.

‡ List of the Absentees of Ireland, Dublin, 1768, 8vo. p. 18, 19.

§ Howard's Treatise on the Exchequer and Revenue of Ireland, vol. ii. 4to, Dublin, 1776. p. 221.

	£.	s.	d.
By a report of the Committee of Accounts, it appears that the nett produce of the hereditary revenue, additional duties, &c. for one year and nine months, ending Lady-day, 1719, was	805,015	4	3½
And that the charges of the establishment, and other expenses of government for the same time, amounted to	793,658	4	2½*

The public accounts, some time before 1727, seem to have been much neglected. In a letter of Dr. Boulter to the Duke of Newcastle, dated Jan. 26th, in that year, the writer says, "the difficulties that were in part apprehended in the session of parliament are now pretty well over: the public accounts have been stated to the satisfaction of the commons, and the usual money bill will be ready for the council next Monday; as the accounts have been now audited by the commissioners of accounts to Lady-day last, and will, whilst the English have any power here, be regularly audited every year, it will not be so easy to embroil the session as it was the last time parliament sat, when Pratt's accounts were in such confusion, from not being regularly audited for some years."†

	£.	s.	d.
In 1729, the nett produce of the hereditary revenue, additional duties, &c. for two years, ending at Lady-day, amounted, according to a report of the Committee of accounts, to	889,351	4	11½
And the charge of the establishments, &c. for the said time was	982,710	4	9½
So that there was a deficiency in the revenue of	£. 93,358	19	10½ †

In 1745, Ireland was so little able to bear taxation, that Lord Chesterfield discouraged and prevented any augmentation of the army, although much desired by many gentlemen of the house of commons, from an idea of the great danger with which the country was at that time threatened. An influx of money, however, after the peace, and the success of the linen trade, enabled government to reduce by degrees, and afterwards to liquidate the public debt on the 1st of March, 1754. This debt was occasioned chiefly by the expenses incurred on account of the rebellion in 1715, and had so much increased from the want of resources, that at Lady-day, 1733, it amounted to £371,312. 12s. 2½d.‡

In 1763, the national debt of Ireland, which had been incurred entirely during the preceding war, was £521,161. 16s. 6½d.; and this sum would have been much

\* Clarendon's Sketch, p. 41.

‡ Clarendon's Sketch, p. 43.

† Boulter's Letters, vol. i. p. 168.

§ Commercial Restraints, p. 50.

greater, had not the several lord-lieutenants employed with great discretion the power of borrowing, with which the house of commons had from session to session intrusted them.\*

The revenue, for the two years ending the 25th of March, 1771, being much less than its amount in former years, was inadequate to the charges of government, and for the supply of sums necessary for bounties and the carrying on of public works. The debt of the nation also had increased, and at Lady-day, 1771, amounted to £782,320. 0s. 0½d.†

At Lady-day, 1773, the debt had increased, and amounted still farther to £994,890. 10s. 10½d.‡

In this year, under the administration of Lord Harcourt, a new mode of raising money was introduced in Ireland. The sum wanted for the public service being £265,000., it was proposed to raise it by way of annuities, with benefit of survivorship, at six per cent. This sum was divided into shares of £100. each; and for every share one life was allowed to be nominated. The lives were divided into three classes. The first contained those of 40 years old, and upwards; the second, those of 20 years and upwards, but under forty; and the third, those under 20 years. No dividend of the interest, arising from the shares of those who died in each class, was to be made until it yielded a clear one-half per cent. among the survivors; and the increase of interest was never to be more than the principal originally advanced by each subscriber. The remainder of the interest, as it occurred, to be applied to the credit of the nation.§

In the beginning of the session of this year, it was proposed by government "that a tax of 2s. in the pound should be laid upon the net rent, and annual profits of all lands, &c. in Ireland, to be paid by those persons who should not actually reside in that kingdom for the space of six months in each year, from Christmas, 1773, to Christmas, 1775. This proposition was rejected; but the majority was small, 102 voting for it, and 121 against it.||

So deficient was the revenue, and such the exhausted state of the treasury in May, 1779, that it was found necessary to remit £50,000. from England, for the subsistence of the army, and other military purposes.¶

On the meeting of parliament, in October, in the same year, it appeared that the revenue had decreased, in the two years ending at Lady-day, 1779, nearly £220,000. from the produce of the two preceding years. It was, therefore, moved by Mr. Grattan, and carried by a majority of 170 to 47, that it would be inexpedient at that time to grant any more new taxes:\*\* and, as the only means of raising the revenue was to

\* Commercial Restraints, p. 71.

† Ibid. p. 72.

‡ Ibid. p. 73. According to Clarendon, the total of the funded debt at this time, was £896,400.

*Revenue and Finances of Ireland*, p. 109.

§ Clarendon's Sketch, p. 110.

¶ Ibid. p. 112.

|| Ibid. p. 109.

\*\* Commons' Journals, vol. xix. p. 123.

general trade, it was resolved, with a view to promote this end, that the supply should be granted only for six months. It was at this period of distress that recourse was had, for the first time in Ireland, to the destructive and immoral mode of raising money by a lottery.

The sum of £200,000. being wanted, a lottery, consisting of 40,000 tickets, was proposed and sanctioned by the legislature. Forty thousand of these tickets were paid for at £5. each; and one ticket was given as a *douceur* to every subscriber for twenty. Debentures, bearing interest at four per cent. for 210,000 were ordered, to pay the prizes. Thus £10,000., in the four per cents, was paid for this loan, exclusive of the charges of drawing, &c., which must, upon the whole, be considered as a good bargain for the public; as they, in fact, paid only 4½*d.* per cent for the sum actually received.

It being necessary to borrow £140,000. more, treasury bills, for the first time, were ordered to be issued at an interest of three-pence per day for each £100., being £4. 11*s.* 3*d.* per cent. per annum.\*

In 1781, notwithstanding the extension of trade, and new additional duties, the expenses of the establishment, &c. for the two last years, ending at Lady-day, exceeded the produce of the revenue by above £480,000.†

In 1782, tickets for the lotteries established by the parliament of Ireland, were permitted to be sold in every part of Great Britain, except the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, under the same regulations with respect to licenses, &c., which were enacted for conducting the business of the British state lotteries.‡

In 1785, the expenses of the Irish government still exceeded the revenue; and it appeared, that the whole amount borrowed, from the accession of His Majesty, till Lady-day that year, was £3,186,000.; but, as a great part of this sum had been discharged out of the surplus of the loan duties, and a considerable portion of it being money borrowed to pay off treasury bills, the total principal and interest of the funded debt, as reported by the committee of accounts, in the session of 1786, was £2,157,041. 2*s.* 11½*d.*§

	£.	s.	d.
In 1789, the total amount of the expenses for the year, ending at Lady-day, was . . . . .	1,032,343	5	8
The sum applicable to the discharge of the same, amounted only to . . . . .	956,354	1	6½
Leaving a deficiency in the unappropriated revenue to answer the current expenses of . . . . .	£75,989	4	1½

\* Clarendon's Sketch, p. 112.

† Ibid. p. 113.

‡ 22 Geo. III. c. 47. *Macpherson's Annals of Commerce*, vol. iii. p. 711.

§ Clarendon's Sketch, p. 47.

|| Ibid. p. 193.

The gross produce of the revenue for the year ending Lady-day, 1789, was £1,661,649.; the mere article of salaries for collecting was £157,665., being 9½ per cent. for the wages of the collector: if to this be added the various incidental charges on the revenue collection, namely, £138,688., it will make the expense of collecting the gross revenue of Ireland, at that time, no less than £17. 6s. 8d. per cent, or 3s. 7d. in the pound.\*

The government of Ireland, having made loans in the years 1794 and 1795, an option was given to the subscribers to receive their dividends, or transfer their stock to London; and the bank of England having undertaken to manage the payment and transfers of such parts as it was the desire of the holders to have made payable in London, this arrangement was sanctioned by parliament.†

In 1797, the sinking fund of Ireland was established; on this occasion an annual sum of £100,000. was granted, together with the terminable annuities, as they should expire; and a proportionate rate of one per cent. on the capital of debts to be afterwards created.‡

On the 3d of May, in this year, the sum of £300,000., part of a loan contracted for by the government of Ireland, being for the accommodation of the subscribers, made payable in London, and the bank having engaged to manage the business of transferring the stock, and paying the dividends, the arrangement was sanctioned by parliament. The terms of this loan were an annuity of £5., redeemable by the Irish government after fifteen years; and a terminable annuity of £4. 15s. during thirteen years and a half, from the 25th of September, 1796, for every £100.§

	£.	s.	d.
The nett revenue paid into the exchequer of Ireland, in the year ending 25th of March, 1794, amounted to	1,067,004	11	0
And increasing every year, it was in that ending 25th of March, 1800	2,684,261	13	6
The capital of the funded national debt, was	25,662,540	0	0
The annual interest on which, together with the terminable annuities, amounted to	1,136,563	11	1
The charges of management	6,500	0	0
The sum appropriated for the redemption	254,941	3	4
	1,398,004 14 5		
The commissioners for the reduction of the national debt had now redeemed of the above capital debt	339,863	16	0
The dividends on which amounted to	16,993	3	9½

\* Clarendon's Sketch, p. 147.

† Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, vol. iv. p. 245.

‡ Macpherson, vol. iv. p. 509.

§ Ibid. p. 417.

¶ Ibid. 509.

One branch of the Irish revenue, which still remains to be mentioned, is that known under the name of the king's hereditary revenue: it was so called, from its being vested in the king, his heirs, and successors; and, at a medium of the twelve years preceding the 25th of March 1773, amounted to about £640,000. per annum.\* This income was either the ancient patrimony of the crown, or was granted to Charles II. by parliament, instead of such branches of the king's inherent revenue as were found inconvenient or burdensome to the subject.

It consisted of the king's rents, customs outwards and inwards, import, excise, prizage on wines, light-house duties, ale, wine, and strong water licenses, seizures and forfeitures, hearth-money; and of the casual revenue arising from fines, forfeited recognizances, custodiam rents, together with some other casualties, as waifs, estrays, goods of felons and fugitives, &c.

Of rents reserved and payable to the king in Ireland, there were four different kinds; namely, crown-rents, port corn-rents, composition-rents, and quit-rents. The crown-rents are ancient rents reserved upon grants made by the crown, of demesne lands and lands of inheritance; the greater part of which arose upon grants of the lands, tenements, hereditaments, &c. which formerly belonged to monasteries, abbeys, priories, and other religious houses, either dissolved or suppressed in the reign of Henry VIII.

Rents reserved on all grants from the crown, of fairs, markets, ferries, and fisheries, are called also crown rents.

The case is the same with rents reserved on the six escheated counties in the province of Ulster, on the rebellion of Tyrone, and others; namely, Donegal, Tyrone, Derry, Fermanagh, Cavan, and Armagh. The yearly amount of these crown rents, in 1776, was about £14,800. per annum.

The port-corn rent was formerly paid by many of the tenants to the monasteries and abbeys, before their dissolution, either in service or in kind, by *port-corn*, or marts, or by the rendering of corn and other produce of the lands. It was called *port*, from *porto*, to carry, or *quia ad portam monasterii jacebatur*. The corn so reserved were wheat, bere, malt, and oatmeal; but in one grant, beeves are reserved. All these port-corn rents, which amounted only to about £400. per annum, were, soon after the dissolution of the abbeys, given by the crown to the lord-lieutenant, and other great officers in Ireland, who usually farmed them out at a certain yearly sum; but, in consequence of complaints made on account of severity in the exaction of them, it was directed, by the king's letter, dated April 20th, 1763, that they should no longer be paid to the chief governor, but to the commissioners of his majesty's revenue.

\* The anonymous author of a pamphlet entitled, "A Short Account of His Majesty's Hereditary Revenue in Ireland," printed at Dublin, in 1753, makes it, at that time, to have been £120,364.

Composition rents, are rents reserved to the crown, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, on a composition made between her majesty and the lords and chieftains of Connaught, in lieu of cesses, impress, and quarterage of soldiers.\*

There were also other composition rents, which depended on a composition made by the lords of the pale, and the inhabitants of the province of Munster, with Sir William Fitzwilliam, who was lord-deputy of Ireland in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; but, at present, there appears no distinct account of these rents, and it is supposed that they have passed under the denomination of quit-rents.

The amount of these composition rents is about £1,000. per annum.

Quit-rent, is a rent which arose in Ireland after the rebellion, in 1641, by the acts of settlement and explanation. It is an acreable rent, according to the English statute measure, reserved upon all the estates forfeited in consequence of that rebellion, and granted by the crown to adventurers, soldiers, &c.; and on lands which were then seized, and afterwards restored to innocent papists, by decrees or certificates; or on lands given to them as reprisals, or to transplanters.

The rates, according to which these rents were reserved, were as follows:

				£.	s.	d.	
For every Acre in	-	-	}	Leinster	0	0	3
				Munster	0	0	2½
				Ulster	0	0	2
				Connaught	0	0	1½

The yearly amount is about £50,840.

The customs are the duties of poundage and tonnage on goods imported, and of poundage on goods exported.

Prizage is a quantity of wine taken from every ship in which it is imported, for the use of his majesty. This is an ancient duty payable to the crown by prescription; it is received either in kind, or a certain sum is paid in lieu thereof by the importer.

Butlerage was a duty granted by Henry II., in the year 1177, to Theobald, the son of Herveius Walter, to whom the king gave the butlership of Ireland. In consequence of this grant, he and his successors were to attend the kings of England at their coronation, and present them with the first cup of wine, for which they were to have certain pieces of the king's plate; and this, it is said, was the origin of the name of Butler. This duty was confirmed to the same family afterwards, Earls, Marquises, and Dukes of Ormonde, particularly in the reigns of Edward III., Philip and Mary, and Charles II.; and it became vested in the Earl of Arran, by an act of the British parliament in June 1721, which enabled that nobleman to purchase the forfeited estates of James, Duke of Ormonde, his brother.

\* A detailed history of these compositions, down to the reign of Charles I., may be seen in Howard's Treatise of the Exchequer and Revenue of Ireland, vol. i. p. 38—42.

In the course of time, the collection of these customs being attended with great trouble, the crown entered into an agreement with James, Duke of Ormonde, in 1704, by which his Grace empowered the commissioners of the revenue to collect the duties of butlerage and prisage for seven years, on the condition of his receiving the yearly sum of £9,500., for himself, his heirs, or executors. The Duke afterwards executed a further lease to the commissioners of the revenue, dated the 16th of August, 1707, for ten years and a half, from Michaelmas 1711; and by a deed, dated the 12th November, 1709, another lease was granted of ten years and a half, to commence 25th March, 1722, for the like annual sum of £9,500. This agreement expired at Michaelmas, 1732; and the year following these duties were leased by Charles, Earl of Arran, for three years from Michaelmas, 1732, in consideration of the yearly sum of £4,000. The same contract continued to be renewed every three years for a considerable time; but this being found inconvenient, the Earl of Arran, in 1744, proposed either to collect these customs himself, or to let them for a long term, at the option of both parties. The latter proposal being accepted, George II., by his letter, dated 9th April, 1774, appointed the yearly sum of £4,000. to be paid annually to his lordship for these customs during his majesty's pleasure. This agreement still subsisted in the year 1776 between the crown and the Earl of Arran's heir; but Howard says, that the crown was a loser by this contract, as the duties did not amount to near the sum which it paid in lieu of them.\* This butlerage has since devolved upon the Earl of Ormonde, who has sold it to government in 1811, for £217,000.

Light-house duty is a tribute of four-pence per ton, payable to his majesty, by virtue of his prerogative, by foreign ships trading to Ireland. An account of it will be seen under the head Light-Houses, in the chapter on Harbours.

Inland excise is the duty upon beer, ale, and strong waters, granted to the crown by the 14th and 15th of Charles II. c. 8.

The ale and beer licenses, and the wine and strong water licenses, form another branch of the hereditary revenue. The duties, arising from the former, were granted by the 14th and 15th Charles II. c. 6. Wine and strong water licenses were founded upon the 17th and 18th Charles II. c. 19; which enacts, that no person shall sell by retail, any kind of wine, aqua-vitæ, or other distilled strong liquors, without a license.

Hearth-money. So early as the Norman conquest mention is made in Domesday Book of *fumage*, commonly called smoke farthings, which was paid by custom to the king for every chimney in the house. This impost was introduced into Ireland by the 14th and 15th of Charles II. c. 17, and the 17th and 18th of the same sovereign, c. 18; by which a duty of 2s. for each fire, hearth, &c. was granted to the crown in lieu of the court of wards, payable on every 10th of January, at one entire payment, and recoverable by distress and sale of goods. About the same period,†

\* Treatise on the Exchequer and Revenue of Ireland, vol. i. p. 77.

† Thirteenth and Fourteenth Charles II.

a like duty was granted by the legislature to the crown, which upon the revolution was abolished; but six years after, by 7 William III. c. 8. a tax of 2s. was laid upon all houses, except cottages; it was afterwards raised to 3s. From this duty no person is exempted but those who live upon alms, and are not able to obtain a livelihood by their labour; and widows, who shall procure yearly a certificate in writing from two justices of the peace, that the house which they inhabit is not of greater value than 8s. annual rent, and that they do not occupy lands of the yearly rent of 8s., and that they have not goods and chattels of the value of £4.

Besides perpetual inland duties, there have been several additional temporary duties granted from time to time to the crown; some for particular purposes to which they were appropriated by parliament; others for the support of government in general.

Seizures, forfeitures, and fines, comprehend all the revenue arising to the crown by its moiety, or share of the produce of all seizures condemned and sold, as forfeited under the act of tonnage, and the act of import excise, as of fines imposed for breaches of those laws to which the subsequent acts creating the additional duties usually refer.

The casual revenue consists of fines and forfeited recognisances, commonly called green wax, custodiam rents, profits of the hanaper, &c. together with some other casualties, as waifs, estrays, the goods of felons, and fugitives, &c. None of these, the profits of the hanaper excepted, are collected by the commissioners of the revenue, but by the several sheriffs, by whom they are paid into the treasury.

Fines, anciently called *oblata*, or offerings, and amercements, made in the early ages a very considerable part of the revenue of the crown; the former originally were offerings or gifts to the crown, for grants and confirmations of liberties and franchises of various kinds; for liberty to hold or to quit certain offices; by tenants *in capite*, for licenses to marry; for liberties relating to trade, or merchandise; for the king's favour or good will, and that he would remit his anger or displeasure; for the king's protection, aid, or mediation; to have seisin or restitution of lands or chattels, and that persons might not be disseised; to be discharged out of prison, and replevied or bailed to the custody of lawful men; for the acquittal of various crimes, even homicide; and for several other things.

But the most remarkable head of this branch of the revenue was the fines paid to the crown for proceedings in the king's courts of justice; as fines to have justice and right; for writs, pleas, trials, and judgments; for expediting pleas, trials, and judgments; also, for delaying them, and fines payable out of the debts to be recovered.

Considering the nature of these fines on law proceedings, it appears as if justice or right was formerly purchased of the crown. A remedy, however, was provided against this evil, by that clause in *Magna Charta*, which declares *nulli vendimus, nulli negabimus aut differemus rectum vel justitiam*; and it seems to have been attended with due effect; for although writs and process of law formed always in many cases a part

of the revenue of the crown, and were paid after the great charter was granted, as before, they became at any rate more moderate; and the refusing of right, and the stopping or delaying the course of justice, were gradually abolished. So that of this great and monstrous branch of the revenue, arising from fines and *oblata*, nothing remains to the crown but the duties exacted for sealing patents, and original writs, now usually called the profits of the hanaper; and port fines, so denominated as being, fines on the original fine, which are paid to the crown on every fine levied of land *pro licentia concordandi*, and they amount to as much as the premier fine, and half as much more.

Another branch of the casual revenue arises from forfeited recognisances, which are bonds or obligations of record acknowledged to the king, conditioned usually for appearance at the court, to prosecute felons, &c.; to preserve the peace, &c.

Profits of the hanaper, so called from the hamper, or basket, in which original writs relating to the business of the subject, and the return of them were, according to the simplicity of ancient times, preserved, is a duty arising to the crown for sealing patents, viz. for all patents or grants of lands or offices, £1. 8s. 3d.,\* and for original writs different sums, according to the nature of the writ. But the moiety of these is granted to the Lord Chancellor, for the support of the dignity of his office.†

Custodiam rents are such rents as are reserved by the crown, on *custodiams* or leases, under the exchequer seal, which are most commonly made of such lands, &c. as are seized into the hands of the crown, upon outlawries in civil actions.

First fruits and twentieth parts were also branches of the casual revenue; the former called *primitiæ* or *anates*, are a charge upon admission into church livings, being the first year's profit upon every ecclesiastical benefice or promotion in Ireland, payable in two years by four gales. The twentieth parts were likewise a charge upon all church livings, being the twentieth part of every year's profit of every ecclesiastical benefice or promotion: these profits of first fruits and twentieth parts were originally a part of the papal usurpations over the clergy in that country; but when this power was shaken off, and the king declared head of the church, they were annexed to the crown by stat. 26th of Henry VIII. At present, however, they form no part of the king's revenue, Queen Anne having assigned them over in trust to the bishops and clergy, for the purpose of building and repairing churches, and purchasing glebes.

Waifs, *bona wariata*, are goods stolen and waived, or thrown away by a thief in his flight, for fear of being apprehended; they are given to the king by law, as a punishment upon the owner for not having pursued the felon and recovered his goods. But waived

\* Of this £1. 8s. 3d. the king has 15s.; unless it be for patents of offices, in which case he has but 10s. 6d.; the Chancellor 2s. for a docket; the Master of the Rolls 5s.; the Clerk of the Hanaper 6s. 3d.

† The first grant of this moiety appears to have been in the reign of James I., to Adam, Lord Viscount Loftus of Ely, then Lord Chancellor, for the support of his dignity.

goods do not belong to the king till seized by some person for him ; and if the goods be hid by the thief, or left by him in any place, they are not waived goods, and the owner is entitled to have them returned.

Estrays, are such valuable animals as are found wandering in any manor or lordship, and of which the owner is not known ; in this case they are given by the law to the king. They must, however, be proclaimed in the church, and in two market towns ; and the owner may have them again, on paying the charges, if claimed within a year and a day.

Goods of fugitives are the goods of a person who is found upon record to have fled for felony : whether he be found guilty of felony or not, they are forfeited to the king, as a punishment to the owner for having done what in him lay to stop the course of public justice.

Goods of felons, are the goods of persons convicted of felony or treason.

Deodands are moveable goods, which have been the immediate occasion of the death of any human being ; they are forfeited to the king, to be applied to pious uses, and distributed in alms by his high almoner.

Wreck. By the ancient common law, when a ship was lost at sea, and the goods or cargo were thrown upon the land, these goods were adjudged to belong to the king ; but as this was inconsistent both with reason and humanity, it was ordained by King Henry I., that if any person escaped alive out of the ship, it should be no wreck : Henry II., afterwards declared by his charter, that if either man or beast should escape, or be found in the vessel alive, the goods should remain to the owners, if they were claimed within three months ; otherwise they should be esteemed a wreck, and belong to the king, or other lord of the franchise. This was again confirmed with improvements by Richard I., and afterwards in the statute of Westminster, which enacts, that if any living thing escape, whether a man, a cat, or a dog, the sheriff is bound to keep the goods a year and a day ; that if any one can prove a property in them, they may be restored ; if not they belong to the king. When the goods are of a perishable nature, the sheriff may sell them, and the money is then liable in their stead.

It is, however, to be observed, that in order to constitute a legal wreck, the goods must come to land ; if they continue at sea, the law distinguishes them by the barbarous appellations of *jetsam*, *flotsam*, and *ligan*. *Jetsam* is when the goods sink in the sea, and remain under water ; *flotsam*, is when they continue floating on the surface ; and *ligan* is when they are sunk in the sea, but tied to a cork or buoy, in order that they may be again found : these, if claimed by no owner, belong also to the king, but if any owner appears, he is entitled to recover them.

Treasure trove is money or coin, gold or silver, plate, or bullion, found hidden in the earth, or other private place, the owner being unknown : in this case, such treasure belongs to the king ; but if the person who hid it be known, or afterwards

found out, it is to be restored to him. If found upon the earth or in the sea, if no owner appear it belongs to the finder.

Gold and silver mines are another branch of the royal revenue, which derives its origin from the king's prerogative of coinage, and is bestowed to supply him with materials. By the old common law, if gold or silver were found in mines of base metal, the whole, according to the opinion of some, was a royal mine, and belonged to the king; but by the statute of 4th Anne, c. 12., no mines of copper, tin, iron, or lead, shall be adjudged to be a royal mine, although gold or silver be extracted from them; and all persons who shall be proprietors of any mines which contain copper, tin, iron, or lead, shall hold and enjoy the same, but the king is to have the ore at certain prices stated in the act.\*

In consequence of an arrangement between the crown and the Irish parliament, in the thirty-third year of the present reign, His Majesty gave up the receipts of his hereditary revenue, on a civil list being established in Ireland. The bill, however, for this purpose was renewed annually; but the system since the Union has been made permanent, and will continue so during the life of George III.†

Before I submit to the reader's inspection the tables connected with the subject of this chapter, which will exhibit an increase of export and import, of revenue and expenditure, I think it necessary to offer a few remarks on the difference between finance and political economy; between the physical powers of a state, and the arithmetical powers of a minister. Finance ministers, of late years, have not acquired a certain celebrity without deserving it: attracted by the glare of accumulated figures, they have superficially passed over those resources by which alone the taxes of an empire can be supported. To ascertain whether a nation is in a progressive state of prosperity, our attention must be directed to quantity, not to number; yet the pounds, shillings and pence, of the custom and excise ledgers, are continually exhibited, and triumphantly held up as a criterion of national greatness. Such will be the conduct of a mere financier, but not of a political economist. When I have seen the time of a minister wasted in wrangling with a distiller about the size of his still, or with a maltster respecting the number of wettings he gave his barley, it has always occurred

\* I must refer those desirous of further information on this subject, to Howard's *Treatise on the Exchequer and Revenue of Ireland*. Dublin, 1776, 4to. vol. i.

† Lord Charlemont, in a letter to Dr. Halliday, dated June 13th, 1793, says, "though I am weary of politics, I cannot avoid informing you, that our labours have not been entirely fruitless; and that if our success has not been equal to my wishes, it has far, however, exceeded my expectations. The explanation of the Navigation Act, together with its consequences, is a real commercial benefit; the entire cession of the hereditary revenue, which is now consolidated with the other national funds, and strictly appropriated; and the establishment of a treasury board, which will be paid for by the salaries of the useless and alien vice-treasurers, will, in effect, nearly answer the purpose of our Responsibility Bill." *Hardy's Life of Lord Charlemont*, p. 359.

For the Debates in the year 1803, on the disposal of the Hereditary Revenues, see *Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates*, vol. i. p. 315-318.

to me, that the taxes were calculated on erroneous principles; that ignorance was their foundation and folly their superstructure. Although the results from such a system may increase, numerically, the revenue of a state, it affords but a false test of its substantial increase, and of the flourishing condition of a country. I am ignorant whether financiers make such intentional use of figures, but with them they become dust to blind the eyes of the people; and it is impossible not to smile at the readiness with which some, considered as men of intelligence, suffer themselves thereby to be deluded.

Instead of the public debt being always stated in the same manner, and kept in the same account, it is formed into two divisions, funded and unfunded debt: these again are subdivided into different accounts; the funded debt now consists of "Debt of Great Britain," "Debt of Ireland," "Debt for the Emperor of Germany," "Debt for the Prince of Portugal." Here we have four sorts of funded debt, subdivided into Bank of England debt, and annuities, anno 1726; South Sea ditto, and new annuities, anno 1752; consolidated annuities; reduced annuities; consolidated annuities, at 4 per cent.; consolidated annuities, at 5 per cent.; annuities, annis 1757, and 1802; annuities for lives or terms of years, &c.; all bearing different rates of interest, 3 per cent., 4 per cent., 5 per cent., and long annuities no interest at all: the whole forming a confused mass of figures, which cannot be understood, but by those who have been expressly educated for that purpose. But this division, and subdivision of stocks, is attended with great benefit to a numerous class of men, who frequent the Stock Exchange; who profit by the weakness and credulity of those whose hopes or fears are excited by reports, which are frequently forged and propagated as the interest of these agents may point out, and who succeed not only in procuring a living, but sometimes in accumulating large fortunes. Our public debt is an evil of no common magnitude, and one which needs no addition from the stupidity with which it is managed; at any rate, let it be reduced into one stock, bearing the same interest, and shewing at one view its enormous amount, and the extent of the grievance under which the country has to labour.\*

\* Sir John Sinclair proposes a tax upon stock-brokers; and the hint deserves the notice of the legislature. "The gains of stock-brokers," says this writer, "of late years have not only greatly increased, but from the progressive magnitude of the national debt, are likely to be augmented; though, in consequence of the low price of the funds, a hundred pounds in money would have lately purchased nearly twice as much in the 3 per cents., as it would have done forty years ago; yet their profit is the same, the buying and selling broker each receiving two shillings and six-pence for every hundred pounds of stock that is transferred. The facility also, with which brokers can transfer among themselves, encourages among them a gambling spirit, and partly occasions those fluctuations in the price of stocks, which are so injurious to the credit of the country. Indeed, stock-broking has become so lucrative a trade, that the bankers in London stipulate, that they are to receive one-half of the profits of such business as they put into the hands of their broker; nor is that an inconsiderable sum in great banking houses." *Hist. of the Public Revenue*, part iii. p. 191. Some late events have shewn, that it would be highly proper that every person admitted to act as a broker, should not only pay for a license, but be obliged to give security to a certain amount. I hope some member of the legislature will turn his thoughts to this subject, and suggest a plan to prevent individuals from being robbed by stock-brokers, as has been lately the case. If confidence cannot be placed in these men, the purchase of government securities becomes less desirable, and of course the public credit is injured.

This method of keeping the public accounts exhibits for a series of years, a vast excess of expenditure over receipt, as I have demonstrated by the comparative tables, which I have formed and added to this chapter. But this deficiency is disguised by the consequent necessity of a continual funding of exchequer bills.

If a large loan be made, one evil attending it is, that under the present system, it multiplies the public accounts, and spreads alarm, not only among the timid and the weak, but among persons of some experience; the subject appearing to them quite unintelligible. Even when the subject of finance is discussed in the House of Commons, the majority of the members are so little acquainted with such calculations, that they prefer a few hours' amusement at Astley's, a place so happily contiguous that they can return in time to vote, without subjecting themselves to the dull school-boy task of listening to dry and uninteresting details of thousands and millions distributed throughout these unintelligible heads.

There are few subjects which have given rise to a greater variety of opinions than the manner in which the revenue of a country can be most beneficially collected. I do not allude to the practical detail, whether by collectors or receivers general; I take into my view those great principles on which an enlightened system ought to be founded, for it seems still to be undetermined in public opinion, on what class of persons or property taxes finally rest. Although it is generally admitted, that they are ultimately paid by the land, no financier has been bold enough to put the question to practical proof, by levying from the land owner the whole of the public imposts, except the Sultan of Fezzan Mourzouk\*, who, from his conduct, might have been supposed a pupil of Dr. Gray. I own the argument of the benefit of circuitous collection would be to me unintelligible, were I convinced of the former position.

Mr. Locke has said, that "taxes, however contrived, and out of whose hands soever immediately taken, do, in a country where their great fund is in land, for the most part terminate upon land."† Many authorities for the same opinion might be adduced both

\* Horneman's Travels, p. 68.

† Locke's Consideration on the lowering of Interest and raising the value of Money, in the 4th vol. of his works, 9th edit. p. 55.

The most celebrated foreign works on this subject are *Encyclopedie Art. Fermier Grain &c. Les Elemens de la Philosophie Rurale*, par Mirabeau, 12mo. 1767. *L'ordre naturel et essentiel des Societies Politiques*, 4to. et 12mo. 1767. *La Physiocratie ou Constitution naturelle du gouvernement les plus avantageux au genre humain*, par Quesnay, 2 tom. 8vo. 1767. *De L'origine et des progres d'une Science nouvelle*, 8vo. 1767, par Dupont. *Lettres d'un Citoyen à un magistrat sur les vingtiemes et les autres impots*, par M. l'Abbé Badau. *Philosophes economistes sur l'ordre naturel et essentiel des sociétés politiques*, 12°. par M. l'Abbé Mably, 1768. *Precis de l'ordre legal*, 12mo. par le Marquis de Mirabeau, 1768. *Memoir sur les effets de l'impot indirect*, par Saint Peravy, 1768. *L'Ami des Hommes* par le Marquis de Mirabeau, 7 tom. 1757. *Tableau Economique avec un explication*, 4to. par Quesnoy, 1758. *Theorie de l'impot*, par le Marquis de Mirabeau, 12mo. 1760. *Journal d'Agriculture. Ephemerides du Citoyen*.

foreign and domestic, ancient as well as modern. The income tax of Great Britain, in the year 1810, was raised upon a national income from land of less than thirty-eight millions: The revenue in the same period from every source, independently of borrowing, was upwards of sixty-six millions. This shews that the taxes do not fall upon the landlord's rent only. An anonymous writer, in reply to a work of the Marquis of Mirabeau, remarked some years ago a similar fact in the following words: "La Hollande est la preuve demonstration que les principes de M. de Mirabeau ne sont pas fondés; si les impôts ne devoient se prelever qui' immediatement à la source de revenus comme le pretend M. de Mirabeau, et qu'on ne pût jamais exiger qu'une partie du produit territorial il y a long temps que la Hollande n'existeroit plus."\* Arthur Young, in his French Tour, perceived the same thing; and in his Political Arithmetic, he has most satisfactorily shewn that the same system of taxation will not answer for all countries: he instances the differences between those where the income arises only from the soil; those where the soil yields much the greater income; and others, where the most considerable is produced by trade and manufactures.† All these circumstances ought to be well considered by a minister, before he determines on his plans for levying the public imposts; but, unfortunately, it is too much the fashion of the present times to rest satisfied with general results.

It is an undisputed fact, that England is increasing in population; that its population is better fed, better clothed, and better lodged, than formerly; that new docks are constructing, and new buildings rising every day; that its rivers, which a few years ago were navigated only by boats, are now filled with ships of various kinds; that its roads extend in every direction through the country, and afford an easy passage to mail coaches, which are now no novelty in the remotest parts of the island; and that its navigable canals form a water communication from one shore to the other. Taking all these events into consideration, it is impossible not to feel pleased with the prospect they afford; but, however gratifying to those who exult

\* *Traité de la Circulation*, p. 134.

† *Young's Political Arithmetic*, edit. 1774. p. 237.

‡ The reader will do well to consult Mr. Pitt's speech on introducing the revenue tax. The *Income Tax*, scrutinized by Dr. Gray. *Becke's Observations on the Produce of the Income Tax*. *Essai sur l'Etat actuel de l'Administration des finances et de la Richesses nationale de la Grande Bretagne*, par Frederic Gentz. *Financial Facts of the 18th Century*. Anonymous, published by Wright, Piccadilly, 1800. *A Survey of the Strength and Opulence of Great Britain*, by the Rev. Dr. Clarke. *An Essay on Political Economy*, by Daniel Wakefield, 2d edit. Rivington, 1800. These are all important works, connected with the subject of taxation, and have arisen from the measure of introducing the income tax. The authors, however, disagree in their opinions upon the principles of political economy; but the results they exhibit all shew how much even Mr. Pitt was in error upon this subject. It is proved that he was mistaken in regard to the true size of Great Britain, by eight millions of acres, and that he miscalculated its rental nearly one-half. The results exhibited by collecting the income tax upon landlords' rent, prove that what he estimated at 20 millions produced 38 millions.

in national prosperity, these improvements may be, they must be ascribed to the true cause, the exertion and industry of the people. These causes demand the immediate consideration of the financier, with whom they are objects of taxation. It was not only a wise but a profound assertion of Adam Smith, "that the subjects of every state ought to contribute towards the support of the government as nearly as possible in proportion to their respective abilities, that is, in proportion to the revenue which they respectively enjoy under the protection of the state. The expense of government, to the individuals of a great nation, is like the expense of management to the joint tenants of a large estate, who are all obliged to contribute in proportion to their respective interests in the estate. In the observation of this maxim, consists what is called the equality or inequality of taxation."\*

In devising a system of taxation, there is more required than the mere observation of results. The successful highwayman, who has filled his coffers with the money of the plundered traveller, may boast of his success; and a minister of a country, if his sole object be to fill the exchequer, acts upon nearly the same principle.

The duty of a minister bears no analogy to such conduct. He looks not to the quantity of taxation, but to protect the people, by seeing that it is equally imposed; if he neglect this, the man who pays more than his due proportion is robbed, while those who pay less have their incomes increased by money unjustly taken from the pockets of their neighbours. The amount may be collected in this manner, but such a system is oppressive, and cannot fail to excite discontent. No minister, whatever may be his talents, can form an equitable and honest system of taxation, unless he be thoroughly acquainted with the resources of the country. He must also attend to the moral effects of taxation; an object, which in modern times, has been very much neglected. Lotteries in England, and distilleries in Ireland, are encouraged for fiscal purposes; and it would not be difficult to shew, that the nation which holds out such temptations to vice, loses more by the idleness it creates than it gains by the revenue produced.

The next object is, that the taxes should be collected at the least possible expense. Experience demonstrates that many taxes are rendered unproductive by the charges attending their collection. As the interest and character of a minister are here at issue, many who have been so unprincipled as to be careless upon whom the taxes fell, if they could be raised at any rate, have been extremely anxious about the mode and the expense of their collection, and have directed their attention exclusively to this part of the subject. The French economists, to whose works I have referred, were led to conclude, that all taxes are ultimately paid by the land,† and

\* Smith's Wealth of Nations, Book v. chap. 2. vol. iii. p. 256.

† See a Paper in Mr. Young's Annals of Agriculture, vol. xxx. p. 177.

that they could be more cheaply collected if an impost were alone laid upon territorial possessions. If the first position, therefore, be admitted, the second is too obvious to require discussion. Without admitting that all taxes rest ultimately upon land, there can be no question that, in many countries, particularly in Britain, and more so in Ireland, it is the case with many of the public imposts: in whatever degree, therefore, a circuitous mode of collection is adopted, it is an improvident one; a tax, on rent alone, is a dishonest one; and in this light it is considered by Sir James Steuart, when he says, "the nett produce alone of the earth, is to be considered as a fund liable to taxation, and every contribution which bears not a just proportion to this quantity is wrong."\*

In discussions of this nature, rent and produce have always been confounded. The nett produce is very often considered as the rent of the landlord;† but this is an egregious mistake. The nett produce, as it has been created, is divided among many, and has been distributed into various channels. The industry of man has converted the land, which may be considered as the raw material, into produce, and from this industry has partly arisen the means of paying those taxes which must ultimately fall upon it.‡ That to which I here allude, will, perhaps, be better explained by an example: every English labourer, who now purchases a pint of porter, pays for it two-pence halfpenny; out of this, one-penny halfpenny goes to the revenue. Now, it seems impossible that the labourer could pay this two-pence halfpenny, if his wages had not been raised so as to afford it; and, at present, if the person, who raised the barley,§ paid the penny-halfpenny to the revenue, and the labourer purchased his beer for one-penny, his wages would be so much the lower. In this case the revenue would be immediately collected, without having to go through the hands of the maltster and the brewer, in place of from the farmer, in the increased wages, which he must necessarily pay his workmen.||

The true art of a financier consists in simplifying the mode of collection. His chief object, therefore, ought to be directed to keep down the accumulation of figures, which only increases the interference of government with the private concerns of the people.

\* Steuart's Inquiry into the Principles of Political Economy, Book v. ch. 2. vol. iv. p. 179.

† Dr. Adam Smith, in his Wealth of Nations, Book v. ch. 2. vol. iii. p. 294, says, "a tax upon the rent of land cannot raise rents, because the nett produce, which remains after replacing the stock of the farmer, together with his reasonable profit, cannot be greater after the tax than before it." In this respect I differ from Dr. Smith, only in the meaning of words. I comprehend more things in the term, "nett produce," than he does, and this leads me to say that it is divided.

‡ In China, the taxes consist chiefly of the tenth part of the produce of the land, paid in kind. *Barrow's China*, p. 400.

Colonel Wilkes, in his History of the Mysore, has collected various authorities which shew, that in the southern provinces of India one-sixth of the produce of the land goes to the sovereign, p. 128.

§ The tax upon hops is immediately levied on produce.

|| The Income Tax, scrutinized by Dr. Gray, is a work which should be read by every person who wishes to understand this subject.

Wherever the collection of taxes tends to abridge personal liberty, or derange domestic economy, they are considered as oppressive, and excite discontent. This is the case, in particular, among uncivilized nations, where the people, through ignorance, are unacquainted with the nature of the social compact, and the necessity of every one contributing to the defence and protection of the whole. Such people should be taught, that "the idea of absolute dominion over any thing which we possess, is altogether incompatible with the existence of society, which necessarily renders all our possessions conditional. Property, whether moveable or immoveable, even the disposal of our time and of our personal labour, the most valuable of our property and most unquestionably our own, are all liable to the conditions and restrictions prescribed by the community to which we belong."\*

The Irish, of all ranks and religions, are remarkably jealous of taxation, and pay these imposts with reluctance. No subject throws them into greater irritation. According to their account, the country is utterly unable to support such a burden, and they deprecate an augmentation as fraught with national ruin; forgetting, that "from the nature of man, the defence of the state is a burden that must be borne, and that all those employed in its defence, must be fed and maintained out of the national income, which feeds and maintains every other person in society."†

The Dutch financiers used to levy taxes only on consumption, and maintained that it was impolitic to tax capital while it was actively employed. But by adopting this system they raised prices, which amounts to the same thing. This circumstance, however, modern financiers, whatever they may allege, never take into consideration. Consumption, I admit, is a much better test of the ability to pay taxes than possession. Who is most capable, the luxurious occupier or the owner, of paying the rent of a house? for, when empty, it produces its proprietor no income.

Situated as is the empire at present, the minister who deduces any result as to its resources or ability, defensive or offensive, from the custom-house and excise-office ledgers, or from the accumulating wares of merchants and manufacturers, will be egregiously mistaken. Let him discover the balance between the physical necessities of the productive part of the community, and those luxurious habits which they might abandon without injury, to themselves or to the state. Let him examine the, perhaps, latent resources of the empire, and he will then know the capabilities of the country. Let the people recollect, that in the payment of taxes, they are expending money for national defence; an object of much greater importance than the gratification of a taste for extravagant and luxurious living. Let the nation be informed, that the navy and army afford employment for its useless hands and superfluous manufacturers; and that although trade has been cramped by the peculiar cir-

\* Wilkes's History of the Mysore, p. 108.

† Dr. Gray's Income Tax scrutinized, p. 63.

‡ Smith's Wealth of Nations, Book v. chap. 2. vol. iii. p. 289.

circumstances of the times, it is impossible that Europe can long continue in its present unprecedented condition.

The first object that attracts notice in considering the revenue of Ireland, is the debt, which exhibits a most melancholy picture of her financial situation. A rigid attention, therefore, to economy, will be necessary to prevent its increase. There are those, I believe, who would gladly apply a sponge to this part of our national accounts; but I consider those who entertain such views to be as much bankrupts in principle, as the present state of the revenue renders the country bankrupt in finance. It will, perhaps, be inquired, what remedy is to be applied? In the first place, a persevering system of economy, to lessen the national expenses, and the adoption of measures calculated to increase the national prosperity; which will enable the country to bear the burdens already imposed, and to support additional ones if necessary.

The late Dr. Currie, under the name of Jasper Wilson, in a letter addressed to Mr. Pitt, says, "But when Mr. Hume predicted that a debt of a hundred millions\* would bring on a national bankruptcy, he erred in his calculation only from not foreseeing the influence of the progress of knowledge on the useful arts, and the increased sources of revenue which would thus be opened."† Again: "The security of property and the spirit of liberty diffused through the nation, have called forth the talents of our people. Britain has grown prosperous in spite of the wretched politics of her rulers. The genius of Watt, Wedgwood, and Arkwright, has counteracted the expense and folly of the American war."‡ It is by such means as those to which Dr. Currie has adverted, that the evils of the national debt must be counteracted, for the writings of Mr. Pinto and of the Marquis de Casaux, can never render it beneficial; and it is obvious that the moment its amount becomes disproportioned to the income and population of the country, its speedy downfall is at hand.

To lay more taxes upon the people of Ireland in their present condition would, perhaps, be impolitic. The people in general, I speak here of the great mass of society, are poor and discontented; sufficiently enlightened to know something of their situation, but so necessitated, as to be able to afford little to the state.§ Should a weak minister, therefore, call upon them for contributions without raising their condition, his call will not be answered, but will recoil upon himself; displaying his ignorance and folly, and demonstrating the impotence of his measures.

\* Davenant, who wrote about the time of the Revolution, and who, undoubtedly, was an able politician, foretold the ruin of Great Britain from a debt of two millions. Vol. ii. p. 283.

† A Letter to the Right Hon. W. Pitt. London, 1793.

‡ Ibid. p. 11.

§ Montesquieu has foreseen a country so situated.

In the next place, let the herd of idle tax-gatherers, who prey upon the vitals of the country, be discharged, and the revenue collected at as little expense as possible: enforce a rigid system of economy in every department of government; teach the people to respect themselves; animate them to industry; conciliate them;—and Ireland, emerging from her misfortunes, may yet be able to repay those from whom she has borrowed.

The ability to pay taxes depends upon the excess of productive labour over the wants of a country. Increase this excess, and you create consumption, without which no true system of taxation can exist; for that country must fall, the finances of which depend on exactions raised from possession. Many taxes on consumption are highly beneficial to the people; they may be so often imposed, as to restrain their immorality and their intemperance; they may be made to fall in such a manner, as to take from the idle to serve the industrious; and, in this case, they will tend not only to quicken, but to invigorate circulation.

The industry of man first establishes itself at home, and the test of its existence is exhibited in the investment of that industry by the improved state of agriculture; by the formation of canals, in consequence of the demands of trade, which, in fact, is the circulation of a country's products for the purposes of consumption; by the erection of buildings; by the opening of mines, and working them to advantage; and by extending the fisheries. It is from these that a revenue is to be collected,\* and it will be cheerfully paid by an industrious nation. Let the financier of Ireland search for the causes, and he will be better able to discover the means; the income will of course follow. Can a minister look at the body of the people in that country, and meditate the imposition of duties there on hops, malt, soap, candles, and leather, all articles which are consumed by the people in England? It is useless to tax the land and the raw material, unless the landlord has customers for his produce, so as to render it advantageous to him to create revenue; encourage the creation of this revenue, and taxes may be collected as the produce is consumed.

The subject of national bankruptcy has been much discussed; but will it not be granted, that the finance of a country may be bankrupt without absolute ruin to the country? The Prince Regent, in the last session, 1810–1811, adverted to the deficit in the Irish revenue; but it is not apparent that there is the least cause for serious alarm. Under proper management the country will yet flourish, notwithstanding the amount of its debt. Were the people industrious, were they frugal,

\* "Above all things, good policy is to be used, that the treasure and moneys of a state be not gathered into few hands; for otherwise, a statesman may have a great stock, and yet starve; and money is like muck, not good unless it spreads." *Bacon's Essays, Civil and Moral*, vol. i. p. 395.

† "Political calculators abound with idle and visionary schemes for the payment of the national debt, they would have been better employed in teaching the nation the easiest way to bear it. The true secret is to increase our income; and, in proportion to the effecting that, you virtually lessen the debt." *Annals of Agriculture*, vol. i. p. 61.

and not over anxious for attaining by a short progress the highest state of polished society,\* tillage and every other art would gradually improve as they extended. The surplus produce would condense itself in manufactures, in trade, in the purchase of shipping; and, instead of that universal complaint, so common in Ireland, of want of capital, the gales of its prosperity would blow from every quarter. Resources would be created independent of war or peace; resources, which, when once established, require no victories to defend, which dread not the invasion of hostile fleets, which no negotiation could tear from their possessors, and that require no splendid establishments, for their maintenance.

There are calculators in abundance, who either dwell with great pathos on the wealth of the merchant, and the prosperity of commerce; or, on the contrary, comment on failures, which they say, shake the country to its centre. Foreign trade is highly valuable, but it is not the staff of the nation; it is by internal trade alone that we can estimate the circulation of national produce. Commercial capital I respect, because it represents the consolidated industry of the people. Attach the true meaning to these terms, and they will be readily understood; but it is nonsense to talk of the gain of internal barter. What one man receives, another expends: the country which furnishes the stake, sees it change hands, but does not on that account, become richer; and nothing more is acquired, than a proof that the knowledge or industry of man has created a something, which, if it did not exist, could not be transferred by barter from one hand to another. The commercial transaction which is going on, substantiates the important fact of the creation, and consequent possession of wealth, which in this point of view, is so far beneficial. To commerce I am a friend, and rejoice at its success. But foreign commerce would not long be carried on at a loss; and for every pound of export there is a re-payment, either in money or import, which is so much added to the national wealth. As to its depression, there are moments when the speculations of adventurers may produce that effect; but these are periods which last only for a season. It is impossible to annihilate industry when once created, or to destroy property which has been produced. Circulation may for a time cease, or become languid; but if it exist, the valuable part will again oscillate, without applying the nostrum of exchequer bills to increase rather than allay the disease. Ireland stands in need of circulation; the frequent settlement by conveniences to which I have often alluded, confirms this fact; and, as to the common test of custom-house entries, experience has shewn them to be exceedingly fallacious. Have we not seen France lose her West Indian trade, her American, her East Indian, her African,

\* In Dean Tucker's *Tracts on Trade and Revenue*, this principle is shewn to a demonstration.

Mr. Hume, in his letter to Lord Kaims, speaking of Scotland, says, "it is certain that the simpler kind of industry ought first to be attempted in a country like ours. The first arts will flourish, but in the capital, those of next value in the more opulent provinces, the coarser in the remote countries." *A Survey of Britain*, by Dr. Clarke, edit. 1801, p. 23.

and her Levant trade; and has she not at the same time, become possessed of the government of the greater part of Europe? Foreign trade, notwithstanding all its advantages, is not essential to a nation; and I must request my countrymen not to overrate it, nor rest upon it as their sole dependence. Ineffectual will be found the turning over of folios, and the adding of figures to figures, when the din of war is in our ears, and when the hearts and hands of the whole community are required to keep it at a distance. I have no desire, however, to depreciate what is so justly esteemed, nor to alarm the timid into despondency: but I wish, if possible, to guard the people against that false confidence, which, by throwing them off their guard, may terminate in disappointment. The best proof I can give, that I consider trade as a valuable acquisition, is, the accounts which I have introduced into the chapter on Commerce, of the amount of exports and imports, and the tons of shipping employed: all I require is, that the reader will view them in their proper light, and draw his conclusions from a just estimate. Let us never forget the expression of Lord Bacon: "the sinews of war are not money, but a numerous, valiant, and military people."\* I do not, however, wish to hold up Ireland and its resources as valuable only in a military point of view: my intention is, to shew that the arts of peace are necessary to the exertions of war; and that a nation, by enjoying peace, is better able, when an appeal to arms becomes necessary, to undertake and carry on war. But when I peruse the accounts of theoretic calculators, who assert that commercial wealth affords the means of supporting war and of conquering enemies, I advert to the opinion of the illustrious philosopher whom I have just quoted.

Equally delusive are those speculators, who, looking only to the multitude of figures with which our public ledgers are filled, proclaim that the nation is ruined. When national ruin is thus foretold, with an assumed air of prophetic wisdom; when alarm is industriously spread, and despondency encouraged, I ask, whether the thunder of our navy is silenced; whether we have fewer ships and worse seamen, smaller armies and less experienced soldiers than formerly? Do not those who have thoroughly considered the subject know, that all the revenues necessary for their maintenance are increased? And is not every statesman who has examined the condition of the British Empire convinced, that if proper measures be pursued to conciliate the people of Ireland, to enlighten them, to raise them from their degraded state of poverty, and to render them as much interested in defending the empire as those of England; Britain, notwithstanding its heavy load of debt, and the burden of useless placemen and pensioners, may yet rise superior to all her difficulties, and brave the awful storm which has shaken, and is still raging throughout, Europe.

I have been led into this general digression on the subject of finance, from a conviction of its importance. The present is no common period; and every thing that can throw any light on the state of the revenues of the country, but particularly on those of Ireland, cannot be considered as foreign to this work.

\* Dr. Adam Smith seldom refers to any author who preceded him, but the following passage was most probably borrowed from Bacon: "The security of every society must always depend more or less upon the martial spirit of the great body of the people." Edit. 1793, vol. iii. p. 189.

## REVENUE AND FINANCE.—RECEIPTS.

## ANNUAL RECEIPTS.

\* A COMPARATIVE View of the Annual Receipts and Expenditure, National Debt, and Commerce of GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND, from the Period of the Union, to the year ending 5th January 1811.

ANNUAL RECEIPTS.									
YEARS, ending 5th Jan.	LOANS.		Receipts from the Revenue.		Total Nett Receipts into the Exchequer.		Rate per Centum at which the Revenue was collected.		Receipts independent of appropriated Duties for local purpose.
	Great Britain.	Ireland.	Great Britain.	Ireland.	Great Britain.	Ireland.	Great Britain.	Ireland.	Ireland.
	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£.
1801 -	21,306,809	3,587,223	33,131,648	2,387,743	54,438,457	3,974,966	6 4 7	6 8 4	3,968,144
1802 -	25,019,545	3,830,762	34,515,140	3,007,837	59,534,685	6,838,597	6 11 7	10 7 1	6,827,132
1803 -	30,870,431	3,791,666	36,077,492	3,906,192	66,948,213	7,697,789	5 15 6	8 17 7	7,679,853
1804 -	9,954,352	2,178,066	40,866,573	3,127,508	50,820,925	4,306,572	5 4 10	11 0 2	5,379,936
1805 -	9,765,465	3,324,709	49,050,483	3,516,360	56,815,950	8,841,869	4 18 6	9 9 11	8,828,950
1806 -	19,607,357	4,941,284	50,612,971	3,678,770	70,220,328	8,620,064	6 3 10	9 2 6	8,607,425
1807 -	17,732,212	4,359,006	56,902,099	4,227,215	74,634,311	8,656,221	4 14 4	8 2 8	8,635,212
1808 -	12,109,032	3,977,747	58,856,312	4,769,227	70,965,344	7,746,234	5 1 8	8 8 8	7,720,861
1809 -	15,465,669	3,389,728	60,354,781	4,802,291	75,820,457	10,192,019	3 2 7	10 9 6	10,174,673
1810 -	14,675,668	4,261,919	62,129,781	4,553,911	76,805,450	8,795,830	5 4 4	13 10 6	8,783,873
1811 -	13,242,256	5,653,557	66,098,127	3,206,151	79,340,484	9,552,706	5 0 4	17 1 11	9,540,415

\* These Tables are formed from the Returns made annually to Parliament.

ANNUAL EXPENDITURE.

A COMPARATIVE VIEW of the Annual Expenditure of GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND, from the Period of the Union, to the Year ending 5th January 1811.

ANNUAL EXPENDITURE.									
YEARS, ending 5th Jan.	Charge of Debt.		Interest on Exchequer Bills.		Other Expenses, being National Expenditure independent of Debt.		Total.		Expenditure independent of issues from appropriated fund for local purposes.
	Great Britain.	Ireland.*	Great Britain.	Ireland.	Great Britain.	Ireland.	Great Britain.	Ireland.	Ireland.
	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
1801 -	20,268,861	1,601,348	766,480	47,366	36,124,783	3,805,631	57,160,123	5,046,945	5,046,945
1802 -	21,833,205	1,793,879	1,191,990	96,605	39,247,084	7,938,530	62,252,179	9,077,161	9,056,499
1803 -	23,448,677	1,983,381	1,105,935	91,768	28,822,408	5,800,759	53,369,090	7,816,936	7,806,504
1804 -	23,381,150	2,130,245	801,787	53,122	25,673,967	5,647,894	49,856,904	7,798,554	7,779,015
1805 -	24,769,607	2,569,415	624,359	95,164	35,081,362	7,153,243	60,475,828	9,760,013	9,761,414
1806 -	25,392,814	2,867,180	1,478,316	30,876	42,624,847	5,841,918	69,995,977	8,713,924	8,695,141
1807 -	27,274,409	3,136,148	1,310,686	3,006	40,674,960	5,370,992	69,260,055	8,537,653	8,512,891
1808 -	28,510,497	3,392,324	1,574,361	9,890	39,936,855	5,197,318	70,031,713	8,566,165	8,551,055
1809 -	29,115,904	3,662,914	1,610,562	8,287	46,609,756	6,028,555	77,336,222	9,536,295	9,515,700
1810 -	32,123,278	3,921,017	1,862,943	20,940	48,041,067	5,936,234	82,027,288	9,874,259	9,864,120
1811 -	33,433,228	4,249,804	1,815,105	32,118	49,947,631	6,755,657	85,196,564	10,853,400	10,831,587

\* This account is taken from the Report of the Committee for Public Income and Expenditure of Ireland, ordered to be printed, 14 June 1811, Page 5.

## NATIONAL DEBT.

A COMPARATIVE View of the National Debt, of GREAT BRITAIN\* and IRELAND, from the Period of the Union, to the year ending 5th January 1811.

NATIONAL DEBT.									
FUNDED DEBT.							UNFUNDED DEBT.		
YEARS, ending 5th Jan.	TOTAL CAPITAL.		REDEEMED DEBT.		BALANCE being the Unredeemed DEBT.		Exchequer Bills, Navy and Ordnance Debt.	Loan Debentures, Ex- chequer-Bills, and Lottery Prizes.	
	Great Britain.	Ireland.	Great Britain.	Ireland.	Great Britain.	Ireland.	Great Britain.	Ireland.	
	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	
1801	479,934,488	31,950,656	52,045,999	516,966	427,888,489	31,434,690	35,618,099	2,176,426	
1802	538,365,205	34,911,838	78,376,459	1,564,637	459,988,746	33,347,202	38,400,408	1,888,131	
1803	547,828,391	39,541,258	67,255,915	2,131,793	480,572,476	37,409,465	19,961,408	1,492,687	
1804	561,861,089	43,019,325	77,698,467	2,876,176	484,162,622	40,143,149	23,787,250	2,073,959	
1805	582,131,485	53,296,356	89,003,759	3,762,904	493,128,726	49,533,452	31,515,547	1,172,867	
1806	618,426,363	58,344,690	101,145,802	4,839,955	517,280,561	53,504,734	34,196,500	359,513	
1807	646,936,641	64,721,356	113,860,517	6,101,416	533,076,124	58,619,940	34,348,390	29,910	
1808	664,713,128	70,647,783	127,937,102	7,506,957	536,776,026	63,140,826	39,669,959	429,557	
1809	678,015,119	76,110,856	142,274,067	8,978,829	535,741,052	67,132,027	47,383,731	570,747	
1810	699,025,302	81,510,856	157,067,448	10,579,315	541,957,854	70,931,541	48,442,635	684,465	
1811	718,533,010	89,728,992	172,870,312	12,346,083	545,662,698	77,382,908	46,971,579	142,709	

\* Of Great Britain, exclusive of the Loans raised for the Emperor of Germany and the Prince Regent of Portugal, which now appear annually in the accounts presented to Parliament.

<sup>a</sup> Previous to the Union, the Irish accounts were made up to the 25th of March each year, but in order to assimilate them to the British accounts, they were afterwards made up to the 5th of January. The figures in this line, relating to Ireland, belong to the period from 25th March 1800 to 5th January 1801.

<sup>b</sup> These figures are taken from the Accounts presented to the House of Commons, ordered to be printed 21st March 1805, p. 256; but it is necessary to state, that the Debt unredeemed on the 1st February 1805, in this page, differs from the account printed in the Table, page 252, in the same accounts by £1,000.

<sup>c</sup> These figures are taken from the Accounts presented to the House of Commons, ordered to be printed 16th March 1808, p. 310. In the previous Table, the Debt created, and the redemption, which took place in 1807, are stated separately.

<sup>d</sup> The redeemed Debt of Great Britain, as stated under this head, is independent of the sum transferred to the Commissioners by Land Tax redeemed, which has been in the first instance deducted from the capital, in order to correspond with the accounts annually delivered to Parliament.

<sup>e</sup> The Committee on Accounts and Papers relating to the public Income and Expenditure of Ireland, whose Report was ordered to be printed by the House of Commons on the 14th of June 1811, in their Appendix, p. 34, stated the Funded Debt of Great Britain to be £546,890,361., but in this sum is included £1,228,177.; for different Annuities, which are not comprehended in the total capitals of the public Funded Debt of Great Britain, as annually returned to Parliament. They have also stated the Navy 5-per-Cents. at £65,144,000., whereas in the accounts ordered to be printed 25th March 1811, the amount appears to be £65,144,512. This explanation is necessary to account for the difference between the figures, to which this note refers, and those stated by the Committee. It appears from the Appendix to the Report, that the value of the Funded Debt of Great Britain, at the current prices, on the 1st of June 1811, was £402,352,554.; but as this includes the value of the different Annuities, it is proper to mention, that the capital of the Funded Debt, as stated by the Committee, was £545,662,184., which at the current prices on the 1st of June 1811, amounted to £882,280,065.

<sup>f</sup> This Debt, at the current prices on the 25th May and 1st June 1811, could have been purchased for £51,730,832. British currency, to which must be added, the value of the several Annuities, amounting in toto to £54,299,488.

## ANNUAL IMPORTS AND EXPORTS.

A COMPARATIVE VIEW of the Commerce of GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND, from the Period of the Union, to the Year ending 5th January 1811.

COMMERCE.						
YEARS, ending 5th Jan.	Imports in Official Value.		Exports in Official Value.		Total of Imports and Exports in Official Value.	
	Great Britain.	Ireland.	Great Britain.	Ireland.	Great Britain.	Ireland.
	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
1801 - - -	30,570,604	4,202,126	33,120,120	2,740,552	66,690,724	6,942,678
1802 - - -	32,795,556	5,006,456	37,786,956	4,403,256	70,582,412	9,409,712
1803 - - -	31,442,318	6,087,353	41,411,966	5,090,394	73,854,284	11,177,647
1804 - - -	27,992,464	5,275,650	31,578,495	4,770,387	59,570,959	10,046,087
1805 - - -	29,201,490	5,718,945	34,451,367	5,063,072	63,652,857	10,782,017
1806 - - -	30,344,628	5,982,194	34,954,845	5,202,385	65,299,473	11,184,579
1807 - - -	28,835,907	5,605,964	36,527,184	5,188,165	65,363,091	10,794,129
1808 - - -	28,854,658	6,637,907	34,566,571	5,458,176	63,421,229	12,096,083
1809 - - -	29,633,165	7,129,507	34,555,495	5,932,591	64,183,660	13,062,098
1810 - - -	33,772,409	7,471,417	50,286,900	5,739,843	84,059,309	13,211,260
1811 - - -	*36,422,142	6,564,578	*45,685,859	6,098,484	*82,308,001	12,663,062

\* The returns from the East India Company of this year were not received in time to be inserted in the parliamentary returns.

## FINANCE AND REVENUE.—DETAIL OF RECEIPTS.

TABLE V.

VIEW of the ANNUAL REVENUE of IRELAND, taken from the Accounts laid before Parliament.

HEADS of REVENUE.	For 1/2 of a year ending 5th Jan. 1801	1802.	1803.	1804.	1805.	1806.	1807.	1808.	1809.	1810.	1811.
<b>1st.—ORDINARY REVENUES.</b>	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
Customs - - - - -	1,663,835	2,129,304	3,031,040	2,534,087	2,838,242	2,807,219	3,234,936	1,976,961	2,900,268	2,471,743	1,513,462
Excise* - - - - -								1,765,466	1,689,458	1,099,461	1,371,808
Stamps - - - - -	109,886	187,544	183,116	182,547	342,903	456,535	516,941	564,624	577,480	617,151	609,826
Post Office - - - - -	18,711	28,141	40,676	25,318	42,135	58,988	54,574	71,392	68,900	57,470	84,000
Poundage Fees - - - - -	29,254	34,149	44,072	35,695	27,280	25,554	25,554	26,934	26,152	25,611	26,248
Pells Fees - - - - -	5,830	6,830	8,814	7,139	6,393	5,456	5,110	5,386	5,230	5,122	5,947
Duty on Wrought Plate - - - - -	1,523	1,776	1,976	2,078	2,548	5,096	5,210	2,898	—	—	—
Casualties - - - - -	3,905	5,263	4,597	2,303	3,503	3,559	4,533	4,234	3,919	4,043	3,531
<b>Total of Ordinary Revenues</b>	<b>1,832,968</b>	<b>2,393,009</b>	<b>3,314,223</b>	<b>2,789,170</b>	<b>3,267,691</b>	<b>3,364,126</b>	<b>3,846,831</b>	<b>4,417,990</b>	<b>4,571,405</b>	<b>4,280,603</b>	<b>3,614,135</b>
<b>2d.—EXTRAORDINARY RESOURCES.</b>											
Four Shilling Tax on Salaries, Pensions, and Profits of Employment of Absentees - - - - -	14,141	9,189	2,981	40	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sale of Quit Rents - - - - -	1,380	—	30	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Public Coal Yards - - - - -	200	790	1780	3,925	900	250	—	—	—	—	—
Commissioners of the Navy, on account of Advances by Collectors in Ireland for Seamen's Wages - - - - -	11,628	22,113	22,236	66,173	60,861	43,141	38,962	89,459	40,008	46,730	48,060
Forfeited Deposit of 5 per cent. on a Loan of £1,500,000., by Luke White, Esq. - - - - -	75,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Gained by exchange on Sums received from Great Britain - - - - -	9,435	62,065	34,780	5,173	107,172	51,390	129	15,973	3,177	2,838	3,389
Other Monies paid to the Public Lotteries - - - - -	2,666	14,721	5,568	7,769	8,801	19,473	51,366	49,120	42,391	31,032	7,340
Loan Interest from Grand Canal Company and Commissioners of Wide Streets - - - - -	—	9,225	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Rice, Indian Corn, &c. sold on account of Government - - - - -	—	62,065	7,106	62,324	6,561	—	—	—	—	—	—
From Great Britain a Loan, to pay the Prices of the Irish Lottery, 1801, to be repaid in January, 1803 - - - - -	—	—	299,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
From the Bank of Ireland, for the Purchase of the late Parliament House - - - - -	—	—	—	40,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
From several County Treasurers, paid to several Revenue Collectors on account of Advances made by the Treasury for enrolling the Militia - - - - -	—	—	—	—	—	8,639	4,259	1,007	120	817	20,852
Ditto for Forfeitures for Army of Reserve - - - - -	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,440	4,700	3,160	—	1,375
Granted by His Majesty 2-seventeenths of £1,000,000., from Spanish Prizes - - - - -	—	—	—	—	—	—	127,450	—	—	—	—
Gain on Silver Coinage - - - - -	—	—	—	—	—	—	10,913	—	—	—	—
From the Paymasters on account of Advances made by several Collectors in Ireland, for Half Pay to reduced Officers and Pensions to Officers' Widows in British Establishment - - - - -	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,192	2,732
<b>3d.—APPROPRIATED DUTIES FOR LOCAL OBJECTS.</b>											
Linen Manufacture - - - - -	1,316	—	2,929	—	149	291	550	1,748	801	1,582	1,036
Lagan Navigation - - - - -	800	—	1,997	997	1,500	—	3,554	1,413	2,600	150	2,752
Improvement of Dublin - - - - -	8,444	8,137	8,444	10,661	9,922	10,911	10,722	10,266	11,648	7,343	10,912
Repairs of Royal Exchange - - - - -	390	1,668	1,516	1,586	1,644	1,427	1,258	1,535	1,735	1,775	1,760
King's Inn - - - - -	860	1,660	3,050	1,500	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Voluntary Contributions - - - - -	12	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Fish Bounty - - - - -	—	—	—	6,500	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Presbyterian Minister - - - - -	—	—	—	4,452	8,904	—	—	—	—	—	—
Inns of Court - - - - -	—	—	—	—	—	—	5,625	1,111	1,562	1,107	2,281
<b>Total, independent of Loans, raised by Ordinary Revenue, Extraordinary Resources, and appropriated Duties for local Objects</b>	<b>2,387,743</b>	<b>3,007,834</b>	<b>3,906,122</b>	<b>3,127,505</b>	<b>3,516,360</b>	<b>3,678,770</b>	<b>4,297,215</b>	<b>4,769,187</b>	<b>4,802,291</b>	<b>4,533,911</b>	<b>3,906,135</b>
<b>4th.—LOANS.</b>	<b>3,587,223</b>	<b>3,830,762</b>	<b>3,791,666</b>	<b>3,178,066</b>	<b>5,324,729</b>	<b>4,941,284</b>	<b>4,339,006</b>	<b>2,977,747</b>	<b>5,389,728</b>	<b>4,961,919</b>	<b>5,653,322</b>
<b>Grand Total Receipt</b>	<b>£ 5,974,966</b>	<b>6,838,597</b>	<b>7,697,789</b>	<b>5,305,572</b>	<b>8,841,069</b>	<b>8,620,054</b>	<b>8,636,221</b>	<b>7,746,934</b>	<b>10,192,019</b>	<b>9,495,830</b>	<b>9,559,457</b>

T A B L E VI.

A VIEW of the ANNUAL EXPENDITURE of IRELAND taken from the Accounts annually laid before Parliament; and of the Expenditure of the Period from 25th March 1800 to 5th January 1801, taken from a Paper signed WILLIAM IRVING; ordered to be printed 29th June 1801.

HEADS of EXPENDITURE.	Period from 25 Mar. 1800 to 5th Jan. 1801.	Year ending 5th Jan. 1802.	Year ending 5th Jan. 1803.	Year ending 5th Jan. 1804.	Year ending 5th Jan. 1805.	Year ending 5th Jan. 1806.	Year ending 5th Jan. 1807.	Year ending 5th Jan. 1808.	Year ending 5th Jan. 1809.	Year ending 5th Jan. 1810.	Year ending 5th Jan. 1811.	
	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	
Separate Expense for Ireland.	Interest and Charges of Management & Sinking Fund - - -	1,193,948	2,041,986	1,924,509	2,097,538	2,511,606	2,841,130	3,263,665	3,359,077	3,499,433	3,858,083	4,065,625
	Interest on Exchequer Bills - - -	47,366	96,665	91,768	53,122	95,164	30,876	3,006	9,870	8,287	29,940	32,118
	Issues for purposes appointed by the Parliament of Ireland prior to the Union - - -	-	1,954,215	2,212,628	1,601,315	1,815,397	891,863	454,418	17,490	444,230	583,265	1,965,821
	Issues from appropriated Funds for local Purposes - - -	-	20,682	10,432	19,539	38,599	18,783	24,762	15,110	20,595	10,139	21,813
	Pensions - - -	75,348	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Parliamentary grants - - -	331,667	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Suffering Loyalists - - -	217,811	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Separate Expense for Ireland - - -	1,866,140	4,113,550	4,239,337	3,771,514	4,460,768	3,782,654	3,645,853	3,401,567	3,972,567	4,481,431	6,085,379	
Joint Expense with Great Britain being 1/3 of the whole.	Civil List, Pensions, and other permanent Charges - - -	107,651	420,614	539,832	444,471	475,216	450,092	426,319	427,894	445,441	432,798	429,872
	Payments in anticipation of Exchequer Receipts, viz. Bounties to Militia, and Deserters' Warrants - - -	90,499	52,388	36,511	88,491	73,207	93,814	121,761	204,171	228,534	168,213	186,314
	Manning the Fleet - - -	-	23,144	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Ordnance - - -	-	324,899	155,000	223,067	400,000	650,000	874,475	519,184	600,417	680,200	525,404
	Army - - -	2,740,180	3,582,775	2,557,552	2,706,005	3,918,420	3,258,961	3,175,687	3,410,694	3,521,871	3,491,412	2,941,451
	Miscellaneous Services - - -	242,464	559,809	288,701	274,197	239,197	266,680	285,630	512,197	339,232	397,871	55,172
	Vote of Credit - - -	-	-	-	290,807	192,962	212,482	7,906	90,455	418,230	222,432	169,804
TOTAL - - -	5,046,943	9,077,181	7,816,936	7,796,554	9,766,013	8,713,924	8,537,653	8,566,165	9,536,295	9,374,259	10,853,400	

T A B L E VII.

An ACCOUNT of the FUNDED DEBT of IRELAND, as it stood on the 25th of March 1780, with its Increase or Decrease, and Amount, on the expiration of each Year to the 5th of January 1811; together with the Annual Charge thereof;—distinguishing when the Sinking Fund commenced, and how much of the said Debt has been borrowed, and is payable in England, and how much in Ireland.

	FUNDED DEBT.						ANNUAL CHARGE.						Proportion of Sinking Fund to Unre-deemed Capital.				
	DEBT.		Increase.	Decrease	Payable in		Sinking Fund.	Payable in		Payable in Ireland.	TOTAL.						
	£.	s. d.			£.	s. d.		£.	s. d.		£.	s. d.		£.	s. d.		
On 25 March - 1780	1,017,600	0 0				1,017,600	0 0										
In one year, to 25th March -	1,227,600	0 0	210,000			1,227,600	0 0							48,558	0 0	98,004	0 0
1788	1,267,600	0 0	40,000			1,267,600	0 0							58,554	0 0	99,604	0 4
1783	1,527,600	0 0	260,000			1,527,600	0 0							68,954	0 0	110,004	0 0
1784	1,527,600	0 0				1,527,600	0 0							68,954	0 0	110,004	0 0
1785	1,490,920	0 0		36,680		1,490,920	0 0							67,486	16 0	108,536	16 0
1786	1,584,520	0 0	93,600			1,584,520	0 0							73,481	12 0	114,531	12 0
1787	1,768,240	0 0	183,700			1,768,240	0 0							80,829	12 0	121,879	12 0
1788	1,718,240	0 0		50,000		1,718,240	0 0							78,829	12 0	119,879	12 0
1789																	
1790	1,718,240	0 0				1,718,240	0 0							41,050	0 0	114,888	8 0
1791																	
1792	1,760,740	0 0	42,500			1,760,740	0 0							41,050	0 0	115,988	8 0
1793	2,134,140	0 0	373,400			2,134,140	0 0							41,050	0 0	134,424	8 0
1794	3,185,990	0 0	1,051,850			3,185,990	0 0							73,550	0 0	197,091	8 0
1795	4,841,856	13 4	1,655,866		541,666	4,841,856	13 4							146,198	0 4	297,301	8 4
1796	5,825,056	13 4	983,200		2,088,333	5,825,056	13 4							177,879	10 4	369,716	18 4
1797	10,128,906	13 4	4,303,850		5,237,983	10,128,906	13 4							411,500	0 0	665,559	13 4
1798	16,508,790	0 0	6,379,883		9,560,416	16,508,790	0 0							178,066	3 4	967,633	14 5
1799	24,907,990	0 0	7,698,500		15,247,916	24,907,990	0 0							254,941	3 4	1,515,683	14 5
1800	30,109,056	13 4	5,901,766		18,649,383	30,109,056	13 4							313,957	16 8	1,601,784	7 9
From 25 March 1800 to 1 Jan. 1801																	
In one year, to 5 Jan. -	34,911,838	9 7	4,802,781		23,409,479	34,911,838	9 7							361,556	15 10	1,794,285	10 5
1803	39,541,258	16 8	4,629,420		26,903,666	39,541,258	16 8							407,850	19 10	1,983,787	17 5
1804	43,019,285	10 0	3,478,066		29,736,333	43,019,285	10 0							445,197	9 9	2,130,651	15 1
1805	53,296,356	15 0	10,277,031		38,607,833	53,296,356	15 0							545,967	16 0	2,569,893	12 7
1806	58,344,690	1 8	5,048,333		43,656,166	58,344,690	1 8							603,231	14 4	2,867,587	10 11
1807	64,721,556	15 0	6,376,666		47,232,833	64,721,556	15 0							666,988	7 8	3,136,554	4 3
1808	70,647,783	16 8	5,926,427		53,196,260	70,647,783	16 8							723,738	13 1	3,378,904	12 7
1809	76,110,856	15 0	5,463,072		56,326,833	76,110,856	15 0							780,568	7 8	3,663,381	8 0
1810	81,510,856	15 0	5,400,000		60,226,833	81,510,856	15 0							845,407	12 9	3,991,423	6 5
1811	89,728,992	5 0	8,218,135		68,438,770	89,728,992	5 0							961,023	3 11	4,250,210	14 5

<sup>a</sup> Life Annuities. <sup>b</sup> £600,000. in Debentures at £4-per Cent. Interest, converted into a Capital for the Bank of Ireland, 24 June 1783. <sup>c</sup> During this period, the Interest on £1,118,240. in Debentures, was reduced from £4. to £3. 10s. per Cent. <sup>d</sup> The Sinking Fund for the redemption of the Debt of Ireland, commencing 1797, pursuant to 37 Geo. III. Chap. 37. <sup>e</sup> All the sums under this head, from this reference downwards, neither agree with those returned annually to Parliament, nor those stated by the Committee on the Public Income and Expenditure of Ireland, P. 5, in the body of their Report. E. W.

FUNDED DEBT AT CURRENT PRICES.

T A B L E V I I I .

VALUE of the FUNDED DEBT of IRELAND;—at the CURRENT PRICES,\*  
on the 1st June 1811.

		British Currency.			
		£.			£.
5-per-Cents.	{ Dublin	10,250,559	at †101 per Cent.		10,853,065
	{ London	2,472,000	97		2,397,840
4-per-Cents.	{ Dublin	210,093	†81		170,174
	{ London	5,054,375	79½		4,030,864
3½-per-Cents.	Dublin	5,525,157	†73½		4,054,083
3-per-Cents.	{ Cons <sup>d</sup> London	27,069,409	64½		17,459,768
	{ Reduced Do.	20,848,784	63½		13,265,038
Long Annuity	Do.	104,083	16½		1,762,926
Life Annuities, Tontine, at 16 years		45,130	16		722,080
Annuities for 19 years from June 1797		16,780	5		83,650
					<u>£. 54,299,488</u>

54,299,488 : 402,352,554 :: 2 : 14.8

† At Prices, 25th May 1811.

\* The calculation is extracted from the Appendix to the Report of the Committee on Public Income and Expenditure of Ireland; ordered to be printed by the House of Commons, 14th June 1811. P. 35.

EXPENSE OF COLLECTION.

T A B L E I X.

A COMPARATIVE View of the Expense per Centum of collecting the Revenues of Great Britain and Ireland from 1801 to 1811.

HEADS of REVENUE.	1801.		1802.		1803.		1804.		1805.		1806.		1807.		1808.		1809.		1810.		1811.	
	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.
GREAT BRITAIN.																						
Customs	6 7 7	10 9 8	6 8 8	11 2 8	7 2 9	10 16 9	6 16 7	11 3 4	5 19 7	10 1 7	6 3 5	10 7 7	6 1 5	7 18 4	7 12 10	8 2 10	7 7 3	8 2 10	7 7 3	8 9 1	7 8 6	7 8 6
{ England																						
{ Scotland																						
{ Great Britain																						
Excise	6 13 5	4 10 6	6 15 0	5 11 5	7 8 2	10 15 5	3 5 8	7 2 11	6 5 2	3 0 4	2 15 7	6 8 2	2 15 1	7 16 11	3 0 6	2 19 1	8 7 3	2 19 1	3 6 3	7 9 0	3 6 3	3 2 1
{ England																						
{ Scotland																						
{ Great Britain																						
Stamps	4 3 1	4 19 0	3 15 5	5 18 11	3 11 9	4 9 8	3 14 2	3 8 2	3 2 2	3 8 2	3 5 6	3 7 8	3 4 10	3 7 8	3 7 8	3 7 0	3 5 9	3 7 0	3 15 2	3 15 2	3 7 7	3 7 7
{ England																						
{ Scotland																						
{ Great Britain																						
Land and Assessed Taxes	3 12 1	3 12 9	3 17 0	3 15 5	3 13 9	3 13 9	3 16 6	3 11 0	4 9 9	4 9 9	4 9 6	4 9 6	4 6 8	3 19 4	3 19 4	3 15 4	3 15 4	3 15 4	3 15 4	3 15 4	3 15 4	3 15 4
{ England																						
{ Scotland																						
{ Great Britain																						
Post-Office	45 18 7	17 9 8	36 17 11	35 11 6	3 16 1	30 7 11	33 5 3	4 11 0	32 7 9	14 18 1	34 18 4	14 18 1	19 12 3	31 7 7	14 1 11	16 19 5	32 11 6	16 19 5	15 9 0	15 9 0	15 9 0	15 9 0
{ England																						
{ Scotland																						
{ Great Britain																						
One-shilling in the Pound on Penalties & Salaries	1 5 2	3 5 9	2 6 0	1 0 11	0 13 0	1 8 6	7 5 5	1 2 4	0 9 5	0 9 5	0 18 0	0 18 0	0 13 2	0 18 9	1 1 6	0 13 9	0 15 9	0 13 9	1 5 5	4 17 11	1 0 10	1 0 10
{ England																						
{ Scotland																						
{ Great Britain																						
Sixpence in the Pound on Penalties & Salaries	1 10 3	1 10 5	2 5 0	2 8 0	0 12 11	0 12 9	0 12 10	0 12 1	0 12 4	0 12 4	0 18 7	0 18 7	0 12 8	0 14 7	0 15 4	0 11 11	0 11 5	0 11 11	1 5 8	0 19 1	1 1 9	1 1 9
{ England																						
{ Scotland																						
{ Great Britain																						
Hickney Coaches	1 10 4	9 8 2	2 5 3	10 1 5	0 12 10	10 6 1	5 7 4	0 12 10	9 5 3	48 2 3	10 5 3	12 11	0 12 9	12 8 10	9 19 4	10 10 9	0 11 5	10 10 9	1 5 1	11 8 8	11 8 8	11 8 8
{ England																						
{ Scotland																						
{ Great Britain																						
Average Expense of Collection per Centum for Great Britain	6 4 7	42 16 10	6 11 7	50 13 5	5 15 6	50 4 4	56 7 4	5 4 10	4 18 6	4 18 6	6 3 10	26 18 10	4 14 4	25 17 9	29 17 9	25 6 6	5 2 7	25 6 6	5 4 4	32 0 4	32 0 4	32 0 4
IRELAND.																						
Customs	10 7 11	11 8 9	16 11 11	16 1 4	10 13 0	12 8 1	13 1 9	11 5 3	11 3 3	11 3 3	12 0 6	9 18 1	9 18 1	10 16 0	11 13 6	11 13 6	15 0 1	11 13 6	15 0 1	20 14 9	20 14 9	25 5 4
Excise																						
Stamps																						
Post-Office																						
Net Produce of the Revenue	238 10 10	4,163,115 8 0	178 17 1	1,571,734 6 1	148 5 0	1,729,405 17 1	203 15 0	1,429,299 2 11	116 7 9	1,729,405 17 1	143 1 4	1,429,477 9	91 12 10	1,504,115 15 3	86 14 1	1,174,501 13 0	82 6 8	1,067,928 9 9	82 6 8	1,067,928 9 9	106 14 6	5,144,708 8 5
Charges of Management	350,473 9 2	580,529 14 1	30 7 1	58,734 6 1	411,155 10 2	449,176 2 9	440,716 0 5	440,716 0 5	449,176 2 9	449,176 2 9	431,545 19 0	433,752 1 0	433,752 1 0	528,771 4 3	29,179 9	646,790 6 10	528,771 4 3	646,790 6 10	528,771 4 3	788,318 3 1	877,661 5 1	877,661 5 1
Rate per Centum of Expense of Collection	8 8 4	8 8 4	10 7 1	30 7 1	8 17 7	8 17 7	11 0 2	11 0 2	9 9 11	9 9 11	9 8 6	8 8 8	8 8 8	8 8 8	10 9 6	10 9 6	5 1 8	10 9 6	5 1 8	13 10 6	13 10 6	17 1 11

## CHAPTER XX.

## REPRESENTATION.

IT appears that for the space of almost a century and a half after Henry II. had taken possession of Ireland, there was but one parliament for both kingdoms; the laws made in the parliament of England being transmitted to Ireland, under the great seal, to be proclaimed, enrolled, and executed, as the laws of Ireland.

The first regular establishment of a parliament in Ireland seems to have been about the end of the reign of Edward II.; for the meetings and consultations of the great lords before that period, although in old annals called parliaments, are not, in the proper sense of the word, entitled to that appellation.\* When Ireland was invaded by the Scots under Bruce, the English government found itself so much embarrassed, that, not being able to afford effectual assistance to its Irish subjects, they were authorized to hold a general council of the kingdom among themselves, in order that they might pursue speedier and more decisive measures for allaying the commotions with which the whole country was then agitated.†

In the reign of Henry VII., the parliament of Ireland became, in some measure, dependent on that of England, by an act passed under the direction of Sir Edward Poynings, the lord-deputy, by which it was provided, that all the statutes lately made in England, of a public nature, should be held effectual and valid in Ireland. It has been erroneously supposed, that this act extended to the whole code of English statutes; for, in reality, it refers only to a certain number, which, however inaccurately stated, were under the eye of the Irish legislature.‡

“From this regulation,” says Professor Millar, “it may be fairly inferred, that the Irish parliament was, at this time, understood to possess an independent legislative authority; for if that assembly was capable of adopting the English laws, it must have possessed the power also of rejecting them: and, as this act of legislature sufficiently testifies the exertion of independence on the part of Ireland, the assent of the governor, on the part of the king, leaves no doubt of his majesty’s approbation and concurrence.”§

But to secure the dependence of the Irish parliament, Henry endeavoured to prevent debate, by putting a negative upon all their proceedings. With this

\* Speech of Sir John Davis, addressed to Lord-deputy Chichester, in the year 1613, in Leland’s Hist. of Ireland, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 492.

† Ibid. ib. p. 493.

‡ Millar’s Hist. View of the English Government, vol. iv. p. 22.

§ Ibid. ib. p. 23.

intention, he caused another act to be passed, commonly known by the name of Poyning's law, which declared that no parliament should be held in Ireland, until the lord-deputy and his council should make known to the king and council in England the causes for which the meeting was to be called, and the bills which were to be passed; and that, unless the king's leave were previously obtained, the acts of any parliament should be void.\*

In the reign of Queen Mary this law was still further extended, by an act passed under the pretence of explaining the true meaning and intent of the former; in which it was enacted, that no parliament should be held in Ireland, until the chief governor and council had certified to the king and council of England, not only the measures which were in contemplation at the time when the parliament was called, but those also which might become the subject of its future deliberation.† Such was the act which finally established the usage of holding parliaments and enacting laws in Ireland, and by which the proceedings of its legislature were determined till the year 1782, when the Irish parliament was declared independent of that of England.

Before the thirty-third year of King Henry VIII., it appears, that none were admitted into parliament but Englishmen by birth, or the descendants of Englishmen; the Irish being entirely excluded, because their lands, lying beyond the limits of counties, could send no knights, and as they contained no cities or towns, they could send no burgesses. But it is not improbable, that the chief reason was the jealousy of the English government, which, suspecting their fidelity, did not deem it prudent to suffer them to become members of the great national council.

Before the thirty-fourth year of the same sovereign, when Meath was divided into two shires, there were only twelve counties in Ireland, besides the liberty of Tipperary; the number of knights, therefore, must have been few, since there were only four ancient cities, and the boroughs which sent burgesses did not exceed thirty. Hence it appears, that the whole house of commons could not then amount to a hundred persons; and although Queen Mary added two shires, and Queen Elizabeth seventeen more, to increase the number of knights, they did not all send members to parliament, for the remote shires of Ulster did not return any.‡

Ireland, therefore, in the reign of King James, contained thirty-three counties; and as some of them had no boroughs, it was found expedient to create forty new ones,§ by which the influence of the crown acquired a considerable accession of strength. Charles I. exercised this prerogative, but not to so great an extent: and Queen Anne added one borough, which appears to have been the last.||

In the year 1719, a private law-suit in Ireland¶ gave rise to a controversy about the right of appeal from the Irish tribunals to the house of lords in Britain; and

\* Leland's Hist. of Ireland, -vol. ii. p. 108.

† Ibid. ib. vol. ii. p. 212.

‡ Ibid. ib. vol. ii. Appendix, p. 498. 499.

§ Ibid. ib. vol. ii. Appendix, p. 502.

¶ Hardy's Life of Lord Charlemont, Appendix, p. 434.

¶ Between Sherlock and Annesley.

the consequence was, an act of the British parliament, the express object of which seems to have been, to subject Ireland to a state of complete dependency on the crown of Great Britain. By this act it was declared, first, "that the king's majesty, by and with the consent of the lords spiritual and temporal and the commons of Great Britain in parliament assembled, had, hath, and ought to have, full power and authority to make statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the people and kingdom of Ireland."

Secondly, "That the house of lords of Ireland have not, nor of right ought to have, any jurisdiction to judge of, affirm, or reverse, any judgment, sentence, or decree, given or made in any court within the said kingdom."\*

But notwithstanding the servile state in which the legislature of Ireland was held, it seems to have preserved its independence in taxation. No British parliament, it appears, ever assumed, or even claimed, the right of imposing taxes on that country; and several instances are recorded, in which it manifested its jealousy on this point, with a spirit worthy of the national character. In 1690, the commons of Ireland rejected a money bill, because it had not originated in their house. In 1709, a money bill was returned from England with alterations, and on this account it was rejected by the commons. A similar circumstance took place in 1768: but, notwithstanding these exertions of the Irish nation in favour of liberty and independence, their efforts were counteracted, and, for the most part frustrated, by the indiscreet influence of the crown; and nothing contributed more to render it effectual than the duration of their parliament.†

According to the early constitution of parliament, both in England and in Ireland, these assemblies could be dissolved at the pleasure of the crown; but when this prerogative was not exercised, they remained till the death of the king. In England, however, in the reign of William III., the nation becoming jealous of the power which the crown had acquired over parliaments, their duration was limited to three years: this period, in the reign of George I., was extended to seven; but as no change of the same kind had been introduced into Ireland, the parliament there continued to exist, according to the old plan, with the life of the king, till the year 1768, when, in consequence of a bill brought in by Dr. Lucas, the member for Dublin, its duration was restricted to eight years.‡

Agreeably to the act of Union in 1800, the representation of Ireland consists at present of 28 temporal peers, elected for life by the general body of Irish peers; four spiritual ones, consisting of bishops, who are replaced by the same number every two years in rotation, and one hundred commoners, chosen by the following places:

\* 6 Geo. I. c. 51. This act, however, was repealed in the year 1782, by the 22 Geo. III. c. 53. And in 1783 it was enacted, that no appeals from the courts in Ireland should be made to any court in this kingdom, 23 Geo. III. c. 28.

† Millar's Hist. Review, vol. iv. p. 61.

‡ Ibid. ib. vol. iv. p. 62, 63.

## REPRESENTATION.

## COUNTIES.

Antrim	2	Limerick	2
Armagh	2	Londonderry	2
Carlow	2	Longford	2
Cavan	2	Louth	2
Clare	2	Mayo	2
Cork	2	Meath	2
Donegal	2	Monaghan	2
Down	2	Queen's County	2
Dublin	2	Roscommon	2
Fermanagh	2	Sligo	2
Galway	2	Tipperary	2
Kerry	2	Tyrone	2
Kildare	2	Waterford	2
Kilkenny	2	Westmeath	2
King's County	2	Wexford	2
Leitrim	2	Wicklow	2

## CITIES, TOWNS, BOROUGHS, AND UNIVERSITY.

Armagh	1	Ennis	1
Athlone	1	Enniskillen	1
Bandon Bridge	1	Galway	1
Belfast	1	Kilkenny	1
Carlow	1	Kinsale	1
Carrickfergus	1	Limerick	1
Cashel	1	Lisburn	1
Clonmell	1	Londonderry	1
Coleraine	1	Mallow	1
Cork	2	Newry	1
Downpatrick	1	Portarlington	1
Drogheda	1	Ross, New	1
Dublin	2	Sligo	1
Dublin University	1	Tralee	1
Dundalk	1	Waterford	1
Dungannon	1	Wexford	1
Dungarvan	1	Youghal	1

Taking the Representation, however, by Counties, including the Cities, Towns, and Boroughs which they contain, it will stand thus :

ANTRIM. Belfast, Carrickfergus, Lisburn . . . . .	5
ARMAGH. City of Armagh . . . . .	3
CARLOW. Borough of Carlow . . . . .	3
CAVAN . . . . .	2
CLARE. Borough of Ennis . . . . .	3
CORK. City of Cork, Borough of Youghal, Bandon Bridge, Kinsale, Mallow . . . . .	8
DONEGAL . . . . .	2
DOWN. Borough of Newry, Downpatrick . . . . .	4
DUBLIN. Dublin City, University . . . . .	5
FERMANAGH. Borough of Enniskillen . . . . .	3
GALWAY. Borough of Galway . . . . .	3
KERRY. Borough of Tralee . . . . .	3
KILDARE . . . . .	2
KILKENNY. Borough of Kilkenny . . . . .	3
KING'S COUNTY. . . . .	2
LEITRIM . . . . .	2
LIMERICK. City of Limerick . . . . .	3
LONDONDERRY. City of Londonderry, Borough of Coleraine	4
LONGFORD . . . . .	2
LOUTH. Borough of Drogheda, Dundalk . . . . .	4
MAYO . . . . .	2
MEATH . . . . .	2
MONAGHAN . . . . .	2
QUEEN'S COUNTY. Borough of Portarlington . . . . .	3
ROSCOMMON . . . . .	2
SLIGO. Borough of Sligo . . . . .	3
TIPPERARY. Borough of Clonmell, City of Cashel . . . . .	4
TYRONE. Borough of Dungannon . . . . .	3
WATERFORD. City of Waterford, Borough of Dungarvon	4
WESTMEATH. Borough of Athlone . . . . .	3
WEXFORD. Borough of Wexford, New Ross . . . . .	4
WICKLOW . . . . .	2

## PEERAGE.

The Irish Peerage consists of the following Classes of Nobility:

Duke	. . . . .	1
Marquises	. . . . .	9
Earls	. . . . .	84
Viscounts	. . . . .	52
Barons	. . . . .	61
Total of the Nobility		207

This body must, in the course of time, decrease; because the crown, by the act of union, cannot create a new peer, but on the extinction of three titles.

It has been the maxim of conquerors, to break, as much as possible, the spirit of independence of the people whom they subject to their authority; and, as the most effectual means of accomplishing this purpose, they have endeavoured to suppress the oldest and noblest families, and to raise up new ones in their stead. Whether such has been the conduct of the English in Ireland, I will not pretend to determine; but it is singular, that in the whole catalogue of the Irish peerage, there are not above ten or twelve families who can be traced as of real Irish extraction, as will be seen by the following list:

## DUKES.

<i>Title.</i>	<i>Family Name.</i>	<i>Descend.</i>
LEINSTER,	FITZGERALD . . . . .	From Otho, an Italian Baron, whose descendant Maurice went to Ireland with Richard Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke, in 1169, and had lands given them there in 1180, among which was the barony of Offaley.

## MARQUISES.

WATERFORD,	BERESEORD . . . . .	From a family originally settled at Baresford, in the county of Stafford.
DOWNSHIRE,	HILL . . . . .	From a family of great antiquity in Staffordshire and Devon.
DONEGAL,	CHICHESTER . . . . .	From Sir Arthur Chichester, lord deputy of Ireland, of an ancient family in Devonshire, created Baron Belfast, in 1642.
DROGHEDA,	MOORE . . . . .	French family, came over to England soon after the conquest, and resided at the manor of Moore Court, in Kent.
WELLESLEY,	WELLESLEY . . . . .	From the family of Cowley, or Colley, in Rutlandshire; Walter Colley, the ancestor of the present family, was Solicitor General of Ireland, in the reign of Henry VII. They assumed the present name by intermarriage with the family of Carret Wellesley, of Dangan, county of Meath.

## MARQUISES.

<i>Title.</i>	<i>Family Name.</i>	<i>Descent.</i>
THOMOND,	O'BRIEN . . . . .	An original Irish family, who were styled Kings of Limerick.
HEADFORT,	TAYLOR . . . . .	From Thomas Taylor, of Battle, in Sussex, 1601, whose grandson removed to Ireland, 1660.
SLIGO,	BROWN . . . . .	From a younger son of Lord Viscount Montague, of England, who went to Ireland as a captain in the service of Queen Elizabeth.
ELY,	LOFTUS . . . . .	From the sister of the late Earl of Ely.

## EARLS.

ORMONDE & OSSORY,	BUTLER . . . . .	From the ancient Counts of Brion, in Normandy; of this family was the celebrated Earl of Ormonde.
GLANRICKARDE,	DE BURGH . . . . .	From Eustace, a Norman, who accompanied William the Conqueror.
CORK AND ORRERY,	BOYLE . . . . .	From Lodoric Boyle, who lived in the reign of Henry III., and whose descendants settled in Hereford.
WESTMEATH,	NUGENT . . . . .	From Sir Gilbert de Nugent, who accompanied Hugh de Lacy in the reduction of Ireland, and was created Baron Delvin.
ROSGCOMMON,	DILLON . . . . .	This family came from Aquitaine into England, in the reign of Henry II.
MEATH,	BRABANZON . . . . .	From the family of Brabanzon, or Brabanson in Brabant, of which Jannes, or the Great Warrior, came over with William the Conqueror.
BARRYMORE,	BARRY . . . . .	From a family settled in the island of Barry, Glamorganshire; their descendant Gerald Barry, is well known under the name of Giraldus Cambrensis, a learned historian.
* FINGAL,	PLUNKET . . . . .	This noble family came into England with the Danes, and went thence to Ireland in the reign of Henry II.
GAVAN,	LAMBERT . . . . .	French family. Sir Oliver was knighted by the Earl of Essex, in Spain, and in 1617, created Lord Lambert, Baron Cavan.
GRANARD,	FORBES . . . . .	From a Scots family, the representative of which, at present, is Lord Forbes in Scotland.
ATHLONE,	DE GENKEL . . . . .	Dutch family, Gerard de Genkel, a lieutenant-general under William III., was, in consequence of his services, created Earl of Athlone, and had a grant of the forfeited estate of William Dongan, Earl of Limerick, amounting to 26,480 acres.
KERRY,	FITZMAURICE . . . . .	A branch of the family of Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare.
DARNLEY,	BLIGH . . . . .	From John Bligh, who went to Ireland in the time of Cromwel.

\* Those marked with an asterisk are Catholic Peers.

EARLS.		
<i>Title.</i>	<i>Family Name.</i>	<i>Descent.</i>
EGMONT,	PERCEVAL . . . .	From the sovereign dukes of Brittany in France; came to England with the Conqueror.
BESBOROUGH,	PENSONBY . . . .	Originally of Picardy, Sir John Pensonby went to Ireland in 1649, with Cromwel's army, in which he was a major.
CARRICK, UPPER OSSERY,	BUTLER . . . . FITEPATRICK . . . .	From the Ormonde family. From Heremen, the first monarch of the Milesean race in Ireland.
SHANNON, MASSARENE,	BOYLE . . . . SKEFFINGTON . . . .	Cork and Orrery family. From a family settled at the village of Skeffington, Leicestershire.
LANESBOROUGH,	BUTLER . . . .	From John Butler, of Huntingdonshire, whose descendant, Sir Stephen, settled at Belturbet, in Ireland, in the reign of James I.
BELVEDERE,	ROCHFORD . . . .	This family, formerly styled De Rupi Forte, settled in Ireland in 1243.
LUDLOW,	LUDLOW . . . .	From a family who resided at Ludlow in Shropshire; of this family was the celebrated Edward Ludlow, the republican.
TYRCONNEL,	CARPENTER . . . .	From a family of great antiquity in the county of Hereford.
MOIRA,	RAWDON HASTINGS . . . .	From a family to whom lands, near Leeds in Yorkshire, were granted by William the Conqueror.
ARRAN, COURTOWN,	SAUNDERS GORE . . . . STOPFORD . . . .	From Sir Arthur Gore, of Newtown, Bart. From Nicholas de Stockport, Baron Stockport, in Cheshire, of whom was descended James Stopford, an officer in Cromwel's army, who acquired possessions at Tara Hill, in the county of Meath.
MILTOWN,	LESSON . . . .	From a family situated at Witfield, in Northamptonshire, a descendant of which, Hugh Lesson went to Ireland as an officer in 1680.
CHARLEMONT,	GAULFIELD . . . .	An Oxfordshire family, a descendant of which was knighted by James I., and made governor of the fort of Charleville, and the counties of Tyrone and Armagh.
MEXBOROUGH,	SAVILLE . . . .	From an ancient Yorkshire family, of which were the Savilles, Marquis of Halifax.
WINTERTON,	TOURNOUR . . . .	From Edward Tournour, settled at Haveril, Suffolk, in the reign of Henry IV.
HOWTH, KINGSTON,	ST. LAWRENCE . . . . KING . . . .	From an English family originally named Tristram. From a family settled at Feathercock Hall, near Northallerton, in Yorkshire; Sir John King, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, went to Ireland with the army.
SEFTON,	MOLYNEUX . . . .	From a family who came over with William the Conqueror.

EARLS.

<i>Title.</i>	<i>Family Name.</i>	<i>Descent.</i>
ROBEN,	JOCelyn . . . . .	From Godfrey, Duke of Brabant; Robert Jocelyn, Lord High Chancellor of Ireland, and twelve times Lord Chief Justice of that kingdom, was created Baron Newport, in 1743, and Lord Jocelyn in 1755.
LISBURNNE,	VANCHAN . . . . .	From an ancient family settled at Crosswood, in Cardiganshire.
CLANWILLIAM,	MEADE . . . . .	John Meade, Judge of the Palatinate Court, in the county of Tipperary, was created a Baronet by Queen Anne, in 1703.
GLANDORE,	CROSBIE . . . . .	From the Crosbies of Great Crosby, in Lancashire. This family went to Ireland in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.
ALDBOROUGH,	STRAITWOOD . . . . .	This family is paternally of English, and maternally of Irish extraction.
MOUNT-CASHEL,	MOORE . . . . .	From a family who came over with William the Conqueror.
ANTRIM,	M'DONNELL . . . . .	Of Scotch origin.
LONGFORD,	PACKENHAM . . . . .	From a family settled at Pakenham, Suffolk.
PORTARLINGTON,	DAWSON . . . . .	A Norman family.
FARNHAM,	MAXWELL . . . . .	A branch of the family of the Earl of Nethsdale, in Scotland.
CARRHAMPTON,	LUTTEREL . . . . .	This family came over with William the Conqueror, and afterwards settled at Hooten Pagnel, in Yorkshire.
MAYO,	BOURKE . . . . .	A branch of the family of Clanrickarde.
ANNESLEY,	ANNESLEY . . . . .	This family came from a place of the same name in Nottinghamshire; Francis Annesley, great grandfather to Earl Annesley, was appointed by William II. a trustee for the sale of the forfeited estates in Ireland.
ENNISKILLEN,	WILLOUGHBY-COLE . . . . .	Descended from the celebrated William Cole, of Enniskillen.
ERNE,	CRIGHTON . . . . .	Of Scottish descent, being a branch of the house of Fendraught; went to Ireland under Charles I.
CARYSFORT,	PROBY . . . . .	This family came originally from Wales, and has long been settled at Elton Hall, Huntingdonshire.
KILKENNY,	BUTLER . . . . .	From the Ormonde family.
MOUNTMORRIS,	ANNESLEY . . . . .	From a Nottinghamshire family, the same as that of Earl Annesley.
BESART,	CUSSE . . . . .	From a Somersetshire and Northamptonshire family, settled in Ireland in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.
WICKLOW,	HOWARD . . . . .	Originally an English family, but at what time settled in Ireland uncertain.
GLONMELL,	SCOTT . . . . .	From a respectable English family, who settled in Ireland about 1689.

EARLS.		
<i>Title.</i>	<i>Family Name.</i>	<i>Descent.</i>
CLARE,	FITZGIBBON . . . .	From the Barons of Offaley, afterwards Earls of Kildare.
LEITRIM,	CLEMENTS . . . .	Originally from France, where in 1183, and 1191, they held the military employment of marshal of France. They fixed their residence in Ireland in the time of Cromwel.
LUCAN,	BINGHAM . . . .	This family, of Saxon origin, was settled at Sutton Bingham, in Somersetshire, from which they removed to Bingham Melcomb, in Dorset.
LONDONDERRY,	STEWART . . . .	From Sir Thomas Stewart, of Minto, ancestor of the Earls of Galloway.
BELMORE, CONYNGHAM,	LOWRY CORRY . . . . BURTON CONYNGHAM . . . .	From an old Scotch family settled in Tyrone. From the family of the Earl of Glencairn, in Scotland; Dean Conyngham came to Ireland about the end of the reign of James I., to sue for a considerable estate which he obtained.
LANDAFF,	MATTHEW . . . .	From David Matthew, great standard bearer to King Edward IV.
O'NEIL,	ST. JOHN O'NEIL . . . .	From the ancient kings of Ireland. The ancestor of the present representative of the family was created Earl of Tyrone, but forfeited that title.
BANDON,	BERNARD . . . .	From an ancient English family. Francis Bernard, of Castle Bernard and Mahon, was appointed solicitor-general of Ireland, by Queen Anne, in 1711.
CASTLESTEWART, DONOUGHMORE,	STEWART . . . . HUTCHINSON . . . .	From the kings of Scotland. Francis Heley, Esq. was father of John Heley Hutchinson, provost of Trinity College, Dublin, and in 1777, was made Secretary of State, and a Lord of the Privy Council in Ireland.
CALEDON,	ALEXANDER . . . .	Of the same family as the Earl of Stirling in Scotland.
* KENMARE,	BROWNE . . . .	Of a family from Crofts in Lincolnshire, and Hoddesden, Herts.
LIMERICK, GLANCARTY,	PERRY . . . . TRENCH . . . .	Originally from Lower Brittany. From a French family of Poictou, which after the massacre of St. Bartholomew, settled in Ireland in 1605.
GOSFORD, ROSS,	ACHESON . . . . PARSONS . . . .	A Scotch family, settled in Ireland about 1610. Sir William Parsons, Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, created a Baronet in 1620.
NORMANTON, CHARLEVILLE,	ELLIS AGAR . . . . BURY . . . .	From the family of Viscount Clifden. From a branch of the Earls of Drogheda.
VISCOUNTS.		
* GORMONSTOWN,	PRESTON . . . .	From Sir Robert Preston, Lord of the Manor of Preston, in Lincolnshire.

## VISCOUNTS.

<i>Title.</i>	<i>Family Name.</i>	<i>Descent.</i>
DILLON	DILLON LEE . . . .	Of great antiquity in Ireland, being descended from Logan, son of the monarch O'Neile, in 596.
*NETTERVILLE,	NETTERVILLE . . . .	From William, Duke of Normandy; came into Ireland in the reign of Henry II.
KILMOUY,	NEEDHAM . . . . .	From a family long settled at Shenton, in the county of Salop.
STRANGFORD,	SMYTHE . . . . .	From John Smythe, Esq. of Corsham, Wiltshire.
*TAAFFE,	TAAFFE . . . . .	Sir William Taaffe distinguished himself by his steady attachment to his sovereign, during Tyrone's rebellion in the time of Queen Elizabeth.
RANELAGH,	JONES . . . . .	From Sir Roger Jones, Alderman of London, whose son was Archbishop of Dublin, also Chancellor and Lord Justice of Ireland; and died 1619.
*FITZWILLIAM,	FITZWILLIAM . . . .	Of the same family as Earl Fitzwilliam.
BULKELEY,	BULKELEY . . . . .	Descended from Robert Bulkeley, Lord of the Manor of Bulkeley, in the county Palatine of Chester, in the reign of King John.
DOWNE	DAWNAY, . . . . .	Came to England with William the Conqueror.
HOWE	HOWE . . . . .	From a Somersetshire family.
MOLESWORTH	MOLESWORTH . . . .	From a family settled in the county of Northampton in the reign of Edward I.
CHETWYND	CHETWYND . . . . .	From a family of great antiquity in the county of Salop.
*MIDLETON	BRODRICK . . . . .	From George de Brodrick, who came into England in the reign of William II. Allan Brodrick, Esq. in 1714 was made Lord Chancellor of Ireland.
BAYNE	HAMILTON . . . . .	Descended from the same family as the Earl of Abercorn.
ALLEN	ALLEN . . . . .	From Sir Joshua Allen, Knight, who, in 1673, was Lord Mayor of Dublin; but was involved in the general attainder in 1689.
GRIMSTON	GRIMSTON . . . . .	Descended in a direct line from Silvester Grimston, of Grimston, in the county of York.
BARRINGTON	BARRINGTON . . . .	Originally a Norman family.
GAGE	GAGE . . . . .	Of this family there were members of parliament, in the reigns of Edward III. and Henry IV., for Tavistock, in Devonshire, and Basingstoke in Hampshire.
PALMERSTON	TEMPLE . . . . .	Same family as the Marquis of Buckingham.
GALWAY	ARUNDEL . . . . .	Descended from Simon Moneton, whose descendants resided in Yorkshire, in 1326, at their estate, since called Nun-Moncton.
POWERSCOURT,	WINGFIELD . . . . .	This family took its name from Wingfield Castle, in Suffolk, which was their seat before the Norman conquest.

## VISCOUNTS.

<i>Title.</i>	<i>Family Name.</i>	<i>Descent.</i>
ASHBROOK,	FLOWER . . . . .	From William Flower, of Oakham, in Rutlandshire, who was sheriff of that county in the reign of King Richard II.
MQUNT MORRES,	MOORES . . . . .	Of the French family of Montmorenci, which came over with William the Conqueror, and afterwards settled at Beaumaris, in Anglesey, having had lands granted to them in Wales. Hervey de Monte Moriscoe, who lived at Beaumaris, was nephew to Richard, Earl of Chepstow, called Earl Strongbow; and went over with his uncle, in the time of Henry II., to assist in the reduction of Ireland, where several estates were granted to him in the counties of Wexford, Kerry, and Tipperary.
DUNGANNON,	HILL TREVOR . . . . .	Arthur, the first Viscount, was only brother of Trevor, Viscount Hillsborough, ancestor of the Marquis of Devonshire.
*SOUTHWELL,	SOUTHWELL . . . . .	This family took their name from the town of Southwell in Nottinghamshire.
DE VESCI,	VESCEY . . . . .	The family of Vescey, or Vescey, are descended from Charles the Great, King of France, and emperor of the West.
CLERMONT,	FORTESCUE . . . . .	The origin of this family is from Sir Richard le Forte, who accompanied the conqueror from Normandy, and bearing a shield before William at the battle of Hastings, contributed greatly to his preservation.
LIFFORD,	HEWITT . . . . .	James, the late Earl, was of a Warwickshire family, and having served a clerkship to an attorney in the neighbourhood of Coventry, rose by his abilities to be lord chancellor of Ireland.
BANGOR,	WARD . . . . .	From Bernard Ward, who went to Ireland in 1570. This family is of Norman extraction, and were settled at Capesthorn, in Cheshire.
MELBOURNE,	LAMBE . . . . .	From Matthew Lamb, an eminent conveyancer, who died in 1735. He left two sons, one of whom was bishop of Petersborough; the other settled at Broomfield Hall, in the county of Hertford, was created a baronet of Great Britain.
GLIFDEN, CREMORNE,	AGAR ELLIS . . . . . DAWSON . . . . .	From Charles Agar, of the city of York. This noble family went to Ireland, from Yorkshire, about the latter end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, or the beginning of that of James I.
DONERAILE,	St. LEGER . . . . .	An ancient family of French extraction. Sir Anthony, the founder of the family in Ireland, distinguished himself in the reign of Henry VIII., as did Sir William, during the grand rebellion in 1640.

## VISCOUNTS.

<i>Title.</i>	<i>Family Name.</i>	<i>Descent.</i>
<b>NORTHLAND,</b>	<b>KNOX</b> . . . . .	This family is descended from the son of Uchtred, who lived in the reign of Alexander II. of Scotland, and obtained the lands of Knox, in the barony of Renfrew, and thence assumed the name. John Knox, who went to Ireland in 1692, and was possessed of lands in Tyrone, married the daughter of Hugh Keith, Esq. of the county of Down, a descendant of the family of Earl Marishal.
<b>HARBERTON,</b>	<b>POMEROY</b> . . . . .	From the Rev. Arthur Pomeroy, who went to Ireland in 1672, and died Dean of Cork. This family came into England at the conquest, and were settled in Devonshire.
<b>HAWARDEN,</b>	<b>MAUDE</b> . . . . .	This family is of Italian origin, and came into England at the instance of Hugh Lupus, nephew to William the Conqueror; went to Ireland in 1639.
<b>CARLETON,</b>	<b>CARLETON</b> . . . . .	This family is a branch of the family of Carlton in England.
<b>FERRARD,</b>	<b>FOSTER</b> . . . . .	The present viscountess is descended from a branch of the house of De Burgh.
<b>AVONMORE,</b>	<b>YELVERTON</b> . . . . .	From Francis Yelverton, who died in 1746.
<b>LONGUEVILLE,</b>	<b>LONGFIELD</b> . . . . .	Descended from the Longchamps of Normandy, who attended the conqueror to England.
<b>BANTRY,</b>	<b>WHITE</b> . . . . .	From Sir Thomas Whyte, of Rickmansworth, Hertfordshire, the founder of St. John's College, Oxford, and brother to John Whyte, Bishop of Winchester, 1557. The ancestors of this family went to Ireland in the civil wars, which commenced in 1641, and settled in Cork.
<b>MONCK,</b>	<b>MONCK</b> . . . . .	Descended from the ancient family of Monck, in Devonshire. Charles Monck was, in 1627, Surveyor-general of all the customs in Ireland.
<b>KILWARDEN,</b>	<b>WOLFE</b> . . . . .	Arthur, the first Viscount, was the eldest son of John Wolfe, Esq. of Forenaughts, in Kildare.
<b>NEWCOMEN,</b>	<b>NEWCOMEN</b> . . . . .	The father of the present viscountess, was Charles Newcomen, of Carrickglass, Esq.
<b>TEMPLETON,</b>	<b>UPTON</b> . . . . .	From John Upton, a colonel in King William's army, a branch of the Uptons, of Upton in Cornwall.
<b>LISMORE,</b>	<b>O'CALLAGHAN</b> . . . . .	This family is descended from Ceallachan, or Callaghan, a prince of Munster, celebrated for his exploits against the Danes.
<b>LAWTON,</b>	<b>KING</b> . . . . .	From the Kingston family.
<b>BARONS.</b>		
<b>KINSALE,</b>	<b>DE COURCY</b> . . . . .	Of Norman extraction. Sir John De Courcy, Knt. served King Henry II. in all his wars; and in Ire-

BARONS.		
<i>Title.</i>	<i>Family Name.</i>	<i>Descent.</i>
		land, at his own charge fought five remarkable battles, by means of which he conquered the province of Ulster, and a great part of Connaught. In 1181, he was created, by Henry II., Earl of Ulster, and Lord of Connaught.
*TRIMBLESTOWN,	BARNEWELL . . . .	This noble family is of French extraction; and, attending William the Conqueror to England, afterwards settled at Beer-haven, in Cork.
DUNSANY,	PLUNKET . . . .	This noble family, formerly called Plungenet, came into England with the Danes, and in the reign of Henry II., accompanied the forces of that prince to Ireland, where they settled, and obtained large possessions in the counties of Meath and Dublin.
LOUTH,	PLUNKET . . . .	Descent the same.
CAHIER,	BUTLER . . . .	From the Ormonde Family.
BLAYNEY,	BLAYNEY . . . .	This family is descended from the ancient kings of the Britons.
CARBERY,	FREKE . . . .	From George Evans, of a Welsh family, who had a command in the army; sent to Ireland to suppress the rebellion in 1641.
AYLMER,	AYLMER . . . .	This family has been long settled in Ireland, and is said to be originally descended from Aylmer, a Saxon Duke of Cornwall.
LISLE,	LYSAGHT . . . .	From the ancient and illustrious House of O'Brien, in the county of Clare.
COLERAINE,	HANGER . . . .	This family, which have written their name various ways; as, Ainger, Anger, Aunger, and Aungre, was originally settled in the Counties of Essex and Hertford: but about the end of the sixteenth century, they sold their estates in these counties; and Francis Aungier, one of the youngest sons, went over to Ireland, and became master of the rolls.
MJLFORD,	PHILIPS . . . .	This ancient family derives its descent from William the Norman.
MEXBOROUGH,	WYNN . . . .	This family is a branch of the family of Bodville, in the county of Caernarvon.
MACDONALD,	MACDONALD . . . .	Same descent as the Antrim family.
KENSINGTON,	EDWARDS . . . .	Paternally is descended from a very old family in Wales, and maternally from that of Rich, Earls of Warwick and Holland.
ONGLEY,	ONGLEY . . . .	From the family of Henley, in the county of Derby.
MASSEY,	MASSEY . . . .	Descended from the Massays, who formerly flourished in Normandy.
ROKEBY,	ROBINSON . . . .	Descended originally from the Robinsons, Barons of Strowan, in Perthshire.

## BARONS.

<i>Title.</i>	<i>Family Name.</i>	<i>Descent.</i>
MUSKERRY,	DEANE . . . . .	Descended from Matthew Deane, third son of Matthew Deane, of the county of Somerset, who came into Ireland in the reign of James I., and fixed his residence at Dromore, in the county of Cork.
RIVERSDALE,	TONSON . . . . .	From Benjamin Tonson; appointed treasurer of the navy by Queen Elizabeth, in 1579. Henry Tonson, born in 1666, went to Ireland, in 1649, a major in the army; and had a grant of lands from Charles II., for his services in the civil wars.
MUNCASTER,	MUNCASTER . . . . .	Gamel de Pennington, ancestor of this family, was settled at Muncaster at the conquest.
SUNDERLIN,	MALONE . . . . .	This family can trace its descent back to the Kings of Connaught.
KILMAINE,	BROWN . . . . .	Descended from a younger son of Viscount Montague in England, who went to Ireland in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He settled in Mayo, and being high sheriff of that county, was killed while in office.
CLONCURRY, EARDLEY,	LAWLESS . . . . . EARDLEY . . . . .	This family is of English origin. From Sir Sampson Gideon, an eminent merchant of London.
CALLAN, CLONROCK, FERMANAGH,	AGAR . . . . . DILLON . . . . . VERNEY . . . . .	The same descent as Viscount Clifden. Of the same descent as Lord Dillon. Baroness Fermanagh is descended from a very ancient family, long settled in the county of Bucks. John Verney was, in 1703, created by Queen Anne, Baron Verney of Belturbet, and Viscount Fermanagh.
WATERPARK,	CAVENDISH . . . . .	A branch of the Cavendish family, from which the Dukes of Devonshire are descended. Sir Henry Cavendish was appointed Usher of the Black Rod, by the Duke of Devonshire, on his going to Ireland in 1737; and soon after, was made collector of the port of Cork; and in 1747, a commissioner of the revenue in Ireland.
GRAVES,	GRAVES . . . . .	Descended from a very ancient family, which came originally from Bourdeaux in Germany, and settled at Little Wressill in Yorkshire.
RANCLIFF,	PARKINS . . . . .	From a very ancient family, originally settled at Maltesfield in Berkshire.
HUNTINGFIELD,	VAN-NECK . . . . .	From Cornelius Van-Neck, pay-master of the land-forces of the United Provinces, one of whose sons, Joshua, came into England, where he became an eminent merchant, and was created a baronet in 1751.

BARONS.

<i>Title.</i>	<i>Family Name.</i>	<i>Descent:</i>
ROSSMORE, HOTHAM,	WESTERNA . . . . . HOTHAM . . . . .	The Hothams are of great antiquity, and were originally settled in Ireland. John de Trehouse, who was Lord of Kilkeany, served under William the Conqueror, and for his good services at the battle of Hastings, had a grant of the castle and manor of Colley Weston, in Northamptonshire, and of Hotham in Yorkshire.
TYRAWLEY,	CUFF . . . . .	This family had its origin in Somersetshire. Sir James Cuff, of Ballinrobe, in Ireland, was knighted by Charles II. in 1660, for his father's and his own services, and had a grant of the town of Ballinrobe, and other extensive estates in the counties of Mayo and Galway.
NORWOOD,	TOLER . . . . .	The father of the present Baroness, Hector Graham, Esq., was descended from the Montrose family.
HEADLEY,	WINN . . . . .	Descended from George Winn, draper to Queen Elizabeth.
TEIGNMOUTH,	SHORE . . . . .	From the family of Shore, of Heathcote, in Derbyshire.
CROFTON,	CROFTON . . . . .	Came from Crofton, in Cumberland; John Crofton, Esq. ancestor of this family, was auditor general in Ireland, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, from whom he obtained considerable grants of lands in Roscommon and Leitrim.
FRENCH,	FRENCH . . . . .	From Sir Charles French, of Clogha, in Galway.
HENLEY,	EDEN . . . . .	From Sir Morton Eden.
WHITWORTH,	WHITWORTH . . . . .	From Richard Whitworth, Esq., envoy extraordinary to the court of Petersburg in 1704.
CASTLE-COOTE,	COOTE . . . . .	From Sir Charles Coote, the common ancestor of the Earls of Monrath and the Earls of Bellamont.
LANGFORD,	ROWLEY . . . . .	This family is of Saxon origin, and settled in Ireland in the reign of James I.
DE BLAQUIERE,	BLAQUIERE . . . . .	John Blaquiere, descended from a family of that name in Languedoc, came to England after the revocation of the edict of Nantz.
FRANKFORT,	MORRES . . . . .	Descended from the house of Montmorency in France, a branch of which came over with William the Conqueror, and settled in Anglesea, whence they went and resided at Knockagh, in the county of Tipperary.
HENNIKER,	HENNIKER MAJOR . . . . .	This family is of German extraction, and has been resident in Kent from the time of Edward II.
DUFFRIN AND CLANBOYNE,	{ BLACKWOOD . . . . .	This family were originally of the county of Fife, Scotland.

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BARONS.

<i>Title.</i>	<i>Family Name.</i>	<i>Descent.</i>
ADARE, VENTRY,	QUIN . . . . . MULLINS . . . . .	Descended from an ancient family in Ireland. A family from Burnham, in Norfolk; Frederick William was representative in parliament for Dingle, in Kerry, in 1692.
ENNISMORE, WALLSCOURT,	HARE . . . . . BLAKE . . . . .	From Richard Hare, Esq., who died in 1792. Richard Blake; an ancestor of this family accompanied Prince John to Ireland in 1185, and was rewarded by that prince with grants in the county of Galway.
MOUNT-SANDFORD,	SANDFORD . . . . .	This family is of great antiquity in the county of Roscommon, and from it also proceed the Sandfords of Sandford Court.
DUNALLEY, TARA,	PRITTE . . . . . PRESTON . . . . .	From Martin Preston, son of Jenico, third Viscount Gormanstown, who died in 1469.
HARTLAND,	MAHON . . . . .	This family is traditionally descended from the ancient princes of Munster; and on the first arrival of the English, in the reign of Henry II. had large possessions in that province, over which they ruled as hereditary chieftains.
CLANNMORRIS,	BINGHAM . . . . .	A family of Saxon origin. Sir Richard Bingham, Marshal of Ireland, and General of Leinster, was third son of Robert Bingham, of Bingham Melcomb, and one of the greatest officers of that age, and for his services in Ireland obtained a grant of the estate of Castlebar, from Queen Elizabeth.
RADSTOCK, GLENBERVIE,	WALDEGRAVE . . . . . DOUGLAS . . . . .	The same family as Earl Waldegrave. From the family of Fechil, in the parish of Ellon, county of Aberdeen.
NORBURY,	TOLER . . . . .	This family, originally of the county of Norfolk, settled in Ireland in the reign of Charles I., and was distinguished for its attachment to the cause of King William III. in 1698.
NUGENT,	NUGENT . . . . .	This family is descended from Sir Gilbert de Nugent, who accompanied Hugh de Lacie, in the reduction of Ireland.
ASHTOWN, CLARINA,	TRENCH . . . . . MASSEY . . . . .	From the same origin as the Earl of Clancarty. From Eyre, youngest brother of Hugh Lord Massey, who was wounded at the battle of Culloden; he was at the head of the grenadiers, who stormed the Havannah, where he was also wounded, and he was present at the taking of Martinico. He was marshal of the army in Ireland, colonel of the 27th, or Enniskillen regiment of foot, governor of Limerick, and was created a peer in 1800.



number of electing peers is reduced to about 135. If rank and wealth can create independence, of all bodies of electors, this of the Irish nobility ought to possess it in the highest degree ; and it might reasonably be expected, that at every vacancy, the ablest and most honourable peer would be returned as their representative. It is with reluctance, however, I state, that a letter from the secretary of Ireland, intimating, that " a certain peer is a candidate," is a sufficient hint to ensure his election ; and I believe no case has yet occurred of a choice, contrary to such notification, having taken place. This is a most humiliating instance of political subserviency, and little calculated to confirm those high notions which philosophy teaches us to entertain of the dignity of human nature. If independence cannot be met with among the privileged classes, whose wealth places them beyond necessity, and who are already in possession of honours ; is it to be expected among people in lower stations of life, who frequently are tempted to such degrading subserviency, through the powerful cravings of poverty and distress, and who may be justly said to dispose of their suffrages to alleviate the miseries of want ? Can the conduct of either of these be considered as according with the pure spirit of the Constitution ?

The election is not by personal suffrage ; each peer sends his vote to the clerk of the hanaper, who having advertised the vacancy, receives the votes, casts them up on a certain day, and returns the peer who has a majority in his favour. There have been frequent instances of the candidates being numerous ; but he that basks in the sunshine of ministerial favour, is as sure of success as if he were standing for a rotten borough. Catholic peers are not permitted to vote, although this privilege is allowed to the lowest of the people in the election of members of the House of Commons.

Of the twenty-two spiritual peers in Ireland, four sit in parliament by rotation for a session. Many of the present bishops hold united sees ; should they ever be separated from one another,\* and the same power which united can disunite, some awkward circumstances may arise, as the act of union has made no provision for a case of this kind.

At the time of the union it was agreed, that the representatives of thirty-two counties should be allowed to remain. Two were admitted also for each of the two principal cities, Dublin and Cork, and one for the University of Dublin, making altogether sixty-nine. The remaining thirty-one were to be returned by the principal towns and boroughs, according to their population, and their rate of contribution to the taxes. On the proper inquiry being made, they were found to stand as follows :

\* Dr. Beaufort, p. 129, gives a recent instance of the separation of two sees which had been united for eighty-one years.

## REPRESENTATION.

Contribution by Hearth and Window Tax paid.			Number of Inhabitants.	Contribution by Hearth and Window Tax paid.			Number of Inhabitants.
Waterford	-	1	1	Sligo	-	17	13
Limerick	-	2	4	Carlow	-	18	21
Belfast	-	3	3	Ennis	-	19	34
Drogheda	-	4	2	Dungarvan	-	20	7
Newry	-	5	6	Downpatrick	-	21	24
Kilkenny	-	6	5	Coleraine	-	22	20
Londonderry	-	7	14	Mallow	-	23	27
Galway	-	8	10	Athlone	-	24	25
Clonmell	-	9	8	Ross	-	25	17
Wexford	-	10	9	Trillick	-	26	23
Youghal	-	11	10	Cashell	-	27	18
Bandon Bridge	-	12	12	Dungannon	-	28	44
Armagh	-	13	19	Portarlington	-	29	57
Dundalk	-	14	15	Enniskillen	-	30	47
Kinsale	-	15	16	Carrickfergus	-	31	38
Lisburn	-	16	22				

The following places ranked next in succession :

Strabane	Navan
Mullingar	Kells.
Tuam	Castlebar
Longford	Ardee
Monaghan	Maryborough, &c. &c.

Many asserted that these calculations were not accurately made. I am, however, inclined to believe, that there was no material error; in inquiries of this kind, correctness is not to be expected. But it is very extraordinary that contribution and population should have such weight in this arrangement, and that the elective franchise was so far overlooked (that great individual privilege), as to leave the sole right of voting, in many instances, in corporate bodies not exceeding twelve persons; so that, although the wealthiest and largest place has its representative, he is the choice of only ten or twelve persons. This is nearly a total extinction of the interference of the people in the choice of Members of Parliament.

The qualification of freeholder is the same in Ireland as in England, a clear forty shillings' interest for a life;\* but as it is customary in Ireland to insert lives in all leases, freeholders are created without the actual possession of property being considered as necessary, and their votes are considered as a right of the landlord. This

\* By an act passed in the reign of Queen Anne, protestant weavers who had served five years' apprenticeship, and two years as journeymen, and who kept one or more looms employed, were declared freemen, and could vote for members of parliament; but they were afterwards deprived of this privilege by the 1st Geo. II. c. 11.

system of creating votes is in Ireland carried to an extent, of which people in England can have no idea. The passion for acquiring political influence prevails throughout the whole country; and it has an overwhelming influence upon the people; to divide and subdivide, for the purpose of making freeholders, is the great object of every owner of land; and I consider it one of the most pernicious practices that has ever been introduced into the operations of political machinery. It reduces the elective franchise nearly to universal suffrage, to a population who, by the very instrument by which they are made free, are reduced to the most abject state of personal bondage. I have known freeholders registered, among mountain tenantry, whose yearly head-rent did not exceed 2s. 6d.; but living upon this half-crown tenure, were enabled to swear to a derivative interest of forty shillings per annum. This right, instead of being an advantage to the freeholder, is an excessive burden, as he is obliged to attend elections at the command of the agent, often with great inconvenience; and is ordered to vote for the object of his landlord's choice, with as little ceremony as the Jamaica planter would direct his slave to the performance of the meanest offices. Of this we have a striking and recent instance, in the case of Mr. Alcock, member for the county of Wexford, who challenged Mr. Colclough. The cause of this unfortunate quarrel was, that the latter refused to relinquish the votes of the tenantry of a Mrs. Cholmondeley, who had written to her agent, to desire her tenants to vote for the former; but, notwithstanding this mandate, these poor people for once insisted on giving their suffrages to Sheridan and Colclough. Could Addison rise from his grave, what would be his opinion of such freeholders? I have alluded to the above lamentable transaction, to shew what are the common feelings in Ireland on such occasions; and these ideas are not confined to the county where the fatal event took place to which I have alluded, they are universal throughout every part of the island.

After this information, the reader will not be surprised to learn, that many counties are overruled in their choice by the will of some great territorial possessor; and there are few in which a coalition of two or three of the principal land-owners will not settle the election according to their own views.

**ANTRIM County.**—The marquises of Hertford and Donegal, earl O'Neil, and the Antrim family, whose property is now divided between two heiresses, engross nearly the whole land of the county; and on their estates all the freeholds originate. The influence of the marquis of Hertford, therefore, returns a member, with as much ease as the owner of Old Sarum sends one to the house of commons; and nothing but an opposition on the part of the other three families can create a contest. At present, lord O'Neil's interest preponderates; and his brother represents the county.

\* See Addison's Freeholder, No. 1. Lond. edit. 1758.

*Belfast* has twelve self-elected burgesses, under the patronage of the marquis of Donegal, who returns a member of his own family.

*Carrickfergus* is a corporate town, but the number of burgesses is unlimited, and, besides these, the freeholders possess the right of suffrage. It may be considered an open place, although the marquises of Donegal and Downshire have great influence, which, if united, would probably return the member.

*Lisburn* belongs to the marquis of Hertford. The right of election is vested in such of the inhabitants as occupy a tenement of five pounds per annum, and in freeholders of forty shillings, all of whom derive from the marquis, at whose recommendation the member is returned.

**ARMAGH County.**—The earl of Gosford and Mr. Brownlow have immense estates in this county; and although they do not possess a commanding interest, will, probably, continue to exercise so much influence, that the members returned will be gentlemen of their choice. Earl Charlemont, and Mr. Cope, are the owners of large estates here; but they do not possess power equal to the proprietors above-mentioned.

**ARMAGH City** has twelve burgesses elected by themselves. Patron, the arch-bishop of the see.

**CARLOW County.**—Mr. Cavannah, of Borris, has votes sufficient to return one member; the election of the other will be contested between the Latouche, Brewen, and Burton families.

*Carlow* Borough has twelve burgesses, who elect each other. Lord Charleville is patron.

**CAVAN County.**—Were the freeholders of this county registered, they would amount, at least, to 6,000; but one half neglect to enroll their names. Here there is but one Roman catholic proprietor, Mr. Dease; yet, in the population, the catholics bear to the protestants the proportion of five to one. The protestant land-owner directs the Roman catholic freeholders at every election. Of the 3,000 registered freeholders, 700 are under earl Farnham, and 300 under colonel Barry, his cousin; it may, therefore, be remarked, that lord Farnham commands the return of the member. The other is independent, but the protestant interest prevails in the election of one who is to vote against the catholic claims.

**GLARE County.**—Earl Conyngham and the O'Brien family have freeholders sufficient to return the members for this county, A contest may arise, from the latter endeavouring to return both the members; but the elective influence must always remain between the two families.

*Ennis* Borough has twelve self-elected burgesses. Sir Edward O'Brien and James Fitzgerald, Esq. alternately nominate the member.

**CORK County.**—The popularity of the earl of Shannon, and the property he possesses, give him influence sufficient to return one member. This county is so

large, that it is not possible for the freeholders of any individual to command the election of a representative. It contains one million of acres, and 20,000 persons entitled to vote. In so extensive a district, there are many owners of very considerable estates, besides lord Shannon, lady Kingston, Mr. Hyde, Mr. Aldworth, Mr. Freeman, Mr. Newenham, Mr. Anderson, and several others, all of whom have a great number of tenants; so that the independence, of one member at least, is likely to be secured.

**CORK City.**—The successor of the late lord Longueville, Mr. Newenham, and lord Donoughmore, have the prevailing interest in the election for this city; that of the two noble lords being co-existent with religious parties; and as these parties, whether in or out, have exercised the immense patronage annexed to this great emporium of Ireland, it may readily be conceived, that the state of politics here is subject to considerable variation. The members of the corporation are numerous, and among them are six or seven hundred who are unyielding protestants. The freeholders within the precincts of the city have the right of voting, but the majority are catholics. Mr. Newenham's interest arises from his being owner of a great part of the city; and whenever he exerts his influence, if united with that of the earl of Cork, who has a large estate under similar circumstances, it is sufficient to return a member. In the strong contests between the two other interests, he has hitherto taken no part; and when the leases on his estate are expired, which will soon be the case, it is probable, that his intimacy with the noble families will induce him to remain neuter.

**Youghal Borough.**—This is a close corporation; patron, the earl of Shannon. An attempt has lately been made to procure the right of voting for freeholders, in which case the duke of Devonshire would return the member.

**Bandon Bridge** has twelve burgesses who elect each other. Lord Bandon is the patron.

**Kinsale Borough** has also twelve burgesses elected in the same manner. Lord de Clifford is the patron.

**Mallow Borough.**—The electors are the tenants of the manor, belonging to Mr. Jephson, the patron.

**DONEGAL County.**—Earl Conyngham and the marquis of Abercorn have freeholders sufficient to return the members for this county; but the marquis of Donegal possesses an estate, which, if managed, would give him an influence sufficiently powerful to enable him to succeed against either of them. There are 9,000 freeholders in the county; and lord Southwell is the only Roman catholic proprietor in it. The chief land-owners are absentees; but under this head are comprehended persons who, although absentees from the county, live in Ireland.

**DOWN County,** contains 30,000 freeholders, who elect the friends of the marquis of Downshire without a contest. To ensure this object, the marquis's estate has

been divided, subdivided, and again divided, until it has become a *warren* of freeholders, and the scheme has completely succeeded. The landed property of this nobleman exhibits, perhaps, the best specimen of political *agronomy* \* to be found in Ireland, and is a proof of the ingenuity of those by whom it was planned.†

*Newry* Borough—General Needham derives considerable interest from his being owner of the turbary adjoining to the town; but it is not sufficient to command the return.

*Downpatrick* Borough.—Inhabitants who occupy tenements of five pounds per annum, and freeholders of forty shillings, all have votes. Lord de Clifford is owner of the principal part of the town, and is, also, the patron: his lordship, however, has been unfortunate in the choice of his agents, whose families have now acquired property and influence sufficient to enable them to form a commanding opposition to his interest at every election.

**LOUTH** County.—The influence of the Earl of Roden, and the Right Hon. John Foster, certainly commands the return in this county.

*Drogheda* Borough contains a large corporation, and a numerous body of freeholders, subject to no other control than that which must always arise from gentlemen spending their incomes in a liberal manner among the people.

*Dundalk* Borough is a close corporation, the Earl of Roden the patron.

**DUBLIN** County.—The freeholders of this metropolitan county are too numerous, and too opulent, to be subject to the influence of any individual.

**DUBLIN** City.—The corporation forming a large body of wealthy citizens, and the freeholders being numerous and respectable, they are in the same situation as the electors of the county, and cannot be controlled.

**DUBLIN** University.—The member for the University is required to exhibit no landed qualification, and is chosen by the fellows and students: the latter form by far

\* As this word may not be understood, perhaps, by every reader, I must remark, that it is derived from the Greek, in which *ἀγρονομία* signifies a distribution or division of land.

† A similar system of division was pursued, about thirty years ago, by some of the Scotch peers, particularly in the north, for the purpose of acquiring parliamentary influence: they assigned over certain portions of their land, at its valued rent, to their factors, to clergymen, and other dependents, sufficient to qualify them as freeholders, receiving security that the land should revert to its real owner, on their death, or at a specified period. This iniquitous practice, in which *grave ministers of the kirk* condescended to become the instruments of corruption, was carried to a most extraordinary height: but, if I am rightly informed, the votes of such *freeholders* were questioned as being illegal, and in some cases brought before the court of session at Edinburgh, and the whole system overturned. Johnson, in answer to a letter of Boswell, who, alluding to this practice, had consulted him, “whether the unconstitutional influence exercised by the peers of Scotland, in the election of the representatives of the commons, by means of fictitious qualifications, ought not to be resisted;” says, “the usurpation of the nobility, for they apparently usurp all the influence they gain by fraud and misrepresentation, I think it certainly lawful, perhaps your duty, to resist. What is not their own, they have only by robbery.” *Boswell’s Life of Johnson*, vol. iv. p. 265, 266.

the majority. Being young men of liberal education, inspired with that honest boldness, and warmed with that patriotic zeal, which are peculiar to youth, they are independent in their choice, and return the man whom they consider most worthy of their confidence.

**FERMANAGH County.**—There are, in this county, three immense territorial possessions, which belong to the Earl of Enniskillen, Mr. Brooke, and Mr. Archdall. These families may contest the representation among themselves; but no other influence can interfere with their views; if unanimous, they may return whom they choose. The freeholders amount to 5,000.

*Enniskillen Borough.*—There are twelve self-elected burgesses. The Earl of Enniskillen is patron.

**GALWAY County.**—Here there is no commanding territorial influence. The Roman catholic landed property is very extensive, and will always return members disposed to support that interest. The freeholders amount to 4,000.

*Galway Borough.*—The freeholders within this borough and the members of the corporation, elect its representative. The corporators are chosen at will, and are at present under the patronage of the Right Hon. Denis B. Daly, and James Daly, Esq. of Dunsandale; consequently these gentlemen return the member alternately. Respecting this borough, the following anecdote has been related to me; I do not, however, vouch for its authenticity.—The patron, on the approach of an election, finding that an opposition was to be made to his interest, marched a regiment of soldiers into the town, from Loughrea, where they were quartered, and where he caused them to be elected freemen. These military freemen voted for his friend, who was of course returned.

**KERRY County.**—The influence of Lord Kenmare returns both the members for this county. I do not mean to insinuate, that any two gentlemen nominated by him will, of necessity, be elected; but his lordship being nearly related to Mr. Herbert, and in intimate habits of friendship with Earl Glandore, no individual would consider it prudent to oppose a candidate supported by so formidable an interest, which could influence the numerous freeholders on the estates of these three great proprietors.

*Trillick Borough.*—This borough has twelve self-elected burgesses. Sir Edward Denny is patron.

**KILDARE County.**—The duke of Leinster is proprietor of 70,000 acres in this county, being one-third of the whole superficies. A number of freeholders, therefore, sufficient to return one member, is created, and also to give the proprietor a considerable influence in the election of the other.

**KILKENNY County.**—The earls of Ormonde and Besborough, through their influence, each return a member for this county.

*Kilkenny Borough.*—The earls of Ormonde and Desart are alternately the patrons, and have a commanding influence over the corporation, who can create an



he can procure from the Ponsonby family, who hold another of these proportions, and from Sir William Rowley, he will succeed, most probably, in the representation of the county.

**LONDONDERRY** City belongs to the London Society.—Mr. J. C. Beresford is their agent; Sir George Hill married his sister, and is member for the city. It is, however, open to a strong contest; but the Beresford influence is so powerful, that I have no doubt it will eventually prevail.

**Coleraine** Borough belongs to the London Society, but the Beresford interest has a decisive influence over the corporation, and returns the member.

**LONGFORD** County.—The Oxmantown estate returns one member; the election of the other is liable to be contested between Sir Thomas Newcomen and the Earl of Granard. Lord Longford has large property in this county, but does not attempt to exercise any political influence.

**MAYO** County.—The Marquis of Sligo, and Lord Viscount Dillon, have each estates large enough to create freeholders sufficiently numerous to elect one member. Lord Tyrawly had a powerful interest in this county, but it appears to have gradually declined: his son, Mr. Caffé, bears a most honourable character; and, I believe, there are many in the county who would be happy to see him filling that public situation, to which it was expected he would be raised by the suffrages of the electors.

**MEATH** County contains 4,000 freeholders. The Marquis of Headfort and the Earl of Darnley, when their influence is united, can return one member. The election of the other will depend on the Roman catholic interest, which is powerful, as many gentlemen of that persuasion reside here, at the head of whom is that justly-respected nobleman, the Earl of Fingal. According to present circumstances (April 1812), it is most probable that the catholics will support the friend of the Earl of Darnley, in preference to the son of the Marquis of Headfort; the Earl of Darnley having refused an appointment under an administration which is inimical to catholic emancipation; whilst the Marquis of Headfort has accepted one. Should the catholics be divided in their support of one candidate, it will, perhaps, enable the protestant interest to start a new one, who may be successful, whilst the other interest is divided.

**MONAGHAN** County.—Though the majority of the population is Roman catholic, this county, as is the case in Cavan, is controlled in the choice of representatives, by protestant land-owners, who return gentlemen whose political opinions are known to be unfavourable to the catholic cause. There is no individual prevailing interest in the county.

**QUEEN'S** County.—Lord de Vesci, Lord Portarlington, and Mr. Henry Parnell, are all related, and have upon their estates a band of freeholders sufficient to return one member.—The other is independent. The freeholders amount to 2,600;

of these, 250 belong to Lord de Vesci, and 400 to Lord Portarlington ; so that with the number under the Parnell influence, they can count altogether 1,000.

*Portarlington* borough has twelve self-elected burgesses. Lord Portarlington is the patron. At the time of the union, Mr. Trench, now Lord Ashdown, was the member: on his being created a peer, the Right Hon. Isaac Corry, the then chancellor of the exchequer, was returned. This gentleman should have been elected for Armagh, in the room of Dr. Duigenan, who was disposed and perfectly ready to resign his seat. This was one of those political manœuvres which are so frequently practised to answer certain purposes; and I could unveil the whole mystery, did not motives of delicacy restrain me from wounding the feelings of some, whose grey hairs shall be suffered to sink into the grave undisturbed by any animadversion from my pen.

**ROSCOMMON** County.—Here the Roman catholic interest again prevails, and is increasing. Mr. French has an immense property; but his influence arises rather from the liberality of his conduct in his intercourse with society, than from the number of freeholders created on his estates.

**SLIGO** county is chiefly absentee property. Mr. Cowper and Mr. Wynne possess very powerful influence in this county; but Mr. O'Hara was started on an independent interest: he is a gentleman of ancient family in this part of Ireland, which gives him so much weight, that he is continued representative, in preference to the rich and powerful families above-named. Without derogating from the merit of either of the present representatives, I must state that Mr. Wynne is as proper a choice for a county member, as any person in the united empire. If a high and dignified sense of honour; inflexible integrity; close application to business; an ardent zeal for the interest of one's native country, displayed in cultivating its soil, and improving its inhabitants, can create esteem and respect, then ought this gentleman to have a seat in parliament, where the assistance of his talents and experience, at this perilous time, might be of essential service. As a great landed proprietor, he spreads civilization around him by residing on his estate, and spending a princely income among his tenants; as a father, in the bosom of a numerous and happy family, who respect and adore him, he sets an example which cannot fail of having a beneficial influence on his servants, neighbours, and dependents; as a magistrate, discharging the duties of that important office with strict attention to impartial justice, he is enabled to repress disorder, and to maintain peace and tranquillity. Happy would it be for Ireland, if all her wealthy sons were guided by the same principles, and actuated by the like zeal! If the absentees of the county of Sligo, who have freeholders at command, were sensible of their own interest, they would not be long in deliberating to whom they ought to give their influence and support, when a vacancy in their representation takes place.

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*Sligo* Borough.—Has twelve burgesses self-elected. Mr. Wynne is patron.

**TIPPERARY** County.—Lord Landaff has £26,000. per annum in this county, and can return one member. United as are his lordship's opinions with the Roman Catholic interest, he can greatly assist in bringing in another. Mr. Prittie, the other member, now votes with the catholic interest. His family, and that of Lord Donally, formerly supported the protestant party; and his return, notwithstanding his numerous family connexions in this extensive county, was produced more by the opposition to Mr. Bagwell, than by any prevailing interest which he possesses. The freeholders are 12,000.

*Clonmell* Borough.—A close corporation under the influence of Mr. Bagwell, who is the patron of the borough.

**CASHEL** City.—Twelve self-elected burgesses. Patron Mr. Pennéfather.

**TYRONE** County.—In this county there are 20,000 freeholders. The independent interest prevails in returning one member, and the Marquis of Abercorn hopes to nominate the other.

*Dungannon* Borough has twelve burgesses, Patron Lord Viscount Northland, whose son at present represents the county.

**WATERFORD** County.—The influence of the Marquis of Waterford has succeeded in returning his kinsman, the gallant Marshal Beresford, who has not a place of residence in the county. The Roman Catholic interest elects the other. The Duke of Devonshire, whose estate is very extensive, might, were it under only tolerable management, return both members. The freeholders are 3,000.

**WATERFORD** City.—The corporation of this city, like those of Limerick, Galway, &c. was supposed to possess the power of creating an unlimited number of freemen; and, in that case, the representation of the city would have been under the alternate influence of Mr. Bolton and Mr. Alcock. Sir John Newport, a banker in this city, who was never a member of the Irish parliament, prevailed in a petition against Mr. Alcock, the votes being confined to resident freemen and freeholders.

*Dungarvon* Borough.—The Duke of Devonshire and the Marquis of Waterford have each large property in this town, and the right of suffrage being vested in the freeholders on their estates, the elections give rise to violent contests between these noble families.

**WESTMEATH** County.—The protestant land-owners, in this county, command the Roman Catholic tenantry. The residence of Lord Longford, his great popularity, and the high esteem in which the Pakenham family are held, adds so much weight to his so honourably acquired influence, that he returns one member, notwithstanding which, Mr. Rochfort and the protestant interest are, perhaps, more certain of success with the other seat.

*Athlone* Borough.—Twelve self-elected burgesses. Patron, the Right Hon. William Handcock.

WEXFORD County.—Lord Mountmorris has great influence in the election of the representatives of this county. The case is the same with the Marquis of Ely.—The Roman Catholics, however, are numerous, powerful, and active; and of course, impatiently submit to the thraldom of having their representatives nominated by protestant peers; but I am sorry to say, that their intemperate zeal has, on some occasions, been carried to excess. On the vacancy occasioned by the present Marquis of Ely coming to that title, they succeeded in returning Mr. Cæsar Colclough, though great doubt still exists, whether there was any such person in being; if he were alive, he was then a prisoner in France. On the next vacancy, they returned Mr. Carew, a choice which reflects honour on their discernment, as the talents and integrity of this gentleman would render him an ornament to any assembly. This county is the only one in Ireland where the tenants have displayed the courage to act in opposition to their landlords. On some occasions this has been the case; but it is merely from a religious principle, as they have no other political system to support, than that which promotes the interest and success of the Catholic faith.

*New Ross* Borough.—There are twelve burgesses self-elected. Patrons, Mr. Tottenham and Mr. Lee alternately.

*Wexford* Borough.—Twelve self-elected burgesses. Patrons, the Marquis of Ely and Mr. Neville alternately. The latter is teller of the exchequer.

WICKLOW County.—Earl Fitzwilliam's estate returns both the members.

That the reader may be enabled at one glance to see the present state of the representative system of Ireland, I have reduced the preceding account to the tabular form, annexing the names of the patrons to such places as are known to be subject to decisive influence. I have even gone farther, and ventured, on what I consider as sufficient authority to hint at the general bias of public feeling; shewing, however, not so much the opinions, as the prevailing desire of the country, respecting the unfortunate religious question, which forms so prominent a subject in every inquiry concerning Ireland. The inhabitants of those places, to which I have not annexed a mark, are too supine to interest themselves in such a manner as to enable me to form any conclusion on their political attachments. In some instances, the opinions of the patrons and of the electors are at variance. Those of the patrons, therefore, are not to be confounded with that of the people; which, if numbers be worthy of consideration, must be an argument in favour of extending relief to the Roman Catholics. To illustrate this by example, I shall take the county of Monaghan; in which, if the people were admitted to a general poll on the question, I am induced to believe that, in the proportion of five to one, they would vote in favour

of the Catholic claims. But so great is the influence of their protestant landlords, that, if summoned to a poll, none but gentlemen, the acknowledged friends of that interest, would succeed, or even obtain more than a few votes. Such events will not shew the opinions of the people, but their slavery and degradation, and their total indifference of those rights which belong to them as men. Considerable respect, no doubt, is paid to the opinion of landlords, who form the wealthiest part of the community; and, on that account, I consider this table as highly interesting, as it will show, where the influence arising from riches, is situated, and in what hands this formidable lever of political power is deposited.

		Religious bias of the Electors.		Religious bias of the Patrons.
Antrim County,	1 Member		Lord Hertford	P.
	1		Lord O'Neil	P.
Belfast and Borough	1		M. Donegal	P.
Carrickfergus	1		Open	
Lisburn	1		M. Hertford	P.
County of Armagh	1	P.	Mr. Brownlow	P.
	1	P.	Earl Gosford	P.
City of Armagh	1		Primate	P.
County of Carlow	1	R. C.	Mr. Cavanna	R. C.
	1	R. C.		
Borough of Carlow	1		Earl Charleville	P.
County of Cavan	1	P.	Earl Farnham	P.
	1	P.		
County of Clare	1	R. C.	O'Brien Family	R. C.
	1	R. C.	Earl Conyngham	R. C.
Borough of Ennis	1		{ Sir Edward O'Brien	} R. C. alternate
			{ James Fitzgerald	
County of Cork	1		Earl Shannon	P.
	1			
City of Cork	1	P.	Earl Longueville	P.
	1	R. C.	Earl Donoughmore	R. C.
Borough of Youghal	1		Earl Shannon	P.
Bandon Bridge	1		Earl Bandon	P.
Kinsale	1		Lord De. Clifford	R. C.
Mallow	1		Mr. Jephson	P.
County of Donegal	1	R. C.	M. Abercorn	
	1	R. C.	Earl Conyngham	
County of Down	2	P.	M. Downshire	R. C.
Borough of Newry	1		Open	
Downpatrick	1		Lord de Clifford	R. C.
County of Louth	1	R. C.	Earl Roden	P.
	1	R. C.	Right. Hon. John Foster	P.
Borough of Drogheda	1	R. C.	Open	

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Dundalk	1 Member	-	Earl Roden	-	-	P.
County of Dublin	1	- R. C.	Independent	}		
	1	- P.				
City of Dublin	1	- R. C.	Independent	}		
	1	- P.				
University of Dublin	1	-				
County of Fermanagh	1	- P.	Lord Enniskillen	-	-	P.
	1	- P.	Col. Archdall	-	-	P.
Borough of Enniskillen	1	-	Lord Enniskillen	-	-	P.
County of Galway	2	- R. C.	Independent			
Borough of ———	1	- R. C.	The Mr. Dalys alternate	-	-	R. C.
County of Kerry	2	- R. C.	Lord Kenmare	-	-	R. C.
Borough of Tralee	1	-	Sir Edward Denny	-	-	a minor
County of Kildare	1	- R. C.	Duke of Leinster	-	-	
	1	- R. C.	Independent			
County of Kilkenny	1	- R. C.	Earl Besborough	-	-	R. C.
	1	- R. C.	Earl Ormonde	-	-	R. C.
City of Kilkenny	1	-	{ Earl Ormonde	}	}	alternate
			{ Earl Desart			
King's County	1	- P.	Earl Ross	-	-	P.
	1	- P.	Earl Charleville	-	-	P.
County of Leitrim	1	-	Clements			
	1	-	Latouche			
County of Limerick	1	- R. C.	Earl of Clare	-	-	P.
	1	- R. C.	Independent			
City of Limerick	1	-	Mr. Smith	-	-	P.
County of Londonderry	1	-	M. Waterford	-	-	
	1	-	E. Londonderry	-	-	
City of Londonderry	1	- P.	Independent			
Borough of Coleraine	1	-	M. Waterford	-	-	
County of Longford	1	- P.	Oxmantown	-	-	P.
	1	- R. C.	Lord Granard	-	-	R. C.
——— Mayo	1	- R. C.	M. Sligo	-	-	R. C.
	1	- R. C.	Lord Viscount Dillon	-	-	R. C.
County of Meath	1	- R. C.	{ M. Headford and	}	}	R. C.
	1	- R. C.	{ Earl Darnley			
Monaghan	2	- P.	Independent			
	1	- R. C.	{ Lords de Vesci and	}	}	R. C.
1	- R. C.	{ Portarlington				
Borough of Portarlington	1	-	Independent			
County of Roscommon	2	- R. C.	Lord Portarlington	-	-	R. C.
	1	- P.	Independent			
Sligo	1	- P.	Mr. Cowper	-	-	P.
	1	- P.	Independent			

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Borough of Sligo	1 Member	- P.	Mr. Wynne	-	-	-	P.
County of Tipperary	1	- R. C.	Lord Landaff	-	-	-	R. C.
	1	- R. C.	Independent				
Borough of Clonmell	1	-	Mr. Bagwell	-	-	-	P.
City of Cashell	1	-	Mr. Pennefather	-	-	-	P.
County of Tyrone	1	- R. C.	M. Abercorn	-	-	-	P.
	1	-	Independent				
Borough of Dungannon	1	-	Lord Northland	-	-	-	
County of Waterford	1	- R. C.	M. Waterford	-	-		
	1	- R. C.	Independent				
City of Waterford	1	- R. C.	Independent				
Borough of Dungarvan	1	- R. C.	Duke of Devonshire	-	-	-	R. C.
County of Westmeath	1	- P.	Lord Longford	-	-	-	P.
	1	- P.	Mr. Rochfort	-	-	-	P.
Borough of Athlone	1	-	Right Hon. W. Handcock	-	-	-	P.
County of Wexford	2	- R. C.	Independent				
Borough of New Ross	1	-	Mr. Tottenham	} Alternate	-	-	P.
			Mr. Lee				
Wexford	1	-	Marquis Ely	} Alternate	-	-	P.
			Mr. Neville				
County of Wicklow	2	-	Earl Fitzwilliam	-	-	-	R. C.

Of the hundred members, therefore, twenty-nine appear to be independent of any influence, but that of religious party; and in questions on this subject, their votes may be supposed to stand as follows :

Neuter	}	Carrickfergus	-	-	1	}	4
		County of Cork	-	-	1		
		Borough of Newry	-	-	1		
		University	-	-	1		
Roman Catholic	-	-	-	-	18		
Protestant	-	-	-	-	7		
					<hr/>		29

1 Member, County of Carlow	-	R. C.	1 Member, Queen's County	-	-	R. C.
1 Member, Borough of Drogheda	-	R. C.	2 Members, County of Roscommon	-	-	R. C.
1 Member, County of Dublin	-	R. C.	1 Member, County of Tipperary	-	-	R. C.
1 Member, City of Dublin	-	R. C.	1 Member, County of Tyrone	-	-	R. C.
2 Members, County of Galway	-	R. C.	1 Member, County of Waterford	-	-	R. C.
1 Member, County of Kildare	-	R. C.	1 Member, City of Waterford	-	-	R. C.
1 Member, County of Limerick	-	R. C.	2 Members, County of Wexford	-	-	R. C.
1 Member, County of Meath	-	R. C.	Total Eighteen Members.*			

\* Of these 18 members in the present parliament the member for Drogheda votes against the consideration of the Catholic petition, as does Mr. Pole, the member for the Queen's County, and Mr. Ram, the member for Wexford County.

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1 Member, County of Cavan	-	-	P.	1 Member, City of Derry	-	-	P.
1 Member, County of Dublin	-	-	P.	2 Members, County of Monaghan	-	-	P.
1 Member, City of Dublin	-	-	P.	1 Member, County of Sligo	-	-	P.
Total, Seven Members.*							

In considering the real state of the representation of Ireland, we must deduct from the hundred members of the House of Commons those who have been returned by the influence of the patrons of boroughs, as follows:

PLACES.	PATRONS.	MEMBERS.
Borough of Carlow	Lord Charleville	Mr. Strachan, printer, in London.
Bandon Bridge	Lord Bandon	Rt. Hon. George Tierney.
Kinsale	Lord de Clifford	Mr. H. Martin, a barrister in London.
Dundalk	Lord Roden	Mr. Hughan, merchant in London.
Borough of Enniskillen	Lord Enniskillen	Mr. Pochen, a Leicestershire gentleman.
Tralee	Sir Edward Denny	Mr. Stephens, a barrister in London.
Kilkenny	Lord Desart	Mr. Williams, banker, London.
Portarlington	Lord Portarlington	Hon. Mr. Lambe, of Hertfordshire.
Cashel	Mr. Pennefather	Mr. Peel, under Secretary of State in England.
Dungannon	Lord Northland	Mr. Claude Scott, a Dorsetshire gentleman.
Athlone	Rt. Hon. W. Handcock	Mr. Turner, of Leicestershire.
New Ross	Mr. Tottenham	Mr. Wigram, merchant, of London.
Wexford	Mr. Neville	Captain Parker, R. N. London.

These thirteen members, few of whom ever saw Ireland, certainly can have nothing to do legitimately with the representation of that country. Scotland has, I believe, always been represented by her own sons, men familiar with the customs, habits, and prejudices of the people; acquainted with the local circumstances, interests, and wants of that part of the kingdom, and, consequently, better able to defend its rights, and propose or support measures for its benefit and improvement. But Ireland has nominal members, who cannot be supposed to have a greater knowledge of its real situation, than they do of Thibet or Abyssinia.

The following close boroughs are represented by gentlemen connected with Ireland:

PLACES.	PATRONS.	MEMBERS.
Belfast	Marquis Donegal	Mr. May, his father-in-law.
Lisburn	Marquis Hertford	Lord Yarmouth, his son.
Armagh	The Primate	Dr. Duigenan, the Judge of the Ecclesiastical Court.
Ennis	Mr. Fitzgerald	Mr. Fitzgerald, his son, a Lord of the Irish Treasury.
Youghal	Lord Shannon	Sir John Keane, Bart. a county of Cork gentleman.
Mallow	Mr. Jephson	There is a Mr. Jephson, a pensioner on the Irish Establishment of £600. per annum; I do not know that he is the member.
Downpatrick	Lord de Clifford	Mr. Croker, a Barrister of Ireland.

\* Of these seven members in the present parliament, Mr. Shaw, the member for Dublin City, and Mr. Hamilton, the member for Dublin County, have declared themselves friendly to the Catholic claims.

PLACES.	PATRONS.	MEMBERS.
Galway	James Daly, Esq.	Himself.
Limerick	Mr. Pendergrast Smith	Col. Vereker, his nephew, Constable of Limerick, and a Lord of the Treasury.
Coleraine	Marquis Waterford	Marshal Beresford.
Sligo	Mr. Wynne	Mr. Canning, a county of Derry gentleman.
Clonmell	Rt. Hon. W. Bagwell	Col. Bagwell, his son, Muster Master General.
Dungannon	Duke of Devonshire	General Walpole, his cousin.

These thirteen boroughs are not in the same situation as those given in the former list. The connexion, however, between the members and the places they represent, may be easily traced to its source; and I am not much inclined to censure the partiality to relations or friends, while the interests of the country do not suffer. Patronage, thus exercised, is less baneful, than that which is converted into a source of corruption, or into the means of acquiring personal emolument, by a sacrifice of the public; to the latter, the people of Ireland are reconciled by habit; but these examples of the wealthy and the great, whom we ought to look to as models of honour and virtue, have a most pernicious influence on the people, tending to debase their minds, and familiarize them to selfish and dishonest conduct. In this respect, there is a considerable difference between England and Ireland. It cannot be overlooked that there are many borough proprietors in England, as ready to traffic for the representation as for any other property; but how are these borough-mongers esteemed, or how do they rank in society? England has patrons who entertain very different ideas of this traffic, and who have never by any such mercantile transactions endeavoured to corrupt the representatives of the people. We have a Fitzwilliam, a Bedford, and many others, who are noble exceptions to this too general practice.\* If the Irish patrons permit a traffic in this way, it is a circumstance to be regretted; and shews how easily men by habit and example

\* The opinion of the present Speaker, the Right Hon. Charles Abbot, on this subject, should be fastened to the entail of every great man's title to his estate. Considering it in this important light, I shall take the present opportunity of giving an extract from it.

“ That the influence of property in maintaining civil order is of the highest importance, no man living can doubt, it is the firmest cement to all the relations of social life; it gives stability to the state, and prosperity to the empire. That the possession of property may, and must, and ought to have a predominant influence in the election of members to serve in this house, I think is equally clear; but that abandoning all their legitimate rights of influence, and laying aside all the virtuous and generous motives of friendship, affection, and the fair preference of talents and integrity, to fill places of such high public trust; that they should go to a shameless and open market; that they should sell the attachments of their friends, neighbours, and dependants, for dirty and sordid gain, and sell it to utter strangers, of whose qualities they can have no other estimate, than the weight of their purses; this does, indeed, appear to me to be a great political evil, and

are reconciled to practices, which, if uninfluenced by the countenance of society, they would never have endured. I am, therefore, less disposed to blame the patrons of Irish boroughs for pursuing this system, although it is necessary to exhibit it in all its deformity to public reprobation; to the men I entertain no hostility, it is the practice I reprobate. With many of them I am personally acquainted, and I know that in other respects they possess minds highly honourable; if they err, therefore, it is from mistaken notions of duty imbibed from intercourse with the world, and confirmed by the conduct of others.\*

But in some cases, these patrons expose themselves in a peculiar manner to reprehension. After receiving the most distinguishing marks of national favour; having brothers, sons, or near relations, representatives of counties, enjoying rich bishoprics, or holding lucrative sinecure places, it might be expected, if they even should forget how much they have at stake, that they would embrace some opportunities of making the best return in their power to their country, by sending to the House of Commons men of tried talents and approved integrity. But this is not the case. Instead of characters such as I have described, the objects of their choice are either young men unacquainted with the great duties they have to perform, or individuals alike strangers to themselves and to Ireland: and the reason of all this is, because they have been recommended and supported by an influence which their independence was not able to resist.

If the representation of Ireland be regulated as it ought, by the choice of the people, the thirteen members last mentioned, must be deducted; and as the second list comprehends thirteen also, if to these the twenty-nine independent members be added, we shall have forty-five still to be disposed of:

PLACES.	PATRONS.	PARTIES.
Antrim - -	Marquis Hertford	Patron and Electors - - P.
	E. O'Neil	- - - - P.
Armagh - -	Mr. Browlow	- - - - P.

and a great public grievance. It degrades, and debases the habits of the higher ranks of life, who confess their own sense of the nature of these transactions by the concealment with which they seek to cover them. It taints also, and contaminates the general character of parliament." *Abbott's Speech, June 1st, 1809.*

\* Nunc autem, simul atque editi in lucem, et suscepti sumus, in omni continuo pravitate et in summa opinionum perversitate versamur: ut pene cum lacte nutricis errorem suxisse videamur. Cum vero parentibus redditi, demum magistris traditi sumus, tum ita variis imbuimur erroribus, ut vanitati veritas, et opinioni confirmatæ natura ipsa cedat. *Cicero. Tusc. Quest. Lib. iii.*

Nemo non aliquod nobis vitium aut commendat, aut imprimit, aut nescientibus allinit; utique quod major est populus cui commitemur, hoc periculi plus est ut commendat. *Seneca Epist. 7.*

REPRESENTATION.

PLACES.	PATRONS.	PARTIES.
Armagh	Earl of Gosford	P.
Carlow	Mr. Cavanna	R. C.
Cavan	Lord Farnham	P.
Clare	Lord Conyngham	R. C.
	O'Brien Family	R. C.
Cork	Lord Shannon	Patron P.
City of Cork	Lord Longueville	Patron and Electors
	Lord Donoughmore	P.
Donegal	Marquis Abercorn	R. C.
	Lord Conyngham	R. C.
Down	Marquis Downshire	Patron R. C. Electors
		The Members vote with their Patron.
Louth	E. Roden	Patron and Electors
	Rt. Hon. J. Foster	P.
Fermanagh	Lord Enniskillen	P.
	Colonel Archdall	P.
Kerry	Lord Kenmare	R. C.
Kildare	Duke of Leinster	R. C.
Kilkenny	Earl of Besborough	R. C.
	Earl of Ormonde	R. C.
King's County	Earl of Ross	P.
	Earl of Charleville	P.
Leitrim	{ Clements { Latouche }	Undetermined
Limerick	Earl of Clare	Patron P. Electors
		Members vote for the Elector.
Londonderry	M. Waterford	Undetermined
	Earl of Londonderry	P.
	Earl of Granard	Patron and Electors
Longford	Lord Oxmantown	Patron and Electors
Mayo	Marquis of Sligo & Lord Dillon	Electors, &c.
Meath	Lord Darnley	Patron and Electors
Queen's County	Lord De Vesci	R. C.
Sligo	Mr. Cowper	P.
Tipperary	Lord Landaff	R. C.
Tyrone	Marquis Abercorn	R. C.
Waterford	Marquis Waterford	Patron undetermined, Electors
Westmeath	Lord Longford	Patron and Electors
	Mr. Rochfort	P.
Wicklow	Earl Fitzwilliam	Patron R. C. Electors

Although I have pointed out the electors of some counties, towns, and boroughs, as hostile to the catholic question, I do not mean to insinuate, that this is the case with the

electors but with the landlords, under whose control they are. There are two counties I must particularly notice—The first is Down, the hot-bed of Orangemen, and bigoted protestantism, which returns two members, who vote contrary to the opinion of the county. It cannot be presumed but that those gentlemen act agreeably to the dictates of their conscience; but, it is a singular coincidence, that their sentiments always coincide with those of the Marchioness of Downshire.

The other county to which I allude is Wicklow, in which Earl Fitzwilliam is proprietor of 50,000 acres. Before the existence of the act which extended the right of voting to Roman Catholics, the agents on this estate accepted none as tenants, but protestants, that they might create such an influence as would carry the county. At a recent election, Lord Fitzwilliam's protestant tenantry voted for the Right Hon. George Ponsonby, an avowed supporter of the catholic question, while the Roman Catholics under protestant landholders, gave their suffrages for his opponent, Lord Proby.

The members under the influence of the Marquis of Waterford, withdrew until the last session 1811, before a division; so that adding these forty-five members to the twenty-nine independent ones, they will stand in the following manner upon this grand question.

First—deduct those who were not elected by their constituents under an expectation of their taking a decided part either way:—

	Carrickfergus	-	-	-	-	1
	County of Cork	-	-	-	-	1
	Newry	-	-	-	-	1
	Dublin University	-	-	-	-	1
	Leitrim	-	-	-	-	2
	Londonderry	-	-	-	-	2
	Longford	-	-	-	-	1
	Waterford	-	-	-	-	1
						<hr/> 10
						<hr/>
	Leaving 64					R. C. P.
Of the Independent votes there are	-	-	-	-	-	18
						7
Antrim	-	-	-	-	-	2
Armagh	-	-	-	-	-	2
Cavan	-	-	-	-	-	1
Carlow	-	-	-	-	1	
Clare	-	-	-	-	2	
Cork	-	-	-	-	1	
City of Cork	-	-	-	-	1	1
Donegal	-	-	-	-	2	
Down	-	-	-	-	2	

	E. C.	P.
Louth	-	2
Fermanagh	-	2
Kerry	2	
Kildare	1	
Kilkenny	2	
King's County	2	
Limerick	1	
Longford	1	
Mayo	2	
Meath	1	
Queen's County	1	
Sligo		1
Tipperary	1	
Tyrone	1	
Westmeath		2
Wicklow	2	
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	41	23
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	23	
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	64	
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	10	Undetermined.
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	26	Members of Close boroughs
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make the	100	

No great political parties, such as the Whigs and Tories, of England, and which have existed so long, and made so great a figure in history, are to be heard of in Ireland. Whigism is a subject never agitated in the course of a canvass; it expired with the late Lord Charlemont. Respecting the catholic question, the case, however, is different; it is always a prominent feature in every political discussion, and a kind of test by which persons of adverse opinions, are guided in their choice of representatives. But although there are no great and powerful political parties, for those formed by the catholic question ought rather be denominated religious, there are many things connected with the representation of the country, which, were this a professed treatise on the subject, would deserve to be taken into consideration. A county member, if he support the minister, or if he be in opposition to his rival,\* has, what is called, "the patronage of the county;" that is, he appoints

\* Dr. Duigenan stated in the House of Commons, that he had known county members buy off their opponents. *Cobbett's Parliamentary Register*, vol. iv. p. 895; a fact of which I have also heard, but I prefer giving Irish authority, for so disgraceful a circumstance to both buyer and seller.



talents; and no doubt there are many of her sons now in obscurity and retirement, who, if called to public exertion, would do equal credit to their country. Men of high merit are, however, inspired with sentiments of independence ill suited to the present system of parliamentary influence\* in Ireland; while the pliant dependant, in whom self-will is extinct, and whose accommodating sentiments can be moulded into any form, according to the inclination of his patron, is certain of success. Let me, as a pattern to such patrons, earnestly recommend the conduct of the late Lord Charlemont, as related by Mr. Hardy, in his life of that nobleman, recently published.† His lordship, whose name will be long remembered and revered, considered his borough interest as a sacred trust, held for the benefit of his country; and instead of bartering away that trust, his choice fell upon the

\* In England, the admirers of virtue must never forget that it was under the present system of representation, that the University of Oxford refused to elect Sir William Jones, the town of Bedford the immortal Howard, and that the bigotry of Liverpool attacked and refused Mr. Roebuck. After these instances, it excites no surprise that Jeremy Bentham, Arthur Young, &c. have never found their way to the House of Commons.—Whatever others may be disposed to assert, I maintain, that these instances, out of many, are sufficient to prove that, under the present system, some of the very best and most enlightened of our countrymen are omitted in the list of British legislators.

† I here allude to his lordship's conduct respecting the borough of Charleville, which, through his influence, returned as one of its members, Mr. Richard Sheridan, a cousin-german of Brinsley Sheridan, who has distinguished himself so much by the powers of his genius and his talents as a public speaker. The former was bred to the bar, though without a regular education, and possessed, in no slight degree, the talents of his family. He died a few years after his election, leaving behind him an excellent character, and regretted by all those who had the pleasure of his acquaintance, but by none more sincerely than his noble friend and patron Lord Charleville. The following extract from his lordship's letter to him, dated April 10, 1790, deserves to be recorded: "Some characters, as well as some countenances, possess the peculiar privilege of making an immediate and favourable impression. My acquaintance with you has been of short duration; and yet that short acquaintance has been effectual to point you out as the fittest person to execute a trust, which is, in my opinion, the most important that one man can receive from another. Whenever it may be possible, that the representation of this kingdom shall be purified and advantageously altered from its present absurd and unconstitutional course, I shall, with exultation, resign that which some men esteem their property, but will, in the meanwhile, endeavour to manage that trust which I hold for my country, as far as I am able, to her advantage; neither do I think that I can better perform this, according to my ideas, indispensable duty, than by offering you a seat for the borough of Charlemont, your acceptance of which will be an obligation to me." *Hardy's Life of Lord Charlemont*, p. 362.

When Mr. Sheridan died, a Mr. Jephson was chosen to succeed him; and on this occasion Lord Charlemont, in a letter dated January 23d, 1794, says: "The borough of Charlemont elects Richard Jephson, a young man of excellent talents, and, as far as my strictest investigation can fathom, of sound principles. How far an untried man may succeed, is a matter of mere hazard; but the peculiar cast of his abilities, joined to much diligence, and great ardour, gives him, I think, an excellent chance. It is, besides, my opinion, that, almost the only good effect which can be derived from the present absurd system of borough representation, is, the possibility of bringing forward young men, who may become useful to their country; but who, without this resource, would probably be condemned to 'waste their sweetness in the desert air.'" *Ibid.* p. 363.

most upright and able persons; and, in some cases, upon gentlemen with whom he appears to have hardly had a personal acquaintance.\* Such instances, however, are rare in Ireland: the flame of patriotism burns there but with a feeble light; and the spirit of interest prevails so much, and so deadens every generous feeling, that the eloquence of the most captivating popular speaker, were it exerted among Irish freeholders, would be heard without emotion, and without being able to procure a single vote. Were education, as well as property, made a test of qualification, would it not be an improvement of the system? The same regulation might be extended to the candidate, with the happiest effects.

## CHAPTER XXI.

### GOVERNMENT.

THE first establishment of the office of Viceroy of Ireland, is to be found in the reign of Henry II. It appears that this prince, when he introduced the English laws, made a division of the districts, subject to him, into shires or counties, which, when the English settlements became extended, was afterwards improved and enlarged, as the circumstances of the country required; sheriffs were also appointed, for the counties and cities; and itinerant judges, with other officers and ministers of justice, established, according to the English system of government and law. As a chief governor, or representative of the king, was also necessary for the exercise of the royal functions, this was provided by what is called the statute of Henry Fitz-Empress;† which enacts, that in case of the death of any chief governor, the chancellor, treasurer, chief justices, and chief baron, keeper of the rolls, and king's serjeant at law, should be empowered, with consent of the nobles of the land, to elect a successor, who was to exercise the full power and authority of this office, until the royal pleasure should be further known.‡

It appears that provision to the like purpose was made in the reign of Henry VIII., by an express act of parliament, which states, "that upon the avoidance of the king's lieutenant of Ireland, by death, surrender, &c., the chancellor of the king's writ shall assemble the privy council, and choose, by a majority of voices, an Englishman, being no spiritual person, to be governor; and if none such be found, to choose two

\* The family of Charlemont must ever feel indebted to Mr. Hardy for the manner in which he has laid before the public, the many excellent traits in the character of the late Earl.

† Stat. an. 2. Rich. III.

‡ Leland, vol. i. p. 83. Lord Littleton's Hist. of Henry II. vol. iii. p. 310.

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out of the council: the chancellor thereupon to make out letters patent to enjoy the same till the king appoint one\*: all other methods, except by the king's patent, to be void.

The lord-lieutenant general of Ireland possesses not that state influence which seems to belong to his office; nor is he to be considered so much a political character, as an officer sent thither by His Majesty's ministers to keep the people in good temper. His great object, therefore, is, the tranquillizing of the country; its improvement is a secondary consideration: to conciliate is of more moment to him than to amend; and to become popular, than to be useful.†

His income, by an act of the last sessions of parliament, is £90,000. per annum; but it is difficult to discover the practical good of the appointment. There is no viceroy in Scotland, yet the affairs of that country are conducted with as much order and regularity as England. The establishment of a lord-lieutenant in Ireland allies its administration very closely to that of a colonial government. He corresponds with the secretary of state for the home department, by whose directions he is supposed to regulate his conduct; but being compelled, from the nature of his station, to maintain the outward shew and parade of a court, he has not leisure to attend to the details of public business, which are intrusted to a secretary, exclusively appointed for this part of the empire. It appears to me, that a resident minister, really discharging all the duties of his office, might accomplish every thing requisite, without entailing on the country the burden of an expensive establishment, or spreading the contagious example of the follies of a mimic court.

\* 33 Hen. VIII. sess. ii. cap. 3. See the Statute Law of Ireland, by Edward Lee, Esq. Barrister at Law, Dublin, 1734, 4to. p. 107.

† It does not, however, appear, though ministers, perhaps, made the best choice they could, that they have always been so successful as to accomplish this end. The author of a pamphlet, written in 1772, says: "Without going further back than our memory will serve us, we shall find such diversity in the characters of our several chief governors, and variety in the measures of their administration, as strongly to incline us to suppose, that they would not *all* have failed, as they did, in giving content to the people, were it in the power of any chief governor to give it. We execrate the subtle Lord Carteret, for aiming to deprive us of the advantages of biennial sessions of parliament; and we are not better pleased with the undesigning Lord Townsend, who has secured and improved that privilege by septennial election: we accuse Lord Chesterfield of sapping the foundation of the Irish interest in parliament; and we censure Lord Harrington for putting himself in the hands of the aristocracy, and consenting to their violent and arbitrary attempts upon the freedom of our elections. The Duke of Dorset is never to be forgiven, for opening a new channel of circulation for the King's favours; and it seems to be the great grievance of the present hour (1772), that the hands through which they then passed are no longer employed in distributing them. The Duke of Devonshire is blamed for effecting an union of the contending parties; and that he governed by a faction is one of the crimes of the Duke of Bedford; and whilst the unaccommodating pride of the latter nobleman is recollected, the facility and politeness of Lord Halifax is branded with the epithets of falsehood and insincerity. In short, splendour and magnificence is useless profusion in Lord Northumberland; and attention to domestic economy, miserable parsimony in Lord Hertford." *Considerations on the State of Ireland*, Dublin, 1778, p. 2—5.

I am aware that it is the opinion of some writers on political economy, that the establishment of a court has a salutary influence upon the people, and tends to soften and refine their manners. "A porter," says Bielfield, "at the Hague, is more polite than a porter at Amsterdam: the occupation, at both places, is the same, but the one is the seat of a court, and the other the residence of merchants."\* I am ready to admit that there may be some truth in this remark; but still it might be worthy of examination, whether the politeness acquired in this manner is sufficient to counterbalance the dissipation and taste for extravagance, which are diffused at the same time. Besides, many gentlemen of fortune, attracted by this imitation of a court, are induced to spend more of their time in its vicinity than they otherwise would; and to neglect the improvement of the country, where a residence among their tenants might be attended with the best effects. That the manners of the people, in many parts of Ireland, stand in need of such assistance, must be admitted; but a court in a distant corner can produce little effect, except on those immediately around it; and it is, perhaps, too great a sacrifice, to seek urbanity of manners at the expense of qualities which conduce more to the real happiness of society. There is a greater degree of what is commonly called politeness among the lower classes in London, than is in general to be found among people of the same rank in Scotland, or in some of the inland counties of England; but it is to be remembered, that there is also more vice, and those who are in the least acquainted with the world, know how to appreciate the difference between a polished profligate and an awkward but virtuous rustic.

As the government is conducted, the lord-lieutenant must be considered as its head; next the secretary, who is a member of parliament, and on whom the chief burden of the business ought to fall; that this, however, is not always the case, admits of easy proof; yet much depends in this case on the terms on which he accepted the office. In some instances, the patronage and official duties of the Irish government, remain entirely in his hands; in others, the lord-lieutenant shares with him in both; it might be better, perhaps, if the responsibility rested with that office alone.

Ireland has a local privy council, in which the lord-lieutenant, as the representative of majesty, presides.

The secretary's office is divided into two departments, military and civil, over each of which an under secretary is placed; and, as the chief burden falls upon them, great assiduity is required. The secretary has an office in London, with which the offices in Dublin correspond.

The treasury is distinct from that of England, and is under the direction of a

\* *Institutions Politiques*, tom. i. p. 79.

complete board, the members of which hold almost sinecure places. Among the number is the chancellor of the exchequer, whose duty it is to propose new articles of taxation, and to raise those loans which enable Ireland to contribute her share towards the general expenditure of the empire. The collection of the taxes is intrusted to two boards, the excise and the customs; and as these are independent of that minister, the Irish treasury might be incorporated with the British; this may, probably, be the case when the two countries, in consequence of an united legislative body, draw more closely the bonds of friendly intercourse.

The chancellor sustains a political character; at least so it was stated by His Majesty's ministers, at the time of the unfortunate rebellion, under Lord Hardwicke. In the section upon the administration of law, I have ventured a few observations on the inconvenience which must result from a combination of two characters, legal and political, in one individual, and more especially as this individual holds an office of so delicate and important a nature. His nominating justices of the peace is the only ministerial duty with which, perhaps, he ought to be intrusted. His judicial functions are totally inconsistent with political occupations; and, if properly discharged, will employ his whole time and attention. Much of the time of a chancery judge must be taken up in reading, and in the study of intricate cases. Whatever assistance he may derive from masters\*, there are many points of which it is necessary he should acquire a just conception, without trusting to the opinions or reports of others. His judgment must be unbiassed; his brain unoccupied by extraneous subjects; his temper cool, and his passions unruffled. But politics, of all pursuits, is that most likely, from crosses, disappointments, and bickerings, to unhinge the mind, and destroy that tranquillity which sharpens perception, and invigorates the reasoning powers of man.

The commander-in-chief of the forces, and the whole of his department, are independent of the government in Ireland, and correspond with the commander-in-chief in England. The lord-lieutenant, therefore, the chancellor of the exchequer, the secretary for the home department, the commander-in-chief, † are all independent appointments; and yet, I believe, there is very little danger of their often disagreeing. I have witnessed many practical instances of mischief arising from the want of that immediate communication, which would take place if all these parts of the political machine were placed under one efficient head. I am, therefore, decidedly of opinion, that the whole of this separate colonial government should be gradually incorporated with ours; and that the only part which should be left distinct is the

\* Masters in Chancery.

† This is exemplified in the recent instance of the Earl of Harrington, Commander-in-Chief, countenancing the Catholic meetings; whilst the Duke of Richmond, Lord-Lieutenant, and the Right Hon. W. Wellesly Pole, Secretary, endeavoured to suppress them.

courts of law. According to the present system; Ireland may be considered more in the light of a distant province than as a component part of the British empire. While it continues, the benefits which the union was intended to produce will be but half effected. It tends too greatly to foster national spirit, and to maintain jealousy and prejudice. The Irish should be induced to consider themselves as members of one great family, all subject to the same laws; and not as a people, unworthy to be admitted to a participation in the benefits of the same government.

The board of customs consists of the most powerful men in the country, who, instead of being selected on account of their talents and knowledge, are generally placed in that situation through parliamentary influence. Their political feelings, therefore, frequently induce them to act as a bias of that nature may direct, without regarding the treasury, by which they are not appointed. Being dependent only on the lord-lieutenant and secretary, they consider themselves so much superior to the chancellor of the exchequer, that the intercourse between him and them is always formal and reserved. The communication, therefore, necessary for the regular and expeditious dispatch of public business, is often retarded. The fact is, a custom-house placed between two parts of an united empire, is attended with inconvenience and expense; were it totally abolished, excepting the department which relates to the duties on foreign importations, the business would be better conducted. I am persuaded that the charge of collection would be so considerably reduced, that the revenue from this source would be greatly augmented.

The board of excise receives quit rents, all assessed taxes, and every thing comprehended in England under the general denomination of excise duties. There are no receivers general for counties, as in England, nor are the taxes collected in the same manner.

Excise officers, styled hearth-tax collectors, receive all assessed taxes, and pay the money to the collector of the district; who remits it to the board above, and by them it is paid into the treasury. This method seems more liable to encourage fraud and oppression, than that pursued in England. The commissioners of the board, and the collectors of districts, are appointed in the same manner, and through the same influence as the commissioners of the customs; and they act independent of the treasury. The greater part of these offices, therefore, are said to be filled by branches of great families, whom dissipation has reduced to the necessity of becoming placemen, or who have too little talent and industry to enable them to acquire situations in any of the higher professions.

In England, where the public keep a more vigilant eye on the functionaries of the state, and where the conduct of public men is more strictly scrutinized, it is usual for those who receive new appointments to consider in what manner they can discharge the duties of their office, so as to leave no room for censure. In Ireland

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the case is widely different. There the chief object is to render the place as profitable as possible with the least attention: whatever time is devoted to their employments is considered as so much robbed from their pleasure and enjoyment. One half of these boards answer no other purpose than that of extending patronage, strengthening parliamentary interest, and encouraging idleness.

In Ireland, the custom-house and excise collectors are stationary, and are never moved from district to district, as in England. This method is favourable to collusion, and opens a wide field for abuses, which, though notoriously known, are daily committed with impunity.

The post-office establishment is distinct from that of England; but, as I have already given an account of it in the chapter on internal communication, little is left for me to add. In its present state, it stands in need of reformation, or rather, it would be much better were it entirely abolished; as the business might be easily managed by the general-post office, with the assistance of a sub-office in Dublin. Should any of my readers wish for farther information respecting it, they may consult the Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry on this subject.

In addition to the various boards already mentioned, there is one for auditing public accounts, without which, it is said, that many of the public offices would not be able to make their annual returns. If there be offices where so much neglect and confusion prevail, it is highly requisite that an investigation into their conduct should take place. Situated as things are, this board is an establishment of considerable trust, and audits the accounts of the following bodies and institutions:\*

Governors of the Foundling Hospital,  
 Governors of the Lying-In Hospital,  
 Governors of St. Patrick's Hospital,  
 Governors of the House of Industry,  
 Governors of the Hibernian Marine-Nursery,  
 Governors and Directors of the Westmoreland Lock Hospital,  
 Trustees of the Linen and Hempen Manufactory,  
 Trustees of the Roman Catholic College,  
 Trustees of the Circular Road,  
 Trustees of the Royal Exchange,  
 Trustees of Distributing Bounties,  
 Commissioners for improving the Port and Harbour of Dublin,  
 Commissioners for improving the Port and Harbour of Drogheda,  
 Commissioners for improving the Port and Harbour of Belfast,  
 River Bayne Company,  
 Grand Canal Company,  
 Royal Canal Company,

Directors and Commissioners for Paving,  
 Commissioners of Wide Streets,  
 Incorporated Society for Protestant Charter Schools,  
 Hibernian Society for Soldiers' Children,  
 Dublin Society,  
 Commercial Buildings Company,  
 Corporation for discountenancing Vice, &c.  
 Directors of the Public Coal Yards in Dublin,  
 Directors of the Public Coal Yards in Cork,  
 Superintendent Magistrate,  
 Governors and Governesses of the Female Orphan House,  
 Commissioners of First Fruits,  
 Law Courts and Offices,  
 Ballast Office, Wexford,  
 Commissioners for liquidating the National Debt,  
 Navigation Board,  
 Barrow Navigation Board,  
 Shannon Navigation,  
 Commissioners of Stamp Duties,  
 Board of Works.

\* Irish Accounts, Session 1803.

N. B. These accounts are in general audited annually by the Commissioners of Imprest Accounts in Ireland.

R. J. HERBERT. RICH. MAGENIS. MAURICE CANE.

ACCOUNT OFFICE,  
Dublin, July 23d, 1803.

But, besides these, there are other departments, the accounts of which are sometimes submitted to the inspection of this establishment. Those of the post-office in particular, either are or have been under its cognizance.

To demonstrate the continual changes which have taken place in office, I subjoin the following list of lord-lieutenants and secretaries since the year 1760.

1760, To the Duke of Bedford . . . . .	Richard Rigby, Esq.
1761, — Earl of Halifax . . . . .	William Gerrard Hamilton, Esq.
1763, — Earl of Northumberland . . . . .	William Gerrard Hamilton, Esq., and afterwards Charles, Earl of Drogheda.
1765, — Viscount Weymouth did not go over . . . . .	Was to have been Edward Thurlow, Esq.
1765, — Earl of Hertford . . . . .	Francis, Viscount Beauchamp.
1766, — Earl of Bristol did not go over . . . . .	Hon. John Augustus Hervey.
1767, — Viscount Townshend . . . . .	Lord Frederick Campbell, and, in 1768, Sir George Macartney, K. B.
1772, — Earl Harcourt . . . . .	Sir John Blaquiere, K. B.
1777, — Earl of Buckinghamshire . . . . .	Sir Richard Heron
1780, — Earl of Carlisle . . . . .	William Eden, Esq.
1782, — Duke of Portland . . . . .	Hon. Richard Fitzpatrick.
Earl Temple . . . . .	William Wyndham Grenville, Esq.
1783, — Earl of Northington . . . . .	William Wyndham, Esq., and afterwards the Hon. Tho. Pelham.
1784, — Duke of Rutland . . . . .	Thomas Orde, Esq.
1787, — Marquis of Buckingham . . . . .	Alleyne Fitzherbert, Esq., now Lord St. Helens.
1789, — Earl of Westmoreland . . . . .	Robert Hobart, Esq., now Earl of Buckinghamshire, and, in 1793, Sylvester, Douglas, Esq., now Lord Glenbervie.
1794, — Earl Fitzwilliam . . . . .	Hon. George Damer, now Earl of Dorchester.
1795, — Earl Camden . . . . .	Hon. Tho. Pelham, now Earl of Chichester.
1798, — Marquis Cornwallis . . . . .	Robert, Viscount Castlereagh.
1801, — Earl of Hardwicke . . . . .	Robert, Viscount Castlereagh; Rt. Hon. Charles Abbott; in 1802, William Wickham, Esq.; in 1804, Sir Evan Nepean, Bart.; in 1805, Nicholas Vansittart, Esq.
1805, — Earl of Powis did not go over . . . . .	Charles, Long, Esq.
1806, — Duke of Bedford . . . . .	William Elliot, Esq.
1807, — Duke of Richmond . . . . .	Sir Arthur Wellesley, now Lord Wellington; 1809, Hon. Robert Dundas, now Lord Melville; in 1809, Right Hon. W. Wellesley Pole.

Let us attentively consider the preceding catalogue, and we shall find the origin of the common charge against these nursling ministers, who are placed in Ireland for the purpose of ascertaining their strength; and who, when they prove vigorous, are transplanted to a more genial situation. Ireland; so far from being unworthy of a better minister, deserves one of first rate virtues and talents—a man of enlarged mind, and

enlightened views; one who, looking forward to the future, can profit by the past; who is able to plan as well to execute, and who, possessing sufficient penetration to discover the latent sources of national prosperity, has zeal and activity to turn them to advantage.—To sum up all, he should be a man of business and independence. Among the persons above enumerated, there may be some who may have performed their duties very well as clerks of a police office; but they were by no means fitted for the difficult task of directing the government of so important a part of the British empire. I would hope that this remark, the merit of which I do not claim, for it is a general one throughout Ireland, will not be lost, and that more attention will in future be paid to talents and ability, in the formation of a ministry for that country. On these occasions, it must always be recollected, that a people so ardent as the Irish, possessing a high sense of national honour and keen feelings, who are easily roused to action, are not to be governed by the cold maxims of common politicians, whose only knowledge has been derived from their school-books. A statesman, qualified to be at the head of the ministerial department in Ireland, should unite practice to theory, and be thoroughly acquainted with human nature. He must possess a sound judgment, as well as conciliating manners, and be firm without severity, and dignified without reserve.

Were a native of Ireland of ever so pure a character, placed in that situation, his conduct would be viewed with jealousy and distrust. The people, in general, seem to be shy of reposing confidence in one of their own countrymen; they having seen so many instances of the bad effects of family connexion. They believe, therefore, that influence of this kind is too strong to be resisted; and they are unwilling to see the best interests of their country intrusted into the hands of any one who might be exposed to so great a temptation. The situation is certainly an object of ambition; and, if filled by a man of talents and virtue, might, instead of being a probationary office, be rendered one worthy the acceptance of the first public characters in the empire.

The port-folio of an Irish minister should be a private one, containing not only accurate information of the state of the country, but also an account of the character, disposition, studies, objects, and favourite pursuits of the leading men in the kingdom. Under the term leading men, I do not comprehend gentlemen of fortune only, but persons, of whatever rank or profession, who take the most active part in all public events in the districts where they reside, or who may be looked up to by their poorer neighbours, either for advice or assistance; were it furnished also with hints and observations respecting the disposition, wants, and wishes of the commoner orders, he would be better enabled to form plans of improvement, or concert measures for the preservation of peace and tranquillity. But, whoever may be the minister, he will not acquire this knowledge through the medium of

a few bottle companions. Such characters may be seen haunting every avenue to the castle of Dublin; but they neither illuminate its councils, nor add to its safety.\* The information to which I allude can only be collected from those who have devoted their attention to its acquirement, to accomplish which requires talents as well as time; but when acquired it will enable a prudent minister to increase the sum of the people's happiness, the true object, and the criterion of every good government.

I have dwelt, perhaps, too long on this subject, but having observed the best intentioned men misled by fawning sycophants, the mischief arising from the want of upright information is to me sufficiently apparent. In my opinion, nothing but the grossest and most criminal ignorance can account for the rebellion of 1798. Insurrections in great cities, and revolutions in despotic empires, are not uncommon; but for a whole people suddenly to take up arms against their government, at a time when it seemed lulled into fatal security, and to be suffered to increase their violence to a most sanguinary rebellion, the effects of which still remain, were extraordinary events, reserved for the administration of an Irish minister, whose credulity permitted him to be imposed on by his successor. Can any thing be a stronger proof of the ignorance and imbecility of the government at that period, than the atrocious murder, in the heart of the capital, of the Chief Justice of the country, in open day, and almost under the eye of the Chief Governor; not by a few lawless banditti, but by a general assemblage of the people collected from various parts of the country, who had united for the express purpose of overturning the government?† And how glaringly criminal was the negligence which suffered the first information of this horrid act, to be conveyed to the castle, by the amiable and unfortunate daughter of the ill-fated victim, who had fled from her father's assassins, and who was treated as a maniac, for disturbing the peaceful reveries of the administration. Such, indeed, was the state of the capital after the insurrection was put down, that Lord Limerick declared in the House of Peers, that "a force of 12,000 armed men was necessary to allow the trials of the insurgents to be proceeded in."‡

This ignorance and imbecility were denied by the ministers, who asserted, that government were aware of the intended insurrection on the 23d of July. This is a most extraordinary defence, as "§ the Lord Mayor was without notice, and the Commander-in-Chief without instructions, or at least permission freely to act upon his

\* Πῶς δ' ἂν μὲν ἄνθρωποι τὴν βελούσαντ' ἀγῆρ. *Aristoph. Equites. Act. i. s. 1.*

† See Sir John Wrottesley's Speech, 7th March, 1805, in *Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates*, vol. i. p. 740. Also Mr. Canning's, p. 760, in which he states on the authority of Lord Redesdale, the then Chancellor, that "persons had assembled from all parts of Ireland on the occasion."

‡ *Cobbett's Parliamentary Register*, vol. i. p. 1777.

§ Mr. Windham's Speech. *Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates*, vol. 1. p. 1655.

instructions ; when the troops were in part without ammunition, and the Lord Lieutenant absent from the castle." If His Majesty's ministers were not ignorant, that these events were to take place, they were the more criminal for not taking measures of prevention. But the truth is, the Commander-in-Chief was on a tour, and the Lord Lieutenant at his country seat ; the principal secretary was in Yorkshire ; the superintending magistrate at his villa ; and the safety of the capital of the island, and, perhaps, of the whole empire, was left to an under secretary.

My observations on the inefficacy of the Irish government, are the result of reflection, and of opinions which I heard often repeated in Ireland, by the best and the greatest men. I have every reason, therefore, to believe, that this government is an insecure engine, which may answer only as long as there is no necessity for energy or extraordinary exertion. I have stated many facts, which go to prove its imbecility, and if further testimony were necessary, it might be found in the recent ignorance of the administration, when the Roman Catholics were about to call their convention, which was not known to the ministers until many days after their notices had been dispersed. This circumstance shews that the system is still the same.

Since I first begun to turn my attention to Irish affairs, I have known three secretaries, the first of whom had resided some part of his life at Copenhagen, or at Cintra. His successor had scarcely time to become acquainted with the rooms in his office, when he was superseded by the present secretary, Mr. Pole. But changes of this kind can be of little importance, for the truth is, the business of the secretary is performed by two head clerks.

I have not the honour of knowing either Sir Edward Littlehales or Sir Charles Saxton ; but it is evident that much is not to be expected since their subordinate situation precludes them from carrying any efficient measures into execution by their own authority alone. This being the case when the government was left in hands thus restricted, during the absence of Lord Wellington, afterwards Sir Arthur Wellesley, were not public affairs, as far as related to that country, placed in a most awkward situation? Weakness generally endeavours to preserve what it has obtained, not by vigorous opposition, but by dexterous management and art. And it is too common for men who occupy second rate places, to speculate on retaining them by obsequiousness to the minister's adversaries, whom they expect to become his successors. I make no personal allusion, but speak of what is possible ; it is certain, however, that the situation has been an invidious one, and attended with more than common difficulty. When the secretary is in England, the under secretaries, to effect any good, ought to be invested with his power and responsibility ; but this is not the case, it being apprehended that before his return they might acquire too much influence, and dictate where their duty was to obey. The

holders of such places, having no great political character, have little to stimulate their exertions; and as their talents do not entitle them to look forward with hope to the higher offices of the state, they are not to be supposed to possess the same interest as those to whom the whole field of ambition is open. Much evil, therefore, has arisen from the want of an efficient and permanent administration in Ireland; and I cannot too strongly impress upon His Majesty's ministers, the necessity of making a proper provision for this purpose. It is of little importance by whom the business is performed, or under what denomination the persons intrusted act, provided they are properly qualified, and capable of continued exertion. Let their attention be directed to the one object, and let them possess sufficient power, that the public may know to whom they are to look for responsibility.

#### ADMINISTRATION OF LAW.

The laws of Ireland are not in all cases similar to those of England; although the leading principles of legislative jurisprudence are the same in both countries. During the existence of the Irish parliament local acts were passed, in consequence of which the people, in various instances, are governed differently to those in England. I shall not, however, enter into a professional examination of the Irish laws, nor describe the particular distinction to which I allude; I shall rather confine myself to some general observations on the manner in which they are administered, and the effects which they produce on the people.

There are no local jurisdictions in the island like that of the county Palatine of Chester, in England; which has its own chief justiciary; the Duchy of Lancaster, which has its own chancellor; or Wales, for which separate judges are appointed. There are, however, courts of law similar to those of England; a court of King's Bench, a court of Common Pleas, and a court of Exchequer. There is, likewise, a court of Equity, where suits are determined by a chancellor, with the assistance of a master of the rolls, and masters in chancery. The king has an attorney and solicitor general, and the commissioners of excise and customs a council to their board, whose emoluments are supposed to be equal to those of either the attorney or solicitor general. There are sergeants at law; and were I disposed to search the Irish calendar for various descriptions, I have no doubt but that I should find as many of all denominations of persons in the profession of the law as there are in England.

The Lord Chancellor quits his office at every change of ministry, and on such occasions receives a pension of £5,000. per annum. In one case I find a *douceur* has been given on his receiving the seals; but I am not certain that it is an established

custom.\* An Englishman is generally appointed, from an idea, that having no family connexion in the country, his judgment will be more unbiassed, and his decisions less subject to the influence of prejudice or partiality. Yet, in my time, there have been two instances of Irishmen, Lord Clave, and the Right Honourable George Ponsonby, raised to that exalted station; and it is worthy of remark, that they both conducted themselves in such a manner, as to give general satisfaction.

The latter is reported to have declared in parliament, that it is necessary for a chancellor to resign on a change of administration.† But with all due deference to this gentleman, I am not convinced by his assertion; unless he means to insist that a chancellor must, of necessity, be a party man; and even in this case, the principle is highly offensive. A chancellor should never let party views influence his conduct; and to suppose that this is impossible, is to suppose that it is incompatible for an independent man to remain in the service of his country. The reason assigned for a chancellor being a political character is, that the affixing of the great seal to commissions and deeds is a ministerial act, which he cannot perform contrary to his conscience; a position, however, which it would not be difficult to controvert.

To suppose that either party or politics should be carried into the court of Chancery, is a most mischievous idea. If the principle be well founded, why not remove every judge on the bench, and every justice of peace, when a change of ministry takes place? Had Mr. Ponsonby recollected the celebrated letters between his predecessor Lord Redesdale, Lord Fingal, and the Rev. Dr. Coppinger,‡ he would I think, have admitted, that for the interest of Ireland, a politician should never be suffered to sit on the Chancery bench. If a new ministry, indeed, always elevate one of their own friends to that high office, it may then be considered as a political situation, and the chancellor who holds it a political character, who must either support their measures or resign the seals.

In England, magistrates are appointed at the recommendation of the Lord Lieutenant of each county. In Ireland, they hold their situations at the will of the Lord

\* In the House of Commons' Papers ordered to be printed 26th of April, 1803, being an account of the distribution of £51,619 13s. 11½d., is the following item: "Right Honourable Lord Redesdale, Chancellor of Ireland, towards his equipage and preparation for said office, £1,000."

† Morning Post Newspaper, June 9, 1800. Mr. Ponsonby, adverting to an expression used by an Hon. Bart. that he could not see why a Lord Chancellor should not retain his office, notwithstanding a change of ministry, declared, "that the Hon. Baronet might as well have said, that he could not see why a secretary of state, or a first lord of the treasury, might not retain his office, notwithstanding a change of ministry; the thing was impossible." If this speech be faithfully reported, it requires very little remark, because we have only Mr. Ponsonby's assertion, that "the thing is impossible."

‡ For a character of this correspondence I refer to the speech of the Right Honourable George Canning. *Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates*, vol. i. p. 761.

Chancellor ; but so great is the difficulty of selecting men to fill this minor, but important department, in the administration of the laws, that improper persons are often found in the commission of the peace. This is a subject which so nearly concerns the interest of society, and the welfare of the public, that I cannot pass it over in silence ; I have so frequently witnessed instances of partiality, corruption, venality, barbarous ignorance, tyranny, conceit, and negligence in the Irish magistrates, that I cannot speak of such conduct in terms of sufficient reprobation. I am not preferring a complaint which is not made by almost every man who has applied to them for redress, or who has had an opportunity of observing their behaviour. Yet being unwilling that the reader should trust entirely to my statement, in a charge of so serious a nature, I shall insert the following extracts from Irish authorities :— Lord Kingston contended, that “ the magistrates in the county of Sligo were the real promoters of the disturbances. The conduct of many of them was such as to disgrace the magistracy, and some of them deserved rather to be hanged than to be made magistrates.”\*

Mr. Justice Day, in his charge to the Grand Jury of the county of Kerry, at the spring assizes of 1811, accused the magistrates of that county of neglect, corruption, and partiality. The report of his charge was published in all the Irish newspapers at that period.

The judge, who presided in the criminal court of the northern circuit at the same assizes, mentioned instances of gross partiality in the conduct of the magistrates in the county of Down.

The proceedings in the court of King's Bench, Dublin, on the 18th of November, 1811, on the motion of Mr. Sergeant Moore, detail a most dreadful account of magisterial outrage in Leitrim.

The recent case of Lord Louth, who was first tried at the spring assizes of Dundalk, and subsequently received sentence in the court of King's Bench, Dublin, is already before the public ; and the instances given in the newspapers, in the course of the last year, would form a catalogue of delinquency, which could not be perused without the liveliest sentiments of indignation.

A most flagrant instance of this kind was tried in the court of King's Bench, Dublin, on the 28th of November, 1811. It affords proof, that my observations are not exaggerated ; and that the abuse of power, by country magistrates in Ireland, is carried to a height which calls loudly for legislative interference. As all the leading facts of this important case are ably and fully detailed in the speech of Mr. Justice Day, when he delivered the judgment of the court, I conceive it will be doing a service to the cause of humanity, to preserve it.

\* Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates, vol. ix. p. 993.

On this occasion the learned judge addressed the delinquent as follows :

Mr. Justice DAY. " Mr. Bingham, you have been tried and found guilty, on a criminal information granted by the Court, for an illegal, oppressive, and malicious exercise of your authority as a magistrate, by imprisoning Henry Nash, Esq. and two others, without any information, on oath charging those persons with any crime, to warrant your committal.

"The Jury have found you guilty of that offence, with the full approbation of the learned Judge who presided at the trial. His report of the proceedings has been read, and I think I am justifiable in saying, that a more disgusting case of magisterial delinquency has seldom come before the Court of King's Bench for its animadversion. It appears to us, to be a black tissue of complicated crimes, wherein it is difficult to say, WHETHER TYRANNY, MALICE, OR CORRUPTION, PREVAIL THE MOST!!! The case is fresh in the recollection of the Court, and the term is too far advanced to allow me to trespass on the public time, by going as fully into the nature of it as I should otherwise feel disposed to do; it is my duty, however, to state some of the facts of the case, as appearing on the face of the report of the learned Judge.

"It appears, that in the month of January, 1808, the Prosecutor's father died, and that he, on that event, succeeded to his property. The defendant, from that period, appeared to covet the estate of his neighbour Mr. Nash, which disfigured, in the greedy fancy of Mr. Bingham, his surrounding possessions.—He determined to have the property, and resolved on every means that persecution could suggest to possess himself of it; but Mr. Nash was not to be intimidated. It appeared that the defendant had for a long period harboured considerable prejudices to Mr. Nash's family.—He, Mr. Bingham, had resolved on, and declared an eternal animosity to the Prosecutor. This happened in March, 1808, but nothing of consequence occurred for a year and a half afterwards, until the 6th of October, 1809, when a person of the name of Atkinson, one of the tenants of Mr. Nash, who had been distrained for rent, had the effrontery to complain to the defendant, and to lodge informations against his landlord.

"The informations are prepared and sworn, and they contain, *to the knowledge of the defendant himself, a gross and palpable falsehood*; they state, what Atkinson had been informed by one Anthony Shevelane, that the pretended felony was committed by Mr. Nash and the other two men. And yet it appears, and is sworn, that the defendant himself had, a fortnight before, actually examined that same Shevelane on his oath to that very fact; and that he did then depose, that the house had not been broken open, and that the felony had not been committed. But independent of this fact, when you look into the document itself, it excites your astonishment to find that upon so ridiculous a mockery, any magistrate of common sense would have granted a warrant on such an information, which he knew to have for its object the privation of the personal liberty of the subject. And yet, on that information, which only charges Mr. Nash with a crime, on the hearsay and report of Shevelane, Mr. Bingham swears that he had good reason to believe, from the information of him the said Shevelane, that the crime was committed. And on this mock information, what is the conduct of the defendant? Is it to scout with indignation and scorn the audacious informer who fabricated this foul calumny against his landlord? Did he dispassionately inquire into the merits of the case? Did he send a summons to the gentleman against whom this monstrous narrative was exhibited? No: by the defendant's warrant the Prosecutor is arrested and brought to prison, instead of bringing him before the Magistrate, there to state to him the nature of the offence, and if it wereailable, then to take bail; and if not, to commit him. This proceeding did not accord with the views of Mr. Bingham; he, in



are at length returned, and the Clerk of the Crown declares that no Bill of Indictment could be framed on them. This management of the Magistrate shews, that he knew he had violated his duty, and that these *mock Informations* were insufficient to sustain a Bill of Indictment.

“The Defendant has pleased to load the table with affidavits in mitigation of punishment, expressive of *his loyalty, and the services* he had rendered the country in the year 1793, &c.—With these affidavits we have nothing to do. The verdict of the Jury is conclusive evidence of the fact of malice.—Mr. Barke, one of the Deponents in these affidavits, was in Court, at the trial below, and might have given evidence of what he therein states, if he were apprehensive of meeting and passing through the ordeal of cross-examination.

“With respect to Mr. Brown’s, and other affidavits, as to the *loyalty* and excellent conduct of the Defendant on several occasions, it is merely necessary to observe, that we entertain no doubt of the fact. We can only lament that a gentleman, who conducted himself so remarkably well heretofore, should in this instance have been guilty of so gross a dereliction of duty and of principle.

“Whatever effect these affidavits may have elsewhere, it is not for this Court, trying the public delinquency of a Magistrate, to take them into its contemplation. We can only confine our judgment to the circumstances which took place at the trial. But there is one affidavit, which we conceive should not escape without the severest animadversion, and *this is the affidavit obtained from one of the Jury, tending to impeach the verdict.* A more reprehensible act than this cannot occur to a legal mind. To solicit a Juror to do so, is, in my opinion, an offence little short of Embracery, as it tends to bring into disrepute that justly celebrated Tribunal, *the Trial by Jury!!!*

“On the whole of the case, the Court feel it imperative on them to uphold the pure administration of justice by making an example of the Delinquent Magistrates of the Country, and particularly, no where more rigidly, than in the remotest parts of it, in its extremities, where *the life-blood of the Law languishes, and often requires correction.*

“Mr. Bingham, for the offence that you have been found guilty, it is essential to the ends of justice that an example be made. The Court might well have expected from a Gentleman of your birth and condition in life, not only by your authority, but by your example, a due respect for the Law of the Land. That in the hands of a Gentleman so circumstanced, POWER would not have DEGENERATED into TYRANNY!—but, Sir, unfortunately, in your person, as a Magistrate, POWER has degenerated into OPPRESSION; and you now stand convicted of the crime of having *illegally, oppressively, and maliciously, exercised your Authority*, as a JUSTICE of the PEACE; and the Sentence of the Court is—that you, Dennis Bingham, shall pay to the King, a Fine of Three Hundred Pounds, and give Security to keep the Peace for Seven Years, yourself in One Thousand Pounds, and two Sureties in Five Hundred Pounds each.”\*

When insurrections take place in Ireland, the whole blame is attributed to the people, although they most commonly occur from the corruption or neglect of the magistracy; it is seldom, however, that the hand of justice is raised to punish them for their misconduct. The accounts of disturbances never reach my

\* This is one of many instances, which I can produce of magisterial delinquency placed upon record, by the punishment of the court during the year 1811. Some trials in Fermanagh, have lately taken place, which at best exhibit a dreadful system of partiality.



patronise men, whose political principles are a mask put on to promote their own interest.

The resident country gentlemen are so few in Ireland, that it would be useless to recommend landed property as a qualification for offices of magistracy, as is the system adopted by England. There is one point, however, to which particular attention should be paid, that is, to select such men as possess sufficient knowledge and education, to qualify them for the duties of their office.

In some instances, magistrates arrogate to themselves the power of deciding disputes among the common people, in questions of litigated property, in divorces, and other cases of a similar nature. In theory, this is a bad system; but it must be admitted, that in practice it is sometimes attended with advantage, as there are gentlemen in Ireland, who render themselves exceedingly useful in this way, by acting as arbitrators; and by so accommodating differences among their neighbours, as to prevent the disastrous consequences arising from family animosities. But these gentlemen, generally aware of the delicate situation in which they are placed, explain to the parties that they are acting in the character of arbitrators, and not in that of justices of the peace. I have seen Mr. Hyde, Mr. Wynne, Mr. French, of French Park, and others, thus conduct themselves on these occasions; and if Ireland contained a sufficient number of such men, the minor details of its jurisprudence could not be intrusted to better hands. The persons, the rights, and the property of the people would be protected; and the morals of the poorer classes in particular, would be improved by their advice, their care, and their example. But the evil to be dreaded is, that some illiterate upstart, whose tyranny can be equalled only by his ignorance, placing himself upon a level with these respectable gentlemen, may have the vanity to become their imitator; and assuming an air of consequence, begin to hold what he may call "his court;" issue arbitrary mandates as the interest of his friends and dependants require; and giving way to the suggestions of unworthy motives, grow a petty despot, and prove the curse of his whole neighbourhood.

In some counties of England, where many country gentlemen reside,\* clergymen are never put into commission as justices; in others, where laymen, properly qualified, are scarce, the majority of the magistrates are in holy orders.†

In many countries the clergy are very properly excluded from civil situations; and even in England, they are not allowed to sit on a jury, lest it should interfere with their attention to their sacred functions.‡ By the constitution of New York and South Carolina, they are subject to a similar exclusion;§ and the case is the same

\* Norfolk, Sussex, &c.

† In Lincolnshire.

‡ Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. i. p. 376.

§ Ensor on Ecclesiastical Establishments, vol. ii. p. 297.

with the brahmins in India,\* the talapoins in Siam,† and the grand lama in Tartary.‡ Hence it appears, that a general idea prevails among mankind, that temporal and spiritual offices should not be united in the same parson.

In the present state of Ireland, the want of resident country gentlemen is such, that clergymen must officiate as justices. In cases of necessity this may be admitted, rather than that the country should suffer by licentiousness, which will always be the case when the administration of law is neglected or relaxed. In Ireland the office of justice should not be confined to the priesthood of the established church; in all catholic districts, where a priest of pure character and proper education can be found, he is the most eligible person to be intrusted with the dispensation of the law, to persons of his own persuasion, or even to others who might choose to apply to him. Invested with this authority, he would appear more respectable in the eyes of the people, and the latter, inspired with confidence in the government, would become better subjects. A Roman Catholic clergyman, put into the commission of the peace, would be rendered in some measure responsible for the tranquillity of the country; and his honour and character being thus pledged, he would, no doubt, exert his influence and authority beneficially for the public, and prove himself worthy of the trust reposed in him. I never met but with one instance of a catholic magistrate in Ireland. Some persons will start at the idea; I think I hear many gentlemen, for whom I entertain great respect, exclaim, "What! make a priest a magistrate! what will follow next?" But the reader will recollect, what I believe I have already stated, that I am writing neither for a party nor a sect; but that my object is the safety and happiness of the people of Ireland; and nothing will tend so much to promote these objects, as to treat men of every rank and persuasion with that liberality, which allows them to enjoy their natural rights, and affords them no cause to consider themselves degraded.

Perhaps, the state of Ireland is such as to require a police, which should be similar to that of our Saxon ancestors: that is, one man to be made answerable for the conduct of a certain number of his neighbours. The chancellor also in that country should, like the judges, be appointed for life. The present chancellor is Lord Manners, with whom I have no other personal acquaintance than what arose from being introduced to him at a levee. Of his character, however, I have heard much, from people of all ranks, religions, and parties; and in giving an account of the present state of Ireland, I should consider myself guilty of a great omission, if I neglected to state the general opinion entertained of him. I never heard so high a character of any man in a public situation; nor ever knew so much confidence

\* Ferishta's Hist. vol. i. p. 10.

† La Loubere's, Hist. de Siam, partie troisieme, c. 21.

‡ Du Halde's Hist. of China, vol. iv. p. 160.

placed by a whole people in one individual. This general esteem has not been procured by obsequious pliability of temper, nor anxieties about popular applause. Lord Manners is distinguished by far different traits. Soundness of judgment, quick decision, a rigid adherence to justice, affability, and a dignified politeness, are the characteristics of this gentleman. He commands respect from the meanest individual, and obtains confidence without encouraging too much familiarity. Beloved by his personal friends, and revered by the people, I may say of him, what can be said of few; that in public confidence he is unrivalled, and that he has not a single enemy.

From a numerous body of gentlemen at the bar in Ireland, the judges and master of the rolls are selected; but before I proceed, it may be proper to take a general view of their situation as advocates. There is a society, with an establishment, called the King's Inns, where students in the law are admitted to the bar; but there are no chambers for transacting the business, as in London. Barristers, therefore, live in all parts of the city; and during every stage of their profession, mix with society at large, and participate in the general feelings of the great mass of the people. They do not confine themselves to the practice of one court, as is the case in London, but plead occasionally in all. Those who have had an opportunity of witnessing the severe duties of an eminent barrister in London, know that from the multiplicity of his business, he is closely confined to his chambers, and secluded from general society: of course, little leisure is afforded him of acquiring a knowledge of mankind or manners. But in this respect, the Irish barrister has the advantage; he is in consequence a more agreeable companion in private life. The English lawyers, whose minds are exclusively directed to their profession, have little intercourse with what is termed "the world." Compared with the leading men in other professions, their acquaintance is contracted within a narrow circle; by which, perhaps, they are enabled to pursue that impartial line of conduct, for which they are so much distinguished.

In Ireland, while she had a parliament, her barristers who had attained to any eminence, always found their way into the House of Commons. But they felt no anxiety as general politicians, their object being that of haranguing for promotion to the bench. No preparation for the office of judge, can, in my opinion, be worse; and it is one benefit of the Union, that a wider field is opened for legal practice, and for the acquirement of legal knowledge. The extinction of the parliament is so recent, that there are still on the bench judges who were made entirely through political or party interest; and the manner in which they associate in the progress of their legal

\* Founded by Henry the 8th. An historical account of it has been written by Bartholemew Duhig, Esq. the librarian, 1806.

functions with all classes, might to some seem inconsistent with that dignity and reserve, which are necessary in the deportment of men who have to decide upon the lives, the rights, and the property of their fellow citizens. Some Irish Judges are to be seen on the most familiar terms with every person they meet, and were they animated by the principles of Aristides, the people could never entertain for such *popular* characters their due measure of respect.

Much eloquence is displayed at the Irish bar, but very little of that close connected reasoning, founded on the principles of logic, which is so conspicuous in England, particularly among the chancery pleaders. The desultory habit of attending from court to court, would be sufficient to account for this difference; but I consider the mind not being directed exclusively to law, as the chief obstacle to the Irish barristers becoming profound lawyers, or deep logicians. The Irish bar, for the same reason, is most likely to produce good declamatory speakers in parliament: the gentlemen of the legal profession in England being habituated to the trammels imposed by the forms of a particular court, seldom display that commanding eloquence which is sometimes to be heard in the House of Commons.

In the appointment of the Irish judges, it is necessary that the greatest caution should be observed; for no circumstance more strikingly displays the degree of freedom enjoyed by a people in any country, than the purity and disinterestedness of its judicial proceedings; this is a subject of the first importance to the happiness of mankind, and may, indeed, be considered as the criterion of a good government.\*

At assizes in Ireland, barristers plead without a gown and wig, which in our courts is allowed to add so much solemnity to their appearance and deportment; nor is the order or the regularity of the court, so well observed as in England. Many sensible men have ridiculed the peculiar habit of barristers and judges, and were all mankind philosophers, it would be of little importance; but in the present state of society, as there are various individuals on whom the external appearances of public men produce more effect than their reasoning, the insignia and badges of office are, perhaps, in some degree necessary to command respect and attention;† and I dread any, even the smallest, diminution of that sentiment of veneration, without which laws might be contemned, and governments rendered inefficient. When I first entered an

\* Jus civile neque inflecti gratiâ neque perfringi potentiâ neque adulterari pecuniâ debet. Si non modò oppressum sed etiam, desertum aut negligentius adservatum fuerit, nihil est quod quisquam sese habere certum, aut a patre accepturum, aut relicturum liberis, arbitretur. *Cicero pro Cœcina*, p. 73.

† La justice veut être décorée d'un appareil imposant. Telle est la foiblesse du vulgaire; que de vastes perruques, ou de longues robes, lui inspirent une certaine confiance, et le persuadent que ses causes sont bien jugées. *Bielfield Institutions Politiques*, tom. i. p. 164.

Irish county court, perhaps, then my prejudices were awakened; for I was not a little grieved to observe a behaviour inconsistent with the character of men employed in the most serious and awful of all occupations, that of administering justice, and protecting the liberties and the lives of their fellow creatures. On such occasions, all around should have the appearance of seriousness and solemnity. When the judges enter the assize town, they are attended by the sheriff and the gentlemen of the county, forming a long cavalcade; and if decency were observed in the preparations, this procession would form a grand and impressive spectacle. But we view a train of carriages, composed of vehicles of every description, many of which have never been washed, nor the harness cleaned since they came into the possession of the owner; with these are thirty or forty javelin men, dressed in blue liveries, with large cocked hats edged with lace, which has served every sheriff for almost half a century; and these ride without boots on poor jaded garrans, scarcely able to move. Such is the spectacle exhibited on so solemn an occasion. I attended the summer assizes at Mullingar, in 1808; the sheriff at that time was Sir Richard Levinge, a young man just come of age, who had a neat carriage with respectable attendants, properly dressed and accoutred. The appearance of this gentleman's equipage was so novel, and excited so much astonishment, that Lord Norbury, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, in his charge to the grand jury of Westmeath, detained them a quarter of an hour longer than usual, in returning thanks to the sheriff for the respectable manner in which he met the king's commission. Some time before, his lordship had been escorted by the sheriff of an adjoining county, on a poney, and for this want of respect to the dignity of his office, he fined him £500.

When the court was assembled, I was not a little surprised to perceive, that the witness, instead of being placed in a box, was made to stand on a table: I remarked also, that the great object of the witness and his examiner appeared to be, who should make the sharpest retort, and when any thing like a witty reply dropped from either, the auditors were convulsed with laughter. A body of soldiers were stationed around the place for the double purpose of guarding the prisoners and protecting the court—a novel sight to an Englishman, and certainly not much calculated to inspire mirthful sensations. During my stay in Ireland, I was at various assizes and quarter sessions, and many instances of these witty questions and replies are in my memory; but it is unnecessary to repeat them.\* It is said, that judges sometimes have conde-

\* Oratorem præterea ut dicere urbane volo, ita videri affectare id, plane nolo. Quapropter ne dicet quidem salsè, quoties poterit, et dictum potius aliquando perdet quam minuet auctoritatem. Nec accusatorem autem atroci in causa, nec patronum in miserabili jocantem feret quisquam. Sunt etiam iudices quidam tristiores, quam ut risum libenter patiantur. *Quintilianus de Inst. Orat. lib. vi. cap. 3. edit. Oxon. 1806, vol. i. p. 366.*

scended to take a part in jokes of this kind.\* Such levity in a judge is to be regretted, as it derogates from his character, and lessens that respect which is due to his high situation.† But if there be any of the Irish judges, who so far forget their dignity as to act the buffoon, there are others whose conduct is void of reproach, whose deportment is suited to the seriousness of their occupation, and whose decisions do honour to their abilities and judgment.

The judges have lodgings of their own at an assize town, and the grand jury and sheriff dine together, as do also the gentlemen of the bar.

In England, a judge never goes that circuit within the boundaries of which he has an estate, or family connexions. From the admirable manner, indeed, in which our judges are selected, it rarely happens that they are men of high birth; although there could be no objection to any individual being placed on the bench, on account of his descent from a noble family, if he have toiled through that long and arduous probation which is necessary to fit him for the duties of the office. But it is merit, and not family, which raises barristers in England to that enviable situation.

In Ireland the judges take those circuits, the assize towns of which are nearest to their homes, and places of attachment. A friend of mine, to whom I mentioned this circumstance, doubts its truth, and assures me that the case is not so, at least in the north-west circuit. I am glad to hear of the exception, but I know that what I have stated is correct as far as respects two other circuits. The assizes are held at the following places :

### SUMMER ASSIZES, 1809.

#### LEINSTER CIRCUIT.

County Wicklow, at Wicklow, Monday 17th July.  
 Wexford, at Wexford, Thursday, 20th.  
 Waterford, at Waterford, Wednesday, 28th.  
 City of Waterford, at Waterford, same day.  
 Tipperary, at Clonmell, Monday, 31st.  
 Kilkenny, at Kilkenny, Monday, 7th August.  
 City of Kilkenny, same day.

Rt. Hon. Lord Chief Justice NORBURY, } Justices.  
 The Hon. Baron GEORGE, }

PETER JACKSON, Esq. } Registers.  
 WM. COSGRAVE, Esq. }

#### HOME CIRCUIT.

County Kildare, at Athy, Thursday, 13th July.  
 Carlow, at Carlow, Monday, 17th.  
 Queen's County, at Maryborough, Thurs. 20th.  
 King's County, at Philipstown, Monday, 24th.  
 Westmeath, at Mullingar, Thursday, 27th.  
 Meath, at Trim, Monday, 31st.

Rt. Hon. LORD CHIEF JUSTICE, } Justices.  
 Rt. Hon. MR. JUSTICE DAILY, }

JOHN POLLOCK, Esq. } Registers.  
 R. LIVESAY, Esq. }

\* The following has been related to me as a fact: In the lamented year 1798, a judge was notorious for his severity to all the prisoners who were tried, and for his gross partiality: one unfortunate wretch brought before him had met with some accident, in consequence of which, his jaw-bone on one side had become much enlarged. The judge, ambitious of sporting his wit, could not omit this opportunity, and remarked to the prisoner's counsel, that "his client would have made an excellent lawyer, as he had so much jaw." "I do not know", replied the facetious barrister, "whether he would have made a good lawyer, but I am sure he would have made a bad judge, for his jaw is all on one side."

† Nam adversus miseros, sicut supra dixeram, inhumanus est joçus. *Quintil.* lib. vi. 3. vol. i. p. 367.

**NORTH-EAST CIRCUIT.**

County of T. of Drogheda, at Drogheda, Thur. July 13.  
 County of Louth, at Dundalk, Friday, 14.  
 Monaghan, at Monaghan, Monday 17.  
 Armagh, at Armagh, Thursday, 20.  
 Antrim, at Carrickfergus, Monday, 24.  
 Down, at Downpatrick, Friday, 28th.  
 Hon. Mr. Justice FOX, }  
 Hon. Baron M'CLELAND, } Justices.  
 MICHAEL FOX, Esq. }  
 HUGH M'CLELAND, Esq. } Registers.

**NORTH-WEST CIRCUIT.**

County Longford, at Longford, Monday, July 17.  
 Cavan, at Cavan, Wednesday, 19.  
 Fermanagh, at Enniskillen, Saturday, 22.  
 Tyrone, at Omagh, Wednesday, 20.  
 Donegal, at Lifford, Monday, 31.  
 City and County of L. Derry, at Derry, Th. August 3.  
 Hon. Mr. Justice OSBORNE, }  
 Hon. Mr. Justice MAYNE, } Justices.  
 EDWARD AUGUSTUS WALLER, Esq. }  
 JOHN MAYNE, Esq. } Registers.

**MUNSTER CIRCUIT.**

County Clare, at Ennis, Tuesday, July 11.  
 Limerick, at Limerick, Monday, 17.  
 City of Limerick, same day.  
 Kerry, at Tralee, Monday, 24.  
 City of Cork, at Cork, Monday, 31.  
 County of Cork, Tuesday, August 1.  
 Right Hon. the Lord CHIEF BARON, }  
 Hon. Mr. Justice DAY, } Justices.  
 CAREW SMITH O'GRADY, Esq. }  
 MATTHEW FRANKS, Esq. } Registers.

**CONNAUGHT CIRCUIT.**

County Roscommon, at Roscommon, Monday, July 17.  
 Leitrim, at Carrick-on-Shannon, Thurs. 20.  
 Sligo, at Sligo, Saturday, 22.  
 Mayo, at Castlebar, Thursday, 27.  
 Galway, at Galway, Monday, 31.  
 Town of Galway, at Galway, same day.  
 The Hon. Baron SIR W. SMITH, }  
 The Hon. Mr. Justice FLETCHER, } Justices.  
 JAMES DAVIS, Esq. }  
 RICHARD HETHERINGTON, Esq. } Registers.

At the quarter-sessions, the counties are generally divided into four districts; but this, for the most part, depends on their size, and the sessions are held in turn at some towns in each. Inferior judges, called assistant barristers, are appointed to help with legal information the country magistrates, with whom they sit upon the bench; but these barristers are generally inhabitants of the county, connected by relationship with powerful families, and appointed through parliamentary interest; they have most commonly the power of directing the decision of the judge. The situation is of great importance, the salary is £500. per annum. Since their establishment, they have done much good to the poorer classes; and are, in many instances, a shield against the oppression of those tyrants, the petty country squires. They deserve support; and every means should be taken to procure them attention, as well as respect.

An Englishman, perhaps, will find it difficult to conceive what can be the employment of such men at quarter-sessions, in a country where there are neither poor-rates nor parish settlements; but I must inform him, that there are cases of assault almost without number; and that all debts under £10. are recoverable in these courts.

Barristers do not plead at these sessions ; their place is supplied by attorneys, and these appear to perform their duty in the most complete manner. It is their business to swear the witnesses on the table; and then it is common for them, to give each a rap on the head or face with the book, by way of amusement. Provided a person has sufficient strength to brave confined air and noxious smells, and if he possess a taste for low humour and vapid jokes, he will find, in these courts, no small entertainment. But, when we consider that they are component parts of the grand system established for the administration of justice, in a large and populous part of the empire, where the common people are too much disposed to hold legal authority in little estimation, it is impossible not to wish, that some regulations were made to restrain such levity and such indecencies, being as disgusting to people of sense as they are pernicious to the morals of the ignorant.

The Shrievalty is an object of great ambition in Ireland. Nominally, the appointment is in the hand of the lord-lieutenant and council: but in reality, it rests with the head of the party, in each county, who supports the administration of the time. Nothing is more common, than to hear such observations as the following: "I wonder who Mr. — will appoint sheriff this year." The meaning of which is, that the sheriff is a party man; and I am sorry to remark, that a faithful and impartial discharge of his important duties, is generally the last object of his thoughts. In some of the northern counties, it is more attended to than in other parts of Ireland. The sub-sheriff is the person who officiates, who is commonly some attorney in the county, and is the low agent for all dirty work and the ready minister of corruption. His employer requires no other qualification than good and substantial security; and although this office is one of great risk, and high responsibility, these Irish attorneys are always anxious to obtain it, and generous enough to undertake it without any salary. A gentleman who was sheriff of a county in Connaught, once inquired of me, whether "the sheriffs in the north were not so foolish as to pay their deputies;" and he facetiously added, "We stand no such jokes here." The truth is, every thing is done by a "chamberlain's key." I was informed, from good authority, that the situation of sub-sheriff for the county of Tipperary, was worth £2,000. per annum. In matters of arrest, a writ might as well be sent to the captain of a Newfoundland trader, as to a sheriff's court; it would be an immediate fee in the pocket of the sub-sheriff, who would apprise the debtor of his danger, and, in return receive the expected present: where the higher classes are concerned, the common expression is, "What, arrest a gentleman!" I should not venture to exhibit a charge of this kind, were I not certain of the fact. I have experienced practical instances of this corruption myself, and I could relate upwards of five hundred, which have been communicated to me by respectable persons. A strong presumptive proof will be found in the answer to this

simple question ; “ In what manner are the sub-sheriffs paid ?” \* I saw a youth in Clonmell jail, who had secreted a few guineas with which he had been sent to the immaculate officer of that county. A lady of the first rank, who communicated the circumstance to me, blamed the boy, observing, “ What a shame, at a moment when it was so necessary to send a few guineas, that he should keep them.” I made no reply : but almost wished that the person who sent the fee, and the receiver, had been placed in the dock together, that they might have met with their reward, in conviction and punishment.

The chief business of the sheriff is to summon the grand jury, which, in fact, is a sort of county parliament, in which numbers are anxious to have a seat. Gentlemen, desirous of being on this jury, are present in the town on the morning when the assizes commence, leaving their cards with the sheriff ; who, in court, calls over such names as he chooses to select, and the first twenty-three who answer, are immediately sworn in.

The grand jury have the power of raising and expending immense sums of county money, as may be seen in the chapter on Internal Communication ; but they do not determine *nemine contradicente*, like a common jury. The members are in number twenty-three ; the great object of each is to be first called, and the ambition of having their names stand high in the roll, is a source of continued wrangling and jealousy. Here again the power of making freeholders shews its advantages and its influence ; A man of large property stands at the head of the list, and each succeeding member has a station assigned by the political barometer, according to his weight. At the bottom of the list come those who hold qualifications under the great man ; and, if their patron be desirous to have a new road made for his private accommodation, or any other work undertaken, which may furnish what is called a *job*, they must vote as their patron and instructor directs. † If a sufficiency of voices can be

\* C'est une illusion bien forte de croire qu'un véritablement habile homme veuille servir l'Etat, si sa charge ne lui donne un sang distingué, ou ne lui fournit les moyens de faire sa fortune. Il n'y a que des insensés ou de mauvais sujets, qui servent pour une bagatelle et sans honneurs ; et c'est le plus grand malheur quand un pays est pourvu de pareils magistrats. *Bielveld Instit. Polit.* tom. i. p. 165.

† A late writer, speaking of the state of Ireland in 1763, says : “ The exactions of the clergy, in the collection of tithes, and still more, the heavy taxes laid on the country for the making and repairing roads, were, according to Lord Charlemont, the principal causes of these disturbances.” His lordship adds : “ The encroachments of the laity were without even the colour of right. Nothing is more certain, than that it is highly advantageous to every country, and particularly to one emerging out of an uncultivated state, that good roads should be made through every part of it ; but in laying out such roads, the public advantage should be invariably and exclusively pursued, so that it should be obvious to the people, that the taxes levied upon them were expended really and intrinsically to their advantage. In this, however, the gentlemen were, in many instances, undoubtedly partial and oppressive ; as, by their influence in the grand juries, presentments were

collected to form a majority, to shew his impartiality, he never votes at all, leaving the whole to the decision of these independent country gentlemen; so that, in this manner, the most partial acts are passed, and the most flagrant abuses sanctioned, while the people are obliged to sustain these heavy burdens, and often without the hope of receiving any benefit from the proposed undertakings.

When the grand jury are sworn, they are not shut up, nor is it thought necessary to carry on their deliberations in private, but one half of them may be seen sauntering about the town, while the remainder conduct the business. They attend only when their presentment is in question; and I have known instances of gentlemen who were called on a special jury, of which they formed a part on account of the pay, to which they seem wonderfully attached, amusing themselves in a room above, while the grand jury were sitting. In England, all that a grand jury has to do, is to examine witnesses, and find bills of indictment; but this is never done in Ireland, except in cases of rape. I never heard any reason assigned for this peculiarity; but a person who has witnessed the merriment which sometimes prevails in an Irish court of justice, might be induced to suppose, that, to the people of this country, the questions put to an ignorant female and her answers were very amusing.

In criminal cases, the written examination before the magistrate is delivered in, and upon this document a true bill is instantly found, and handed to the judge. Such is the formation, and, in general, the conduct, of grand juries in Ireland.

The money raised by order of the grand jury, extends to other objects, as well as roads, prisons, &c. In the 12th of Geo. I., an act was passed, empowering the grand jury of each county to present, from time to time, such sums as they shall find *reasonable*, for their respective proportion towards building or repairing the *school-houses* in their counties. In the 29th of Geo. II., another act was passed for the same purpose. These acts have been generally neglected; except in a recent instance which will exhibit, in a striking point of view, the impetuosity of the Irish character. The following printed address was sent to the bishop of Derry, by the Londonderry grand jury; who voted a very large sum for this laudable purpose, the moment their feelings were roused by a libellous attack upon his lordship, inserted in an English provincial newspaper. Had the grand jury, on the establishment of the school, afforded it their support, their conduct would have excited universal admiration;

too frequently procured, merely for the emolument and convenience of particular persons, and by no means with any view to the advantage of the community. So true it is, that the people, though in the end they usually put themselves in the wrong; have almost always, at the beginning, some reason even for their most irregular sallies. Cæsar says of himself, in Shakespear's tragedy, they "never do wrong but with just cause;" and, even upon this occasion, they had, without doubt, originally, good reason for that ill temper, which now urged them to the most outrageous acts." *Hardy's Life of Lord Charlemont*, p. 94.

but to tax the county, to heal the wound which calumny had inflicted in the mind of an individual, seems to be too great a boon to private feeling.

*City and County of Londonderry. Summer Assizes, 1810.*

TO THE HON. AND RT. REV. WILLIAM LORD BISHOP OF DERRY.

MY LORD,

WE the GRAND JURY of the CITY and COUNTY of LONDONDERRY, assembled at Summer Assizes, 1810, having taken into full consideration the zealous and unwearied exertions of your Lordship in promoting, (among other useful and necessary Works,) the Diocesan School of Derry, in order to shew our entire approbation of the same, have presented, at these Assizes, the Sum of Two THOUSAND POUNDS, to be expended in the advancement of this desirable object.

We avail ourselves of this opportunity, to express the high sense we entertain of the great attention and liberal and disinterested assistance uniformly afforded by your Lordship, in furthering whatever may tend to improve the morals and promote the industry, happiness, and prosperity of your Diocese, and the Staple Manufacture of our Country.

G. F. Hill, Foreman,  
Henry Richardson,  
George Canning,  
William Leeky,  
Marcus Gage,  
Langford Heyland,  
James Spencer Knox,  
David Babington,  
Hugh Lyle,  
Barre Beresford,  
James Sterling,  
George L. Cunningham,

John Campbell,  
George Skipton,  
John Ross,  
John Henderson,  
Andrew Ferguson,  
Roger Murray,  
Joseph Curry,  
Connilly M'Causland,  
John A. Smyth,  
John Miller,  
Thomas Scott.

Londonderry Grand Jury Room, August 31st. 1810.

TO the FOREMAN and GENTLEMEN of the GRAND JURY of the CITY and COUNTY of LONDONDERRY, assembled at the Summer Assizes, 1810.

GENTLEMEN,

This new proof of your partiality more than rewards me for the small efforts which I have made to promote the welfare of this Diocese, since I have had the honour of presiding over it; and I feel proud in acknowledging the liberal co-operation which I have met with, not only from you, Gentlemen, but from my fellow citizens of Londonderry.

Your kind address has made a most sensible impression on my mind, since it has tended materially to allay those feelings which calumny had excited in it. As such I receive it, and am most thankful for it. Yet, flattered as I do feel by your kindness to me, still, the protection of my own character,

the dearest property which man possesses, as well as that of the church of Ireland, sought to be wounded through me, and which it is my duty to uphold, obliges me to vindicate both by a reference to the laws of my country. The first step towards that vindication I have taken in the presence of many of my fellow citizens, and I feel, that I cannot with propriety enter further into the subject. I beg leave to assure you of the unfeigned gratitude with which your kindness impresses me, and with which I truly sign myself

Your devoted and faithful friend,

September 1st. 1810.

WILLIAM DERRY.

At present, the grand juries determine all matters respecting the roads of a whole county, and often in baronies which they have never visited, and of which, as many of them informed me, they know as little as of the roads in Nova Scotia. All proposals for making roads ought to originate with the grand jury of the sessions, which should be selected from those baronies where the sessions are held. The local necessity of each road would then be accurately ascertained, and a check given to the influence of those men who might be desirous of employing it for the purpose of procuring "jobs," either for their friends or dependants. When the sessions grand jury have fully determined on the expediency of making or repairing the road in question, and ascertained the expense, their resolution should be submitted to the grand jury of assize, no individual of which, ought to be a member of both juries. If approved, the latter should assess the whole county, and it ought to be an established rule never to transact any business unless when all the members were present, as is the case with other juries. So far from leaving the selection in the hands of the sheriff, I would recommend, if so many could be found, that he should be obliged to call four grand juries in each county. The ninety-two names should then be put into a box, and the first twenty-three drawn, empowered to vote either at the top or the bottom, without any distinction; residence should form an indispensable part of the qualification. I have known gentlemen go a hundred miles to the assize of a county, in which they possessed estates. This labour was undertaken from the like hopes of being able to assist their party in a presentment for some new road, although they neither know whether it would be useful, or what might be the expense.

An English absentee on his arrival in Ireland, if he order his freeholders to vote for the friends of the sheriff, will be placed in the roll next to the county members, who are generally first named. To be a member of the imperial parliament, and a grand jurymen of an Irish county, are characters altogether incompatible. Were my voice available on this subject, I would make a seat in the House of Commons a disqualification for the grand jury: in the first place, the spring assizes would render it necessary for a member of parliament to leave London, and neglect his public duty; and if a gentleman miss an assize, where his friends are anxiously waiting for his assistance, to get their presentments passed, he will make

himself very unpopular. Many gentlemen, whom I know to be men of honour, have often lamented to me the awkwardness of their situation in respect to political relations; being frequently solicited to support jobs, which, if they refused, exposed them to the danger of desertion by those in whom they confided for support. They added, that as parliamentary duty is as much as one man can properly discharge, it would be better to confine themselves to their senatorial engagements.

But a very strong impression rests upon my mind, that the conduct, even of grand juries, is not always immaculate; if so, it is the more to be regretted, as they are the aristocracy of the country, and I much fear that the feeling of honour which governs their conduct to each other, is sometimes relaxed towards the poorer classes of society. Dr. Crump, who wrote his Essay in 1793, since which period, there has been time for amendment, brings a strong accusation against them;\* and although I know of no county where there are not just and most respectable men called upon the grand jury, yet it is the general, rather than the individual character to which our attention ought to be directed. Mr. Dutton, a late writer, has also published a fact which deserves to be recorded. “ ‘It will scarcely be credited,’ says he, ‘but it is not the less true, that a grand juror *asked*, and was actually paid £30. for using his influence in procuring a presentment.’ A friend of mine was present, when a poor tenant offered a very high rent for a small farm, “because he knew his honour would get him a bit of a presentment every year;” and his honour promised to do so.†”

## POLICE.

When president Du Harlay inducted M. d'Argenson into the office of lieutenant-general of the police of Paris, he addressed him in the following laconic speech; “The king, Sir, requires from you safety, cleanliness, and cheap provisions.”‡ These three articles, according to writers on Political Economy, comprehend the whole duty of what is called the police. They are all, indeed, worthy of notice, but the first appears to me to be the most important; and I am sorry to say, it is shamefully neglected in Ireland; although, unhappily, such is the state of the country, that the protection of its peaceful inhabitants ought to be the first care of its government. Wherever the streets of great cities, or the highways in a country, are infested by banditti, it is a sign either that the government is negligent, or that the

\* “When an unfortunate individual, treated in the harshest manner, finds any justice hardy enough to receive his information, and attempts to punish his oppressor at the General Assizes, I merely ask one simple question—Is it not ten to one that the grand jury will throw out the bills of indictment?”

† Survey of Clare, p. 208.

‡ Bielfield Instit. Politiques, t. i. p. 168.

people have become too licentious and too daring in villainy, to be checked in their career of pillage and murder by ordinary restraints.

In the year 1811, the Cork mail was stopped in the county of Tipperary, and robbed of arms, and the Derry mail has been lately stopped near Collon. From Judge Day's charge to the grand jury of the county of Kerry, there is reason to believe, that in the northern part of that county, the people are in a state of open resistance to the laws. I am informed, that in the county of Limerick, robberies are still frequently committed by bands of armed men; and I hear, from good authority, that illicit stills are openly working in defiance of all the pains and penalties threatened by the law, in various parts of the north. Can any thing exhibit in a more striking point of view, the want of a well-established system of police.

In 1808, Lord Wellington, then Sir Arthur Wellesley, secretary for Ireland, brought a bill into parliament to establish a police for the city of Dublin. It was opposed by the commonalty of the corporation; for, like all improvements which the ignorant consider as dangerous innovations, it was censured and abused, although approved and warmly supported by the aldermen of the city. These magistrates are in number twenty-three persons, of whom, Mr. John Claudius Beresford is one, but he was no candidate for the office of a police magistrate. I heard him, however, state to the House of Commons, that of the remaining twenty-two, eighteen were candidates for that situation. A police has been established, but it is merely a local one, extending only to the city and its environs. What Ireland requires, and must have, as experience will soon shew, is an enlarged and energetic system of police, extending to the whole kingdom. A system, the leading features of which shall be vigilance and activity to lessen the opportunities of perpetrating crimes, and zeal and exertion to detect them when committed. In a word, a plan which will respect the liberty of the subject, as well as attend to his safety; and which, at the same time, that it protects his life and his property, shall make as little encroachment as possible on any of his natural rights, either religious or civil. Such a system might be conducted without either spies or informers, and I have no doubt, would meet with support from every sensible and well-disposed person in the country. I will even venture to assert, that the tranquillity of Ireland will not be secure until something of this kind be established. If the people must be subject to coercion, it is better to delegate power to men who may be called to account for its abuse, than suffer it to be usurped by an armed banditti, whom the law sometimes cannot reach. And even when overtaken, the punishment of a few desperadoes is but a poor recompense for the loss of parents or other relatives, cut off by the hands of assassins. It is a salutary maxim that it is better to prevent crimes, than to punish them.

An effective police must have an efficient head. It ought to commence from a common centre, and branch out like the radii of a circle, extending through the whole country, while a close communication is preserved between all its parts. The first establishment of such an institution might be attended with difficulty as well as inconvenience; but, where life and property are at stake, we ought to submit to temporary privations. Liberty is a valuable possession, but it is sometimes prudent to resign voluntarily a portion of this blessing, to secure the rest. A powerful police, in the hands of gentlemen of approved character and knowledge, could not fail to be a public benefit. Mr. Townsend considers it as an improvement in the police in Ireland, "that it is now possible to convey a prisoner to gaol without a strong military escort."\* Can this be a test of local security? The Irish Insurrection bill, that seven years' legacy to their country of the Irish parliament, the Irish Arms' bill—bills which suspended the constitution, and withheld its benefits from the country, were passed from the want of a due system of police.

The following circumstance which occurred towards the end of the year 1811, is a striking proof that a police, even although not established on the best principles, may be the means of saving the property, and the lives of individuals, by discovering and defeating the latent designs of banditti. Mr. Graham, of Ballycooge, agent to Lord Meath, having gone to Dublin, was informed by a friend on his arrival, that Magrath, the police-officer, was desirous of having an interview with him. Mr. Graham immediately went to his house; and on being introduced, Magrath said, that although personally unknown to him, he had written a few days before to acquaint him, that six desperate villains purposed, in the course of that week, to proceed to the county of Wicklow, with an intention of robbing his house. The officer described their appearance, and Mr. Graham remembered to have met on the road, the preceding day, a party exactly answering the description. Magrath then mentioned the number of silver cups and spoons, the quantity of table linen, and every other article which he had in his possession. He stated likewise, that he had a grey mare which grazed in a field on the right side of the avenue leading to his house, and that the robbers meant to employ this mare to carry off the booty.

Mr. Graham being obliged by important business to remain in Dublin, immediately dispatched a messenger with a letter to his sister, who resided with him, to apprise her of the danger; but, unfortunately, she was so terrified, that she sent off immediately to Arklow, for all the assistance she could procure; and by these means spread so much alarm throughout the neighbourhood, that the villains were deterred from attacking the house. No attempt, therefore, was made; and the in-

\* Townsend's Cork, p. 98.

formation of the police-officer, although it saved Mr. Graham's property, terrified Miss Graham to such a degree, that she left the country, the second day after the removal of her valuables to Arklow.

#### PRISONS.

When I reflect upon the exertions of the philanthropic Howard, who visited the greater part of Europe, for the express purpose of examining the state of the jails, and the manner in which the prisoners were treated, exposing himself to dangers of various kinds, I feel shame and regret not to have paid this subject the attention which it deserved. The truth is, that almost as soon as I landed in Ireland, a gentleman, for whom I have a very sincere respect, and who holds one of the highest judicial situations there, advised me, as His Majesty's judges were at that time commissioned to inquire into the state of the prisons, to leave the subject untouched, and to wait the result of their labours. I gave way to the suggestion without being convinced, and neglected an object of the utmost importance, rendered still more interesting by the state of the country, and the character of those inferior members of the government who are intrusted with the dispensation of the law. In the course of my tour, instances of numerous and flagrant abuses in this department were communicated to me; but I was always assured, that the commission then sitting would listen to every complaint, redress all grievances, and, where necessary, introduce a thorough reform.

On my return to England, I saw the report of a former commission, ordered to be printed by the house of commons.

This document details such a history of vice, negligence, and oppression, as I will not venture to characterize; as no language that I could use would be sufficient to convey an idea of the delinquency it discloses. I shall, therefore, refer the reader to the report itself.

On the 10th of May, 1810, the Right Hon. W. Wellesley Pole stated, in the house of commons, that, "for want of transports, the convicts were frequently kept in prison for five or six years." It has been declared by the judges, that these years formed no part of the time of their exile.\* Is not this an evil, disgraceful to the country, and to which a remedy should be instantly applied? It is, however, satisfactory to know, that the minister, Mr. Pole, is not only acquainted with this abuse, but that his speech on the subject breathes so much benevolence, and displays so strong a desire to attend to the calls of humanity and justice, as to give every hope

\* Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates, vol. xvi. p. 949.

that he will take measures to remove the present cause of complaint, and to prevent the recurrence of a similar circumstance in future.

Having neglected to examine the jails in Ireland, I, perhaps, have little right to make any remarks on the subject. I cannot, however, refrain from adverting to the state of one, the county jail of Kerry; which, according to the description of it by Judge Day, in his charge to the grand jury at the spring assizes, 1811, must be one of the most wretched and obnoxious places to which the children of wretchedness or vice were ever consigned. Humanity dictates that places of confinement should be commodious, dry, and well-aired; it is not necessary that criminals should be lodged in palaces; but, justice requires that the punishment inflicted by the law should not be aggravated by the miseries attendant on cold, damp, noisome cells, or by useless severity; and while this subject presents itself to my observation, I shall call the public attention to the plan proposed to parliament by Jerem. Bentham, Esq., for erecting a penitentiary-house, and to which this benevolent philosopher petitioned to be appointed the jailer. His scheme is detailed by Mr. Colquhoun, in his Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis, and deserves the serious consideration of every friend to justice and virtue. To me it appears so fraught with wisdom, and so well calculated partly to remedy the evils which have hitherto existed in our penal establishments, that I beg to recommend Mr. Bentham's work to the immediate attention of every reader. It is equally honourable to his head as to his heart, and is sufficient to entitle him to the veneration and esteem of every one who regards the welfare of society.

## OATHS.

Gondebald, king of Burgundy, authorized in his states the practice of single combat; stating, as an excuse, that it was to prevent his subjects from taking oaths respecting obscure facts, and perjuring themselves respecting facts that were certain.\* However we may deprecate the revival of this barbarous custom, it is to be regretted that oaths should be so often administered upon frivolous occasions, and that they are not administered with more solemnity, even in our courts of justice. This sacred call, by which the Almighty is invoked to witness the truth of an assertion, is of too serious a nature and of too great importance to the welfare of society, to be treated with so much inconsiderateness, as, I am afraid, is at present the case. One of the *political evils* in Ireland, is the unlawful administration of oaths.† They are administered by all persons without distinction; by tax-gatherers,

\* Montesquieu *Esprit des Loix*, l. xxviii. ch. 17, *Œuvres*, t. iii. p. 275.

† Pour ce qui est du serment en particulier, son usage légitime ne s'étend pas à toutes sortes d'affaires et de sujets.

excisemen, farmers, and others. I have known a gentleman of some consequence, both for rank and fortune, compel his wife to swear that she had not written a certain letter. An instance occurs to my mind, of a gentleman's groom exacting an exculpatory oath from all persons around him at an inn, that they had not stolen the key of his master's carriage. Here an oath is the test on the most trifling concerns of life by people of all ranks; and it is never refused but by some of the presbyterians in the north. In my opinion, no act of delinquency should be punished with greater severity. To a truly virtuous man, an oath is useless; the impious, who treat every thing sacred with contempt, it will not bind. In Ireland, by being of such common occurrence, it loses its effect; and the consequence is, that in courts of judicature the whole chain of evidence in the most important causes often becomes weak or doubtful. The evils, indeed, attendant on this practice are so obvious, that it is scarcely necessary to make any further remarks. "It will always be worthy the care and consideration of law makers," says a great writer, "to keep up the opinion of an oath high and sacred, as it ought to be, in the minds of the people, which can never be the case where frequency of oaths, biassed by interest, has established a neglect of them; and fashion, which it seldom fails to do, has given countenance to what profit rewards."\*

"In a Chinese court of justice an oath is never administered. In a late affair, where a Chinese was killed by a seaman of a British man of war, and the captain was about to administer an oath to two of his people, whom he produced as evidences in a Chinese court of justice, the chief justice was so shocked that he ordered the court to be instantly closed."† Yet the author, who mentions this circumstance, gives an extraordinary account of the honesty of these people, when he says: "Of the number of packages, amounting to more than six hundred, of various kinds and descriptions, not a single article was missing on the arrival at the capital, notwithstanding they had been moved about, and carried by land, and transhipped several times."‡

## COMPENSATION.

Before I conclude this chapter, I shall offer a few remarks on a subject which, as it belongs rather to philology than to politics, may, by some be considered as mis-

suets. Quelque vrai que soit un fait à la confirmation duquel on l'emploie, si la chose dont il s'agit est trop peu considérable, ou qu'elle renferme essentiellement quelque circonstance vicieuse ce n'est plus un vrai serment, c'est un acte irreligieux. *Barbeyrac Traité du Jeu*, t. i. p. 304.

\* Locke, 9th edition of his Works, London, 1794, vol. iv. p. 7.

† Barrow's China, p. 52.

‡ Ibid. p. 82.

placed; but as it will tend to explain a term which, although found in the Irish court vocabulary, has not yet been noticed by any of our English critics, or introduced, as far as I am acquainted, into the newest and most improved editions of our best dictionaries, I hope I shall be forgiven. Had the learned grammarian of Wimbledon been acquainted with it, he would, no doubt, have given it a place in his *Diversions of Purley*. The word *compensation*, according to Dr. Johnson's definition, means recompense, counterbalance, countervail; but, as commonly used in Ireland, it has a very different signification, and is defined to be "a pension for life." A man is introduced into office, it matters not how, whether by interest or by merit, for men sometimes obtain places there according to a maxim well known among the followers of a court, not because "they are fit for the place, but because the place," that is to say, the income it produces, "is fit for them." This person, when in office, performs the duties, and receives the salary; this is the *quid pro quo* duty and salary. Here we have the recompense for services performed; the counterbalance—work and payment. But, as the performance of duty requires labour, and, as a man cannot enjoy pleasure and perform labour at the same time, his next object of pursuit commonly is, after having attained this office, to get decently out of it without losing the emolument. Common sense, in such cases, would dictate, were it only consulted—that when official duty ended official salary should cease. This logic, however, although plain and intelligible, is not understood in Ireland. To go out of office without a compensation, or in other words, without the salary for life, would be considered as unprecedented. Such is the common practice of persons who hold government places in that country. It came into use for the purpose of procuring sanction to the measure of the union in both houses of parliament, and it is now considered as a matter of right. A man in office would consider himself ill-treated were he deprived of his emoluments; but to relinquish the toils of his office he has no objection.

A public officer in Ireland is often placed on the superannuated list, with a "compensation," in the very prime of life, and in the highest state of health, as superannuation depends more on the amount of his freeholders, than on the number of his years. I believe there is a resolution or act of the Irish parliament, which declares, that no public officer shall be superannuated until he has been in office twenty-five years. How long was the last treasurer of the post-office in that situation?

What in England would be thought of a merchant or manufacturer, whose business was unproductive, were he to call for or expect compensation? Yet that such is the expectation of some persons in Ireland, is clearly proved by the evidence of Mr. Cooper, a county member of parliament, before a committee of the house,

respecting the distilleries in the county which he represents; he stated, that "the gentleman who has sunk £30,000. in it, is not ruined, because he is a man of large fortune, but he is severely injured; the other is altogether destroyed in my opinion, unless he receives some compensation." The poorer people have their "conveniences;" the higher ranks their "compensation," which is a convenience of a different kind. Should not a poor man, therefore, who has improved the soil for his landlord, as such practices are common, be allowed compensation when turned out of his farm; and if he ask for aid, how could he be refused?

## CHAPTER XXII.

### REBELLION OF 1798.

**WERE** I convinced that the spirit, which excited the rebellion of 1798, had entirely subsided, and the fervour of the public mind was completely allayed, nothing should induce me to enter upon this subject, which I would wish to be consigned to eternal oblivion; but being apprehensive that the torch of discord is not wholly extinct, and that sufficient matter is still left for a more formidable explosion, however unpleasant the task, I must state the leading circumstances which occurred on that melancholy occasion, and the causes as far as they can be traced, in which they originated; hoping that when the source of danger is pointed out, such measures of prudence will be pursued as may prevent the threatened calamity, or counteract its effects.

In addition to the reports, and evidence printed by order of the two houses of parliament in Ireland, three gentlemen have written histories of that unfortunate period. Sir Richard Musgrave, Bart., who holds an official situation in the Irish customs; the Rev. James Gordon, a beneficed clergyman of the church of Ireland, residing in the county of Wexford, who, with his family, was obliged to become a fugitive from his home at the time; and Mr. Edward Hay, a Roman catholic gentleman, now secretary to the political meetings of that body in Dublin. Being the son of an ancient catholic family in the same county, he was in Wexford the whole time of the rebellion; experienced a most rigorous confinement for many months after that town fell into the hands of the king's troops, and was, finally, tried and acquitted on a charge of high treason. These were the principal publications on the subject; yet many pamphlets were published at the time, which have become scarce, and are mostly deposited in the libraries of public men, to complete their historical collections on

this interesting event. In England they are hardly to be seen, our politicians on this side of the water contenting themselves with newspaper accounts, and feeling little interest in an event which neither disturbed their pleasures, nor threatened them with immediate danger.

Of the causes which led to this event, the English are unaccountably, and in my opinion, culpably ignorant; for although the rebellion could not in all probability have been prevented, its dreadful effects might have been lessened, and its horrors alleviated by the timely interference of the leading men at home. To them, and to them only, must be assigned the task of allaying those discontents which yet rankle in the minds of the people. To the combustibles that are ready to kindle, it is yet uncertain by whom the match will be applied. But the knowledge of the danger is sufficient to induce those who are friends to peace, to direct their serious attention to a subject in which is involved the safety and happiness of the empire. In the year 1798, I crossed the kingdom from Waterford to Sligo, and in the course of my journey, saw many houses in ruins; there the wretched inhabitants were wandering about in an extreme state of desolation; and I witnessed such scenes of accumulated misery, as impressed me with the most melancholy ideas. During the last three years, I have lived on terms of intimacy with many who had an active part in suppressing the insurrection, and there are few places which has been the scene of any conflict that I have not visited. With the sufferings of many individuals I am well acquainted; and have acquired some knowledge of the character and motives of many, who rendered themselves conspicuous in the leading events of the time: but I shall not enter, farther than is necessary, into any minute detail. I seek not to revive tales of woe, to add to the pangs of misery; many still suffer by horrid recollections, and I should be the last person to tear the bandage from the unhealed wound, when it could not produce a beneficial effect.

It is the opinion of those most conversant with this subject, that the late rebellion was the bursting of a storm which had been gathering many years. Its remote origin, however, I shall not notice; and only observe, that it did not assume a formidable appearance, until the French revolution brought republican principles into fashion. This system, of which, but petty and imperfect instances existed in Europe,\* was no sooner dressed out in all the tinsel of French philosophy, than it was favoured and extolled by persons who are now, I trust, cured of their mistake. If many well meaning men, therefore, were so far misled, as to sanction by public approbation, the scenes which were passing in France, can it excite astonishment,

\* There was scarcely a real republic in Europe. If any country were governed by true republican principles, it was Switzerland.

that the Irish, a people ardent in their pursuits, accustomed to act without foresight, and to determine without reflection, should have become infatuated with the prevailing opinions of that period. In no country in the world, perhaps, was this new system so likely to find continuance as in Ireland; where the people, groaning under oppression of every kind, and irritated against their rulers, were ready to embrace any new order of things which they might think calculated to free them from their misfortunes, or even to afford a chance for a change in their favour. Persons at all acquainted with the springs of human action, may easily imagine the ardent feelings of those who have long groaned under the poignant anguish arising from political severity, when they perceive an unexpected, and, apparently, certain mode of deliverance from the evils under which they labour. In such circumstances, hope increases their courage, and with "vengeance in their heart, and death in their hand," they will take every means to attain their object, and to overwhelm with destruction all who may attempt to oppose them. Such was the situation of the people of Ireland, when the false glare, thrown out by the French revolution, made them vainly believe, that they saw their deliverance at no great distance, and the end of their troubles was approaching.

Under the peculiar circumstances in which Ireland was placed, the office of minister became one of great moment, and was attended with no small difficulty. The complexion of the times was unprecedented; a ferment prevailed in the public mind, the extent of which was uncertain; some were elated with hope, while others were depressed with fear; party disputes, even in common life, had acquired a violence never before known; and the passions of the people were inflamed to a degree of political rancour, which filled the minds of those who adopted more moderate principles, with apprehension and dread. The greater part of Europe was at that period in an unsettled state; and the agitation produced by the revolution which had taken place in France, extended even to Britain. But Ireland was the country where the greatest danger was to be apprehended: it being reasonable to fear that the impetuosity of the disaffected might overturn the government, and sweep every thing before it; and had this unfortunately taken place, both countries must have been involved in one common ruin.

This state of suspense, however, was not of long continuance; two infuriated parties, contending for superiority, stood opposed to each other, and the government of the country had a most favourable opportunity of becoming the mediator. By a salutary exertion of influence, it might have compelled the combatants to sheath the sword, and quit the field for the pursuits of industry; and leaving the din of war, to return to the enjoyment of domestic happiness, in the bosom of their families. This opportunity was, however, for a long time neglected, and force was employed, where measures of a conciliatory nature might have proved more effectual.

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It was reserved for the mild and benevolent spirit of a Cornwallis to restore tranquillity. So great was the respect entertained for his character, that the contest, on his appearance, assumed a less ferocious aspect. He caused the combatants to sheathe the sword; he applied a balsam to the wounds which had been inflicted, and endeavoured to obliterate, if possible, all remembrance of the causes of these disastrous events. This philanthropic nobleman, exerted himself to comfort the afflicted, to restore the husband to the anxious partner of his destiny; to send the unfortunate child to his grieving parent; and the misguided father to his starving family.

Such an occasion was worthy the illustrious patriot who so happily turned it to advantage; his benevolence was without ostentation, and he restrained not the noble feelings of the heart; but bearing in mind, that the true object of war is peace, he tempered his power with humanity, and presented the olive branch, where others would have pointed the sword; his name, therefore, is never pronounced without veneration, and his actions have raised a monument to his memory, which will live, when the sculptured marble that has been often devoted to worthless rank, is crumbled by the hand of time.

The passion for liberty was first manifested among the Presbyterians of the north, who met at Belfast, to commemorate some of the most prominent, and as they were then called, glorious events in France;\* and it was in that province, where those secret plans, cabals, and assemblies originated, which induced the people afterwards, to break out into open rebellion. From the north, the revolutionary spirit was spread to Dublin; and as in all great cities, there is a number of persons reduced to a state of misery, either by their own folly, or by the misconduct of others; a numerous host of partisans were quickly attached round the standard of rebellion.

In 1791, a society was formed under the title of "United Irishmen," and the committee of this body, appear to have held regular meetings in that city. Theobald Wolfe Tone, Thomas Addis Emmet, Dr. M'Nevin, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and many more were engaged in it, men whose abilities and knowledge, if directed to useful objects, would have graced any age, or any country. In intellectual endowments, those who had the direction of public affairs in Ireland, were not to be compared to them. They not only possessed a thorough acquaintance with the affairs of Ireland, but their information as to the condition of the inhabitants, their disposition, habits, and turn of mind, was extensive, and accurate. The plan of every insurrection which took place, emanated from this superior committee; and

\* Mr. Knox, a strong adherent of government, and a resident Irish gentleman, says, "the actual movements of the conspiracy appeared almost exclusively in Ulster, where no religious motive was so much as pretended, and where the Roman Catholics, in particular, seemed disposed to distinguish themselves by keeping aloof from combination." *Alexander Knox's Essays on the Political Circumstances of Ireland*. London, 1795.

such was the secrecy with which they veiled their proceedings; so great the dexterity with which they conducted them; and so decisive the manner in which they carried their measures into execution, that they soon succeeded in associating together under the bond of a solemn oath, a very large part of the population of the kingdom who were capable of bearing arms. The people, particularly in the north, manifested the most extraordinary, and almost romantic, devotion to the cause. They embraced every opportunity of ostentatiously exhibiting their strength and numbers; by assembling under various pretences, and in particular at funerals, or for digging of the potatoes of some suffering individual of their party, who was, perhaps, confined for seditious practices.

In this early stage of the business, the most prominent actors were Presbyterians, among whom there were many in easy circumstances, or of considerable property. The committee, however, although actively engaged, did not yet consider it prudent to throw aside the mask, and avow themselves openly as the leaders of insurrection. They had newspapers devoted to their service, emissaries in every quarter, agents to collect information, and disseminate the spirit of disaffection. They soon established subordinate societies in different places, under confidential leaders; who, there is reason to suppose, were acquainted only with the division in which they were commissioned to act, having no knowledge of those who were higher in the league; by which means, the names of the Directory were kept secret. These men were, however, so many links in the chain of rebellion, and they conducted their proceedings so well, as to levy contributions throughout the country; and to allay the discontent that might be created by making free with the property of others, they had recourse to the usual expedient, of promising compensation from the estates which would fall into the hands of the new republic, when the revolution should succeed.

In the mean time, the chiefs proceeded with great caution; they had an ambassador at Paris, who prevailed on the French Directory to co-operate with them, and to send a body of troops to their assistance, with arms, accoutrements, and ammunition. Their original plan was to wait the arrival of foreign aid; and in the mean-time, and by every means in their power, to extend the union as widely as possible. The union, however, was slow in its progress towards the south; where it was a long time before it spread into the counties inhabited by the Roman Catholics, who in many instances joined in it, I believe, rather through alarm, than inclination.

To counteract these machinations, a new society was formed in the north, under the denomination of "Orangemen." Their avowed object was to support the constitution, and for the sake of greater distinction, they assumed also the name of "Loyalists." Hence, in their addresses, they styled themselves, "We, the Loyal and Protestant Association." *Loyalty* and *protestantism*\* were arrogated to imply,

\* I beg the reader to consult the celebrated pamphlet of Dr. Stock, Bishop of Killala, fifth edit. p. 95. It will there be perceived, that on the very day when the French invasion happened, his lordship was engaged

that loyalty could not exist in any other society. No Roman Catholic was admitted a member of this association; and by this illiberal and indiscriminate exclusion, they established a most invidious distinction, which amounted to an open accusation, that persons of this persuasion, were wanting in attachment to government, and unworthy to be trusted.

If the Directory of the United Irishmen were active in procuring partisans, the leaders of the Orangemen were no less busy in beating up for volunteers. Every possible means was employed to gain an accession of strength; protestantism became the watch-word, and ministers encouraged this distinguishing appellation for the purpose of separating the loyal from the disaffected. By this an arbitrary pale was drawn around the constitution, which excluded every Roman Catholic in the island; however honourable his intentions, however friendly to his sovereign, or zealous for the preservation of tranquillity. No system of policy more unfortunate for Ireland, could at that time have been pursued. If the councils of the Castle had been guided by infatuation itself, they could not have sanctioned a measure more calculated to create enemies, and to excite discontent.

Each society arranged itself under its respective banners: the United Irishmen chose green; the United Orangemen, orange. Orange, therefore, became the badge of every sycophant; and there was not an individual, however mean or obscure, who, in hope of obtaining court favour, did not exhibit an orange ribbon in some part of his dress; being solicitous to make it known, to even the footmen and porters about the Castle, that he was a member of this association.

The Protestants, in those militia regiments which had the misfortune to be commanded by weak or corrupt men, exhibited the same colour, being that which had been adopted to commemorate the victory gained by King William, over the Roman Catholics. In the south, where the protestants are not numerous, it was more ostentatiously displayed; and the catholics had the mortification of seeing this badge, which they were not even permitted to assume, daily reproaching them with want of loyalty. They were thus deprived of an opportunity of vindicating their attachment to the government, even had they been so disposed.

The frenzy of republican madness, had by this time, seized the greater part of the people in the north. The Dublin Directory were actively employed in laying the trains, and making preparation for the intended explosion, which they expected would completely take effect, so as to overturn the whole fabric of the constitution. A period of so much danger and alarm, was the most improper that could be selected for encouraging those marks of distinction, which could be no test of the real sentiments of the wearer. Those who adopted this perspicuous badge, had evidence sufficient to satisfy the government of their attachment by their religious profession,

in entering a protest in his primary visitation charge, against the first sentence of the oath by which Orangemen are united together.

by their property, by the places they held under the crown, and by many other proofs how wantonly, therefore, did they wound the feelings of the people by such imprudent exhibitions! While these strenuous supporters, as they called themselves, of the constitution, were thus anxious to demonstrate their superiority, and exhibit their prowess in shews and symbols, it will not excite surprise, that they were forward also in the use of their military weapons whenever they conceived that their interference was necessary; and it is to be regretted, that they found too many occasions for a display of their abilities in this way, from the alarming state of the north.

Man, when "armed with a little brief authority," if the mind be not properly prepared for the trust, becomes a new being, and is seldom improved in his nature by the change. In the intoxication of vanity, he mistakes the dictates of passion for the suggestions of duty; and considers power unemployed as useless. Such seems to have been the case with too many of these defenders of the protestant faith: supposing persecution to be a support to the law, and oppression a just criterion of loyalty; they exercised a culpable and unremitting severity against the unfortunate victims who fell in their way. Exultation over a fallen enemy, leads to insult and dastardly aggression: numerous were the unjustifiable acts committed by these men, on persons not members of their society; but every instance of this kind, instead of proving a benefit to their cause, added new strength to their opponents. If they reduced a cabin to ashes, they might drive from their sight the miserable inhabitants, but they increased in a ten-fold degree the enemies of that government which they pretended to defend. They exasperated those who had determined to remain neuter, and provoked many to take up arms who would otherwise never have quitted their houses.

Thus, previously to the breaking out of the rebellion, the country was divided into two parties, the great bulk of the inhabitants calling themselves "the people," a name which they retain to this hour; and a small body, united under arms, consisting of regular regiments, militia, and yeomanry, to which their opponents gave the name of "the army."

The armed inhabitants of a country ought to be considered as its most natural defenders, and while they are recognised with an eye of satisfaction, should be treated with respect. But I am sorry to state, that this class in Ireland conducted themselves on the occasion to which I allude, not as citizens, armed to defend their country, but as military bands, ravaging the territories of a foreign enemy; and they were certainly one great cause of bringing the affairs of the country to so terrible an issue.

In Ireland, the army is considered by "the people" as their determined and implacable enemy. Were the Corsican tyrant landed in England, with all his legions, they could not be eyed with more jealousy and rancorous hatred, than the army is by the Irish. This is not an idea rashly conceived: I had daily proof of the truth of my assertion in the language, as well as in the countenances, of many with whom I conversed.

When the rebellion was arrived to the state which I have described, the republican Directory were fortunately detected in the midst of their machinations, and arrested by the order of government: other persons, however, were immediately appointed to supply their place; but they possessed neither their talents nor their prudence. The principal leader, instead of waiting for foreign assistance, gave way to the impetuosity of his associates, who suffered themselves to be irritated by their opponents, into a premature execution of their plan. A day, therefore, was fixed for a general rising; but their intention was communicated by the Messrs. Sheares, to a gentleman in the King's County militia; the whole of them were arrested, government was at length roused from its torpor, and the safety of the capital was secured.

In Kildare there were partial risings of the people, and the revolutionary movements extended to Meath and to Wicklow. In Wexford it was believed that the oath of disaffection had not been so extensively administered as in other parts of the country, and, therefore, a very small military force was thought sufficient for its protection. But although the oath had not been so universally taken in this county, it abounded with active spirits, eager to embrace the first favourable opportunity of opposing government; and so firmly were they determined on their purpose, that they seemed indifferent as to the means by which they should manifest their intentions, provided the meditated object could be accomplished. The Orangemen, by their intemperate zeal, had given great cause for complaint; the ferment and discontent, thus excited, brought the people to that state of mind which was the wish of the rebel chiefs, and which they well knew how to turn to their advantage; it created a prejudice highly favourable to their designs, for the passions of the populace being wrought up to a kind of temporary frenzy, neither the dread of danger nor the fear of punishment had the least effect upon them; and they were blind to the folly or impracticability of any enterprise, however romantic or absurd, which might be proposed to them. While in this state, the excesses committed by the opposite party were exaggerated; and every art that unprincipled ingenuity could suggest, was employed to encourage them to acts of hostility. The plan so deeply laid, and favoured by the negligence and imprudence of government, succeeded; the rising became very general; and as might be expected, the cry on the one side was destruction to "the Orangemen," and on the other, death to every one who was not in regimentals. In the south, where nearly the whole population is Roman Catholic, the contest assumed the appearance of a religious war, rather than that of a rebellion. The ignorant and bigoted priests, to whom the people looked up for guidance and instruction, and whom they were taught to consider as the vice-regents of the Almighty on earth, participating in the common desire of men, were anxious to obtain a power which they believed had been unjustly wrested from them. In the ardour of their enthusiasm, imagining that the hour of retaliation was come, they preached up vengeance to their followers; and thus, by their spiritual authority

removed every doubt, if any existed in their minds. The insurgents of Wexford soon assumed a formidable appearance; and collected and armed a body of the infatuated people, amounting to 40,000 men, headed by some of the most desperate and designing bigots that ever engaged in a holy crusade. A scene ensued, which for the credit of humanity and the honour of the country, should be expunged from the annals of British history. Which ever side obtained the superiority, cruelties were exercised, at the mention of which, barbarians even might shudder.\* To enumerate these atrocities, would only be presenting a catalogue of crimes which could not fail to shock the most insensible breast. I shall, therefore, spare the feelings of the reader; and abstain from reviving scenes, the contemplation of which would not tend to increase our respect for the dignity of human nature, and which, therefore, I wish to be consigned to oblivion. There are two or three cases, however, which in justice to myself, I shall mention, lest I be accused of wantonly bringing charges without having it in my power to substantiate them by proof.

If "the people" filled the barn at Scullabogue with protestant victims, men, women, and children, promiscuously thrown together, whom they consumed in one general conflagration; the army applied a lighted torch to the hospital at Enniscorthy, which was crowded with unresisting and wounded enemies, and consigned them to a similar fate. The destruction of these helpless wretches, by a death the most horrid that can be conceived, seemed to afford heart-felt gratification to those fiends who revelled in the blood of their fellow creatures. An author who has employed his pen in narrating the history of the Irish rebellion, says, "I have reason to think, that not more fell in battle than were slain in cool blood. No quarter was given to persons taken prisoners as rebels, with or without arms. For one instance, fifty-four were shot in the little town of Dunlairin! How many fell in this manner, or were put to death unresisting, in houses, fields, and elsewhere, would be as difficult to state with accuracy, as the number slain in battle."†

\* The enormities committed by the partisans of government, at this time, were such as must disgrace our annals, tarnish the character, and stigmatize the memory of His Majesty's then ministers. It will be perceived, that my political sentiments accord not with those of Mr. Plowden; and that the opinion which I have formed of the views and intentions of both Mr. Pitt, and the Marquis Cornwallis, is directly opposite to the above writer. Still there are circumstances related by him, which I cannot read without feelings of horror. In a late publication he has detailed the trial of a Mr. Arthur, at Limerick, before a military tribunal, the tyranny of which exceeds any thing I ever read of in the Spanish Inquisition. If the story be false, the officers, whose names are, and whose conduct is arraigned, cannot, I think, rest satisfied, until it be fully refuted; but if true, the administration which does not search out every man who was engaged in so wretched a conspiracy against the character, the property, and life, of an individual, ought not to enjoy the confidence of the public, or experience its support. If the act of indemnity screen such characters from punishment, England, ought not to send such men into an enemy's country, lest they should act to her foes as they had before treated her subjects.

† Gordon's History of the Irish Rebellion, p. 269.

This sanguinary contest was characterized on the one side, as a Roman Catholic war, which was to exterminate the Protestants, and put an end to their religion in Ireland: had the rebels of Wexford succeeded, such, I have no doubt, would have been its termination. On the other, it was called the destroying and indiscriminating stride of rapine, murder, and devastation. The rebel in arms was less the object of pursuit, than the unsuspecting peasant who remained quiet in his cabin. The former often escaped, while the latter was made the victim of crimes in which he had no share, and which it was not in his power to prevent. To be seen was the signal of death; the appearance of these poor wretches on the high-way was a conviction of their guilt, and they were fired mercilessly upon, and cut down, as if they had been beasts of prey. Many, therefore, were compelled to fly to the rebel camp for protection. For the account I have here given of the conduct of both parties, I have higher authority than that of the author before quoted. The Earl of Liverpool, one of His Majesty's ministers, is stated to have said in the house, "the rebels were accused of giving vent to their fury, by acts of barbarous cruelty. On the other hand, many individuals attached to the government, and active in their exertions to put down the rebellion, were charged with the commission of many acts of savage retaliation."\*

Intestine contests are at all times marked by a malignity unknown to the warfare of nation against nation, however they may differ in their manners, their habits, or their religion; but if religious differences incite the quarrel, a civil war assumes a more ferocious complexion, and can only be equalled by the savage contests of barbarian hordes. The unfortunate event to which I allude, and which may be called a protestant war, exhibited too much of this kind of brutality; each party seemed anxious to retaliate, and to surpass each other in deeds of horror; but thanks to the military of England, the destructive elements were restrained in consequence of their exertions, in which the severity of justice was tempered by humanity, comparative tranquillity was restored, and the dreadful attempt to exterminate the catholics prevented.

In the north an unsuccessful attack was made upon Antrim, and a skirmish took place in the county of Down. In Meath, Lord Fingal and the Roman Catholic gentry took up arms in the defence of their sovereign and country, and gave a most distinguishing proof of their zeal, and bravery, at the hill of Tara, without having recourse to any of those excesses which had disgraced the armed citizens in other parts of the country.

I must not be considered as an advocate for rebellion, or the apologist of disaffection. I am too well convinced of the benefits of an established government, and the evils arising from insubordination, to hold out encouragement to the unthinking, to

\* Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates, vol. i. p. 1764.

cherish sentiments unfavourable to good order, and inimical to the laws. I cannot, however, forbear to remind the reader of the situation, at this time, of the lower classes in the county of Wexford, who were still in a formidable state of insurrection. Precluded, on account of their religion, from becoming members of the yeomanry corps; regarded with suspicion; compelled by the rebels wherever they were in force, to enlist under their banners, and on the other hand, driven from their homes by the army, in places where they were established; can it excite surprise, that they should yield to the infatuation of the times. To many, a thoughtless person curiosity proved destruction, inducing them to fly to the place where a firing was heard; and in several instances they paid dearly for their imprudence. I have conversed with many, who acknowledged themselves to have been rebels at the time, and I always found that they had some reason to offer for their conduct; but the general reply was, that, as they would not have found safety by remaining neuter, they were reluctantly obliged to become a party in the contest. They had, no alternative; whichever way they turned, hostile "parties were scouring the country;" and on one side, none were permitted to take up arms but such as were of the protestant faith.

The errors of ministers and rulers, however great the temporary evil they may occasion, if considered in their relation to futurity, would be productive of much good, were their successors to profit by example. As the most salutary means were not pursued by government, at the moment when it was so necessary to regain the lost confidence of the people of Ireland, and to restore to them peace and happiness; its primary object, in the present interval of comparative tranquillity, should be to ensure to them "plenty, freedom, and security."\* The wounds inflicted by ignorance and folly, which have scarcely ceased to bleed, may yet be healed by wisdom and moderation. Pursue a liberal policy, and there will be no more risings, to inflict misery upon society, and retard the progress of improvement.

Mankind, although times and circumstances are changed, are too much inclined to confide in old political maxims. It is the received opinion, that the warfare of a tumultuous, undisciplined assembly of men is little to be apprehended; and that, notwithstanding they may gain some temporary advantages over regular troops, they must, in the end, be beaten and dispersed. A weak reliance on this idea had nearly been attended with the most fatal consequences in Ireland, in the year 1798.† But

\* Paley's Principles of Philosophy, 2d. edit. 1786, p. 588.

† A rabble, composed of peasants from the Scotch mountains, half clothed and half armed, penetrated, in the year 1745, into the very heart of England, levying contributions as they went. And it is credited, that, had they proceeded to the capital, where 100,000 partisans were ready to join them, they would have shaken the throne to its foundation. Is it not well known, and still fresh in our memory, that an American rabble, collected from the dung-cart and plough-tail, out manœuvred one of the best generals in the British service, and supported by as brave officers, and as good troops, as ever marched against an enemy, and surrounded him at Saratoga, obliged him to capitulate.

I cannot detail the marches and counter-marches, the battles, skirmishes, murders, and house-burnings, which took place, I shall content myself with stating an historical fact. The rebels having obtained possession of the whole country south of Arklow, an *aid-de-camp* of Lord Camden was dispatched from the castle, that he might have the honour of routing, by a *coup-de-main*, the contemptible rabble whom he expected to meet, and over whom he imagined, in the moment of impotent presumption, that he should be able to obtain as cheap a victory as Cæsar did over the Pharnaces.\* But the unfortunate commander did not march under such happy auspices; self-confident, even to imprudence, he advanced without reconnoitring;† and, flattering himself that the insurgent mob would disperse as soon as the first gun should be fired, he neglected all those precautionary measures, which would have been the first care of an experienced officer. He had not, however, long left Goree, when he fell in with a rebel force, where he had no suspicion of their being posted; a battle ensued; the regulars were defeated, with considerable loss, and their leader fell, the victim of his temerity while encouraging his men to maintain the contest. Goree was abandoned; and, although so much depended on the issue of this affair, that early information of it would have been of the utmost importance to government, yet the rebel party in Dublin were made acquainted with it long before it was known at the castle.

General Loftus wheeled off through Cairnan, and marched out of the county; while the rebels, instead of proceeding to Arklow, contracted themselves at Vinegar Hill, an eminence which commands the town of Enniscorthy. After the defeat of Colonel Walpole, had the rebels directed their course northwards, Carlow, Wicklow, and Bray, must necessarily have fallen into their hands, and the capital would have been thrown into a most critical situation. The effects of whiskey, and the want of a leader acquainted with military tactics, on this occasion, saved the government. The king's forces had time to rally; and Arklow was most gallantly defended against the attack of 27,000 rebels. Discomfited at Ross, by General Johnson; at Fook's Mill, by General Sir John Moore, they were driven from all quarters to Vinegar Hill; from which they were finally dislodged, by a considerable force under General Lake.

In the mean time, Wexford surrendered to Lord Kingston, then colonel of the North Cork militia, who had been some time detained prisoner in the town.

\* Cæsar obtained so easy a victory over this prince, who was the son of Mithridates, that, in his letter to the Senate, he wrote only the words, "*Veni, vidi, vici!*"—I came, I saw, I conquered.

† I would recommend the following remarks to those who may be sent on a similar mission: "Nevertheless, it must be laid down as an invariable maxim on all marches, to have parties, consisting of a hundred men, always advanced in front, and upon the flanks; which must be sustained by others of double the same force, and these again by treble the same, in order to be effectually guarded against all attempts whatsoever of the enemy." *The Art of War*, by Field Marshal Count Saxe, chap. 12.

While these alarming events were passing, the lady of the viceroy had fled to England; and her departure, acting like an electric shock, diffused a sensation of terror and dismay throughout the whole country. The consolatory accounts of successes that were spread by the adherents of the castle, were not believed: Lady Camden's quitting Ireland was considered as an unanswerable proof that government, whatever complacency they had assumed, considered the issue as doubtful.

Having traced out the leading events of this unfortunate business, it is necessary, to call the attention of the reader to the presbyterians of the north, who may be considered as the chief instigators to rebellion. The Roman catholics, so far from being the original movers of insurrection, were mere instruments in the hands of these people, who intended to employ them in effecting a complete revolution. The accomplishment of this scheme was, however, attended with difficulty. How was the business to be managed? How were they to be gained over? and when gained, how brought into action? Was it by holding out the hopes of nominal emancipation from the restraining acts which still hung over them? Such an offer, I am convinced, would not have produced the least effect. No sooner, however, had a third, although apparently small party, appeared, than they manifested a disposition favourable to the views of those who were desirous to employ them as instruments for the execution of their nefarious designs. It was the imprudent conduct of the Orangemen, their excesses, and bacchanalian exultation in the exercise of power, that enabled the republicans to rouse the feelings of the Roman catholics, and excite them to rebellion. The catholics, therefore, raised, an immense army, which wanted nothing to render it formidable, but officers and ammunition. The leaders of these people were the bigoted discontented priests, whose object was power, not freedom; not a desire to improve the condition of their flocks, but the hope of hierarchal dominion. Under such leaders, who can be surprised that the war carried on by the Wexford mob exhibited every mark of the rancorous spirit with which they had been inspired? The views of the presbyterians were quite different. The scenes which took place soon convinced them, that a government, established on the principles avowed by the catholic leaders, would be more tyrannical and insufferable, than that against which they had conceived so implacable a hatred: those, therefore, who had laid the train for the intended explosion, began, in their turn, to be alarmed; and, instead of assisting in the struggle which they had provoked, shrunk back from the contest, and became the secret supporters of government. By this desertion of the presbyterians the constitution was saved, and the misled catholics left to maintain the conflict, or retreat in the best manner they could. The southern catholics, therefore, had to encounter, not only the army, but the whole population of Ulster. Such was the state of things towards the end of the rebellion. The consequence is, that an enmity has been created

between these religious sects, which is still unabated; and may long continue before it be completely extinguished.

On the arrival of the Marquis Cornwallis, a more auspicious period in the unfortunate affairs of Ireland seems to have commenced. Although he united in his person the high and important characters of lord-lieutenant and commander-in-chief, he displayed not the accustomed pomp nor the gaudy pageantry of a viceroy; the object of his mission he considered to be the salvation of the country, not the exhibition of idle splendour to the people, who were not in a temper to be amused with ostentation and parade.

The entry of the one lord-lieutenant, and the departure of the other, were distinguished by very different sensations among the people. One was hailed as the pre-  
 sage of peace; the other passed along under the dark and sullen gloom of smothered resentments and remembered wrongs. Lord Camden left Dublin with as much ostentation as if he had been the saviour of the country; the Marquis Cornwallis entered it with the modesty of a merciful mediator: his memory therefore will live in the faithful pages of history, and be remembered with gratitude by posterity, when the names of many who have filled the same situations will need only be mentioned to be execrated.

The events that took place about this time in Ireland made so lively an impression on my mind, that I am irresistibly impelled to a comparison of the administrations of these two noblemen. Lord Camden arrived in Ireland at a time when the country enjoyed profound tranquillity; he left it in a state of the utmost confusion, alarm, and discontent; threatened with the horrid prospect of that rebellion, which was raging with dreadful violence in the very heart of the country, becoming finally triumphant; and the nation alternately agitated by hope and fear. All the evils of desolation seemed to be at hand, and the gloomy apprehension prevailed, that order, and every thing dear to man, were about to be annihilated. During his viceroyalty, a system of coercion had been established, which was disgraceful to the character of a free government; and flogging, half-hanging, burning, *espionage*, &c. the sure attendants upon despotism, were the measures resorted to, in the delusive hope of producing tranquillity by terror.

From this faint sketch, the reader may conceive to what a state of misery the country was reduced when the Marquis Cornwallis arrived. He saw the danger, and lost no time in pursuing the only means which could avert it. Conceiving that this important end might be better accomplished by a mild system of conciliation, than by severity, he employed the former, not only as being more advantageous to the country, but because it was in unison with his own feelings. He ordered the prisons to be thrown open, and liberated those who had long been the tenants of their noisome and gloomy dungeons. The naked sufferer was no longer tortured, nor was the eye shocked with reiterated executions, which had become so frequent that they lost

all their horror: spies and informers, like birds of prey, ceased to haunt the castle; the messengers of peace had taken their places. Confidence was substituted for suspicion; the grateful feelings of those, who, although guilty, experienced a lenity which they did not to expect, spread its beneficial influence throughout the deluded and fermented multitude; hope was revived, and the public agitation gradually subsided. The altar of mercy, which had been so wantonly overturned, was again erected. Instead of exercising the rigour of the law, and consigning the rebel chiefs to an ignominious death, a punishment the worse effects of which would have extended, to their innocent relations, the Marquis consented that they should be permitted to leave the country. The reign of terror was at an end, because the government recovered its respectability, and acted as arbiter of the dispute.

General Hunter was now the leader, to whom the people of Wexford looked up, instead of Father Murphy, or Father Roach. The Marquis of Huntley marched to Goree with his regiment; and, much to their honour, his men paid for every thing they required on their way. This noble lord, doubtless considered, that his regiment, by this conduct, performed no more than their duty; but the contrast was so striking, between the conduct of this gallant young man, and his predecessors in the same country, that it made a deep impression on the minds of the people; and ten years after, the circumstance was related to me, with apparent gratitude and respect, as a proof of his humanity, justice, and honour.

No less conspicuous was the conduct of General Grose, who succeeded General Hunter. To exhibit his character, the following anecdote will be sufficient. Having visited Wexford on the 22d of July 1809, that is, eleven years after the period of the rebellion, I found the people, throughout the whole country, busy in preparing bonfires, and making every demonstration of joy. Curiosity induced me to inquire into the cause: "General Grose is arrived, to take the command of the district." "And do you illuminate and rejoice when a new general comes?"—"No; but the one we have now among us *was kind to the people.*" I found that he had succeeded General Hunter at the time of the rebellion, and, in the exercise of his power, had always been tender and humane. This is a most convincing proof, that the military may, if they be so ordered, inspire confidence, and gain the goodwill, even of the people whom they are sent to reduce to obedience. The respect and veneration with which I heard the names of Hunter, Skeret, and Stewart, who afterwards commanded at Cairo, pronounced, and the high encomiums passed on the Scots and English regiments, under whose protection the misguided partisans of rebellion were enabled to return in safety to their homes, convinces me, that the salvation of the country was as much owing to the forbearance, humanity, and prudence of the regular troops, as to their discipline and bravery. The moment the militia, yeomanry, and Orangemen were separated from the army, confidence was restored: rebellion, ashamed of lifting up its hand against men who exhibited such magnanimity and generosity, and who expressed a desire of becoming friends,

shrunk from their view, and endeavoured to conceal its hydra head in the obscurity from which it had issued.

These sentiments may, perhaps, be considered as illiberal, and I may be esteemed hostile to the militia and yeomanry of Ireland. I have a proper idea of the importance of the former, but they will never hereafter be very useful at home. They are a fine body of men, and under some circumstances, may render essential service to the empire; but there are certain reasons, which induce me to hope that not one of these regiments will be suffered to remain three months in Ireland.\*

Of the yeomanry, I am acquainted with many instances of individual courage and bravery, which would do honour to veteran troops; but in an extensive country, convulsed by the rancour of religious opinion, when a body, bearing no proportion to the whole population, is allowed to be armed, while the rest are ignominiously excluded from their society, the distinction serves only to increase that discontent which is already in the mind, and to establish a line of separation between two classes of men, who ought to be taught to consider themselves as one. So marked a privilege, conferred on the minority, generally intoxicates them with an idea of their pre-eminence; causes them ignorantly to conceive, that they are authorized to domineer over the majority, and creates in the bosoms of these people jealousy and ill will. When a particular class of men are suspected of disaffection to the existing government, or hostility to the established religion, they are considered almost in the light of criminals, and deemed unworthy of confidence or trust. Such was the case with the Huguenots in France, until the impolitic edicts of the French government, drove them to this, and to other countries; the manufactures of which, they extended by their industry, and improved by their arts. Debased and worthless must that man be, who is not roused to a sense of duty when confidence is reposed in his honour; and who, when he is treated as a friend, does not become anxious to prove himself worthy of the distinction, by unshaken fidelity and attachment. I would, therefore, place all men upon the same equality; the aggregate subjects of a country are its natural defenders, and the army ought to be their protectors. While the yeomanry establishment exists in Ireland, they will form an insuperable bar to the restoration of unanimity, without which the happiness and prosperity of the people cannot be established on a lasting foundation. Such are my sentiments on this subject; and to withhold opinions which have been conscientiously adopted, is a mental reservation inconsistent with him, who has a disinterested desire of being serviceable to his country. A hatred subsists between this class

\* I could relate accounts selected from a number, of military robberies committed by officers of rank, and of murder, to obtain property. Let those who doubt turn to the minute of Marquis Cornwallis, on the acquittal of Lieutenant Hogg.

of men, and the inhabitants in general; which prevents numbers from joining them; and the consequence is, that many who might otherwise act as preservers of the peace, unite themselves with the turbulent, give vigour to licentiousness, and spread around insubordination.

In my intercourse with the peasantry, I observed a desire of change, which indicates a disposition that extends itself even to the higher ranks of society. It is common with the Irish to say with an expressive air, when conversing on the disturbances of the country: "But if another rebellion should take place, how will the *people act* then?" Would an expression of this kind be so frequent were the spirit which gave birth to the late tumults completely extinguished? The Irish may be said in some degree to have learned the art of war; and they are tolerably well acquainted with the use of fire arms; experience has taught them, that without discipline, they can entertain no hope of success; and they are not ignorant, that the want of gun-powder was one great cause of the failure of their attempt. The common people are not deficient either in acuteness or ingenuity; they possess great shrewdness veiled under an apparent simplicity, and from the specimens they have given, their courage and steadiness in braving danger, cannot be doubted. Do not such a people greatly add strength to the empire as friends, and would they not in the same degree weaken it as enemies? In military manœuvres, they seem to be equal to the officers of the regular army; their positions were always well chosen, and generally on commanding heights. They now relate, with an accuracy which might surprise even a profound tactician, the causes which rendered their efforts ineffectual; and some of the measures which ought to be adopted, to avoid similar errors. A vigilant eye should be directed to a people still smarting under the goad of oppression, who have thus become acquainted with their own strength. If they were so ready to expose themselves to the chance of arms, at a time when they possessed not these advantages, what is to be apprehended, should unfortunate circumstances again excite the fury of discontent? I have every reason to believe, that if rebellion should be again excited, the warfare would be of a very different complexion. I have frequently been surrounded, on the spot where a battle had been fought, by a dozen or more of these people, who described, with the rude but impressive eloquence of nature, the various incidents which took place. Is nothing to be apprehended from an incident of this kind? Does it not indicate, that the peasantry still look back with pride, to events which flatter their national vanity; and in which, although unsuccessful, they upheld their martial character? The unjust, barbarous, and tyrannical conduct of the partisans of government, during lord Camden's administration, inflicted a wound which still rankles, and to heal which, will require many years. It has brought to the people's recollection the traditionary tales of ancient times, and revived that spirit of independence and resistance, for which their ancestors were so much distinguished. It is unpleasant to dwell on

this subject ; but it is a duty owing to the people of England, and to those of Ireland, to state that atrocities were committed at this period which stained the name of Briton ; and, perhaps, an inquiry into the conduct of some individuals is yet due to the much injured people of Ireland. I do not allude to the punishment inflicted on the rebellious leaders, but to cruelties practised on inoffensive peasantry, who were shot without remorse ; and whose houses were burned, and their property wantonly and wickedly destroyed.

According to Mr. Gordon, those who evinced the greatest degree of humanity, were the most severely punished. " Among the Romanist leaders of the rebellion, executed at the time of its suppression at Wexford, was Kelly, of Kill-arm, already mentioned as conductor of that column which entered the town of Ross.—This young man was worthy of a far better cause, and better associates. His courage and humanity being equal, and conspicuous ; but the display of humanity by a rebel, was in general in trials by court-martial, by no means regarded as a circumstance in favour of the accused: strange as it may seem in times of cool reflection, it was very frequently urged as a proof of guilt ; whoever, could be proved, to have saved a loyalist from assassination, his house from burning, or his property from plunder, was considered as having influence among the rebels ; consequently, was thought a rebel commander."\* I had often heard the remark before I saw this work, and many instances are on record corroborative of this account.

Numerous and powerful as the disaffected are, their efforts, I believe, could not be ultimately successful. They might, indeed, employ a more protracted, as well as less desultory kind of warfare, and occasion greater loss, and expense to this country ; but they would, undoubtedly, in the end be subdued. I have not, therefore, dwelt upon the circumstances here stated, or offered the preceding reflections from any dread of serious danger to the government ; but with a view to prevent those evils, which, although they might not be fatal in their termination, would, retard for many years, the improvement of the country ;† and which, it is yet in the power of wise councils to avert.

From a retrospect of the past, I can imagine the horrid scenes and the atroci-

\* Gordon's Hist. of the Irish Rebellion, second edit. p. 228.

† Mr. Newenham gives the following account of the expense occasioned by this unfortunate commotion.

" The complete suppression of this short rebellion, appears to have ultimately induced the necessity of employing more than 190,000 soldiers of different descriptions, including upwards of 16,621, belonging to the domestic disposable force of England. The expenses of the military establishment, which though no more than £1,891,967. in the year, ended in 1797, after four years of war, were raised by it to £4,965,122. in the year, ended 25th March, 1800. The nett funded debt of Ireland, which in the former year amounted only to £6,025,426. was augmented to £25,662,640. in the latter. The destruction of private property which accompanied it, was very considerable ; the claims of the suffering loyalists having amounted to £823,517. It checked the growth of manufactures in Ireland, prudent or timid men being discouraged by it from engaging in those pursuits, which required the employment of considerable capital. *View of Ireland*, p. 274.

ties of every kind with which a new commotion would be attended, and independently of those feelings of humanity, which would induce me to assist, in guarding against so destructive a scourge as rebellion, I have many friends in Ireland to whom I am warmly attached, and in whose fate I am most deeply interested. Their happiness is too closely connected with that of the country, to be separated from it; and it may, therefore, be said, that I have a personal interest in counteracting such a calamity. I could not exult in the defeat of a band of rebels; there is little glory in military advantages gained over our fellow citizens; and I should regret to see the subjects of this government, drawn up against each other in hostile array. The constitution must be upheld, the throne supported, and the laws protected; but I am convinced, that all these objects are best accomplished, and the state rendered most secure, when government conciliate the affections of the people, by admitting them to an equal participation in the rights of society, these protecting their persons and property; by encouraging honest industry, and mitigating the evils of their situation; and by pursuing such measures as are calculated to improve them in virtue, and to ensure their welfare and happiness. Governments were first instituted to reclaim man from a state of nature, to soften his ferocity, and civilize his manners; and the object of every well regulated government is the prevention of his returning to that state again: enlightened, however, as mankind now are, such an order of things could not long continue; but we learn from the events which took place in France at the commencement of the revolution, that a people may nearly approach to it for a time; were farther proofs wanting, they may be found in the Irish rebellion; the conflicting parties were excited by the worst passions that stimulate the human mind. Let the government, therefore, turn its thoughts to a subject of so much importance; and prevent, while it be possible, the unfortunate people, whose cause I am endeavouring to advocate, from again exposing themselves to the hazard of such another contest: if the attempt be made, it must of course be suppressed, but he can have no humanity in his heart, who would not strain every nerve to guard against such a catastrophe.

To detail all the means necessary to be employed for that purpose, would lead to a discussion of too much length; when the outlines are given, any one may easily fill them up. Government has all the power, and little wisdom is required to suggest the measures which ought to be adopted; but some are so obvious, that it is singular how they should have been so long neglected. One, that of changing the militias has taken place; the manners of the Irish by this means will become assimilated to those of England; the friendship and generosity of the English will allay their natural prejudices, and they will be induced to view us with a less jealous eye; and I have no doubt, that experience will confirm those favourable ideas of the honour, humanity, and good faith of the English soldier, that have existed in the minds of the Irish ever since the unfortunate period of the rebellion. The English soldier when

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received with that hospitality which is so characteristic of the Irish people, will be enabled to appreciate their character; acts of reciprocal benevolence taking place, the two nations will learn to forget their hostility, and to consider each other as friends; and a rivalry, only in kindness and affection, contribute to the improvement of both.

As a second measure, I would stop every political association, including the yeomanry corps, as they serve only to keep alive party distinction, and to preserve the remembrance of events, which ought if possible, to be forgotten.—But I shall not enlarge these suggestions; the path is short, if those most interested neglect to pursue it, the dread responsibility will be theirs, should the consequences which I apprehend take place.

A history of the errors and the follies of statesmen, would form an important and instructive work; and whoever should attempt it, would find abundant materials without drawing them from distant countries, or from periods very remote. Governments would discover that coercion has always been attended with the most pernicious effects to those who used it as an instrument; and that the happiest consequences have arisen from a different system. Let those statesmen, therefore, who have conceived notions of governing by terror, adopt more reasonable and just conduct; let them recollect the feelings which determined the gallant and benevolent Abercrombie, to decline a command in which he knew he should gain no glory; and the conduct of a Cornwallis, who was induced to unite in his own person, the offices of viceroy and commander-in-chief; not stimulated by ambition, but desirous only of wresting power from the hands of impotence and cruelty, and counteracting those measures which were pregnant with the destruction of every thing worthy of preservation in society. Let them go to the school of humanity, instead of the cloisters of monkish superstition; and abandoning the odious maxims of Machiavelian politics, take as their guide, Him who preached the doctrine of peace and good will towards men.

To be sensible of past misconduct, is the first step towards amendment; but this will be looked for in vain; from men, despising the admonitions of experience, and who blindly continue their iniquitous courses. The present is an awful period: The judgments of the Almighty seem to be abroad on the earth, to recall its thoughtless inhabitants to a sense of their duty. Whoever has marked the progress, and seriously reflected on the consequences of the events which have taken place in a rival empire, and which have convulsed almost every quarter of Europe, must be blinded by more than common scepticism to doubt this truth. The visitations, under which neighbouring countries are still suffering, have been but partially extended to us, although we have little reason to flatter ourselves that a superiority of national virtue entitles us to this exemption. When I look around me, and contemplate the state of our manners, the dissipation and extravagance of the upper

classes of society; the profligacy and licentiousness of the common people; and reflect upon the crimes, odious to the feelings of man, which have been lately perpetrated; I am almost compelled to exclaim that the measure of our cup is fast filling, and that we, in our turn, shall call down the avenging hand which has already desolated other sinful nations. Let us hope, therefore, that we shall be wise before it be too late; and that our councils may be guided by wisdom, and their decrees founded in justice. The example of the great may yet lead the people back to the paths of virtue, and the oppressions of the poor cease in the land. Then may we look up to the Almighty for favour. Then may we hope that peace, plenty, and happiness, will return to dwell among us; and that the safety of the throne, the country, and the constitution, will be established on a basis, over which, time itself shall not prevail.

## FRENCH INVASION IN 1798.

Scarcely was the rebellion suppressed, when three French frigates, having troops on board, arrived in Killala Bay on the north coast of Connaught. On the 22d of August they disembarked a body of men, amounting to somewhat more than 1,000, under General Humbert, together with 5,000 stand of arms, for equipping such of the natives as might join them. The occurrences which took place on this occasion, have been faithfully and accurately detailed in a "Narrative," published soon after the event: and generally ascribed to the then bishop of Killala\*, the Rev. Dr. Stock, who had been a prisoner in the hands of the French. It has gone through several editions; and as nothing that this prelate asserts has been contradicted, it must be considered as an authentic document.

In that part of Connaught, although the republican principles of the United Irishmen, as was the case in Wexford, had not been so widely disseminated as in some other districts; and although the people were without leaders, yet immense numbers flocked to the French head quarters, and ranged themselves under their banners. Men, being attached to their country by many strong ties, have a natural desire to defend it, unless the conduct of their rulers has been so oppressive as to make them prefer a foreign yoke to domestic slavery. The circumstance, therefore, of these deluded people, crowding round the invading foe to welcome his arrival, is a striking proof of a radical evil in Ireland, which rendered them discontented, and excited them to revolt.

Soon after the French had effected a landing, two or three Irish chieftains, elated with whiskey, and elevated by the hope of having some new opportunities of displaying their valour, raised again the war-whoop of the Orangemen; and by their imprudent officiousness, revived the alarm which had scarcely subsided, and spread a new panic throughout the country.

\* Dr. Stock is now Bishop of Waterford.

The French marched from Killala by a route which had been thought impassable, towards Castlebar, having no other artillery than two small curried guns. At that place they were met by a military force, under the late Lord, then General, Lake, and major-general, now Lord Hutchinson. The force which these two officers had at their disposal has been differently stated from 1,200 to 2,000 men, furnished with sufficient artillery. The French consisted of only 800 men fatigued with a most harassing and difficult march, and encumbered with the peasantry to the number of from 1,000 to 1,500; yet, extraordinary as it may appear, the King's forces were beaten, and obliged to retire with the loss of 14 pieces of cannon, 53 men killed, 34 wounded, and 279 prisoners, or deserters.

The vanquished troops, dismayed by the unexpected result of the rencounter, fled to Tuam, thirty miles to the South East, where they halted but a short time before, they proceeded to Athlone, thirty-four miles farther. The annals of our military history are not stained with an action of so much disgrace; but the most distressing circumstance attending it was, that the greater part of the missing were privates of the Kilkenny and Longford regiments of militia, who, being deserters, were afterwards all tried by military tribunals, and shot.

The French did not pursue the King's troops a single mile of the sixty-four which they had fled, but wheeled off to the northward; a circumstance accounted for a few weeks after, by the capture of the Hoche French man of war, which had sailed in company with eight frigates, having on board 5,000 troops, destined to land at Lough Swilly, in the county of Donegal. The line of battle ships, and most of the frigates, were captured by the squadron under Sir John Borlase Warren.

There are but two passes through which the French troops could have penetrated into Donegal, one by Ballyshannon, and the other by Enniskillen, both difficult; and, therefore, they marched round to the south of Lough Erne; but not being able to proceed northward, to meet the expected reinforcement, they finally surrendered to an army of 26,000 men, under Marquis Cornwallis, at Ballynamuck, in the county of Longford.

Although the French had submitted, Killala remained in the hands of the rebels; but their reign was not of long duration, and the place was soon taken possession of by the King's troops.

Thus ended an invasion which, had it happened two months earlier, would, in all probability, have been the means of once more spreading the flames of civil discord throughout the whole country. The events to which it gave birth have no other connexion with the subject of this work, than as they form a corroborating testimony of the temper and disposition of the people at the time; and I fear that the twelve years which have since elapsed, have not effected a material change in their sentiments. I, indeed, entertain so doubtful an opinion of their loyalty, that I

should dread, to see their fidelity again put to the test by another such occurrence. This event is of importance also, as it shews what dependence is to be placed on the militia regiments of Ireland. This is, however, a delicate subject; and I should, have abstained from any farther observations upon it, did I not entertain a hope that these hints will induce those, who are intrusted with the formation and distribution of our military force, to turn their attention to the discipline of the Irish militia regiments, and render them more cautious in the choice both of officers and privates. I am convinced that the only method of reclaiming them from their habits, weaning them from their attachments, or removing their prejudices, is to station them in England; on British soil, their propensities will be changed, and they may become as good soldiers as any in Europe. If retained in Ireland, unless their nature and disposition be much altered, they may be exposed to temptations, which it will not, perhaps, be in their power to resist. Nationality renders them less fit, in cases of civil war, to be opposed to men whom they might be induced to consider as their friends; or whom, in consequence of that bitterness with which warfare is always carried on between people of the same country, they might treat with more than usual severity. Should any new commotion take place, the deluded partisans of rebellion would be as effectually reduced to obedience by troops not natives of the country, and with less outrage to humanity.

In consequence of the spirit manifested by the people of Connaught on the landing of the French, and of the numbers which joined them, I was induced to turn my attention to that part of the country; but never having been in the north-western districts, I endeavoured to procure information respecting the disposition of its inhabitants, from persons who had the best opportunity of knowing it. On this subject I had frequent conversations, and some only a few months before his death, with my late friend, Dr. Law, Bishop of Elphin. Those who were fortunate enough to enjoy his lordship's acquaintance, will attest, that he was a man distinguished by superior acuteness and observation. As he resided constantly within the province, his opinions must be the more deserving of confidence. He stated to me, that he believed little dependence could be placed in the attachment of the people to the existing order of things; and he seemed anxious to impress on my mind the importance of the observation, and the danger that still threatened the country. He intreated me to examine them attentively, and, on that account, I asked many questions, which I should otherwise have omitted. The result of my inquiries confirmed the opinion of the bishop; and, although I had no intercourse with the inhabitants west of Killala, I visited most other parts of the country. When I told them of the defeat of the French in Spain, the reply was: "Oh! that's only in the papers." It is only from replies to questions apparently indifferent, that their real feelings can be discovered, and a proper judgment formed of their inclinations. If the reader should find it difficult to account for the prevalence of this spirit, let him

inquire into the conduct of the invading army in the whole line of their march, and compare it with that of the army which was sent for their protection. Whoever reads the narrative of the Bishop of Killala, will be at no loss to assign a reason for the disposition of the people in that part of the country. "Early in the morning, the loyalists were desired by the rebels to come up with them to the hill over which the needle tower is built, in order to be eye-witnesses of the havoc a party of the King's army was making, as it advanced from Sligo. A train of fire too clearly distinguished their line of march, flaming up from the houses of unfortunate peasants. 'They are only a few cabins,' remarked the bishop, and he had scarcely uttered the words when he felt the imprudence of them. 'A poor man's cabin,' answered one of the rebels, 'is to him as valuable as a palace.'"<sup>\*</sup> What a lesson has this rebel given to the government of Ireland? This remark is an axiom which the statesman ought never to forget. It deserves to be inscribed in letters of gold, over the cabinet door of every minister.

Another circumstance, equally striking, and related on the same authority, took place after the king's troops were in possession of Killala, which merits also to be recorded. "If the people of Killala were distressed to find accommodation for the multitude of officers that now poured in upon them, they experienced yet greater inconvenience from the predatory habits of the soldiery. The régiments that came to their assistance, being all militia, seemed to think they had a right to take the property they had been the means of preserving, and to use it as their own whenever they stood in need of it. Their rapacity differed in no respect from that of the rebels, except that they seized upon things with somewhat less ceremony or excuse, and that His Majesty's soldiers were incomparably superior to the Irish traitors in dexterity at stealing."<sup>†</sup> This is no partial evidence, which can be answered by doubting its veracity; no tale related afterwards by an indifferent spectator; but the account of a protestant bishop who was present on the spot. Better testimony, therefore, could not be adduced; and I confess I cannot help blushing for my country.‡

"One mode of frustrating the efforts of conspiracy and rebellion, which was resorted to in this kingdom, every person, I think, since the tempest of civil fury has now passed by, must deprecate, according to an Italian phrase, even 'on the knees of their minds.' It was that of extorting confession by whippings, by half-hangings, by torture; a preventive system, as it was called; but which, in fact, had it brought forth thousands of arms moré than it did, could not compensate for the too ample

<sup>\*</sup> Narrative of what passed at Killala in 1798, 5th edit. p. 125.

<sup>†</sup> Narrative, p. 151.

<sup>‡</sup> So great was the extent of these predatory habits, that "the Marquis Cornwallis sent ten Commissioners to Killala and its vicinity, for the express purpose of ascertaining the damages done by the king's troops."

See Narrative, p. 408.

means it furnished of nutriment to our worst passions, and the outrage it offered to the constitution."\*

"It is surely to be lamented, and the more so as it can scarcely be avoided, that in times so fraught with danger as those which now prevailed in Ireland, no inconsiderable portion of the authority of the state should be consigned to low, illiberal, vindictive men; at a distance, perhaps, from the seat of government; who, intoxicated with their new power, and eager to shew their zeal in hopes of some preferment, grossly abuse that authority."†

"To the honour of the leading military characters here, let it be said that they always shewed lenity; and, to the disgrace of another class in society, who very properly styled themselves not military, and very improperly, men of peace, let it also be said that such lenity was by them always condemned."‡

\* Hardy's Life of Lord Charlemont, p. 403.

† Ibid. p. 405.

‡ Ibid. p. 408.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

## PARTIES.

**PARTIES** have existed in England at various periods, and under different denominations, according to the prevailing opinions of the times; and some have enjoyed a longer existence than others, when their politics were founded on general principles, and not on particular measures of legislation. In Ireland, all the parties, if, so, they may be called, are ranged under the banners of three powerful families; one of which, if not two, is invariably attached to the administration of the day, and who in general, under every lord lieutenant, may be considered as directing the political machine in Ireland. The contest between these families is for places and power, and their politics have invariably been rendered subservient to this purpose. Ambition, well directed, is a stimulus to great and praise-worthy actions; it creates heroes, statesmen, and legislators; but as we all are liable to error, and as an inordinate love of power seduces men from their duty, it is necessary that the conduct of those, in whose breasts it predominates, should be carefully watched and controlled. "We find man acting uniformly from the principle of self-interest, expediency, duty, or passion. In this he is alike wherever he is found."\*

The families to which I allude are those of Beresford, Ponsonby, and Foster; and in pursuance of my undertaking, I find it necessary to examine the influence and power which each of these possesses.

The present leader of the Beresford family is Mr. John Claudius Beresford, a banker in Dublin. This gentleman is less a politician, perhaps, than many of his predecessors; his address is that of his country, almost to caricature; but under this exterior, there are some excellent qualities, a warm heart, a friendly disposition, and a most delicate sense of honour. In the course of a life, marked by some vicissitudes, he has established a character which many may envy, and which few can acquire. This account of Mr. Beresford was written before his commercial misfortune, which took place in the latter end of the year 1810; but that event has not in the least altered my opinion of him, and if his family be prudent, they will continue to make him their political guide.

I consider it a fortunate circumstance, that the Beresford influence should have fallen into such good hands: but in any it forms so great a weight in the political

\* Sir James Steuart.

scale, as renders it necessary for government to watch it with a jealous eye. How far this observation is just, will appear, perhaps, from the following instance: When a late lord-lieutenant left Ireland, he complained to a noble friend, that "he found the influence of the first commissioner of wide streets, (a Beresford) more powerful than his own." The Marquis, in point of honours and fortune, is at the head of this noble family.

Their parliamentary interest consists of one member for the county of Londonderry, one for Waterford, one for the borough of Coleraine, and a strong interest in the election for Londonderry city, strengthened by the alliance of Sir George Hill, who is married to the sister of Mr. John Claudius Beresford. They are supposed also to possess an influence over one of the present members for Leitrim County, who is a cousin of the Marquis; but this is temporary, as it does not arise from estates in the county.

In the church the Marquis's uncle is Archbishop of Tuam; his brother, Bishop of Raphoe, and his cousin, the brother of Mr. J. C. Beresford, is Bishop of Kilmore. The gallant General Beresford, who has distinguished himself so much by his brilliant exploits in Portugal, and Captain Beresford of the navy, are near relations to the Marquis.

To trace out all the interest which this family possess in the church and state, would be endless; as I have been told that one-fourth, at least, of all the places in the kingdom are filled by their dependants or connexions.

In politics they have generally been opposed to the Ponsonby family, until the period of the last administration, when they joined in its support; and they did not come over to the party now in place, till they saw it completely established. They were favourable to the union; the present Marquis, then Earl of Tyrone, proposed that measure in the House of Commons. In the Roman Catholic question, they take no part;\* and in every debate in parliament, respecting it, they remain neuter. In manners they are uniformly affable, pleasant, and courteous. They are, therefore, popular; and it is a common saying in Ireland, that "a Beresford pays more attention to an enemy than a Ponsonby does to a friend."

At the head of the Ponsonby family stands the Right Hon. George Ponsonby, who was Chancellor of Ireland during the late administration. This gentleman possesses a sound judgment and an excellent heart. His character, therefore, is justly held in high estimation, and in no period of his life did it appear to more advantage, than during the time he was placed in that exalted judicial situation, which he lately held.

Lord Ponsonby, his nephew, enjoys the family title and honours. His estate is

\* Since this was written the Beresfords have voted against the consideration of the Catholic petition.

in the county of Cork; it is worth about £10,000. per annum, but by the encumbrances upon it, the income it yields is greatly reduced. Small, however, as it is, when compared with many estates in the neighbourhood, it has been the means of sending his brother George to parliament, as the representative for the county, an advantage not very likely to be retained.

The most conspicuous among the connexions of this family is, the Right Hon. Dennis B. Daly, who married a sister of the late Lord Ponsonby. His popular manners and excellent character, have secured to him the representation of Galway county; and he commands the alternate return for Galway town. His estate is much more considerable in Galway and in the King's county, than that of Lord Ponsonby in Cork.

A daughter of the Right Hon. George Ponsonby was married to Mr. Prittie, a brother of Lord Donally. He is member for the county of Tipperary, and brother-in-law to Lord Charleville. His sister married Mr. Bernard, the member for the King's county, who votes with Lord Charleville, and must be considered the partisan of that nobleman, and not of the Ponsonby family.

Lord Lismore is nephew to the Right Hon. George Ponsonby, and in politics, accords with his uncle. Lord Shannon, and Mr. Hyde, who are both men of great power in the south of Ireland, are also connected with this family; but in their politics they pursue an opposite line.

In England, Lord Besborough is nearly related to this family. His lordship possesses 17,000 acres in Kilkenny, which has returned his son as one of its representatives; but when the Ormonde property falls under proper management, so as to be freed from its encumbrances, it may return both the members for that county, as easily as it does one at present.

The Ponsonby's are related also to Lord Fitzwilliam, who may be said to return the Right Hon. George Ponsonby. Lord Fitzwilliam also returns the two members for Wicklow county, who are attached to the Ponsonby interest.

The Duke of Devonshire, who might exercise great parliamentary influence in the south of Ireland, leaves it to the Ponsonby family; but it is so badly managed, that the advantages are lost. The members for Dungarvon and Bandon Bridge, were returned by the Duke's interest; but Dungarvon is open to contest; and Bandon Bridge has fallen under the influence of Lord Bandon, who for the purpose of aiding private interest, returned Mr. Tierney, on the nomination of the Duke of Devonshire. The powerful family of Cavendish, cannot, therefore, be considered as having any permanent parliamentary influence in Ireland; and except what is possessed by Mr. Daly, and Lord Besborough's return of one member to the present parliament, for the county of Kilkenny, the Ponsonby family have no election interest.

Like the Beresfords, they have numerous connexions and supporters in Ire:

land, many of whom enjoy very considerable situations, both in the church and the state.

In their manners, the Ponsonby family are shy and reserved; and, therefore, they have been erroneously considered supercilious; but certainly they do not merit this character. On the contrary, to those who have a knowledge of them from personal intercourse, their behaviour is that of the accomplished gentleman; and they are gifted with a benevolence of heart, which endears them in private life to all those who have the happiness of enjoying their friendship.

Lord Ponsonby married a daughter of the Earl of Jersey, and his sister is married to Earl Grey. This family joined with Mr. Foster in his opposition to the union; and on the catholic question, they have, of late years, coalesced with Mr. Grattan, in voting for the emancipation. The decided part which has been taken by them on that subject, is so recent, that they do not yet possess the confidence of the catholics, who attribute their support rather to an idea of the catholic power, than from a conviction of its justice. The catholics are more inclined to believe that the Ponsonby interest acquires strength from them, than their cause is benefited by the Ponsonby support.

The Right Hon. John Foster, is the head of the family of that name, which had once to sustain a contest with the Ponsonby interest; when their respective powers were put to the test. This occurred in the contest of these gentlemen for the chair of the House of Commons, in which Mr. Foster was opposed by the late Lord (then Mr.) Ponsonby. That event took place in the early part of their political career, and terminated in Mr. Foster's favour. This gentleman held that high and honourable situation until the union; he has been in some official employment during the whole course of his long political life. In a knowledge of the resources of his country, he stands unrivalled; having been favoured with opportunities which have seldom fallen to the lot of other men; and his great acquirements are a proof that he neglected not to profit by these advantages. Possessing a taste for these pursuits, and a strong desire to be useful, the driest studies were to him only an amusement; and his mind being as much fitted for abstruse research, as for the labour of business, he has been able, in a very unusual degree, to unite theory with practice. His disposition is naturally ardent, and he is personally bold, and decisive in all his political measures; following, at all times, the line of conduct that his judgment directs, although it be in opposition to the strongest impulse of popular opinion. Ireland, and her improvement, are the objects nearest to his heart. He has uniformly supported every measure which he thought conducive to her interest; sometimes, perhaps, erroneously; but always with an honest zeal. He is representative for the county of Louth; and his son, the Right Hon. Thomas Foster, for the town of Drogheda, which is all the parliamentary interest now in the family. The character of Colonel Foster is so highly honourable,

that it has never been attacked even by malignity itself. Mr. Foster's brother was bishop of Clogher, and has left a son, Mr. John Leslie Foster, the representative for the university of Dublin. His sister was the wife of the Rev. Dr. Maxwell, bishop of Meath; whose son, the Right Hon. Maxwell Barry, is member for the county of Cavan, and heir to the Earl of Farnham. Mr. Foster's daughter is married to Lord Dufferin: Mr. Foster himself married his first cousin, Viscountess Ferrard, whose sister was the wife of Hussey Burgh; a man much more celebrated for his extraordinary learning and eloquence, than by his situation as Chief Baron of the Exchequer. Mr. Foster has several nephews, one of whom is Dean of St. Patrick's. Mr. Sneyd, member for the county of Cavan, married a niece of Lady Ferrard's. Mr. Rochford, chairman of the Commissioners of Inquiry, is also a nephew of Mr. Foster; and his family, like that of the two preceding, has many other connexions which add to its influence and strength.

Mr. Grattan is the son of a Recorder of Dublin, and has rendered himself conspicuous by his extraordinary eloquence, and the decided part he has always taken in most of the great political questions which has agitated Ireland for many years past. Until the day that he gave his support to the Insurrection Bill, he may be considered as the real and efficient protestant leader of the Roman catholics in that country; but his sanction of that measure has greatly diminished the confidence which they had till then reposed in him. In private life he bears a most amiable character; and the Roman catholics of Ireland will, probably, never find a more able, zealous, or powerful advocate. In his general politics he was a supporter of the war, in opposition to the opinion of Mr. Fox; and he was war-minister during the short administration of Earl Fitzwilliam. Were the confidence of the Roman catholic body restored to this gentleman, his support would become so powerful, independently of his connexions of great weight and consequence in parliament, that he might be considered as possessing nearly as much political influence, as any of the three families before mentioned. He was a strong anti-unionist, and when the union was proposed, supported the Foster and Ponsonby families against government and the Beresford interest.

Having reserved a separate chapter for religious parties, any further observations are unnecessary. The reader will readily conceive, from the slight sketch which I have here given of the powerful families that divide among themselves the political influence of Ireland, how the parties will be supported when any question of great importance to the country agitates the public mind. This country, therefore, may be said to be ruled by an oligarchy; for which ever way the preponderating influence of these families is directed, thither the current of power must flow. In free governments, the existence of aristocratical parties seems necessary to preserve an equilibrium between the sovereign and the people. As all are subject to the reign of passion; the governors as well as the governed; it is proper that a regulating

power should exist, to restrain as well the influence of the crown, as to repress the encroachments of the people; but when party influence is exclusively divided between two or three over-grown families, much is left to chance, or the caprice of individuals; and the salutary equipoise of the different members of the state, may be either deranged or destroyed.\* Such a state of things, therefore, is exceedingly dangerous, not only to the liberty and happiness of the people, but to the free exercise of the executive authority.

I have ventured to give but a slight sketch of the character of these leaders; yet I have done sufficient, I hope, to convey some idea of the consequences likely to result from their interference in the political arrangements of the empire. Although personally known to them all, I have little intimacy with some; with others I have lived on terms of the closest friendship. To me, therefore, the subject is one of the most delicate nature; and I have, consequently, endeavoured to touch it with a careful and tender hand; I have confined myself merely to such an outline as will afford no cause for a charge of partiality or misrepresentation. With all due respect for the aristocracy of the country, and a sincere esteem for such of them as have thought me worthy of their particular notice, I should be grieved if offence were taken where none was certainly intended. But with these sentiments, I have no hesitation in remarking, that, in my opinion, were there only in existence one of these family political parties in Ireland, it would possess an influence too powerful for the territorial extent of the country. The mischief is that the country is kept in a continual state of agitation, from the necessity there is of balancing the power of these great families against each other, to prevent a preponderance of either, that would become too oppressive to the people and endanger the safety of the state.

Aristotle, rather ludicrously for so grave a writer, compares a state in which the different parts are not properly proportioned, to a countenance, wherein the nose is too large for the other features.† If the simile be correct, it must be admit-

\* A celebrated ancient writer on politics, suggests a very severe measure to be pursued against those in a state, who have acquired too much influence, either by their riches, or their friends. He is for banishing them, without any ceremony, from the country. I mention this, merely to shew what sentiments were formerly entertained upon this subject, and how jealous people have been, in regard to their liberty and independence. Such expedients are not suited to modern ideas of government; the power of individuals may be restrained by other means; and all that I desire is, that where influence of this kind exists, there should be something to counterbalance it. "Καὶ μάλιστα μὴν συμῶσθαι τοῖς νόμοις ὅπως ἄγουσιν ἄσπετα μαθῶνα ἐγγίσθαι πολλὴν υπερῆχοντα δυνάμει μὴτὴ φίλων μὴτὴ χρημάτων· εἶδε μὲν ἀποδηματικὰς ποιῆσθαι τὰς παραστάσεις αὐτῶν." *Arist. Polit. lib. v. cap. viii. edit. Francof. 1601. 8vo. p. 344.*

† "Ἀγιοῦντις ὅτι καθάπερ ἴς ἐστὶ προεβιβηκυῖα μὲν τὴν εὐθύτητα τὴν καλλίστην πρὸς τὸ γρηγορὸν ἢ τὸ εἰμὸν ἀλλ' ὅμως ἔστι καλὴ καὶ χάρις ἔχουσα πρὸς τὴν εὐψίαν. ὅν μὲν ἀλλ' εἰς ἐπιτεῖται τις ἴτι μᾶλλον εἰς τὴν ἀπερβολὴν πρῶτον μὲν ἀποβαλεῖ τὴν μετρίότητα τὴ μορῶν. τέλος δ' ὅπως ἄσπετα μὲν ἴτι ποιεῖται φαῖσθαι, ἀσπετα τὴν υπερῆχον καὶ τὴν ἔλλειψιν τὴν ἐλαττωμένην." *Arist. Polit. lib. v. Francof. 1601. 8vo. p. 350.*

ted, that this prominence on the political face of Ireland is, as Aristotle describes it; and were one disposed to be facetious on so interesting a subject, it might be said that this country is led by the nose. But to be serious, however, it would add to the advantage of the public, were it possible more equally to diffuse this aristocratical influence throughout the country. In all states where civilization or political freedom have made little progress, wealth and power are engrossed by a few great families; but such an order of things, in a country emerging from such a state, cannot be of long duration. Commerce and trade open so many channels for the acquirement of wealth, that its more equal distribution will be the consequence: and, as wealth furnishes the means of acquiring knowledge, which, is in itself power, that influence which these families may have so long enjoyed will not gradually decline.

A short period may effect such an alteration in the internal state of Ireland, as to bring about a complete change in the present system of political influence. In the common course of events, some families decline, and others rise into notice. Neither virtue nor talents are hereditary; and wealth is the most unstable of all human possessions. We have seen, in our own days, in England, families who were emblazoned with honours, loaded with wealth, and exercising the most unbounded influence, gradually sink into obscurity, and vanish from the political horizon; while new meteors have appeared, shedding their lustre for a time, and terminating their career in a similar manner. Already has one of those great Irish families been left without a leader; and its members are so extended throughout Ireland, that I should not be surprised, in the course of twenty years to find a difference of political sentiment even among themselves. The Ponsonby family have no young man likely to succeed the present head of their party: there is little probability, therefore, of their power being increased, or even preserved at the elevation to which it has attained. The Foster interest seems to be more fortunate; their supporters look up with confidence to Mr. John Leslie Foster, a young man of more than common promise; a patriot statesman, educated in the best school, and competent, by his qualifications both natural and acquired, to succeed his uncle; and I can foresee nothing to prevent his becoming the leading man in the political phalanx of Ireland; unless the great success he has had at the bar, to which he was admitted at an early age, should induce him to devote himself to that profession exclusively. Should he attain to a distinguished judicial situation, he would, perhaps, confine himself to his professional duties, which he would certainly discharge with great zeal, honour, and impartiality.

It would not be difficult to point out the arrangement, under these heads, of all the nobility and gentry of Ireland; but this would be a political calendar, not, perhaps, very acceptable to either party, nor of service to the country; I shall, therefore, remain satisfied with the outline I have given.

There still remains one party to be mentioned, although it has but little connexion with the politics of the day. It consists of persons, who, giving credit to tradition, consider themselves as the real descendants of the ancient settlers, and who with confidence hope that "their estates," as they term them, will one day be restored. Some even go so far as to bequeath these estates to their friends or relatives.\* I do not, however, consider them to be numerous; and I know, that among themselves, their titles to these estates would be very much contested. Mr. Roger O'Connor may be considered as at the head of these claimants: he is a protestant;† and, I understand, treats the catholic grievances and complaints with contempt, asserting that the people want only the restoration of their property. There may be a few who make this their chief object. Ancestral pride, maintained by popular tradition, and strengthened by the general feeling of a nation accustomed to boast of its antiquity, may induce many to cherish high ideas of the greatness of their families and former property; although the accounts are obscure and imperfect, and notwithstanding they have little or rather no hopes of these supposed estates ever reverting into their hands.

To confiscate the estates of persons convicted of rebellion, although it has been the usual practice, is certainly an impolitic measure, as it tends only to increase and perpetuate discontent and disaffection. Attainted property, therefore, should be retained in the hands of the crown, that government may have it in its power to make restitution where the loyalty and good conduct of the claimants merit such an indulgence. Never was a wiser measure adopted than that proposed by the late Lord Melville, of restoring the forfeited estates in Scotland to the legal representatives of the families to which they had originally belonged. Those clans which had been the most active in the different rebellions, are now as loyal as any subjects in the empire, and as much attached to the illustrious House of Brunswick as they were formerly to the unfortunate House of Stuart. The heads of them have of late been the most forward to take up arms when the country called them from their native mountains; and there is scarcely a place upon the globe in which they have not maintained their warlike character, and distinguished themselves by their enterprising spirit, gallantry, and zeal. But the persons in Ireland, who delude themselves with such expectations, have no foundation for their claims, and stand in a very different situation. They are of all the parties in the state, if they can be so called, the weakest, and the least worthy of attention.

\* CLARE. QUEEN ABBEY.—A number of people, who were sauntering about the abbey, shewed me the tomb of the real M'Namara. On asking them what they meant by that term, they said, that many claimed that honour, but that this was the real heir.

† A friend of mine says, Mr. Roger O'Connor is not descended from an ancient Irish family. His grandfather came over from England as steward to the Duke of Devonshire, and soon becoming agent to his Grace's estates in the county of Gork, made a large fortune, and purchased an estate.

In Ulster there is a very strong republican party; but which is overawed by the superior numbers of the Roman Catholics, who are sincere friends to monarchical government; these do not attempt to propagatè their principles, nor do they possess that consequence which, under other circumstances, they might, perhaps, attain. Their leaders, however, are well known; but many who would have formed their most daring and zealous partisans, finding their principles disliked, and their views little encouraged, emigrated to America.

In this province also, there was formed some years ago, a most dangerous and, as it has since proved, most mischievous political party, which I have before mentioned by the name of Orangemen. Under the standard of this party were enrolled persons "who were just as good protestants as any in all Ireland;" and with them protestantism and loyalty were supposed to be synonymous terms. Had this party been formed in the hour of danger, when the country was threatened with rebellion; had they enlisted men of all religious persuasions, who were willing to support government, much praise would have been due to their leaders, for their zeal and exertions. But the invidious exclusion of Roman Catholics created so marked a religious distinction, that it almost threw the latter into a state of open insurrection, from the protestants assuming the privilege of being armed, while they were prohibited the use of every weapon of defence.

The period of the rebellion required more than common coolness, and was accompanied by events which made it difficult for the best intentioned men to determine what line of conduct to pursue. The continuation of this party is a stigma upon the good sense of the government and the country, and has a tendency to wound the feelings and ruffle the temper of a great portion of His Majesty's subjects, whom it is the more necessary to conciliate when they may be inclined to disaffection. I am not ignorant of the apology of the gentlemen who have placed themselves at the head of this association. "We did so for the good of our country; we were the supporters of government in the hour of danger; and we proved ourselves to be loyal men." The word loyalty has been strangely prostituted in Ireland as well as in other countries; and has been the cant expression of every designing knave and impostor when it suited his purpose. As the watch-word of party, many a daring hypocrite has used it to enable him to indulge the natural tyranny of his disposition. With this spell on his lips, and an orange ribbon in his yeomanry cap, this knight-errant, like his renowned predecessor, has sallied out armed, to disturb the happiness, and trample on the rights of his fellow-citizens.

The first paragraph in the general declaration of the Orange Institution is, "that their object is the support of King and Constitution;" or, that being protestants, they "associate, &c." It thus became at once a religious association, which fomented and encouraged the most malignant feelings of the heart. But I am happy to state that this party is now on the decline; it is deserted by many who originally be-

longed to it, and who are now its opposers, lamenting that it was ever instituted. A few years, and the diffusion of wiser and more liberal sentiments, will, I trust, bring about its dissolution, and obliterate even the remembrance of its existence.

The Irish are in general so extravagant in their hopes, and so sanguine in their expectations, that they are often disappointed; and, from the mortification which it produces they as readily abandon their favourite schemes, as they were anxious to support them before they were sufficiently aware of their consequences. A much greater immediate benefit it was supposed would arise from the union than even its promoters foresaw or conceived; it has, therefore, lost some of its popularity, and the unionists are now few in number. Their patron, Lord Castlereagh, has at present little to do with Ireland; he is settled in England, and, as the measure has been accomplished, its supporters have withdrawn themselves from public notice, under loads of wealth, that they may enjoy in retirement the rewards of the infamous and the corrupt means by which it was effected. I am not an enemy to the union; I have already expressed my sentiments respecting it in the introduction to this work; but I condemn the arts which were used, and the deceptions that were practised to accomplish it. Arts that tended only to spread venality where too much had already existed; to teach men to barter the most sacred rights of their country for personal interest; and to break down the hallowed fence, which virtue has reared between public and private advantage—between selfishness and duty.

Although I have stated that there are three great parties in Ireland, who regulate the political balance, and collect around them all those who possess any interest or power in the country; it is to be observed, that there is a great portion of the population, either too ignorant to be affected by political questions, or too remote from the principal scenes of action to become acquainted with them; their poverty also disheartens them from interesting themselves about measures, which they know, from long experience, will have little influence on their happiness. In the course of my journeys, I frequently inquired of the people whether they ever heard of such men as Pitt, Fox, Ponsenby, Foster, &c.; and I was astonished to find, notwithstanding the intelligence and acuteness which they display in the common affairs of life, that many of them were unacquainted even with their names. The name of Cromwel, however, seemed to be very familiar to them, as the great object of their hatred; and such of them, but the number was very small, as had any idea of modern statesmen, appeared to be no less rancorous against Mr. Pitt, never pronouncing his name without the strongest marks of indignation; and the common remark, according to their coarse, but emphatic mode of expression, was, that "he was frying in hell." They all knew the great land-owner of the district where they resided, and particularly when he happened to be a resident. They spoke of Bonaparté, but never in terms of detestation: if they ever uttered any thing severe against him, it was on account of his treatment of the pope. When told of his

tyrannical disposition, his unprincipled conduct towards the whole civilized world, his *code de conscription*, his cruelty to individuals, and of the whole catalogue of his crimes, they listened with attention, but could not be persuaded that the accounts were true.

In all states, there is a part of the people, from their situation, so debased, or so habitually thoughtless, that they concern themselves very little respecting the political occurrences of their country; yet, perhaps, this is less the case in Ireland, than elsewhere, where the poorer classes enjoy the same opportunities and the same advantages. Notwithstanding that the people of Ireland do not enter into the minutiae of politics, and seem little interested in the downfall of one minister, or the elevation of another, nor appear to be anxious about the fluctuations of party, many of them have very correct ideas of the general state of the country, which they acquire by that spirit of inquisitiveness so peculiar in their character. In the wilds of Connaught, many, although entirely ignorant of political parties, were unanimous in their hatred to the government of the castle; which, whatever form it may assume, or whoever may direct its measures, is considered as the focus of oppression—a place where they apprehend every ray of power is concentrated to keep them in a state of slavish subjection; and this opinion, handed down from father to son as a legacy, acquires new strength in every succeeding generation.

Although these classes pay little attention to political parties, they are always ready to form private *factions*, or associations; like the inhabitants of savage countries, where the government is weak, and the people barbarous. These coalitions are always for the redress, either of private wrongs, or public grievances, but without any permanent object, or with any intention of overturning the government. Such associations have a great resemblance to those of feudal times, but with this difference, that the latter were always headed by some chief, or leader, who often restrained their impetuosity, and moderated their fury; those now in Ireland are, for the most part, tumultuous meetings, where the people act without concert, are irregular in their movements, and frequently undecided in action.

Nothing is more necessary to men in power, than an accurate acquaintance with the disposition, the habits, and the opinions of those, whom they are appointed to govern; yet I have often been astonished to find these persons completely ignorant on this subject. Often on my returning to Dublin, from an excursion into the country, I have seen the whole government corps engaged in the bustle of public business; while their minister was exulting in the success of some recent political event; and when the opposition leaders were anxiously collecting their forces for the meeting of parliament; as if the fate of the country depended upon the measures of these two parties. In the course of conversation with these politicians, of whatever description, I always found that they were impressed with the idea, that the whole people of Ire-

land were interested in the objects of their particular pursuit, and eagerly watching their conduct. But how vain the idea! Little did these men know the real dispositions of those whom they considered as their partisans, and to whom they looked for support. The greater part were quite indifferent to their fate, and would have felt no uncommon sorrow, had they been all swallowed up by the ocean.

On such occasions, I could not help smiling at the idle confidence of these statesmen, who, wrapped up in an idea of their accurate knowledge of the disposition of the inhabitants of the country, were as ignorant on the subject as a child. I have frequently observed, also, among the higher ranks residing on their estates, that, although acquainted with the sentiments of the people in their own neighbourhood, they were strangers to those of the inhabitants of an adjoining county. It is, perhaps, necessary for men of property, to extend their views a little beyond the circle of their immediate district; and, considering the state of Ireland, landed proprietors ought to make this one of the principal objects of their attention. That man was intended, by Providence, to exist in a state of society, there are few, I believe, will question; and, from their various talents and dispositions, it seems necessary that a difference of rank should arise, that those of superior abilities might defend those that are weak. Every individual, therefore, has a part to perform in the grand drama of life; and, as he discharges this duty with indifference or zeal, the happiness and safety of the whole body will be more or less complete: but the evil is, that men, forming erroneous notions of their own interest, mistake selfishness for patriotism, and while they have no wants themselves, care little about those of others. Too much engrossed with their own concerns, and forgetting that they are members of one family, they betray the best interests of their country.

Having given this short detail of the parties in Ireland, whose principal object is *power*, it would have afforded me great satisfaction to be able to close the chapter with an account of an association, formed upon the basis of independence, and a desire to protect the constitutional liberties of the country. It is only by a party established on such principles, that the property, the natural rights, and privileges of every class in the community, can be secure. Such a combination can alone give efficacy to the government, and uphold the throne; making the country respected abroad, and secure within itself: in a word, which can prevent those evils that have so frequently afflicted nations, and converted the fairest portions of the globe into theatres of bloodshed, rapine, and murder.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

## EDUCATION.

THE education of youth has in all ages been considered as the foundation of good government, because it is the only means by which man can be brought to a state of civilization, and be inspired with those correct notions of moral duty, which render him inoffensive in society, and obedient to the laws. Aristotle, therefore, says, that education ought to be the peculiar care of every legislator, and that no state, in which it is neglected, can continue long to exist.\* Plato likewise remarks, that to educate young persons, is the sure means by which to make them virtuous and good citizens.† But it is useless to go back to past ages for authorities to prove the necessity of education, or to exhibit its benefits, when universally diffused among a people.‡ We have one instance in the present day, within our own empire, which is so peculiarly striking, as to render any farther quotations on this subject unnecessary.

“ For to what do we ascribe the contrast between the brutish ignorance and flagitiousness, imputed to Scotland, by one of her fondest and most virtuous sons, at the close of the seventh century, and her present proficiency in literature and piety; the overflowing kirks, her un-needed gaols?—To what, but to the institution of paro-

\* Οτι μιν ὄντι τοις νομοθέταις μάλιστα πραγματικῶς περὶ τῶν τῶν αἰσίων παιδείας ὑδαὶς ἐν ἀμφισβητήσι. Καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν οὐ γιγνόμενοι τὸν βλάπτει τὰς πολιτείας. *Aristot. Polit. lib. viii. cap. 1. Francof. 1601. 8vo. p. 504.*

† Καὶ μιν πολιτεία ἰσὺς περὶ ἀπαξ ὁρμῆσιν ἐρχεται ὡσπερ κέλευθος ἀνεξάνομη. τροφὴ γὰρ καὶ παιδεία χρηστὴ σοφομένη, φύσει αγαθὰς ἐμποιοῦν. *Plato de leg. lib. iii. in Op. edit. Ficini. Franc. 1602. p. 634.*

Euripides says, “ what a child learns he will retain till old age, and therefore, it is of great importance to give children a good education.

Ἄ δ' αἶν μάθει πᾶσι ταῦτα σέξεται φίλον  
Πρὸς γῆρας ὄντι πᾶδας εὖ παιδεύεται.

*Supplices Mul. v. 926.*

‡ Some idea of the importance which the ancients attached to education, may be formed from an anecdote recorded of the Mityleneans: When their allies revolted, they interdicted them from giving education to their children, considering a life of ignorance as the greatest of all punishments. *Alliani Variæ Hist. lib. vii. cap. 15. edit. Skefferi. Argent. 1662, p. 90.*

A modern writer, of some eminence, speaking of education, says: “ Il est bien manifeste, que la première attention du Souverain doit être, de faire éclairer l'esprit de ses sujets, et de rien négliger pour qu'ils soient bien instruits des leur enfance, de toutes les principes qui peuvent les former à une vie honnête et tranquille, et des doctrines conformes au but et à l'avantage des sociétés. C'est le moyen le plus efficace de porter les hommes à une obéissance prompte et sûre et de former insensiblement les mœurs; sans cela les loix ne sont qu'un frein insuffisant pour retenir les hommes dans les bornes de leur devoir. Tant que les hommes n'obéissent pas aux loix par principe, leur obéissance n'est que précaire et n'a rien d'assuré, tout disposés à se soustraire à leur devoir des qu'ils croiront pouvoir le faire impunément.” *Burlamaqui Principes du Droit Politic. Amst. 1751, 4to. p. 169.*

chial seminaries, of which the benefit began to be sensibly felt about the period above mentioned."

This quotation is taken from a sermon, preached by the Rev. Francis Wrangham, F.R.S. before the judges of assize, at St. Peter's cathedral, York. The simple circumstance of "un-needed gaols," in so extensive a country as Scotland, affords a striking proof, that the doctrine of the illustrious Bacon, is something far beyond theory; and on that account, I have thought it better suited to my purpose, to draw the reader's attention to so strong a fact, than even to state the opinion of that great and wise man.

Scotland, as well as un-needed gaols, has poor laws like England,\* but her educated children scorn to seek for charitable relief. The Lord Advocate, Hope, is reported to have stated in the House of Commons, that "there were more convicts transported in one quarter session from Manchester, than from all Scotland in twelve months." He observed also, that "the executions in Scotland, on an average, did not amount to more than six in the course of any one year." I confine myself to the single observation, that no great change in the diminution of crimes can take place, excepting by the establishment of some system of education which shall extend itself to every class of the community, and impress the rising generation with a knowledge of their duties, and furnish incitements to perform them. The greater number of criminals, in every state of Europe, are of that class which is the most destitute of every species of education, whether of instruction, or of example, which latter is more powerful than precept. Scotland, where education is more general than in any other country of Europe, is likewise the least degraded by crimes. The tables, given in the works of Howard, shew that fifty-eight prisoners only have been condemned to death in the space of twenty years, in this kingdom; whose population amounts to at least 1,600,000 souls, an average of scarcely three in each year; while during the same period, four hundred and thirty-four have been condemned to death, in the circuit of Norfolk, in England; comprehending six counties, whose population can be hardly estimated at more than 800,000 persons, besides eight hundred and seventy-four sentenced to transportation, making an annual average of sixty-six capital convicts. In New England,† where (Rhode Island excepted) the laws and manners of the people powerfully concur to render education general among every class of citizens, there are comparatively fewer crimes committed than in any other part of America (excepting where the system of criminal jurisprudence has been altered, and in Pennsylvania, where the new management of prisoners has taken place). Education is within the reach of the great body of the peo-

\* See the Notes to Mr. Whitbread's Speech, by Mr. Horner, and the Rev. Sir Harry Moncrief. *Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates*, vol. viii. p. 878.

† A comparative view of mild and sanguinary laws, and the good effects of the former exhibited in the present economy of the prisons of Philadelphia. *By the Duke De Liancourt*, p. 41.

ple; but there the penal code is milder, and the discipline of the prisons more strict, more severe, and more accordant to the principles of justice. In this latter state, out of ten convicts, in general seven at least are strangers, and natives of Ireland in particular, who bring from their own country, little else besides poverty, ignorance, and habits of indolence, the seeds of every vice; which, however, have not produced their fruit so plentifully there as in other countries, the price of labour being high, and employment easily obtained. On this account, the acquisition of the means of subsistence is so facilitated, as scarcely to leave any one, although ever so idle, in danger of want. The criminals, who are natives of the states, are likewise commonly of that class which is the most destitute of education. Can these facts, which are so well authenticated, and of such indubitable authority, leave any doubt, as to the methods we ought to pursue to correct and diminish crimes, or of what success we may expect from the attempt?\*

Well might Drennan say of Knowledge—

“ Majestic tree ! that proudly waves,  
 “ Thy branching words, thy letter-leaves,  
 “ Thy root is truth, thy stem is pow’r,  
 “ And virtue thy consummate flow’r ;  
 “ Receive the circling nations’ vows,  
 “ And the world’s garland deck thy boughs.”†

Having devoted this chapter to the subject of education, I find it impossible to discuss it in a manner satisfactory to myself, without adverting to the religious differences in Ireland, which I intended to reserve for a separate discussion. But the farther I proceed in my inquiry, the more strongly do they force themselves upon my attention, and by closer examination, I find these differences so intimately connected with my leading object, that they could not be separated from it entirely.

The people of Ireland are, I may almost say, *universally educated*: many of my readers will, no doubt, smile at this expression; but I must beg leave to re-assert, that I do not know any part of Ireland so wild, that its inhabitants are not anxious, nay, eagerly anxious for the education of their children;‡ yet “crowded gaols, ferocious turbulence, habitual slothfulness, gloomy bigotry,”§ are traits in the Irish character, constantly exhibited to the public view.

How can such faults exist where the people are educated?—This seeming inconsistency requires explanation. During a part of the time I was in Ireland, I traversed nearly a whole province in company with my friend the Rev. Joshua Rowley,

\* See Duke de Liancourt, *ibid.* p. 41.

† Drennan’s *Glendaloch*, London edit. Mercier, 1802.

‡ See the Eleventh Report of the Commissioners for Education, in Ireland, where this is stated with various authorities.

§ Rev. Mr. Wrangham’s Sermon.

Rector of Stoke, by Neyland, in Suffolk, to whom the education of the poor is at all times a particular object of investigation. Were it necessary, therefore, to call for any evidence of the existence of universal education in Ireland, I should refer to that gentleman, by whom it was particularly observed: "amidst some of the wildest mountains of Kerry, I have met with English schools; and have seen multitudes of children seated round the humble residence of their instructor, with their books, pens, and ink, where rocks have supplied the place of desks and benches."\*

Lord Selkirk, who is well known wherever he goes to travel to good purpose, has seen much of Ireland; and on the 5th of May, 1810, his lordship remarked to me, that he was struck with "the extraordinary anxiety of the lower orders in every part of Ireland where he had been, to educate their children." Mr. Ensor assures me, "that education is universal, and that those parents who cannot read and write themselves, are the most anxious that their children should learn these useful arts:"†

It would be tedious to adduce farther authorities for the fact which I have stated. So long ago as 1779, Mr. Young remarked the same thing; Mr. Newenham speaks of it in the south of Ireland; and I could refer to passages in most of the County Surveys, which prove it beyond a doubt.

It is, however, to be understood, that I allude here to the education acquired by the great mass of the common people, and the only thing connected with it, the remembrance of which gives me pleasure, is the desire manifested to obtain it. As to the manner in which it is conveyed, I cannot speak in terms of sufficient reprobation. The common schoolmaster is generally a man who was originally intended for the priesthood; but whose morals had been too bad, or his habitual idleness so deeply rooted, as to prevent his improving himself sufficiently for that office. To persons of this kind is the education of the poor entirely intrusted; and the consequence is, that their pupils imbibe from them enmity to England, hatred to the government, and superstitious veneration for old and absurd customs.‡ I cannot call to mind the character of a common Irish schoolmaster, without comparing it with the description of a Scotch one, as given in the preamble to the Act of 1803, where it is stated,

\* Wadd's Killarney, p. 167.

† A desire of knowledge is the natural feeling of mankind, and every human being whose mind is not debauched, will be willing to give all that he has got to get knowledge. *Johnson, see his Life by Boswell*, vol. i. p. 423.

‡ Dr. Adam Smith, speaking of the inhabitants of a country, remarks, that "the more they are instructed, the less liable they are to the delusions of enthusiasm and superstition, which among ignorant nations, frequently occasion the most dreadful disorders." *Wealth of Nations*, vol. iii. p. 192.

"Science is the great antidote to the poison of enthusiasm and superstition; and when all the superior ranks of people were secured from it, the inferior ranks could not be much exposed to it." *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 206.

“ that the schoolmasters of Scotland are a most useful body of men, and essential to the public welfare.”

Mr. Whitbread, on the 19th of February, 1807, delivered a speech in the House of Commons upon this subject, in which he observed, that in Ireland “ the poor had no instruction:” this gentleman was misinformed about the state of the country; but he most amply compensated for his mistake on that point, by as luminous a speech as was ever delivered in the house, and which displayed a most extensive knowledge of human nature.\* It abounds with instructive and useful observations, and ought to be carefully perused by those who desire information on a subject, which although highly interesting is too much neglected.

In Ireland, at schools, the youth of both sexes assemble, where they are taught English reading, writing, and ciphering; a school-mistress, teaching girls needle work, is a rare sight. I saw one at Carlow on the 15th of June, 1809, and I remember that I considered it as an extraordinary circumstance. Mr. Dutton, in his Survey of Clare,† gives an account of Irish education, which is strongly corroborated by my own observations throughout the greater part of the kingdom. “ Though schools abound,” says he, “ in this country, yet, with the exception of those highly respectable ones of Ennis and Killaloe, the state of education is at a very low ebb indeed. The common county schools have generally from 20 to 100 scholars each, *boys and girls mixed together*; but they are badly attended in winter, as they are usually kept in small damp cabins, or in the Roman Catholic chapels, to the disgrace of the priest and his flock, equally damp and dirty. It may be justly imagined, that no respectable man would suffer the hardships the masters do, when the remuneration is so very inadequate to a task so irksome. The stipend for education in some places is very different from that in others; some receive six shillings per annum for teaching to read and write, with the common rules of arithmetic, for reading and spelling, only four shillings. Low as these prices are, and fixed at a period when the value of money was much higher than at present, yet, custom has so firmly established it in the minds of the parents, that any attempt to raise it, would be probably accompanied with the withdrawing of the pupil from the school, and even this pittance is very badly paid; sometimes a trifling addition is made to the master’s little income, by drawing examinations, bail-bonds, petitions, summonses, &c.

“ As the cold and damp situations of country schools generally drive the children home in winter, the master during this season goes from house to house, and teaches the children for his diet. The Irish peasants partaking in common with the higher classes in this peculiarity, that they would rather give five shillings in eatables, than one shilling in cash. It often happens, that for want of employment some masters are under the necessity of employing themselves in manual labour for sub-

\* Cobbett’s Parliamentary Debates, vol. viii. p. 865.

† Page 235.

sistence. The distance being sometimes great between the master and children, he is obliged to neglect some in winter; and they often forget in that period, what they had learned in the previous summer.

“ The state of education may be easily appreciated, when it is known, that with the exception of a few universal spelling-books, the general cottage classics are,\*

History of the Seven Champions of Christendom.

Montelion, Knight of the Oracle.

Parismus and Parismenes.

Irish Rogues and Rapparees.

Francis, a notorious Robber, teaching them the most dexterous modes of robbing.

History of the most celebrated Pirates.

Jack the Bachelor, a noted Smuggler.

Fair Rosamond, and Jane Shore, two prostitutes.

Donna Rozina, a Spanish Courtesan.

Ovid's Art of Love.

History of Witches and Apparitions.

The Devil and Dr. Faustus.

Moll Flanders, highly edifying no doubt!

New System of Boxing, by Mendoza, &c.

“ Whilst these are the books from which our poor have their education, it can hardly be expected that the lives of pirates, dexterous thieves, witches, smugglers, and illustrious prostitutes, can have any but the very worst tendency. The fault must be, in a good measure, attributed to the total neglect of the Roman Catholic clergy. Did they pay attention to the schools as they ought, such books would not, for half a century, have continued to disgrace and corrupt the children of their persuasion, of which the scholars almost exclusively are; for good spelling books, and the many little cheap tracts published by the society for discountenancing vice, and sold by Mr. Watson in Capel Street and in some country towns, are not dearer or more difficult to procure, than the infamous publications of which I have given a disgusting but small catalogue.”

\* “ I deny not, but that it is of the greatest concernment in the church and common-wealth, to have a vigilant eye, how books demean themselves as well as men; and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors; for books are not absolutely dead things; but do contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul was, whose progeny they are; nay, they do preserve as in a viol, the purest efficacy and extraction of that living intellect that bred them. I know they are as lively and as vigorously productive, as those fabulous dragon's teeth; and being sown up and down, may chance to spring up armed again.” *Milton's Arcopagistica in his Works*, edit. 1697, p. 374.

“ At the chapel of Kilfenora two schools are kept; one master has about eighty, and the other fifty scholars; for small boys they receive 1s. 7½*d.*, for larger ones, whom they teach arithmetic and book-keeping, 3s. 9½*d.* per quarter.

“ In Kilrush, one school has upwards of one hundred, another seventy, another fifty; Mennioze twenty; Querin thirty-five; Mayferta twenty; Cross forty; Fodie-  
ragh twenty; Kilcoghher twenty; all these are in the union of Kilrush.

“ The three schools in Kilrush are the only ones that are attended in winter; the masters receive for reading, writing, and arithmetic, 6s. per annum; and for reading and spelling, 4s. There is scarcely a part of the county without a school, which in summer is numerously attended.

“ In the mountains of Broadford one school contains upwards of sixty of both sexes, at 1s. 7½*d.* and 2s. 2*d.* per quarter: they are taught the Universal Spelling Book, Alibaba and the Seven Sleepers. In a school near Spansel Hill, containing above sixty scholars, they pay 3s. 3*d.* per quarter, but are taught arithmetic, &c.

“ There is a very numerous school kept in the Roman Catholic chapel at Killaloe; it contains several grown boys and girls; and when I visited it unexpectedly, I surprised two of these learning their lessons in a very loving manner, the gentleman's arm around the young lady's waist: the master was absent.

“ There are two schools at Ennis, one of which is on the foundation of Erasmus Smyth, and has been conducted by the Rev. Mr. Fitzgerald, for many years, with high reputation; the other school is managed on an excellent plan by Mr. O'Halloran. The diocesan school at Killaloe is also well conducted.”

The books which Mr. Dutton enumerates are common. I met with nearly a similar list in Wicklow; and I found such, or as bad, in very general use.

The remarks made by Mr. Townsend\* on the education of the common people in Ireland is much of the same kind. “ In these country schools, the masters are often sufficiently competent to their business. Writing and arithmetic are what they usually teach best. In many of them, however, the mode of instruction is altogether ludicrous. All the boys gabble their lessons together, as loud and as fast as they can speak, which is called rehearsing. The preceptor, when he perceives any one approaching, to shew his diligence, enforces this confusion of tongues, and seems to rate the progress of improvement by the scale of vociferation. Many of the little pupils shew great aptitude to learn, which, however, very seldom turns to any account, chiefly for the reasons above mentioned. In a country, where there is hardly any employment but tilling the ground, it can eventually be of no use, except to such as are bred to trade.\* These constitute a very small proportion in the rural districts, where the peasantry bring up their children to their own business. From

\* Survey of Cork, Addenda, p. 68.

schools so constituted, and a country so circumstanced, little can be expected for the advancement of general knowledge. The most that can be said is, that such schools are better than none; but it is demonstratively evident, that they are not likely to remove much of the ignorance so generally prevailing."

The reader will have long since perceived that my ideas are settled on the subject of general education. I am persuaded, that whoever wishes to ensure happiness to a people, will let slip no opportunity of rendering instruction as extensive among them as possible. Such are the sentiments which I entertain on this most important branch of political economy. I acquired them at an early period of life; they have grown up with me; they are now confirmed by long experience; and I am anxious to impress them on the minds of those who interest themselves in the welfare of mankind. I trust, therefore, I shall be forgiven, if I here occupy the time of the reader a little in adverting to some circumstances connected with the national education of Great Britain, which in this place, cannot well be passed over in silence. When Mr. Lancaster was little known, and struggling to establish a system, which will be handed down to posterity among the most fortunate events of the present age, he communicated these difficulties to my mother, Mrs. Wakefield, who visited his school, and examined his system. To those who have read the Reports on bettering the Condition of the Poor, or the many publications by which she has endeavoured to instil into the minds of youth the best principles of morality, it is, perhaps, unnecessary to state that she has devoted a great part of a long life to the most disinterested acts of benevolence, and that her conduct in every period, has been marked with a desire to render herself useful to society.

At her instigation, I waited on my noble friends the Duke of Bedford and Lord Somerville, and requested them to visit Mr. Lancaster, and patronise those efforts which appeared to her to be so highly deserving of encouragement. These noblemen no sooner examined Mr. Lancaster's plan, than they rendered him assistance, as one who was endeavouring to establish a system by which ignorance was to be eradicated in their native country; and I am happy to add, that no arguments were necessary to induce the illustrious representative of the house of Russel or Lord Somerville, to afford every patronage that rank, dignity of character, wealth, and influence can command. From that hour, the Lancasterian system of Education\*

\* Though this system of education is not new, Mr. Lancaster is certainly entitled to the merit of having first introduced it into this country. The same method was practised many ages ago in India. It is mentioned by various travellers, and particularly by two Italians, Pietro della Valle, and Fra Paolino Da San Bartolomeo. The former in a letter dated Ikkeri, Nov. 22, 1623, says, "In the porch of the temple, I entertained myself, beholding little boys learning arithmetic after a strange manner, which I will here relate. They were four; and having all taken the same lesson from the master, to get the same by heart, and repeat likewise their former lessons, and not forget; one of them singing musically with a certain continued tone (which

has flourished, and I flatter myself that, in a few years, it will be established in every part of the British empire.\*

Mr. Whitbread, in his speech before alluded to, has elucidated in the happiest strain the benefits of knowledge and education, as contrasted with the misery of ignorance and the want of information. Mr. Malthus also has made some important observations on this subject, and pointed out in an impressive manner the advantages that must necessarily arise, if instruction were attainable by the poor. To what these gentlemen have said, little can be added; yet I cannot help once more adverting to the historical account given by the former in his eloquent speech on the state of morality in Scotland, which he proves to have arisen from the effects of education. He has traced it from the writings of Fletcher of Saltoun, the author, to whom the writer of the passage quoted in the introduction to this chapter, refers; and exhibits the most cheering and gratifying statement that can possibly be read. If ever there were

hath the force of making deep impression in the memory) recited part of the lesson; as for example, one by itself makes one; and whilst he was thus speaking, he writ down the same number, not with any kind of pen, nor on paper, but (not to spend paper in vain) with his finger on the ground, the pavement being for that purpose strewed all over with very fine sand: after the first had writ what he had sang, all the rest sung, and writ down the same thing together. Then the first boy sung, and writ down another part of the lesson; as for example, two by itself makes two, which all the rest repeated in the same manner, and so forward in order. When the pavement was full of figures, they put them out with the hand, and if need were, strewed it with new sand from a little heap which they had before them, wherewith to write farther. And this they did as the exercise continued; in which manner, likewise, they told me they learnt to read and write, without spoiling paper, pens, or ink, which certainly is a pretty way. I asked them, if they happened to forget or be mistaken in any part of the lesson, who corrected and taught them, they being all scholars, without the assistance of any master? They answered me, and said true, that it was not possible for all four of them to forget or mistake in the same part, and that they thus exercised together, to the end that if one happened to be out, the others might correct him. Indeed, a pretty easy and secure way of learning." *Travels of Sig. Pietro della Valle, a noble Roman into the East. London, 1665.*

"The education of youth in India is much simpler, and not near so expensive as in Europe. The children assemble half naked under the shade of a cocoa-nut tree; place themselves in rows on the ground, and trace out on the sand with the fore finger of the right hand, the elements of their alphabet, and then smooth it with the left when they wish to trace out other characters. The writing-master, called *Agian* or *Elutlicien*, who stations himself opposite to his pupils, examines what they have done; points out their faults, and shews them how to correct them. At first, he attends them standing; but when the young people have acquired some readiness in writing, he places himself cross-legged on a tiger's or deer's skin, or even on a mat made of the leaves of the cocoa-nut tree, or wild ananas, which is called *Kaida*, plaited together. This method of teaching writing was introduced into India two hundred years before the birth of Christ, according to the testimony of Megasthenes, and still continues to be practised." *A Voyage to the East Indies, by Fra Paolino Da San Bartolomeo. London, 1800, 8vo. p. 261.*

\* I beg to recommend an Essay upon the Lancasterian system of education in the Philanthropist, No. V. In that paper its merits are discussed with a power of reasoning, which does our language, as well as its able author, infinite credit; and I hardly know a greater blessing to the country that could occur, than putting that paper into the hands of every man, woman, and child, in Great Britain.

a country in which this example may be useful, it is Ireland;\* a country where the people are not only willing, but anxious to receive a boon which may be so readily and so easily conferred.

Were farther arguments necessary to enforce the benefits of education, I might add, to what I have already said on the subject, the opinion of a particular friend, Capt. Beaver of the Royal Navy; who, independently of being one of the most distinguished officers in His Majesty's service, possesses as magnanimous a mind, and as generous a heart, as ever fell to the lot of man. In that instructive work, which is a history of his resolution, his efforts, and his dangers in Africa, during an attempt to form an establishment on the inhospitable coast of that country, he says, "I have nothing to do with the question, whether a state of uncultivated nature or civilization be most conducive to happiness; the man who prefers being a brute to a rational creature, may put down the book."† I might refer also to the sentiments of Mr. Wilberforce, and dwell on the advantages which this philanthropist considers would result to Ireland from an extended scheme of education,‡ a term which I confine not to reading, writing, and ciphering, for boys, and sewing for girls; the two latter, however, are scarcely to be met with in that country.§ "The Irish learn, whatever they wish to learn, quickly, and with the greatest felicity; but it is in moral instruction that they are deficient; and to raise a demand for this, and to administer it properly, are the greatest difficulties. It will be no easy task to breed up children to have totally different habits and principles from their

\* "It is evident," says Dr. Franklin, "if I be not mistaken, that education only can stem the torrent, and without checking either true industry or frugality, prevent the sordid frugality and laziness of the old Irish." *Effect of Manners on Population*, in his works, vol. ii. p. 401.

† Beaver's African Memoranda, Lond. edit. 1805, p. 4. This work, although the narrative is a relation of facts, is more entertaining and instructive than that celebrated production, Robinson Crusoe. The latter is strongly recommended by Dr. Beattie, and by Barrow, in his comparative view of the British and Chinese education, as proper to be put into the hands of youth; and, in my opinion, Beaver's Memoranda is a book no less necessary for the same purpose. Every parent, therefore, who wishes to inspire his child with patience, temperance, fortitude, and every manly virtue, will direct his attention to this work, which I consider as one of the most important that has been published in the present century. In it the reader may trace the character of a man possessing courage and intrepidity, tempered with humanity: energy, and enthusiasm, guided by prudence and judgment; having a capacious mind, cool in the midst of danger, fertile in resources, and, above all, of inflexible integrity, and an ardent desire to do that which he conceived to be right. This was exemplified by his adherence to the pursuit he had undertaken, through a combination of unfortunate circumstances, even when it became necessary to determine whether he should resign every prospect in life, or abandon those persons who had intrusted themselves to his care, in answer to a summons from the secretary of the admiralty, he says: "If I disobey their Lordships' orders in the Gazette, I know I am liable to lose my commission; and if I do obey it, I never deserved one." See his Letter, p. 247.

‡ Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates, vol. ix. p. 85.

§ Edinburgh Review, No. XIX. p. 54.

parents, without destroying that filial and parental affection which is the great bond of society, and without which, no national education can be fundamentally good or permanent. It will be difficult to change the associations of pleasure, pride, and mirth, which the Irish children early form with the ideas of cheating, stealing, perverting and lying. To convince their understandings that honesty is the best policy, and that their duty to God and their neighbour is likewise their duty to themselves, might be easily accomplished; but the moral demonstration would have no more effect on their conduct than on any of the missionaries of Otaheite, unless their associations and habits were changed by some strong or constant motives."

I am not a little pleased to be able to close my observations on this part of the subject, by laying before my readers a passage from Townsend's Survey of Cork, which corroborates the opinions I have formed; and by which I shall, at least, give them the power of judging, whether, when the Dublin Society selected Mr. Townsend to write the Survey of that county, they fixed not upon a gentleman who could discover the causes by which effects are produced; and whether the opinions which he has formed are not given in elegant and correct language.\* "The inhabitants of this country have a great deal to unlearn as well as to learn, and, until the former be accomplished, the teacher will labour in vain. The soil, submissive to the direction of its lord, varies its products and appearance at its pleasure. In the course of a single season it assumes a new face, producing corn instead of grass, or substituting pasture for tillage. Mind is a subject far less tractable: The seeds of instruction, however carefully sown, require continual mixture, and take many seasons to mature their harvest. The power of a despot may change a government in a day, but an immediate change of manners is beyond the compass of human ability. A wise man, therefore, will avoid the extremes of eager expectation, or precipitate despondency; knowing that national reformation must be a work of time and attention, he will not be discouraged by the difficulties and delays that retard its incipient progress.—He will make due allowance for the slow advances of the poor, and the unskilful; and will look forward confident, but without impatience, for the final success of judicious perseverance. From idleness and ignorance, or, perhaps, more properly speaking, from want of an early and systematic course of education, proceed most of the disorders and irregularities, that disgrace and degrade our countrymen. I use the word education here in its most enlarged sense, as applying to all the different orders of society, and comprehending the modes of training and culture, respectively adopted to each." These are the opinions of a resident Irish clergyman, which are as creditable to his head as to his heart, and which merit attention from all those who are contemplating the political situation of Ireland.

\* Survey of Cork, p. 714.

It will, perhaps, be asked here, have you given a complete account of the systems of Irish education? Have you nothing farther to remark? Nothing of chartered schools; of the expenditure of thousands annually for this national purpose; of the free schools of royal foundation, or of those founded by individuals; upon all of which, there are volumes of printed documents sufficient to fill the shelves of a modern library, and which, like the books of our fashionable men of taste,\* are seldom opened?—Such are the interrogatories that must be proposed, by those at all acquainted with the subject; and, therefore, it becomes my duty to anticipate them.

Were these establishments what they profess to be, I should dwell with pleasure on their usefulness; but truth requires that I describe these as they really are, and not as they appear to the passing observer or the careless inquirer. If the system had been properly designated in the several acts of parliament from which it originated it would have been entitled, a system of national religious conversion. Had it answered either of the professed purposes—by instructing the people or converting them to protestantism—had it taught them useful knowledge, or made them abandon their superstitious errors, I should not find fault with it; but as it professes one thing, whilst it aims at another, it has failed in both, and is no less absurd than it is useless. I shall, however, endeavour to describe it.

The following are the schools of royal foundation in Ireland, which were founded by Charles I., and endowed with larger estates by his son Charles II.

+ Quid prosunt innumerabiles libri, quorum dominus vix totâ vitâ suâ indices perlegit? Onerat discentem turba; multoquæ satius est tradere te paucis auctoribus, quàm errare per multos. Nunc plerisque literarum ignaris libri non studiorum instrumenta sunt, sed ædium ornamenta. An ignoscas homini aptanti armaria cedro atque ebore, et inter tot millia librorum oscitanti, cui voluminum suorum frontes maximè placent titulique? *Seneca de Tranquil.* cap. 9.

De toutes les occupations une des plus vaines c'est sans doute celle de faire une Bibliothèque, pour ne s'en servir jamais. Il est vrai, que c'est un meuble qui pare un chambre de même que les porcellaines, les tables, les peintures, les tapisseries. Dorus — ne lit et ne lira jamais; mais il a du bien—Il achete des livres, les fait relier bien proprement, forme une nombreuse Bibilothèque. A certain jour, à certain heure, un fois le mois il fait placer son fauteuil vis à vis de ces beaux livres; et la il contemple—Après quoi il se retire toujours ignorant, mais fort satisfait d'avoir vû des livres. *Reflexions Mor. Sat. et Com.* p. 35.

				Number of Boys educated.	
				Boarded.	Day Scholars.
Armagh has	1,530	English acres,*	producing £1,043 4 6	87	29
Dungannon	1,600	ditto	ditto 1,481 4 9	27	12
Enniskillen	3,360†	ditto	ditto 1,461 0 0	65	16
Raphoe	5,946	ditto	worth 750 0 0	8	27
Cavan	570‡	ditto	ditto 900 0 0	none.	—
Banagher and Carysfort	336	ditto	let for 165 0 0	—	30
13,627					

This account is taken from the Report of the Board of Education§ made to parliament; and I was surprised to find among the masters of these schools, such gentlemen as the Hon. and Rev. Richard Ponsonby, and the Rev. Sir Thomas Foster, bart., and that the board pointed out leases as being granted by many of these school-masters “during incumbency,” as if they had been in possession of church livings and glebe lands. But how will the surprise of the reader be excited, when he is informed that these gentlemen are appointed only during pleasure!

It is painful to be obliged to exhibit such instances of selfishness and corruption, and to find that the destroying influence has taken possession of the hallowed pittance, which had been destined to raise the poor from the situation of the “brutes that perish;” and this too by some whose sacred character ought to have compelled them to be their protectors, and even their voluntary and unremunerated instructors. Who will talk of *lower orders*, after such an exposure as this?

At Armagh, a school-house has been built chiefly through the munificence of Lord Rokeby, better known under the name of Primate Robinson,|| who appears emulous to establish a Westminster in Ireland. His lordship’s exertions have been successful; the school of Armagh is undoubtedly an honour to its patron, and the first place for classical education in the country. The present master, the Rev. Thomas Carpendale, was appointed in 1786, by the reverend nobleman above-mentioned, only “during good behaviour.” Mr. Carpendale appears, in the year 1792, to have given £2,000. for Dr. Grubere’s interest in his trust lease, and since that period, the lease has been constantly renewed to Mr. Carpendale’s trustee.

\* By Survey in 1771.

† By ditto in 1795.

‡ Survey of 1805.

§ Printed by order of the House of Commons, 14th April, 1809.

|| This great and good man was brought up at Westminster, where he was admitted a king’s scholar in 1722, at the age of thirteen, being the fifth in his election. He was admitted at Oxford in 1726, became a prebendary of York, and was appointed Bishop of Killala, in Ireland, 1751. He was translated to the see of Leighlin and Ferns in 1759, and to that of Kildare in 1761. He was afterwards elected Lord Almoner and Vice Chancellor of the University of Dublin, and was raised to the Archiepiscopal chair of Armagh in 1765. In 1771 he was created a baron of Ireland, by the title of Lord Rokeby.

The school consists of 87 boarders and 29 day scholars. The terms for boarders are 32 guineas, and 6 guineas entrance. Mr. Carpendale, during the whole time he has been master, seems "to have paid the closest and most laudable attention to the duties of his school,"\* and to have exerted his respectable talents to promote the welfare and progress of his pupils.

Were all the schools of royal foundation in Ireland conducted in the same manner as that of Armagh, my business would have been no more than to pay to the several masters the like tribute of praise, which is due to Mr. Carpendale; but, this not being the case, as will be seen in the sequel, I must, here reprobate the principle of letting to a trustee, for the benefit of a master, an estate the property of a charity. A master's attention ought not to be distracted with the business of letting estates. But, it is said, this is done to enable him to establish a school; this is, indeed, *most highly useful*, and I admit it may be so, *for his own private benefit*. These funds ought to be deposited in the hands of trustees, and applied to the specific purpose for which they were intended: the master should receive a competent salary for his trouble; and if the scholars pay any thing, it should be on the principle of causing the school to become more numerous.

*Dungannon.* "The estates of this charity are held by the son of the present master, under a trust lease, for his father's benefit. There are twenty-seven boarders, at 26 guineas per annum, and twelve day scholars at 4 guineas. Dr. Munday states, that he has always attended, in person, to the duties of his school; and that he has no church preferment. It is necessary, however, to remark, "that from age, and the decay of his memory, he is at present, and appears to have been for some time past, totally inadequate to the conduct of such a seminary."†

*Enniskillen:* "Dr. Burrows, the master, receives the whole of the rents of the large estates belonging to this school; has sixty-five scholars, at 32 guineas, and 12 day scholars at six guineas." The board of education remark, that "the endowment of this school is unquestionably much too large to be enjoyed by the master alone. When the lands are new let, as it appears to us they ought to be, there is little doubt of their producing £2,000. per annum, and upwards.‡ A quarter of this sum would, in our opinion, be a sufficient allowance for the head master."§ Dr. Burrows was appointed only during pleasure.

*Raphoe.* Mr. Irwin, the master, had eight boarders in January 1808. The former master not being a resident, the school house had been suffered to decay.

*Cavan.* There is no school house, but there is a master, the Rev. A. Moore, appointed by Lord Hardwick. Alluding to this circumstance, the Board of Education say: "It may, however, be here necessary to remark, that the law, in this respect,

\* House of Commons' Papers, ordered to be printed 14th April, 1809.

† Ibid.

‡ I am informed that they could be easily let for £3,000. § House of Commons' Report, 14th April, 1809.

may require some revision, and is, in other respects, extremely defective, so far as the schools are concerned, there being no visitors appointed to inspect them, and no effectual power lodged any where, to control or regulate the application of the revenues of these endowments *for the advancement of education*; the whole of the rents, where no trust lease has been made, and the rent reserved to the master and his successors, where such a trust lease is executed, being the sole property of the master, or in his appointment."\* Is this establishment properly regulated? Those who are of that opinion may at once assert that government should have the patronage; but this argument may be easily encountered and exposed. I am not unacquainted with the proper arrangements for a place of education; but to call this one, would be a prostitution of language, and it would be a weakness to expect from it the fruits of a well-regulated establishment.

*Banagher.* The Hon. and Rev. Richard Ponsonby was master of this school. I have no acquaintance with this gentleman; but, I suppose, he is brother of the present Lord Ponsonby, and of Mr. George Ponsonby, member for the county of Cork, nephew of the Right Hon. George Ponsonby, late chancellor of the kingdom. He seems to have let the lands belonging to the establishment for £165. 13s. His successor, the Rev. Thomas Morris, A.M. was appointed on the 18th of September 1806, and has since memorialized the primate, setting forth the miserable state of the school. If this memorial be true, it would appear, that the £165. 13s. per annum, received by the Hon. and Rev. Richard Ponsonby, was applied to a very bad purpose. I know little of the Ponsonby family, yet I respect them, and I should be happy to hear that the money received from this appointment had been properly accounted for.

*Carysfort.* The Rev. Sir Thomas Foster, Bart. is master of this school. Alluding to it, the Board of Education remark, that "there has never been any school-house or residence for the master attached to this endowment. There is an old school-room, in which about fifty boys attend in summer, but not above a dozen in winter. It further appears, that Sir Thomas Foster has two church livings, one in the diocese of Armagh, and the other in that of Dublin, contiguous to the school-lands in Carysfort; but does not attend to the duties of the school in person, nor reside at Carysfort."† So much for Sir Thomas Foster; and so much for "The Free Schools of Royal Foundation;" possessing 13,627 acres of land, and educating 187 boarders, who pay as dearly as if they were not at schools of royal foundation, and 114 day scholars, who, except the temporary scholars at Carysfort, whom I have averaged at 30, all pay for their education.

*Schools of Private Establishment,* at Navan and Ballyrowan. The lands belonging,

\* House of Commons' Papers, ordered to be printed 14th April, 1809.

† House of Commons' Papers, April 14th, 1809.

to the former endowment were let, in 1806, for £1,465. 15s. "It appears that the Rev. Joseph Preston was appointed master of this school in 1794, by his brother, now Lord Tara, and Lord Ludlow. He held the appointment till within a month of the time of his examination before the commissioners, but never discharged the duties of it in person."\* I shall make no further remark upon the Rev. Joseph Preston. As the public, however, may be desirous to know the state of the school, the following is what is contained on that subject in the report of the commissioners,† "since the resignation of Mr. Preston, the Rev. J. D. Hamilton was appointed master by Lord Tara, on the 30th of June, 1807. It does not appear to us," continue they, "that he either intends to discharge the duty of his school in person, or has ever been engaged in such a duty; nor, indeed, in its present state, is there any employment for him."

*Ballyrowan.* "The present master of Ballyrowan school is the Rev. Joseph Preston, who was appointed to it in July 1794, by his brother, Lord Tara. He has never discharged the duty of the school himself, any more than his predecessor, Mr. Hood."‡

The Board of Education complain of the "shameful abuses" of these funds. Whether their report has been followed by any active measures of reform, I am unacquainted; but I am confident the public are greatly obliged to them for the trouble they have taken to expose such misapplications of public resources; and I feel that I shall perform an act of justice in stating the names of those gentlemen who signed the report.

The Rev. Dr. Hall, Provost of Trinity College, who lately died Bishop of Dromore,

The present Bishop of Killala, Dr. Verschoyle,

The Rev. James Whitelaw,

William Disney,

Richard Lovell Edgeworth.

*The Charter Schools* were founded in 1733, by George II., for the purpose of instructing "the children of the popish and other poor natives in the English tongue." The object, certainly, was most laudable; and, had the plan been adhered to, it would have been attended with most beneficial effects. In addition to His Majesty's grants, subscriptions were raised from individuals, all protestants, though Roman catholics were equally interested in the design. These individuals formed themselves into a body, styled "The Incorporated Society," who received, and continue to receive, large parliamentary grants; and, besides these, many bequests from private persons have been added to their funds; but as these bequests are generally made under certain restrictions, that seem to have been dictated by

\* House of Commons' Papers, ordered to be printed 14th April, 1809. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

the bigotry and superstition of the times, and not by a noble and generous desire of affording education to the poor, they serve rather to preserve the remembrance of the donors, than to diffuse the light of knowledge among the helpless and ignorant multitude.

The members of this society, being all protestants, must have been actuated by similar motives; for, on the 15th of March 1775, they came to a resolution, which was confirmed on the 4th of December 1776, not to admit any but the children of papists into the schools; thus violating the express terms of the charter, which declares that they are established for the purpose of educating "the children of popish and other poor natives;" and, in the ardour of their desire for gaining proselytes to a religious creed, they forgot that the poor born within the pale of their own church were also worthy of their attention. The result was such as might be expected; the charter schools, and the conduct of the Incorporated Society, have been considered by the inhabitants of the country, as an implicated reproach on their religion; and the folly of the system became so glaringly conspicuous, that the society themselves were ashamed of it, and rescinded their resolution on the 4th of May, 1803.

It is a circumstance little known in England, and deserves to be particularly mentioned, that few Catholics pass by these schools without looking on them with a jealous eye, and vent their feelings by curses and execrations, with gestures and emphasis which bespeak their heart-felt anguish. I have myself frequently heard these people so express themselves, and such is unquestionably the opinion entertained by them of these schools. Gentlemen of the Roman catholic aristocracy and priesthood have often, in my presence, stated their conviction of the unpopular nature of the institution, which, instead of making proselytes, creates enemies; and in place of conciliation, tends rather to promote schism, and render the breach still wider. The words constantly in their mouth are, "Have not they (the protestants) robbed the necessitous poor of their children, to bring them up in *their own religion*." The view in which these people consider the system is worthy of notice. The Roman catholic never believes Education to be the object: religion alone presents itself to his mind, and engrosses his whole attention. And how strange it is, that a large establishment for the education of poor children, with an extensive revenue, should be considered as a curse!

Respecting what these children are taught, I speak only from my own observation. It has been represented to the Board of Education, that "a protestant catechism," which, till very lately, was in general use in these schools, is now discontinued; but I found it in more schools than one, and brought away with me a copy, from the charter school, at Abraakan, in the county of Meath. This was on the 29th of July, 1808, and I was in company with the bishop of the diocese at the time. It is drawn up in the usual manner of question and answer; and I here sub-join a specimen.

**Q.** Is the church of Rome a sound and uncorrupt church?"

**A.** No: it is extremely corrupt, in doctrine, worship, and practice."

**Q.** What do you think of the frequent crossings, upon which the papists lay so great a stress in their divine offices, and for security against sickness and all accidents?"

**A.** They are vain and superstitious. The worship of the crucifix, or figure of Christ upon the cross is idolatrous; and the adoring and praying to the cross itself, is, of all the corruptions of the popish worship, the most gross and intolerable."

I am persuaded that is impossible for any but a member of the church of Rome, to judge of the feelings of a parent of that sect, who knows that his child is brought up to abhor and condemn every rite which he has been taught to venerate.

A sufficient knowledge of human nature may be acquired without the aid of philosophic research, to enable us to account for the hatred which such a system will produce. So convinced are the Incorporated Society of its bad tendency, that they have ordered the obnoxious catechism to be laid aside; but something more than directions of this kind will be necessary to reconcile the Roman Catholics to these schools, and to convince them of their utility.

Here I am led to take a view of what these schools have effected. The Board of Education, say, "the institution appears to have fallen short of attaining the purposes for which it was established, and to have failed of one great object that was intended and expected from it, the conversion of the lower orders of the inhabitants of Ireland, from the errors of popery."\* This is pretty good authority for the opinion I have formed; I do think that it would be an important object to bring the Roman Catholics of Ireland to the protestant belief, and to obliterate every vestige of error from their minds; but is this the way to convince them that they have been in error? Are these the means by which converts are to be gained? Has this system answered? It might, perhaps, be a laudable idea to empty the Irish channel, and render the land dry between the two kingdoms. Such a scheme, if accomplished, might save a few lives that are lost every year during the stormy season, but I should consider the man who seriously proposed it, as a fit candidate for St. Luke's; and yet the charter schools of Ireland on their present footing, aim at effecting an object equally extravagant and impossible. They are the productions of selfishness and ignorance, and the fruit they have brought forth, is such as might be expected from seeds of so degenerate a nature. In support of this opinion, I have the authority of the Board of Education. "The utter inadequacy of the institution in point of magnitude and extent, for that object is sufficient to account for this failure, independently of the operation of other causes. The number of popish children in all schools at any time, has, probably, never amounted to 1600; and this must have borne

\* House of Commons' Papers, p. 24.

so small a proportion to the whole number to be educated, as to have had no sensible influence on the great mass of population, even allowing that all who were educated in these schools continued in the protestant persuasion. This, however, is certainly not the fact; and though it is impossible to ascertain the number of those who have returned to the popish persuasion, there is reason to believe, that it has not been inconsiderable." Were I allowed to ask a question, it should be: Have you not annually, by the very sight of these public schools, created as many Roman Catholic bigots, as you have educated children?—Have you not extended and added strength to religious jealousy and animosity, rather than weakened and removed them? Have you not forced many into the vortex of error, in place of saving them from becoming victims to its influence?—And thus, has the Incorporated Society increased rather than diminished popery. They have established its tenets more firmly in the minds of those who embrace them; and have disgusted the more rational part of the catholics, who were before disposed to look upon protestantism with an eye of much less suspicion.

The members of the Board of Education augur much from the discontinuance of the formula, called "the protestant catechism." The prejudice, however, is too deeply rooted; the inveteracy has been too long established; and the hatred of the populace towards these schools has acquired too much force to admit of any good being effected, while the present system continues to exist. Though it has been uniformly tried since 1793, nothing has been gained by it; and if wisdom be the result of experience, it ought certainly to be totally abandoned.

If we next consider the expense, we shall have still less cause to speak in favour of these establishments.

Expenditure, general and total, of the Incorporated Society, for seven years, ending 5th January, 1808.

Years.	Expenditure.	Children maintained, clothed, and educated.	Average Expenditure.	Average number of Children.	Average annual Expense of each Child.
	£. s. d.		£. s. d.		£. s. d.
One year to 5th Jan. 1802	29,133 6 6½	2085			
1803	27,040 5 9½	2055			
1804	28,796 4 7	2015			
1805	30,148 8 5	2083			
1806	30,384 18 11	2094			
1807	33,878 7 2	2137			
1808	31,722 17 8½	2187			
	211,104 9 1½	14,656	30,157 15 7	2093	14 8 2

This sum upon the Lancasterian system, would educate 201,320 children!!!

Whatever may have been the effect produced by these seminaries in Ireland, there is certainly no want of funds for their support. We have already seen 13,000 acres of land appropriated to the use of royal free schools; and here we find no less than £30,000. per annum, expended by charter schools: yet, according to the Report of the Commissioners, whose particular business it was to examine the state of these institutions, and whose inquiries could not have been made in a superficial manner, little has been accomplished of what they were intended to produce.

It is generally expected, that those who stigmatize abuses, should, at the same time, suggest some means of reforming them. I consider myself, therefore, bound to point out a method, by which these large funds may be rendered more useful to the public; and I undertake the task with the greater pleasure, because it is already admitted that they have been misapplied: from which I may with the more certainty augur, that my suggestions will meet with the greater degree of attention.

Some important particulars, tending to the diffusion of instruction among the indigent people, have been already gained. In the first place, an inclination for it prevails among themselves. Wherever a people entertain an ardent desire for the attainment of any end, nothing is necessary but to encourage it, and to give it a proper direction. I have already shewn that such a desire exists; and the only question for the legislature to consider, is, whether education shall be imparted to the native poor of Ireland, in a sound and substantial manner; on liberal and rational principles; so as to satisfy all parties; or under the present impolitic and mischievous system, which is pregnant with so many evils to the country.

Secondly, there are already ample funds which are either inactive, or misapplied; but which, if directed into proper channels, might, like refreshing streams, when guided by the skilful hand of industry, call forth the germs of the youthful mind, and produce a new generation, better qualified to become useful members of society than their predecessors.

At the time of the Union, the late Dr. Curry, of Liverpool, who saw the necessity of national education in Ireland, concurred in an ardent desire to promote so important an object, and became a strenuous advocate in its favour. He had learned by experience, the benefit arising from it to his native country, Scotland; and with that philanthropic spirit by which his breast was always warmed, transmitted his sentiments on the subject, through the medium of a member of the Irish parliament to lord Castlereagh, at that time minister of the country.\* The objection urged against it, as I understand, was in consequence of the part which the common schoolmasters had taken in the rebellion; and it was added, that their superior

\* Dr. Curry's letter was given to me by a mutual friend in Ireland. I transmitted it by post to London; but it miscarried, or I should in this place have laid it before the public.

knowledge had enabled them to render powerful assistance to the disaffected in that mischievous undertaking. If government intended on this occasion to oppose all education, any farther representation on this head would have been useless. Such a determination, though not an answer to arguments, was sufficient to silence all who could have brought forward those of the strongest nature.

But the hand of power may as well attempt to exclude men from the benefits of the solar rays, as to annihilate knowledge in a country which participates, even in a small degree, in the blessings of freedom. The efforts of the human mind may be checked for a time, but they will at length succeed in breaking the chains which confine them.\* It would have been more prudent, to have attended to Dr. Curry's propositions; and, had that been the case, the object would have been to give *better education* to the people; at least, such is the point of view in which I consider the subject at present.

Dr. Dickson has enforced the necessity of cementing rather than of weakening the tie between parent and child, † by any system of national education. In this respect, the charter schools act upon an opposite principle; my wish would be to divide the great funds appropriated for national education. Let that portion, which by the terms of the bequest, or settlement, is directed to be applied to the education of protestants, be invested in the hands of a board, consisting of persons of that religious persuasion, to be expended in educating the children of protestants only. The attempt to instruct children, born of popish parents, has entirely failed; the remainder of the funds, which, in all probability, would amount to three quarters of the whole (according to the rules of proportion), the object being to promote education, and not to make converts, should be committed to the management of a committee of Roman Catholics, laity and clergy united; for the great aim should be kept in view,—to improve the condition of the Roman Catholic schoolmaster; who, starving on a miserable and precarious pittance, cannot be expected to have any great attachment to a country where he is so ill rewarded, or to entertain respect for a government by which he is so neglected. This class of men might be rendered highly useful to the state; once gain their confidence by kind treatment, and that feeling of gratitude, which ever actuates the human mind where the heart is not debased, will convert them into loyal and useful subjects.

I much regret that it is not in my power to do justice to the cause which I have

\* Bishop Berkeley, who evidently knew his native country well, asks "whether every enemy to learning be not a Goth, and whether every such Goth among us, be not an enemy to the country; whether, therefore, it would not be an omen of ill presage, a dreadful phenomenon in the land, if our great men should take it into their heads to divide learning and education?" *Berkeley's Works, Dublin edit. 1784, vol. ii. p. 371.*—

"Whether a wise state hath any interest nearer the heart than the education of youth—whether the mind like soil, doth not by disease grow stiff, and whether reasoning and study, be not like stirring and dividing the glebe?" *Ibid. p. 373.*

† *Essay on National Education, in the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. iv. p. 9.*

undertaken to advocate; it is one for which I feel much interest, and I wish I could use language sufficiently powerful to induce those whose business it ought to be, to take it into their serious consideration. By education and good example, the character of a nation can be changed; this is the hand by which man is moulded for civilized life; making him a being as much superior to the untutored savage, as the latter is to the brutes of the field. Were its beneficial influence diffused throughout Ireland, it would banish that indolence which is so great a stain upon the national character, and soften the habitual ferocity of the ignorant. Every uneducated native of Ireland is a living reproach on that government, which allows a moment to elapse without applying a remedy to the evil.

As I have before observed, I would not debase the people, nor wound their natural pride by offering them education free of expense. Neither would I tear the child from the arms of the parent, and from his native cabin, to place him in a school which has all the appearance of a gaol, rather than that of a seminary of learning. I would cherish that most prominent, and most excellent trait in the Irish character—the strong affection which is exhibited between the parent and the child: this sacred tie ought never to be rent asunder by compulsory education. Leave the people to the unbiassed dictates of their own minds; enable the master to disseminate knowledge at a cheap rate, and the blessing will be received with gratitude, and will most effectually improve the national character. Were masters and mistresses, on the Lancasterian plan, established in every parish, and no catechisms introduced which are calculated to inspire children with hatred towards those of a different religious opinion; the present funds, would be sufficient to support a system, by which the pride “of cheating, stealing, prevaricating, and lying,” would be changed “into the sturdier one of plain dealing;”\* and the common schoolmaster, instead of becoming the ready agent of discontent and rebellion, would naturally exert his influence, to check disaffection, and to strengthen the hands of that government on which his subsistence depends.† I may, perhaps, be told, that the Roman Catholics would not concur in a plan of this kind. I have had more conversations on this subject with the leading men among the Roman Catholics, than almost any other individual in the kingdom; and I have no hesitation in asserting, that if offered to them in a proper manner, they would hail with joy the auspicious hour, and co-operate in any scheme of liberal

\* Edinburgh Review, Number xix. p. 54.

† A minister, of more than ordinary talent, once declared, that he did not care who made the laws, as long as he wrote the ballads of the nation. Did the government purchase the copy-right of Miss Hamilton's Cottagers of Glenburnie; or Miss Edgeworth's Popular and Rural Tales; Mrs. Leadbeater's Cottage Dialogues; and a few more such works, and sell them at a cheap rate, it would save the sheriff the cost of many a halter; and effect more than half the acts of parliament which will be passed in the next ten years. Dr. Franklin, in the Memoirs of his Life, has described the effect which his establishing a book society, had upon the American people; a circumstance, recorded by that great man, should not pass unheeded by the British statesman.

education that might be proposed. By perusing the letter of Dr. Ryan, which I shall insert in a future part of this work, you will learn the sentiments of one of the Roman Catholic dignitaries. Would Dr. Moylan, the Roman Catholic bishop of Cork, would Dr. Plunket, the Roman Catholic bishop of Meath, who has ordered confession in his diocese to be always made in English, stand as unconcerned spectators of a system, by which the moral character of their flocks would be improved through schoolmasters of their own persuasion? I am certain they would not; and I could name many others, who would most zealously, and anxiously exert themselves,\* the moment they were convinced, that education, and not conversion, was the object to which these funds were appropriated. These ideas are not taken up upon slight grounds; having mixed with people of almost every persuasion, they are the result of my experience; and I can with confidence promulgate them, from the fullest conviction of their truth.+ The first step, therefore, towards tranquillizing Ireland, would be the extinction of the charter school establishments, and the application of the funds to national education, chiefly through the medium of the catholics, giving up all the romantic ideas of conversion.

When at Lord Sunderlin's, Barranstown, county of Westmeath, in August 1808, I visited a school established by his Lordship, from which the Roman Catholic children had been withdrawn; the Rev. Mr. Townsend mentions a similar circumstance at Mitchelston in the county of Cork.† The Rev. Mr. Gordon, in his History of the Rebellion, speaks of the same thing,§ and numberless instances of the like kind might be produced; indeed, some are given in the eleventh report of the Board of Education. These circumstances have arisen from the dread entertained by the Catholic clergy of their flocks being taught by any but persons of their own faith. The clergy of the established church in England are, in some degree, now pursuing a similar system in England, in their rivalry of the Lancasterian schools; and, therefore, as far as their conduct is influenced by a want of liberality, these reverend divines are on an equality. The statesman, however, ought to be actuated by different motives; and since the Catholic clergy have the power of interdicting children from attending protestant schools, if it be necessary that the people should be informed or converted, you must establish schools which are not protestant.||

\* I have received a letter from a Roman Catholic gentleman of consequence, with whom I am personally unacquainted, requesting me to enforce in my work, the benefits of national education; and he tells me, that he has addressed himself to me on this subject, at the request of many of his catholic neighbours.

+ May 9, 1812. Since this sheet was composed, I have this day attended a meeting of the Lancasterian Institution; at which Mr. Lancaster detailed many instances of Roman Catholic dignitaries patronising his efforts, because they knew that his object was education, not proselytism.

† Survey of Cork, Addenda.

§ Gordon's History of the Rebellion of 1798, p. 415.

|| According to report, Mr. Pole, the Irish minister, wishing to establish a Lancasterian School at the House

I have in these observations, but one object, and that is, to point out, if possible, the means of bringing about unanimity in the empire; and I am well convinced that the plan here recommended, will effect more towards that desirable end, and at less expense, than any hitherto pursued. Till a new direction is given to the minds of the people, Ireland can be preserved only by the sacrifice of blood and treasure. Educate the rising generation, and gaols and barracks will not be wanted.

In the fifth Report of the Board of Education, I find the following observation: "every means should be taken to render it creditable to have been educated in our public charitable seminaries." I am personally acquainted with the majority of the members of the Board of Education, and individually respect them. They have laid before parliament great facts which ought to form the subject of legislative deliberation; and which cannot fail to make a strong impression on the public mind; but my respect for the general result of their investigations, will not prevent me from pointing out some errors into which I think they have fallen. I shall first remark, that the sentiment contained in the observation which I have quoted above, is of as mischievous a tendency as any that could be recommended. I regard with horror a doctrine so hostile to that independence which renders man valuable in society, and without the possession of which, he is incapable either of useful exertion, or of moral improvement. To me all eleemosynary education is hateful. My child should never receive it; and, therefore, I do not wish to bestow it upon the children of others. The common Irish are sufficiently humble, already prostrate and habituated to rely upon others rather than on themselves; a nation of boys, so educated, would little improve the population. It would destroy that sense of moral dignity and independence which stimulates men to laudable actions. If the sentiments of the Board be just, it would be beneficial to reduce the Irish nation to this state; and the commissioners might as well advise that every means should be adopted to constitute it

of Industry in Dublin, wrote to Mr. Lancaster, to send over a person acquainted with his method to give the necessary instructions for its formation. Lancaster's enthusiasm induced him to answer the letter in person, as he conceived the object to be of so much importance as to require every attention that he possibly could bestow upon it. His expectations, however, were disappointed; for, on arriving at Dublin, Mr. Pole seemed surprised, and informed him that he had written only for one of his assistants. Lancaster, however, requested the minister's patronage to lectures which he intended to give on the subject of his plan; but, fortunately for Ireland, the minister declined giving any countenance to the design. This refusal, in all probability, has forwarded the improvement of the people of Ireland in regard to education, at least fifty years. Had Lancaster been patronised by the castle government, he would have been considered by the bulk of the inhabitants, as the mere tool of a faction; and his system, which in my opinion, will do more good to Ireland than any other that could be adopted, would not have been favourably received. Lancaster has been hailed by the catholics as a benefactor; they have determined to carry his system into effect, and, as no protestant catechism is introduced in it, to disgust the parents of the pupils, his exertions, I have no doubt, will be successful in banishing a great part of that ignorance which at present prevails among the Catholic poor in Ireland.

an honour to have worn a livery. National education is an object of the first importance, but it may be purchased at too dear a rate. Encourage the spirit which seeks it independently, and not through a slavish subjection. If the Irish cannot be educated without this degradation, I exclaim—let them remain ignorant.

The Board of Education have, most creditably to themselves, and most usefully to the public, examined other charities than those to which I have adverted, and have made many reports to parliament on the subject. As these papers do not fall into the hands of readers in general, I shall not pass them over in silence. But those who wish to examine more closely into the situation of the Irish establishments for national education, will seek for the reports themselves, and not remain satisfied with the brief accounts which the limits of this work necessarily prescribe.

The fourth Report relates to the free diocesan schools, and as it is not of great length, I shall here insert it entire.

“ The Diocesan Free Schools were established under the authority of an act passed in the 12 Eliz. c. 1., which enacted, that there should be a free school in every diocese in Ireland, that the lord deputy, or other chief governor or governors for the time being, should appoint the schoolmasters in every Diocese, excepting those of Armagh, Dublin, Meath, and Kildare, of which, the respective archbishops and bishops were to appoint the masters; that the school-house for every Diocese should be erected in the principal shire town of the Diocese, at the costs and charges of the whole Diocese, without respect of freedoms, by the device and oversight of the ordinaries of each Diocese (or the vicars general *vide vacante*), and the sheriff of the shire: that the lord deputy or other chief governor, with and by the advice of the privy council, should, according to the quantity and quality of each Diocese, appoint such yearly pension, salary, or stipend, for every schoolmaster, as he should think convenient, whereof the ordinaries of every Diocese should pay yearly for ever, the third part, and the parsons, vicars, prebendaries, and other ecclesiastical persons, should pay the other two parts by an equal contribution, to be made by the ordinaries; and that all churches, parsonages, vicarages, and other ecclesiastical livings, that have come by any title whatsoever to the possession of the Queen, or any of her progenitors, should be charged with this payment and contribution, in whose hands or possession soever they are, or shall come.

“ It appears that Free Schools were actually established under this act in most, if not all, of the Dioceses in Ireland, many of which continue to exist at this time; but at no time do they appear to have fully answered the purposes of this institution; before the Restoration, indeed, we have not been able to find any account of them, but from the state of the kingdom, it is not probable they were either regularly kept or usefully conducted; soon after that event, a commission appears to have been issued by the lord lieutenant and council, directing the bishops of the several dioceses to carry the act of the 12 Eliz. into effect, and for that purpose to applot the sums to be paid out of the different ecclesiastical livings in each Diocese, for the stipend or salary of the Diocesan Schoolmasters, which was accordingly done in many, and, perhaps, in all the Dioceses; but if schools were at that time generally set on foot, they appear to have been of little public utility, partly from the want of proper school houses, and other accommodations for the masters: in the 12th George I. an act was passed, empowering archbishops, bishops, &c. to set apart an acre of ground, out of any lands belonging to

them, for the site of a Free School, to be approved of by the chief governor for the time being; and directing that, until such ground be set out, the school should be kept in such convenient place as the archbishop or bishop of the Diocese should be able to procure, for a yearly rent or otherwise; and further empowering the grand jury of each county to present, from time to time, such sums as they should find reasonable for their respective proportion towards building or repairing the school-houses in their counties, to be levied on the whole, or such parts thereof, as are situated in each respective Diocese. Under this act, a considerable improvement appears to have taken place in the state of the Diocesan Schools; but as presentments for the different proportions of each county in the several Dioceses were found extremely inconvenient, if not impracticable, the grand jury of each county, in which a Diocesan School is situated, were, by an act of 29th George II., empowered to prevent sums to be levied on the whole county for building or repairing the school-house; still, however, there are several Dioceses unprovided with proper school-houses, and some without any, and the general benefit, derived from the whole institution, is far from corresponding with the intention of the legislature, or even with the number of schools actually kept, or supposed to be so: it appears from an abstract of the returns made from the several dioceses, and herewith submitted to your Grace, that out of the whole number, thirty-four, composing twenty-two archbishopricks and bishopricks, only ten are provided with Diocesan School-Houses in tolerable repair; in three others, the houses are either out of repair or otherwise insufficient, and the remainder are wholly unprovided, and the masters of such schools as are kept in them either rent houses for the purposes, or are accommodated in other ways. But it appears from the same returns, that in some of them no Diocesan School is kept at all, and in others, no effective one—and that the whole number of effective schools in all the Dioceses together, is only thirteen, and that the whole number of scholars in all the schools together does not exceed three hundred and eighty. In the greater part of the Dioceses in which no school is kept, there is no contribution from the clergy for the payment of a master; but, in some instances, the salary is actually paid by the clergy to a nominal master, who either keeps no school at all, or one on a different foundation, in which the Diocesan school is wholly absorbed.

“These irregularities and defects in the present state of the Diocesan Schools appear to have arisen from various causes, in which there is little or no ground for supposing the backwardness or inattention of the bishops and clergy to have had any share; the utter inadequacy of the stipend, which is, or should be, collected for the maintenance of the master, and which in no *single* diocese exceeds 40*l.* per annum, and in some is so low as 25*l.*, would alone account for the non-existence or discontinuance of these schools, except in situations otherwise advantageous, and where grammar-schools would therefore be established and flourish without the aid of so inconsiderable an endowment. In several instances the establishment of other schools in their immediate vicinity, with ample endowments, and on more enlarged foundations, has either wholly superseded them, or as we have already intimated, has swallowed them up.

“Such being the actual state of these schools, it may seem to be doubtful, whether a system should be continued, which in its principle appears not altogether equitable, and has never been found efficient in practice; which is not called for by the present state of society, and, considered as a tax on the clergy, operates very partially and unequally, twelve out of thirty-four dioceses contributing nothing towards its object. At the period of its first establishment, the state of this country was such as to require some effectual provisions for the education even of the upper and middle classes; and as that of the lower order had been imposed on the parochial clergy, by the 28th of Henry VIII., the same policy was pursued in the 12th of Elizabeth, and it was, perhaps, the wisest, which in the cir-

cumstances of the times could have been adopted; at the present day it appears to be both unnecessary and ineffectual. If, however, it should be deemed imprudent to abandon altogether long established foundations, which, however, imperfect or inadequate, are still productive of some advantage, we take the liberty of recommending the adoption of measures, for rendering them more useful and efficient, and placing them under such regulations, that every Diocese may contribute its proportion towards their establishment and support; for these purposes we beg leave to suggest, that instead of requiring a school to be kept in every diocese, which has been already found impracticable, a certain number only should be established in every province, to be supported out of the contributions from each diocese in the Province; or, if it should be found more convenient, out of a general fund, consisting of contributions from all the dioceses in every province: supposing the whole number of schools thus established to be twelve, and that the average contribution of the 34 dioceses was 36*l.*, the endowment of each school would be 102*l.* per annum; but it is presumed that the average might be raised to 40*l.*, without bearing hard on the clergy, especially if impropiators were obliged to contribute, and if the sons of the poorer clergy and curates were to be admitted into the schools as free scholars. In fixing on the situation for the schools, regard should be had principally to the want of proper grammar-schools in the different districts of each province, and, as far as might be, to the continuance of the best of the Diocesan Schools already existing; by the acts of the 12th George I., and 29th George II., provision is made for building and repairing Diocesan School-houses; and in the act which would be necessary for the purpose here suggested, they might be so amended, as to apply and be accommodated to that purpose, and provision might be made for putting them in force.

(Signed,)

W. ARMAGH.	(L. S.)
GEO. HALL, Provost.	(L. S.)
JAMES VERSCHOYLE, } Dean of St. Patrick's.	(L. S.)
R. LOVELL EDGEWORTH.	(L. S.)
JAMES WHITELOW.	(L. S.)
WILLIAM DISNEY.	(L. S.)

*Council Chamber, Dublin Castle, April 21st, 1809."*

The Report proceeds to exculpate the bishops and clergy from the charge of neglect in the present state of these schools. This attempt at exculpation is at variance with the report; for if the commissioners have established that blame, and if the blame is to fall on one class of men particularly, the bishops and clergy of Ireland appear most deserving of the censure.

The Fifth Report is upon the state of the charity schools founded under the will of a Mr. Wilson, and situated in the county of Westmeath; as this cannot be deemed a national object, upon it I shall not dilate.

## EDUCATION.—BLUE COAT HOSPITAL.

The Sixth Report is on the Blue Coat Hospital, and from it I have formed the following table:

		Expenditure.		Boys admitted.		Boys apprenticed.
1797	-	£4142	-	25	-	20
1798	-	3180	-	18	-	16
1799	-	3550	-	23	-	28
1800	-	3252	-	12	-	7
1801	-	3830	-	13	-	12
1802	-	3049	-	22	-	21
1803	-	3724	-	26	-	15
1804	-	3238	-	19	-	21
1805	-	4762	-	29	-	28
1806	-	3039	-	12	-	11
1807	-	3457	-	32	-	10
1808	-	4377	-	16	-	19
		<u>£48,600</u>		<u>247</u>		<u>208</u>

These few figures will have a stronger effect than any comment. Upwards of £40,000. expended in eleven years for 208 apprentice boys!

The Seventh Report is on the Hibernian School in the Phoenix Park. This school was established for the education of the children of non-commissioned officers and private soldiers, and is meant to be a military school; from the appearance of it, indeed, it must be completely so. Having drawn the attention of the Commissioners of Education to a subject very irrelevant to the object of their inquiries, namely, the necessity of standing armies to the British empire; a short analysis of the Report will demonstrate that it has failed in supporting this object.

	Total Income.	Expended in support of the Institution.	Children admitted.	Children apprenticed.	Children given up to Parents.	Boys given to the Army.	Children died.
1802	4,605	2,975	109	29	13	10	4
1803	4,900	3,568	37	15	15	—	5
1804	4,523	4,339	29	11	12	—	1
1805	4,930	3,508	66	41	15	—	—
1806	6,205	4,654	142	55	17	2	1
1807	9,056	5,737	95	41	35	—	5
1808	14,137	5,721	96	48	24	—	4
1809	15,039	6,988	180	73	55	—	9
	<u>63,395*</u>	<u>27,430</u>	<u>754</u>	<u>313</u>	<u>186</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>29</u>

\* The surplus income was expended in buildings and government debentures.

Independently of this expense, there is a farm, and a dairy of cows grazed in the park.

**£63,395. EXPENDED IN EIGHT YEARS, AND TWELVE BOYS GIVEN TO THE ARMY!**

The Eighth Report is upon the Foundling Hospital, which the commissioners have wisely taken into their consideration. It is, however, unlike the two institutions last mentioned. These may answer in providing for agents and inspectors, registrars, and providores (an office in England known by the name of house-keeper), chaplains and stewards; and they may ultimately send out a few children at an enormous expense; but they do not exhibit that melancholy waste of life, and that extensive misery in its most hideous forms, which is to be met with in the institution I am about to examine. I shall, perhaps, be informed that these charities were intended for the maintenance and education of poor children; and that I am mistaken in concluding, that they are institutions the only use of which is, the expending of large incomes for the extension of the patronage of trustees; but I am grateful to the Board of Education, for the facts which they have laid before parliament correspond exactly with the conclusions I had drawn from my own researches. It exhibits an almost unparalleled system of neglect and corruption, in every institution which they have examined; and in the report which I have now before me, they expressly state, “we are informed that (*except when offices of emolument were to be disposed of*) it was difficult, out of a board consisting of nearly two hundred governors, to procure the attendance of five once a quarter, to transact the ordinary business of the establishment.”\* Why the commissioners included the above few words, which I have put in italics, within parentheses, I cannot divine; they ought to have been printed in capitals, to render them more conspicuous, as they mark in the strongest terms, the general characters of these public charity trustees. These institutions are monuments of national vanity; they are the source of great corruption, and of misplaced patronage; and are maintained at such enormous annual charges, that seven-eighths of the expenditure might be lopped off, and a greater number of necessitous objects relieved.

The extent of these evils, as they apply to the Foundling Hospital, must be my apology for dwelling upon the situation of that Charity at such length. They will be found to be so great in this particular institution, that no one, taking extraordinary trouble to discover them, would be justified to himself or to his country, were he not to give them a full exposure. In such a case all private feeling must give way to public duty.

The commissioners, by their report, do not seem to have sufficiently canvassed the propriety of, or the benefit to be expected from such an institution; but have admitted it to be one of the highest national importance. I shall proceed to

examine it. First, I dissent from the commissioners on the principle of the Institution. I consider an hospital that presents an open basket, to receive every infant, without distinction, as one of the greatest national evils that can be devised by human ingenuity; even if well conducted in its internal regulations, it holds out encouragement to all kinds of vice, and imperceptibly deadens the finest feelings of the human heart: the poor are tempted to part with their offspring; to resign into the hands of strangers the most endearing of all parental employments, that of a mother fostering her own child. But if it should chance to be badly conducted, humanity must be further shocked, while the miserable victims are left to bewail the conduct of unnatural parents, and the existence of so vile an institution. A writer of no mean celebrity,\* has exposed the folly of these establishments, in such a manner, as precludes my entering into any general discussion of the subject. After his observations, I shall not attempt any farther illustration, but refer those who entertain any doubts of my opinion, to the Essay on Population, confining myself to some remarks on the information so beneficently laid before the public by the Board of Education in Ireland.

In Dublin there is another institution, not merely in name, but in fact, a House of Industry, an asylum for every person willing to labour; unlike in its principle to the hospital for foundlings, and managed, as I shall shew, in a very different manner. The one receives a human being, a prey to idleness, loaded with filth and friendless, and returns the same individual to the world, industrious, clean and healthy; and though without a friend, improved by those habits which render assistance less needful: the other, in most cases, receives a blooming infant, by a temptation which no one can contemplate without astonishment, that of the enjoyment of idleness to its unnatural parent; and either soon sends it to its grave, or renders it a spectacle too shocking to be viewed without a mixed sensation of horror and indignation. If given out to nurse, it robs some infant of its destined food, and induces a foster-mother, by the temptation of a trifling pittance, to bestow upon it a part of that care, which ought exclusively to belong to her own progeny. Such are the leading distinctions of these two very different institutions. The contrast is striking, and much room is left for reflection.

The constitution and objects of the Foundling Hospital† have undergone many and various alterations by acts of parliament, since the erection of the building in 1704; but it is now managed on a plan established by the 35th sec. 3d chap. of Geo. III. On this act subsequent ones have been ingrafted; but by it the institution was vested in the hands of nine persons, under whose direction it still remains. This change,

\* Mr. Malthus.

† In England, the nature and circumstances of the Foundling Hospital had been investigated by Parliament, and all further grants of public money discontinued. See Mr. Baker's Speech, Woodfall's Debates, vol. 2, 1802, P. 160.

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according to the Report of the Commissioners of the Board of Education, took place in consequence "of the vices in the constitution, and the abuses in the management of it."\* As an instance it is stated, that "a majority of the infants received were abandoned, as hopelessly afflicted with a loathsome disease;"† but on an investigation which took place January 8th, 1799, "it was clearly established, that but one in twenty-nine of these helpless infants were so infected, and subsequent observation reduced the proportion still further."‡ So much for the accuracy of that popular opinion, under the influence of which these helpless infants were abandoned; but it is necessary that the public, who are encouraging and supporting this institution, should be made acquainted with the numbers which were thus inhumanly left to their fate.

Table of the ADMISSIONS of Children into the Foundling Hospital, from 1785 to 1797 inclusive, stating the DEATHS which took place in each Year, in the Infant Nursery and Infant Infirmary.

YEARS.	Total admitted in each Year.	Deaths in the Infant Nursery, not Venereal.	Deaths in the Infant Infirmary, supposed to be Venereal.	Total of the Deaths in the Nursery and Infirmary.
1785	1,900	59	300	359
1786	2,150	48	493	541
1787	2,051	65	344	409
1788	2,144	112	565	677
1789	2,134	273	652	925
1790	2,187	396	549	945
1791	2,192	426	779	1,205
1792	1,998	420	861	1,281
1793	2,205	484	803	1,287
1794	2,253	382	903	1,285
1795	2,101	411	959	1,470
1796	2,037	369	910	1,279
1797	1,923	- -	- -	1,457

\* Eighth Report, p. 2.

† Ibid. p. 3.

‡ Ibid. ib.

## EDUCATION.—FOUNDLING HOSPITAL.

A Table shewing the Number of Children ADMITTED into the Foundling Hospital, from 8th July 1797, to 8th July 1798, the Number of DEATHS in said Period, and how the Survivors were disposed of.

Table of Admissions.			Table of Deaths.			Period of Deaths.				Living Children.	Infants given to Country Wet Nurses.							Dry Children given to Country Dry Nurses.												
Total Admissions.	Infants.	Dry Children.	Infants.	Dry Children.	Total.	Within 48 hours after admission.	From the 3d to the 7th day inclusive.	In the second Week.	In the third Week.		In the fourth Week.	Subsequent to the fourth Week.	Living Children to be accounted for.	Within one Day after admission.	Within two Days after admission.	Within three Days after admission.	Within four Days after admission.	Within five days after admission.	Within six Days after admission.	In the second Week.	In the third Week.	In the fourth Week.	Subsequent to the fourth Week.	Total.	Three Months old.	Six Months old.	Nine Months old.	Twelve Months old.	Total.	Returned to Parents.
802	698	104	401	17	418	10	135	157	50	17	49	384	19	21	10	15	16	17	21	23	23	52	231	61	31	9	13	104	20	29

The first of these returns exhibits a result at which humanity must shudder.—In the course of thirteen years, 27,274 children were received; out of which number, 13,120, or nearly one half, perished. But if we refer to the last year, 1797, how enormous the loss of life! No less than 1,457 deaths, out of 1,922 admitted!!!

The second table presents a very curious circumstance, which deserves to be particularly noticed. It shews the number of children admitted to have been 802, whereas the average generally is 2,000. But that year was the period of the rebellion.

Since the new regulations, the return of INFANT deaths has been as follows; but it is to be remarked, that it exhibits the mortality among infants only, and, consequently, furnishes us with no data to calculate the total of the deaths in the number admitted.

Year ending 8th of July	Admissions.	Infant Deaths.
1799	1,471	439
1800	2,054	491
1801	1,840	520
1802	1,430	356
1803	2,214	910
1804	1,947	373
1805	2,017	368
1806	2,168	510
1807	2,161	452
1808	2,336	623
	<u>19,638</u>	<u>5,043</u>

These comparative tables, undoubtedly, shew an improvement in the management of the institution; yet the mortality still must appear excessive, when it is recollected, that the last table exhibits only the loss during infancy. They also prove the inaccuracy of Mr. Took's opinion, that the loss of lives in foundling hospitals, is to be ascribed chiefly to the weak state of the infant, previously to admission.\* But I shall make this fact still more apparent hereafter: for, on examining the tables of mortality, which have been kept since the commencement of the measures of reform in 1797, I find it was computed, that about ONE IN FIVE, of the whole number received at the gate would be alive (and to be drafted into the house), at the age of ten years.+ It may here be proper to state, that there is a basket placed on the outside of the gate, for the reception of infants; that on a child being deposited in it, and a bell rung, the porter turns the basket inwards, and conveys the child to the nursery part of the institution. I spent the morning of the 5th of May, 1809, at the hospital, and visited this part first. A number of wet nurses are kept there, to suckle the infants as they arrive, until country nurses can be provided for them. At that time, no woman had fewer than two; and it was stated to me, that when the children came in very fast, sometimes one woman was obliged to suckle as many as five; but this depended on the facility of finding nurses in the country. The rooms were clean, and regularly whitewashed. From the appearance of the place, I was at first induced to account for the wretched looks of the children, by supposing, as did Mr. Took, when visiting a similar institution at Moscow, that they had been conveyed from a considerable distance; that the greater part of them, had been fed with the spoon; and that to these causes was to be attributed their emaciated state: I was, however, soon undeceived. My visits to the Foundling Hospital had been made in company with three females; one of whom was the mother of a very numerous family, and the wife of a gentleman who had, for nearly twenty years, been chaplain and superintendent of a large hospital. This lady was, therefore, a more than ordinary judge of the internal regulations of such places. Two of the company had paid a visit to the hospital three weeks before, and had then particularly remarked two beautiful infants, which had that day been sent in. These ladies knew some of the nurses, and they inquired for the children who had before so much attracted their attention. One was dead; and the other was in the most wretched state I ever beheld any infant: the truth is, this child, as well as the other children in the ward, was covered with the itch. In this assertion, I know I

\* Took's View of the Russian Empire, vol. ii. b. iii. p. 620.

† In the Eighth Report, p. 5, the Commissioners make the following remark on this sentence, which does not appear to me to alter the result stated: "The number of children who actually attain the age of ten years, is greater than in this proportion, as some are returned to their parents every year, and some are withheld by their nurses, sometimes in consequence of a strong attachment to them having been formed, and sometimes in consequence of their having become useful. These two causes reduce the number to be annually drafted, so as to render the foregoing computation to be not very far from the truth: absolute precision is manifestly unattainable."

shall be contradicted ; but I have few fears on that head. I have never been accustomed to conceal the truth, or repress, when the occasion demands animadversion, the dictates of honest indignation. Must allowance be made for those whose national pride may be wounded by the publication of truth?—In this case, humanity will not admit of apology. I honestly narrate what I saw, and remarked ; and my observation prompted me to examine how far the received opinion was correct,—that the numerous deaths in the infant department were to be attributed to the diseased state of the children, at the time of their reception into the house.

Primarily, I refer to the statement of the commissioners ; their report,\* shews that the number infected with the venereal virus was only 48 out of 2,358 admitted in a given time.

In the next place, wishing to demonstrate how far deaths are connected with the conveyance of children from a distance, I insert the following table, which is to be found, also, in the report.

A Table, shewing the Comparative Number of ADMISSIONS from the several Counties in Ireland, for Nine Years and a Half, to 31st of December, 1808.

Counties.	1800.	1801.	1802.	1803.	1804.	1805.	1806.	1807.	Half-Year.	1808.	
County and City of Dublin - -	696	552	469	590	532	535	577	606	274	676	5,507
Carlow - - -	29	37	17	40	32	30	44	34	17	28	306
Kilkenny - - -	38	31	15	42	40	31	33	26	15	33	304
Kildare - - -	56	50	33	53	57	62	63	62	25	80	541
King's County - -	29	37	27	40	31	35	40	39	11	56	345
Queen's County	38	26	22	42	32	32	43	31	16	46	398
Louth - - -	55	44	29	55	52	42	39	51	20	49	436
Longford - - -	12	14	15	23	13	22	24	24	10	26	183
Meath - - -	68	43	42	58	52	56	42	50	32	59	564
Westmeath - - -	30	32	15	24	24	26	26	16	16	25	234
Wexford - - -	46	35	38	50	46	52	60	47	18	39	431
Wicklow - - -	50	53	30	60	58	60	57	61	24	62	524
Antrim - - -	90	72	59	73	81	89	88	89	38	100	779
Armagh - - -	106	65	54	90	70	63	89	90	39	89	755
Cavan - - -	52	63	44	97	70	83	89	109	50	95	752
Down - - -	124	131	85	143	174	122	159	137	89	156	1,320
Donegal - - -	47	50	35	59	37	52	58	43	21	48	444
Londonderry - -	61	48	28	46	37	55	49	62	17	54	457
Fermanagh - - -	68	50	51	53	52	60	45	58	20	75	582
Monaghan - - -	78	88	40	59	71	65	63	64	32	78	638
Tyrone - - -	113	144	57	130	123	113	17	123	55	125	1,100
Galway - - -	36	30	27	42	46	31	43	36	12	40	343
Leitrim - - -	3	6	9	18	10	17	21	19	5	20	128
Mayo - - -	9	7	4	9	9	8	6	11	8	16	87
Roscommon - - -	12	14	11	25	18	21	24	27	11	32	195
Sligo - - -	3	6	4	6	8	13	23	19	9	13	104
Cork - - -	11	4	8	7	5	6	15	7	4	8	70
Clare - - -	10	7	14	13	19	29	15	12	2	7	128
Limerick - - -	5	19	77	119	58	130	134	104	43	129	818
Tipperary - - -	39	42	42	63	50	48	51	60	36	75	506
Waterford - - -	27	50	27	49	49	32	36	48	27	51	596
Kerry - - -	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	2,041	1,850	1,432	2,178	1,956	2,020	2,168	2,164	996	2,390	20,195

	Number admitted		State of the Infants Admission.						Number of Deaths, and their Causes.				Infants alive.				Periods of the Death of Infants.				Deaths how connected with Carriage.									
	Males.	Females.	Apparently Healthy.	Weak from various Causes, without any visible Disease.	Premature Births.	Veneral.	Doubtful Eruptions.	Catarrh.	Complaints in the Bowels.	Veneral.	Convulsions.	Catarrh.	Accidents.	Sent to Nurse in the Country.	Returned to Parents.	R. remaining in the House.	Within 48 hours after admission.	From 3d to 7th day, both inclusive.	In the 2d Week.	3d Week.	4th Week.	Subsequent to 4th Week.	Infants carried above 50 Miles.	Deaths.	Infants carried above Fifteen, and under Fifty.	Deaths.	Infants born within the City, or in the County of Dublin.	Deaths.	Infants whose Places of Birth are unknown.	Deaths.
First Month : From 9th July to 8th Aug.	63	88	79	47	0	2	15	3	87	2	9	8	0	44	6	0	2	44	36	8	1	10	66	50	20	9	54	38	11	4
Second Month : From 9th Aug. to 8th Sep.	64	74	78	49	0	3	6	2	77	4	3	1	1	52	0	0	1	25	28	10	4	18	51	32	23	18	59	35	5	3
Third Month : From 9th Sep. to 8th Oct.	48	54	73	24	0	0	5	0	40	1	3	2	0	53	3	0	0	14	16	6	2	8	39	17	9	5	44	18	10	6
Fourth Month : From 9th Oct. to 8th Nov.	74	75	91	37	5	2	11	3	43	1	17	2	0	81	4	1	4	16	27	10	3	3	47	24	24	16	60	16	18	7
Fifth Month : From 9th Nov. to 8th Dec	47	76	66	41	0	3	10	3	29	5	8	3	0	68	4	6	1	7	18	7	3	9	25	11	19	6	57	16	22	19
Sixth Month : From 9th Dec. to 8th Jan.	69	70	71	45	1	9	10	3	53	6	11	6	1	37	3	22	2	29	32	9	4	1	48	30	16	11	45	23	30	13
<b>TOTAL Number</b>	<b>365</b>	<b>437</b>	<b>458</b>	<b>243</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>329</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>335</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>135</b>	<b>157</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>276</b>	<b>164</b>	<b>111</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>319</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>45</b>

I have given my authority for this table ; but I must remark, that I do not know in what manner the distance from which children are brought is ascertained. I am led to believe, that all children found in the basket, are registered as born within the city or county of Dublin. Many may be sent from the country and deposited in the basket, without the possibility of its being known whence they come. With the exception of this error, the table goes to prove, that the mortality in the nursery arises from mismanagement in that department, and not from the feeble state in which the children are delivered. The hackneyed observations which is generally thrown out when abuses which can neither be excused nor palliated are publicly exposed, will, no doubt, be repeated on this occasion : " Why do you not propose a better mode of treatment ? The governors provide wet nurses, and what more can they do ? If the children are sent to them with a cutaneous disorder, how can this be prevented ?"—I am sufficiently aware of all these objections ; but when the infants arrive, it seems to be considered as the greatest act of benevolence that can be extended to them, to hang them, almost by dozens, to a stale breast of milk, to be nurtured by a woman who receives the babe one hour to part with it the next ; to a person whose only inducement to take it at all is the money she expects to receive, and who is so habituated in the ward to the sight of death, that the loss of life appears to her the most trivial of all occurrences.—I have heard the humanity of these nurses

highly commended; but I am too well acquainted with mankind to admit as true what experience has proved to be false. The law has wisely provided, that surgeons and butchers, shall not be summoned on our juries, because their profession, must, from habit, render them callous to the common feelings of humanity; and these Foundling Hospital nurses, from the very nature of their occupation have their feelings destroyed, and become careless and heedless of the lives of the infants committed to their care.

But I shall leave this stage of misery, and proceed to the next, which is that of placing out the survivors with wet nurses in the country; and here again the unfortunate infant is most commonly, to be nourished from a stale breast of milk.\* The wet nurses are paid £3. per annum, for feeding and clothing these infants; and while they remain under their care, they are obliged to exhibit them once a year at the hospital. I have known many of these women perform a journey of thirty miles to Dublin, and back again to their homes, to present the child, and receive the annual pension for its board and clothing. The wretchedness of these substitutes for nurses makes them value money so highly, that they are glad to accept a sum much less than they really expend for the child, and subject themselves to undertake a long and painful journey to and from Dublin, in the course of every year.

The first objection to this practice is, that the nurse deprives her own child of half its natural sustenance, and from this circumstance, only half feeds both. In many instances, however, the milk is reserved for the foundling; of this I am certain, for I have had much conversation with this class of females in Ireland. But even allowing that a child receives its proper share of milk while at the breast, how can it be properly fed after it is weaned, for £3. per annum? and yet, this is the sum stipulated and paid. The system in this stage is unjust, as it requires the poor to foster and bring up foundlings at a less expense than their own children would really cost them. Yet, for all this, great credit is given to the public, as well as to the governors and governesses, for what is called their humane and charitable exertions. If praise be due, some share should be conferred on the poor and ignorant nurse, who is yearly drained of a portion of her scanty means of subsistence, by this adoption of the child of another, at an inadequate remuneration; if any good be effected it ought to be ascribed to this humble class of females. It is somewhat remarkable, that these Irish nurses receive less for their services, than is given to the

\* Ensor, in his *Independent Man*, observes, "the milk of the mother must be more congenial, than that of a nurse, from its native virtues; but it should also be remembered, that first milk operates as a mild cathartic." To this remark I beg leave to add, that I know a gentleman who has analyzed a woman's milk at different ages; and the result has been, that the milk immediately after the birth, contains a proportion of that calcareous quality, which is afterwards found in the bones, the infant bones being born without it. Thus, the inscrutable wisdom of the Creator, provides for his creatures according to his laws.

Russian nurses, by the governors of the Foundling Hospital at Petersburg.\* The latter receive 1s. 5d. per week, which is at the rate of £3. 5s. per annum.

After having been some years with the country nurses, the children are drafted at the age of eight and upwards, into the hospital at Dublin: whenever it happens that attachments take place between the foster-mothers and the children, which is often the case, their separation is another afflicting circumstance. In this stage I again saw them, the boys and girls were kept apart from each other; the dormitories were spacious and clean; the hall in which they dine, had a noble appearance, and seemed well adapted to its use. I saw some of each sex at school, and others employed in manufactures; but I was once more struck with the wretched appearance which the children in general exhibited; the majority of them had sore fingers, scalded heads, and inflamed eyes, or were afflicted with tumours or ulcers, the effects I believe, of confirmed and inveterate itch.

Immediately before I visited this hospital, I had been relating to the ladies who accompanied me, the well known anecdote of Mr. Day, who selected two girls from the Foundling Hospital in England, for the purpose of giving them education, and then making choice of one for his wife. The result of this whimsical experiment, however, was, that one would not marry him, and the other he did not choose to marry; but considering himself bound in honour to provide for them, he gave both fortunes; and I understand, that they were afterwards comfortably settled, and conducted themselves through life in a creditable manner. A friend of mine accompanied Mr. Day on this extraordinary occasion, and they both determined to rest their choice on their skill in physiognomy. This occurrence we bore in mind during our visit to the hospital in Dublin: having agreed to examine the looks and appearance of every child, and supposing ourselves commissioned for a similar object. Our party consisted of four persons, and we employed some hours in inspecting the children; but on leaving the hospital, we were unanimous in opinion, that the general appearance of the girls was so wretched, and their countenances so disfigured by disease and hard living, that it would have been impossible to make a selection of even so small a number. We afterwards went through that part of the hospital appropriated to the boys, and could not perceive that their looks was in the least superior to that of the other sex. In a word, I spent a long morning in this investigation, and left this mansion of misery with feelings of disappointment and regret; thoroughly convinced, that such an establishment, in its present state, instead of alleviating, must add in no small degree, to the wretchedness entailed on mankind.

\*. Malthus from observation, see Essay on Population, p. 216. There is a premium of forty shillings paid in Ireland for rearing a child, in addition to the annual sum allowed.

On the 20th of July, 1809, the Hospital was visited by the following Commissioners of the Board of Education:—

The Primate,  
The Provost of Trinity College,  
The Bishop of Killaloe,  
Mr. Disney, and  
Mr. Edgeworth.

And they state in their Report, that they “ were struck with the order and regularity which every where prevailed, as well as with the neatness and healthy appearance of the children in the schools and work-rooms. The whole economy, indeed, of the hospital, appeared truly admirable; and reflects the highest credit on those respectable persons of each sex, who have for some years devoted their time and attention to the preservation of the lives of so many human beings; and to their subsequent education in such habits and branches of instruction, as cannot fail to render them useful, and valuable to society.”\* Here I stand opposed to the commissioners; for I never can be induced to believe, that so great a change could have taken place between the 5th of May, and the 20th of July. On the former day, I carefully inspected the internal economy of the hospital, and observed, indeed, “ order, regularity, and neatness,” but no appearance of health; and I am concerned, that in this instance, my experience is opposed to that of some respectable and excellent men.

For the better elucidation of this subject, I sincerely wish that the public were in possession of an account of the deaths of children in the hospital, after being received from the country nurses. I can find but one return of this kind; and although it comprehends only a short period, in the absence of better documents, I shall here insert it.

\* Eighth Report, p. 11.

A Table of **ADMISSION** and **CASUALTIES** of Grown Children received into the Foundling Hospital, commencing with the New Regulations, 9th July, 1797, and comprehending one Year's Admissions to 8th July, 1798.

Periods of Admission.	Children in the House on the Commencement of the Year.		Children's Ages.							Casualties during the Year.								
	Children in the House on the Commencement of the Year.	Children drafted and returned from the Country during the Year.	Total.	Ten Years.	Eleven Years.	Twelve Years.	Thirteen Years.	Fourteen Years.	Fifteen Years.	Total.	Apprenticed.	Died.	Eloped.	Sent to the Country for Health.	Put on aged List.	Given to Parents.	Returned to Masters.	Remain in the House.
From the 9th July, 1797, to 8th July, 1798	434	315	749	93	164	256	136	84	16	749	74	14	44	52	6	1	-	558

It is the more necessary to examine the situation of the children on their being placed in the institution, because the commissioners seem to suggest, "the expediency of additional grants,"\* to carry into execution the plan proposed, in a petition to the Earl of Hardwicke, for withdrawing for the purpose of education, more children at an earlier age from the country nurses. On this subject, a few remarks will be necessary: if the parochial clergy of Ireland discharge their duty, every one of these children would obtain instruction while under the care of their nurses in the country parishes of Ireland, which would preclude their being cooped up within the walls of an hospital in a crowded city. On so important a proceeding, that excellent guide, experience, should be consulted; let the reader attentively peruse the following account of a similar institution at Petersburg: "at six or seven years old, the children who have been sent into the country return to the house, where they are taught all sorts of trades, and manual operations."—"There is a consider-

\* Eighth Report, p. 12.

able mortality among those which are returned from the country, and are in the firmest stages of life. I was in some degree surprised at hearing this, after having been particularly struck with the extraordinary degree of neatness, cleanliness, and sweetness, which appeared to prevail in every department. The house itself had been a palace, and all the rooms were large, and airy, and even elegant. I was present whilst 180 boys were dining; they were all dressed very neatly, the table-cloth was clean, and each had a separate napkin to himself; the provisions appeared to be extremely good; there was not the smallest disagreeable smell in the room. In the dormitories, there was a separate bed for each child; the bedsteads were of iron, without tester or curtains, and the coverlets and sheets particularly clean. This degree of neatness, almost inconceivable in a large institution, was to be attributed principally to the present Empress Dowager, who interested herself in all the details of the management, and when at Petersburg, seldom passed a week without inspecting them in person. The mortality, which takes place in spite of all these attentions, is a clear proof, that the constitution in early youth, cannot support confinement, and work for eight hours in the day."\* The celebrated work from which this account is taken, should be perused before any measures are adopted for extending the Foundling Hospital in Dublin; and I must impress on the reader the necessity of carefully examining the whole of the Eighth Report of the Commissioners, who inspected this establishment. The facts which they have collected, rather than their observations, render it valuable; for they prove, in the clearest manner, a dreadful waste of life. Must not every person, who is actuated by generous feelings, regret the existence of an institution, in which it appears, that in the course of one year, 1,237 children died out of 1,458,† within a month subsequent to their admission? Can any one question, that if the hospital had never been established, more than 221 out of these 1,458 children, had they been left to the natural care of their parents, would have been alive at the end of a month after their birth? It requires not a moment's reflection, to be able to ascribe this dreadful mortality to its real cause—namely, the hospital. But it may be said, that since that fatal year, it has been better conducted; and that death does not devastate the nursery department at the same rate. But how is it amended? By weakening the sources of life, not only to the foundlings, but to the children of the nurses; by sowing the seeds of disease in the constitutions of the children, entailing on them future misery, and sending them forth into the world, a puny infected race, wretched in themselves, and a curse, rather than a blessing to society.

Were there data sufficient to enable me to follow these children of misfortune, through all the stages of their hospital life, after they return from the nurses, and in the state of apprenticeship, I fear, that the picture I should be compelled to

\* Malthus on Population, p. 217.

† Report, p. 41.

draw, would not be more favourable. But I shall, perhaps, be told, that much is gained, in a moral point of view, by giving education to these foundlings, and therefore some allowance ought to be made for the mortality with which the accomplishment of this object is unavoidably attended. To this, however, may be opposed, the latitude given to profligacy, by holding out a temptation to abandoned women to indulge their vicious inclinations, knowing that provision has been made for the children which they may bring into the world; and the injury done to the tenderest feelings of the heart, weakening or destroying that attachment which prevails between the parent and child; extinguishing that sacred flame which nature kindles in every breast; which invigorates all the social affections, and has often produced the most astonishing effects on the human mind.—If the subject be properly investigated, it will appear, I have no doubt, that the balance is in favour of the opinion I have expressed; that the enlargement of the institution will prove an extension of vice and immorality, of wretchedness, misery and death, throughout the country.

One material circumstance demands particular notice, and must not be omitted. Even in this institution, the demon of religious discord shews his cloven foot, and interferes to excite jealousy and suspicion. This evil, this destroying influence on Irish prosperity and Irish happiness, cannot be too much execrated. It was frequently stated to me by Roman Catholics, that this hospital was one of those places which was employed for converting young persons to protestantism, and I know that the dread of this circumstance prevents many catholic children from being sent there. Were it conducted on liberal principles, this might be regretted; but that this should be the case in its present state, I consider of very little moment. Still, however, such illiberal procedure deserves to be exposed and condemned. The petition presented to Lord Hardwicke, when Lord Lieutenant, after setting forth the number of children in the hospital, dwells upon their being carefully educated in the protestant religion; and when I take into consideration that the trustees, the governesses, and the commissioners, who have inspected it, are all of that faith, I perceive the spirit with which it is conducted, and what must be its ultimate object and aim. But the idea of extending a system which adds misery to misery, spreads wretchedness, and encourages vice, even if it should answer the end of conversion, ought not for a moment to be entertained. It has failed of its purpose in every respect; and I trust, that when the eyes of the public are cleared from the mist of prejudice, it will be converted to some purpose more useful to the state.

As it may gratify the reader's curiosity, to be made acquainted with the expense of this institution, I subjoin the following documents:

An Account of FUNDS and INCOME of the Foundling Hospital in Dublin, from the 25th December 1797, to the 5th January 1807:—Distinguished under the following Periods of Accounts.

	£.	s.	d.
For half a year ending 24th June 1798	8,439	15	4½
One year - - 24th June 1799	21,452	7	5
Three quarters 25th March 1800	15,092	13	4½
Three quarters 31st December 1800	18,078	17	0
One year - - 5th January 1802	27,489	6	10
Ditto - - - 5th January 1803	25,448	14	1
Ditto - - - 5th January 1804	23,518	5	1½
Ditto - - - 5th January 1805	31,047	15	10
Ditto - - - 5th January 1806	30,914	12	9
Ditto - - - 5th January 1807	29,425	2	11
Ditto - - - 5th January 1808	31,213	9	4
Ditto - - - 5th January 1809	30,425	18	6½

*Note.*—In the Account ending 24th June 1799, is included the Grant to pay the Debts of the preceding Corporation.

The permanent funds of the Foundling Hospital arise from the tax on houses, rent of estate, which produces annually £115. 2s., and from parliamentary grants.

The PERMANENT FUNDS of the Foundling Hospital arise from the Tax on Houses, which is now about £8,000. yearly, from the Rent of the Estate, which produces annually £115. 2s. and from Parliamentary Grants, which have been as follows :

	£.	s.	d.
In the year 1799, there being several debts due by the late Board, there was granted to pay the said debt, and to defray the year's expense	17,086	11	7
In the Session of 1800, for the expense	9,300	0	0
Ditto - 1801	15,000	0	0
Ditto - 1802	17,500	0	0
Ditto - 1803	17,500	0	0
Ditto - 1804	22,500	0	0
Ditto - 1805	22,500	0	0
Ditto - 1806	22,500	0	0
Ditto - 1807	22,500	0	0
Ditto - 1808	22,500	0	0
Ditto - 1809	22,500	0	0

Each including Pells and Poundage.

Annual RENTAL of the Foundling Hospital, Dublin.

Denominations.	Tenants' Names.	Annual Rent.		
		£.	s.	d.
City Bason - - -	Corporation of Dublin - -	20	0	0
A holding in James Street - -	Rep <sup>s</sup> of Rev <sup>d</sup> D. Dickinson - -	4	10	0
- - Ditto - - -	Exor <sup>s</sup> of H. Brookfield - -	1	7	0
- - Ditto - - -	Rep <sup>s</sup> of J. Cuncliffe - -	2	5	0
- - Ditto - - -	Assignees of J. Mercer - -	30	0	0
- - Ditto - - -	Exor <sup>s</sup> of James Mercer - -	7	0	0
Garden, south Canal, - - -	David Courtney, Esq. - -	50	0	0
		115	2	0

An Account of the EXPENDITURE of the Foundling Hospital, in Dublin, from the 25th December 1797, to the 5th January 1807 :—Distinguished under the the following Periods of Account.

	£.	s.	d.
For half a year, ending 24th June 1798 - - -	4,886	3	5
One year - - 24th June 1799 - - -	30,730	14	1
Three quarters - - 25th March 1800 - - -	14,904	8	5½
Three quarters - - 31st December 1800 - - -	17,609	15	10½
One year - - 5th January 1803 - - -	25,029	3	0
Ditto - - 5th January 1803 - - -	24,255	1	1
Ditto - - 5th January 1804 - - -	28,285	16	0½
Ditto - - 5th January 1805 - - -	30,178	9	2
Ditto - - 5th January 1806 - - -	30,225	17	8
Ditto - - 5th January 1807 - - -	30,584	4	3
Ditto - - 5th January 1808 - - -	31,101	2	7½
Ditto - - 5th January 1809 - - -	30,734	9	9

Note.—In the Account ending 24th June 1799, is included the sum of £5,345. 3s. 8½d. the amount of the debts of the preceding Corporation, paid within the period of that account.

The Expenditure of the Foundling Hospital has varied during the several Periods, for the following reasons ; viz.

The Number of Children in the House.

The Variation in the Price of Provisions.

The Expenditure on Buildings.

And the Increase in the Annual Payments of Nurses' Wages, which, since the year ending the 5th January 1804, have increased progressively from £9,000. to £14,500.

An Account of all TAXES collected for the Foundling Hospital in Dublin, from the 25th December 1797, to the 5th January 1807; and of the Expense for Poundage to Collectors, and Constable Money attending the same:—Distinguished under the following Periods of Account.

PERIODS OF COLLECTION.	Taxes collected.			Expenses of Poundage and Constables.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
For half a year, ending 24th June 1798	2,868	3	8	None paid.		
One year - - 24th June 1799	8,604	5	10½	102	1	7
Three quarters 25th March 1800	6,878	3	9½	235	7	2
Three quarters 31st December 1800	4,258	12	3½	183	7	4
One year - - 5th January 1802	7,992	6	7	346	16	4
Ditto - - - 5th January 1803	7,964	12	11	310	13	2
Ditto - - - 5th January 1804	6,049	4	0	325	13	2
Ditto - - - 5th January 1805	8,343	6	2	396	10	9
Ditto - - - 5th January 1806	8,569	1	5	373	7	0
Ditto - - - 5th January 1807	7,069	9	10	371	5	1
Ditto - - - 5th January 1808	8,873	3	7	343	3	8
Ditto - - - 5th January 1809	8,242	13	5½	369	18	10

The Act for the better regulating the Foundling Hospital and Workhouse, at Dublin, passed the 11th and 12th years Geo. III. c. 11, repealed all former Acts.

From section 49 to 54 recites the tax on houses; viz. from 24th June 1772.

Sixpence in the pound on all houses within the several parishes in Dublin, and within the distance of two miles of the Castle of Dublin, according to the valuation for ministers' money; and also sixpence in the pound of said valuation, on all houses wherein malt or spirituous liquors shall be sold by retail.

The Act of 25th Geo. III. c. 50, grants a further tax from the 24th June 1785, namely;

A further sum of sixpence in the pound upon all and every the houses in Dublin, or within two miles of the Castle of Dublin, according as they are or shall be valued, for ministers', watch, or lamp money, except houses, whereof the yearly value shall be under five pounds, making in the whole a tax of one shilling in the pound, according to said valuations, upon all houses of the value of five pounds and upwards, and of sixpence in the pound upon all houses under five pounds value:

Together with the aforesaid tax of sixpence in the pound upon all houses wherein malt or spirituous liquors are sold by retail, and which taxes are recognised, and further regulations made, as to the assessments and collection, without increasing their rates, by the act of 40 Geo. III. c. 33, sections 8 to 15.

The total amount of these rates is estimated to produce annually the gross sum of eight thousand pounds, and is chargeable from the 24th June in each year; but as the accounts of the Foundling Hospital are made up annually, to the 15th January in each year, for the Commissioner of Imprest Account, the amounts of the tax in these accounts have fluctuated according as the collection has been more or less, between the two half years from January to June, or from June to January, in each year, although the annual produce for each year, from 24th June to 24th June, has been nearly alike.

An Account of all the ARREARS of TAXES payable to the Foundling Hospital, in Dublin, at the conclusion of the annual period for regulating the same, for the 24th June 1807.

The 24th June in each year is the annual period at which the taxes for the Foundling Hospital become payable.	
On the 24th June 1807, the arrears then remaining outstanding, from the 24th June 1805 and 1806, and carried into collection from that period, amounted to the sum of	£.1,400 2 3
Examined, JAMES AND JOHN HENDRICK, Auditors.	
On the 24th June 1808, the arrears then remaining outstanding, from the 24th June 1806 and 1807, and carried into collection from that period, amounted to the sum of	£.1,253 2 1

The ACCOUNTS of the Foundling Hospital, not being in the possession of the Accomptants, for the year ending the 25th December 1797, sufficient for the purpose desired by the Board of Education, they have selected the following Abstract from the Report of the Commissioners of Imprest Account for that year, relating thereto.

For the year ending 25th December 1797, viz.		£.	s.	d.
Funds and income	- - - - -	11,241	3	2
Expenditure	- - - - -	11,243	9	10½
House tax and rent of estate, not distinguished respectively in the account although included in the above amount of funds and income	- - - - -	6,165	2	4
Expenses of poundage and constable money to the collectors of the tax	- - - - -	243	7	9

State of the FUNDS and DEBTS of the Foundling Hospital, on the 5th January 1808.

Amount of debts remaining unpaid on the 5th January 1808; viz.		£.	s.	d.
For provisions	- - - - -	2,537	10	7
Clothing	- - - - -	123	12	6
Manufactures and woollen factory	- - - - -	340	12	10
Repairs and alterations of buildings	- - - - -	291	4	8½
Miscellaneous and house expenses	- - - - -	142	19	3
		3,435	19	10½
Estimate of wages calculated to be due to country nurses, from the last general pay made for the 24th June 1807	- - - - -	6,000	0	0
Total - - - £		9,435	19	10½
To answer which there are depending the following sums; viz.				
Balance of estimate of house tax and arrears, depending on the 5th January 1808	- - - - -	4,399	1	10
Amount of rent of estate, outstanding on 5th January 1808	- - - - -	23	15	6
Balance of cash remaining in the bank, &c. on the 5th January 1808	- - - - -	649	11	5
Total amount of funds depending		5,077	8	9
Balances against the charity		4,358	11	1½
		£.	9,435	19 10½

**EDUCATION.—FOUNDLING HOSPITAL.**

State of the FUNDS and DEBTS of the Foundling Hospital, on the  
5th January 1809.

Amount of Debts remaining unpaid on the 5th January 1809; viz.		£.	s.	d.
For provisions	- - - - -	4,318	9	1
Clothing	- - - - -	1,006	8	11
Manufactures and woollen factory	- - - - -	933	15	0
Repairs and alterations of buildings	- - - - -	1,837	7	5
Miscellaneous and house expenses	- - - - -	1,246	8	7
		<b>9,342</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>0</b>
Estimate of wages calculated as due to country nurses, from the last general pay made for 24th June 1808	- - - - -	6,000	0	0
		<b>15,342</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>0</b>
Total - - - - £.				
To answer which there are depending the following sums; viz.				
Balance of estimate of house tax and arrears, depending on 5th January 1809	- - - - -	4,096	5	2
Amount of rent of estate, outstanding on 5th January 1809	- - - - -	28	15	6
Balance of cash remaining in the bank, &c. on the 5th January 1809	- - - - -	341	4	7½
		<b>4,466</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>3½</b>
Balance against the charity	- - - - -	10,876	3	8½
		<b>15,342</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>0</b>
		<b>15,342</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>0</b>
Total - - - - £.				

Correct copies of the original accounts, furnished to the Board of Education by the Acting Treasurer of the Foundling Hospital in Dublin.

J. CORNEILLE,

Secretary to the Board of Education.

SIR—We send the accounts of the Foundling Hospital you desire, but although they are made up in this manner to the 5th January in each year for the Commissioners of Imprest, yet you will please to recollect that the annual general pay for the country nurses is made up to the 24th June in each year; therefore, the balance estimated to be due to them on the 5th January, is only introduced in this manner, to comply with the desire of the Imprest Board; although such amount will be part of the yearly wages paid to the nurses, for and after the 24th June following.

And that the house tax is chargeable from 24th June in each year, and likewise introduced in this manner to square the accounts for the Imprest Board, in order to shew what would be the state of the institution, supposing all matters to terminate on the 5th January.

But you will perceive it will nearly prove the true state of the question, and shew how much the expense has exceeded the income; if you will compare the amount of the debts as we have stated them, (excluding the nurses' wages) with the balance of cash then remaining, and the difference will prove the deficiency.

We are, Sir, your most obedient Servants,

Jervis Street, 24th July, 1809. }  
J. Corneille, Esq. Sec. }

JOHN AND JAMES HENDRICK.

The Ninth Report is concerning the schools founded by Erasmus Smyth, Esq. It states the accumulation of a large fund, and the plans proposed by government for its expenditure by the establishment of schools in various parts of Ireland.

The Tenth Report is on the condition of the Hibernian Marine School.

	Expenditure.	Boys admitted.	Apprenticed.	Sent on board the Navy.	Eloped.	Died.
1807	£2842	62	22	2	18	3
1808	3091	38	10	16	24	3
1809	5832					

It is painful to examine the results of these charities, when we find an annual expense of £3,000. incurred for sending ten boys to the navy ! Any further remarks on this head are unnecessary.

The Eleventh Report is of much greater consequence, as by it is implicated the character of the whole clergy of the established church in Ireland. I was not aware until I read this report, that there is a statute in existence, which was passed in the 28th year of Henry VIII., which directs that every clergyman, on induction, shall swear that " I will teach, or cause to be taught, an English School within the said Vicarage or Rectory of ———, as the law in that case requires."\* Every clergyman now inducted takes this oath, and every clergyman in Ireland who possesses a living, has taken it ; although it is obvious that in many cases, it cannot be complied with ; but, does this circumstance afford any excuse, for a man daring to enter into a solemn engagement, which he is conscious he cannot execute ? We are informed, however, by the report, that some clergymen have performed this duty, and established schools in their respective parishes. The whole number of children attending these schools amounts to 23,000 ; but these are only a small part of the children of a population amounting to five millions, whom the clergy of the established church in Ireland have sworn to educate, or cause to be educated. After taking this oath to teach and instruct their parishioners, to the clergy it becomes as much a duty as to preach in the church ; and, when I find from the highest authority, that the greatest number so instructed is only 23,000, this melancholy truth reflects no small disgrace on the character of the great body of these reverend instructors. It exhibits so total an abandonment of duty, such a dereliction of the respect due to the sacredness of an oath, and such a want of attention to the interest of their parishioners, in holding out to them the worst example, that I am thoroughly convinced of the necessity of a complete revision of the manner in which the clerical duties in Ireland are performed.

\* Report, p. 2.

It is demonstrated by the short view which I have given of the state of education in Ireland, that there is an universal desire for it among the people; that there are ample funds to gratify this wish; that numerous acts of parliament have been passed for directing the appropriation of these funds; but, that from the manner in which they have been expended, they have hitherto failed of producing their intended effects; and in the last place, that the clergy of the established church have undertaken to discharge a most important duty, which they have either entirely or very much neglected.

The task, therefore, which remains for the statesman, is neither dubious nor difficult. However bad the state of education in Ireland may be, there is sufficient cause to encourage hope and to excite exertion. If the government be alive to its duty, if it really wish to cherish the interests of the country, and promote peace, good morals, and subordination among the people, education will not be suffered to rest in its present hands, nor the want of it continue any longer a reproach to the nation. While the lower classes are abandoned to ignorance, those who may be desirous of leading them into the paths of error, will always find them ready and obedient followers. If the clergy be anxious to lessen the influence and the diffusion of popery, let them disseminate the light of reason and truth. The catholic religion, full of splendid rites and ceremonies, and conducted with more pomp and external show than the protestant system, is better calculated to attract the ignorant, to captivate those who only admire its ornaments, and who have not sufficient knowledge or discernment to examine the solidity of its doctrines. But while I recommend the giving of instruction to the people, I must protest against all attempts at making proselytes. Let knowledge be spread, and it will effect more by its own salutary influence, than any system of forced education can ever achieve.

There are some subjects connected with Ireland, of so delicate a nature, and so difficult to be touched upon, that the mind almost recoils from contemplating them. But the present is so different, that it is with pleasure I reflect on what may be accomplished; if sound policy be attended to and pursued.

But however necessary instruction to the common people may be, I am aware that the education of the higher and middle ranks is no less important. Those seminaries, which are to form our future statesmen, legislators, magistrates, and other great supporters of the state, deserve every attention that can be bestowed upon them; they are the fountains of every thing great and good, if conducted by able and virtuous men. I am of opinion, therefore, that the school-houses of Armagh and of Enniskillen ought to be upheld; and more of the same kind established. It would, however, conduce much to the encouragement of learning in Ireland, if exalted stations in the church, were put within the reach of the

masters, as an encouragement to toil through their painful office ; for, however useful and honourable, there cannot be a more irksome and fatiguing employment than that of superintending a large seminary of education. The hope of a comfortable retreat in declining years, would be a great stimulus to exertion. In England, the masters of public schools are sometimes raised to the first dignities of the church ; and, at present, a very respectable prelate owes his elevation to his valuable labours in the instruction of youth. The learned and venerable dean of Westminster once presided over that eminent school ; and many others of the clergy, now high in the church, have successfully exerted themselves in similar situations. Hence we may account for the flourishing state of our public schools, which are superintended by men eminent for their classical knowledge, and which can boast of having produced distinguished characters, whose talents have excited universal admiration and respect.

There are many schools in Ireland for the children of persons in the middle ranks of life ; and, if an idea might be formed from the adjudication of the premiums which every schoolmaster advertises at the commencement of the vacations, these schools must produce prodigies of learning, eloquence, science, and every accomplishment and acquirement attainable by man. I much fear, however, that this is not the case. I conceive that more attention is paid to the shadow than to the substance ; and that the chief efforts of the tutor are directed to the showy parts of education, rather than to solidly useful ones. Parents are not always judges of their child's progress ; superficial qualifications strike every one, and, as parental weakness readily believes whatever flatters its vanity, deception can be practised with the more complete success.

The instruction of females is, as far as I have been able to learn, still worse conducted than that of the other sex. The education of girls should, in my opinion, be private ; it is not, therefore, with me a subject of much regret that there is no public institution for the education of girls in Ireland.

I am happy to find that the system of regimental schools has been introduced. The following account of that established in the Cavan Regiment of Militia, was furnished to me by my friend the Right Hon. Colonel Barry, M. P.

#### CAVAN REGIMENTAL SCHOOL.

Enclosed are the regulations which are posted in the school-room, for the conduct of the school. The plan of the school, with respect to the creation of the fund, and management of the expenses of the establishment, are as follow :

**FUND.**—The Cavan Regiment consists of but six companies ; the amount, therefore, of the subscriptions is less than it would be in the average of regiments of the line or militia, and is raised in the following proportions :

## EDUCATION.—CAVAN REGIMENTAL SCHOOL.

		£.	s.	d.			
4 Field Officers at 12s. each per month	-	28	16	0			
6 Captains	} at 9s.	-	-	-			
1 Paymaster					37	16	0
13 Lieutenants	} at 4s. 6d.	-	-	-			
2 Surgeons					45	18	0
1 Adjutant							
1 Quarter-master							
5 Ensigns at 3s.	-	9	0	0			
Total Fund		£.	121	10	0		

These subscriptions are stopped by the paymaster, monthly, from the account of each officer, and credited to the treasurer of the fund.

**CLOTHING.**—The boys are supplied *annually* with the following articles :

1 Leather Cap, value about 1s. 3d.

1 Scarlet Jacket, of same quality as the privates' clothing, with regimental facings.

2 pair of Blue Cloth Trowsers (same quality).

During the whole period, all necessary repairs are made by the tailors of the regiment (by whom the clothing is made) and charged to the expenses of the fund. The second pair of trowsers are given at the end of six months, from the period of the general delivery of the clothing.

Every boy is required to produce the following articles, previous to his being entitled to receive the clothing :

2 good shirts,

2 good pair of stockings,

1 good pair of shoes.

At present, but fifty boys are *clothed* in the Cavan School. The number is not limited, but is intended to include the whole of the sons of the soldiers, who are of an age to receive instruction, and at present, consists of upwards of seventy. But above twenty boys, who are clothed as drummers, or whose parents prefer to provide food, clothing themselves, are of course not, in that respect, a charge to the establishment.

**BOOKS.**—The books are provided on cheap terms from the *Association for discountenancing Vice, &c.* and it is very desirable that every regimental school should have a connexion with that or some society, by whom Bibles and other books are supplied at reduced prices. An ample supply of stationery is also provided by the fund, without any charge whatever to the parents of the scholars.

**SALARIES, &c. &c.**—Ten guineas a year is paid out of the Fund to each of the two masters, who are both soldiers on the establishment of the regiment.

A barrack room is allotted (where the accommodation will admit of it) to the school, but where this advantage cannot be had, a room is hired for the purpose. The head master is permitted to lodge in the school-room.

A car is provided out of the Fund, when the regiment is on a march, and the box of books, &c. are conveyed upon it.

Two shillings per week is allowed to the head-master for the supply of fuel for the school-room, and he is obliged to keep up a constant fire during school hours, from the 25th of October to the 25th of April in every year.—The allowance is continued to him during the whole year.

## RULES OF THE CAVAN REGIMENTAL SCHOOL.

**I. GOVERNOR and TREASURER.**—An officer is appointed, sole Governor and Treasurer to the School, and no person can interfere with his regulations for the management of the establishment, but by calling a meeting of the whole subscribers.

**II. CLASSES.**—The school is divided into four classes :

1st Class.—Reading, writing, and arithmetic, with religious instruction.

2d Class.—Reading and catechism.

3d Class.—Spelling.

4th Class.—Beginners.

Each class is divided into an equal number of *tutors* and *pupils*, the most intelligent half (or tutors), being appointed to assist the pupils. They sit alternately in the class, a tutor and a pupil, and it is the duty of the former (who has the same fixed pupil always attached to him) to get his own lesson, and to assist his pupil, for whose lesson he is responsible to the master.—The dullest boys are thus kept up to their class.

**III. MASTERS.**—Two masters are appointed, and each is confined to a separate department in the school. The head master (who is wholly responsible to the Governor for the school) to attend exclusively to the reading, catechism, and religious instruction. The second master only to instruct in writing and arithmetic.

The head class is to be employed by the writing master, except for one hour in the day.

**IV. SCHOOL-HOURS.**—In Summer, from six o'clock in the morning until nine, and from ten o'clock until two, P. M.

In Winter, from nine o'clock in the morning until two, P. M.

**V. GENERAL CONDUCT, DRESS, &c.**—The boys being dressed in the uniform of the regiment, are easily distinguished from other children; and they being strictly forbidden to associate at any time with other boys, every officer and non-commissioned officer of the regiment, is requested so far to assist the institution, as to report to one of the masters the name of any boy who may transgress this rule, and who may be seen to play with other children in the town.

The boys are to be washed and combed before they go to school—their hair to be cut quite close to the head.

**VI. BOOKS.**—Each boy is permitted to take his book to his home, except those books of which there are only a few copies for general use.

Those books, of which each boy has a copy, and which may be taken home, are to be examined by the master every morning, before business commences.—Each boy who can read, is provided with a prayer book and testament.

**VII. MARCH.**—The boys are to march from one quarter to another, with their parents. All books are collected previous to a march, and carried in a box on the car, which is provided out of the fund.

**VIII. EXAMINATIONS.**—On Saturday, at ten o'clock, the boys are examined in their several lessons for the preceding week; when the Governor, assisted by any officer who may chuse to attend, is to inspect the copy-books, and to examine the classes in their progress in spelling, reading, catechism, and the portion of scripture allotted for the week.

At Christmas the boys are prepared for examination by the resident clergyman, for the Premiums which are given by the Association for discountenancing Vice, &c., in the proportion of one premium for every seven boys, to the best answers in the Church Catechism, and such portions of the scriptures as are annually appointed.

IX. SUNDAY.—The school does not open on a Sunday.

The boys are formed on the parade of the regiment for divine service, in two divisions, *Protestants* and *Roman Catholics*, and are marched with the men to their respective places of worship. They are not to appear on Sunday without good shoes and stockings. Each boy is to bring his prayer-book to the parade, in his hand.

X. ATTENDANCE, &c.—A registry of attendance is to be kept for each class. Opposite to the name of each boy, the letter A or P (according as they may be *absent* or *present*) is to be entered daily. Also a note to be taken, if the boy shall be guilty of *any* misconduct within the day, by the letter M. These Registries are to be brought to the Governor of the school on the 1st day of January, April, July, and October, and he will expel any boy who shall be reported *absent*, or marked for *misconduct* more than ten times within the quarter.

*Swearing, or improper language*, is to be punished by corporal punishment for the first offence, and by *expulsion*, if repeated.

XI.—A Copy of these Rules to be at all times neatly written, and posted on a board in the school-room.

#### COLLEGE OF MAYNOOTH.

The establishment of the Roman catholic university at Maynooth, in the county of Kildare, was an act of the Irish parliament. Till the year 1793, a Roman catholic was not permitted to become a student in the University of Trinity college, Dublin: before that period, therefore, all young men intended for the Romish church in Ireland, were obliged to go to foreign universities, where they took their degrees, and afterwards returned to exercise the functions of their ministry. On the continent these persons never forget that they are Irishmen:—"I know not how to account for it," but those who are even disaffected in their hearts to their own government, feel, when abroad, the *amor patriæ* still glow within them; and, while they are very doubtful subjects to a foreign power, it is certain that, on going back to Ireland, it is difficult for them to forget the friendships, the intimacies, and the connexions which they formed during the period of youth. A foreign feeling, an interest in continental success, consequently, hangs about their hearts, which, in the course of conversation, I have often observed in some of the Roman catholic clergy in Ireland.

Previously to the repeal of the greater part of the penal code, the war with France had commenced, and extended to Spain. The Irish catholics, therefore, did not find it easy to send a sufficient number of persons abroad, to be educated, for filling up the vacancies in their priesthood. This inconvenience was felt just at the moment when their rights, to a certain degree, were acknowledged by parliament; and, therefore, they boldly petitioned the legislature to obtain permission to establish an university for students of their own persuasion, under a charter of incorporation, that the funds raised to support it might be legally secured. By the petition, in the journals of the House of Commons, it appears, that they did not ask for an university

which was to exclude protestants from entering it, if they thought proper. Parliament acceded to their wish, and, at the same time, voted money, for the purpose of assisting them in the erection of the establishment.

The college of Maynooth is said to be an encouragement to catholicism, and, therefore, it becomes necessary to inquire whether this assertion be founded in truth.—As true ideas of religion can arise only from a conviction of the mind, and not from doctrines which the law in vain endeavours to make us believe, it would not only be unjust, but impolitic, to prevent people of any persuasion, unless their tenets were subversive of good order and morality, from educating their children according to the dictates of their conscience; were they restricted from this privilege, it is very unlikely that they would educate them in the established religion of the country. If the catholics were debarred from an opportunity of educating their young men for their own church at home, either foreign priests would be introduced, or men of low education. Every person knows, that less danger is to be apprehended, from a Roman catholic priest of a liberal education, capable of examining the scriptures in their originals, and of acquainting himself with the foundation on which his creed rests; than from an illiterate bigot, who, through ignorance, has imbibed all the prejudices of the worst enthusiasts of his church, and who entertains more hatred to the protestant doctrine, the less he is acquainted with the real difference between it and his own. The ignorant among all christian sectaries attach more importance to the external appendages of their religion, than to those essential principles which may be recommended by divine authority, and of which it cannot be divested. They are, therefore, apt to mistake the object and end of things merely ceremonial, and to consider that, which was meant only as an incitement to devotion, as devotion itself. With those whose minds have been prepared, by culture, for the investigation of truth, the case is widely different.—If you accuse a well educated Roman catholic; with paying adoration to an image, he will tell you that your reproach is unjust, and that he considers an image in no other light than as a sign, or symbol, placed before him to remind him of events; that by their being thus forcibly impressed on his memory, he may be inspired with deeper devotion; and he will insist, that he esteems them in the same point of view as the protestants do the painting of the crucifixion, the last supper, or any other subject from scriptural history, with which we adorn our churches. A well informed catholic is persuaded that, the difference between the English church and his own, when stripped of what has been added to it by superstition, is not so great as the vulgar believe; and that the forms and ceremonies of the latter, the principal of which were retained after the reformation to bring over converts to the new doctrine, are still nearly the same. Hence the learned and liberal-minded catholic perceives, that the breach which separates the two religions is not so wide, as to induce him to look upon his protestant brethren with the same degree of rancour as the illiterate

bigot, who is imperfectly acquainted with the principles of his own faith. The ignorant always prefer a religion that captivates the senses, and works upon the passions; the enlightened, that which speaks to the reason, and carries with it conviction to the mind. Is catholicism, therefore, more likely to increase by the spread of knowledge and instruction, or by leaving the people in ignorance? The true and rational mode of converting the catholics, is to facilitate to them the means of education; by which they will be enabled to compare their religious opinions with those of others, and either confirm themselves in their own faith through the operations of reason, or have it in their power to adopt different tenets, which they may conceive to be more in unison with truth. When, through the inestimable advantages of erudition, they have acquired sufficient knowledge to qualify them for judicious investigation, they will be less liable to rest in error. A Roman catholic priest, who has received a regular education, will be more likely to instil a sounder doctrine into the minds of his hearers, and to teach them those moral principles which are calculated to promote social union, than the man who has not enjoyed the same advantage; and who, being influenced by the gloom of superstition, makes religion to consist in external ceremonies, instead of those ardent sentiments of the heart, which raise the soul by rational conviction to the adoration of the Deity. I have seen the singular conduct of a self-appointed priest, who took upon him the sale of indulgencies and the marrying of persons, without a license; such priests in Ireland are called "couple beggars."—Can it be conducive to good order and morality, to increase the number of such persons, who are considered by all respectable Roman catholics, as well as protestants, the greatest pests of the country.

But, even admitting that such men are not chosen by the Roman catholics, to be their spiritual instructors, if they cannot obtain priests educated in Ireland, they will be under the dangerous necessity of procuring them from foreign countries. Now, whether they are foreigners, or natives educated abroad, it cannot be supposed that they would be warmed with the same attachment to the British government, as men who have received their education in their own country, under the protection of its laws, where they have acquired a knowledge of its principles, and where attachment has never been weakened by a residence in a foreign country.

Had the terms of the catholic petition in 1793 been adhered to, and protestant students mixed with catholic in this establishment, it would have been a great and public benefit. Unfortunately, a very favourable opportunity of adopting a measure, which would have tended to promote harmony between these two religious parties, was neglected, and an university has been established for the exclusive education of catholics. But still an important point has been gained, by superseding the necessity of foreign education for young men destined to the ministry in the catholic church. I should place more confidence in a catholic educated in the bosom of his country, at Maynooth, in the midst of his relations and friends, under the eye of go-

vernment, and remote from the influence of exotic prejudices, than from one nurtured in the arms of our enemies, at St. Omers, Thoulouse, or Bayonne, subject to the influence of gloomy enthusiasts or narrow minded bigots. I have reprobated the waste of thousands annually, on charity schools and foundling hospitals in Ireland, for the education of protestants; and, therefore, I shall, perhaps, be asked, how I can approve the expenditure for catholic education at Maynooth? My answer is:—Because it will tend to diffuse at least some portion of education among the catholics, and add to the sum of public morality; it will supply Ireland with a succession of catholic clergymen, having the advantage of a good domestic education, and will exclude foreign hirelings, who are now brought from abroad, and who naturally disseminate principles hostile to the constitution, and cherish feelings which it is the interest of all parties to suppress. That secret political intercourse, which is so detrimental to the happiness of the people, and which has subsisted between Ireland and France for many years will be either greatly weakened or totally done away. In a word, as gratitude is a feeling natural to the human heart, I am persuaded that every young man educated in this seminary, will acquire an attachment to a government, through whose beneficence he participates in one of the greatest blessings of civilized society—a regular and virtuous education.

That education here, will be divested of all rancorous principles against those of a different faith, I am the more inclined to believe, because the tutors are instructed to educate and not to convert, and because no impolitic restrictions are imposed on the institution. But when I state these opinions, I cannot help expressing my conviction, that had it not been confined exclusively to students of one faith, it would have had a much more extended usefulness.

For the support of this establishment, which is under the inspection of the Chancellor, and Chief Judges, parliament voted annually £8,000., and a few years ago, this sum was increased to £13,000.; but a little before my visit to Ireland, a general belief prevailed, that all assistance from government was to be withdrawn. If His Majesty's ministers had any such intention, and supposed, that the college, if left to itself, would be entirely abandoned; they only exhibited their own weakness, and betrayed an ignorance of the disposition of the Roman Catholics; which might excite astonishment, did we not know, that among modern statesmen, to acquire an accurate and complete knowledge of the situation and sentiments of those for whom they are to frame laws, is considered as an old fashioned and obsolete practice. Theory and general principles are sufficient, and sometimes even these are neither founded on truth, nor consistent with sound policy. I was repeatedly told, that if the government should refuse its support to the establishment, "the people," would continue it. So trifling do the catholics consider the sum of £8,000. per annum, that they would readily forego that advantage, for the sake of shewing to the coun-

try, that they are able to support the establishment themselves; and such a circumstance would by many Catholics be considered a victory over their political opponents.

It was once in contemplation to extend Trinity College, Dublin, so as to admit the students now at Maynooth; this plan, although recommended by some, was condemned by others, and, perhaps, without a proper inquiry into its merits or its utility. Could it have been carried into execution, it would, no doubt, have been attended with more benefit than might at first be imagined; but from what I can learn, the heads of that college would strongly object to catholic students being received there on the same footing as those of protestants. But even if the heads of the college should so far extend their liberality, the original object and end of that establishment, would, perhaps, form an obstacle not easily to be surmounted. The speech of its present representative, which I shall give in his own words, and which certainly does no discredit to the choice of his constituents, affords some grounds for this opinion.

“As to the Dublin seminary, the excellent system of learning adopted there, had certainly induced a number of catholic gentry, to send their sons to that college. The number of Roman Catholic students were, I believe, considerably above forty: these young gentlemen pursued the same course of studies for four years, with their protestant fellow students; and in returning to their family, had a more friendly, liberal, and just idea of what a protestant was, than what they originally entertained, or, perhaps, could have otherwise acquired; at the same time, that college could not forget the origin and nature of its institution. The gentlemen on the opposite benches, are, I am sure, too well versed in Irish history, not to know that the Dublin college was founded upon protestant principles by Elizabeth, and for the growth and dissemination of the protestant religion. It was, in fact, a protestant garrison in a land of catholics, and the learned and respectable characters at the head of the government of that college, had uniformly acted up to the true spirit of its institution. In the reign of James II., the stand that college made for her civil and religious liberty would remain upon honourable record; and the late spirit of religious moderation that induced her to forbear from taking any part in the disputes of the day, proved that she could forget her resentments as well as remember her obligations.”\*

The establishment of Maynooth, accommodates 200 students with lodgings; affords them commons and instruction; supplies them in the public halls with coals and candles during studying hours. Each student pays £9. 2s. entrance money; provides himself with clothes, books, bedding, and chamber furniture; pays for washing, mending, and candle light, for his room. This expense may be moderately estimated at £20. per annum.

Each student before admission must deliver to the president authentic certificates of his age, parentage, baptism, and of having taken the oath of allegiance, together with the recommendation of his prelates. He is then examined in the classics, and admitted, if approved by the major part of the examiners.

The following is the course of study pursued in the seminary:—

HUMANITY.—Under Class, Latin and Greek. Sallust, Virgil and Horace explained.—Exer-

\* Extract from Mr. John L. Foster's Speech, 15th August 1807. *Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates*, vol. ix, p. 324.

cise.—Select passages from Goldsmith's Roman History, occasionally translated into Latin. Portions of the Greek Testament. Lucian and Xenophon construed and explained.

**BELLES LETTRES.**—Or First Class of Greek and Latin.—Greek.—Gospel of St. Luke; Acts of the Apostles; Epistles of St. Paul; Homer Epictetus; Xenophon explained, &c.

Latin.—Cicero's Orations, Offices, Livy, part of Seneca, Pliny's Letters, Horace explained, &c. The Rules of Latin Versification.

**PHILOSOPHY.**

Logic. Metaphysic Ethics. The Professor obliged, from the paucity of books, to compile the Treatise, and dictate the same to his scholars. Books; Leguy's Philosophy; Locke.

**NATURAL AND EXPERIMENTAL PHILOSOPHY.**

Different branches of Elementary Mathematics; Algebra; Geometry; Conic Sections; Astronomy; Mechanics; Optics; Hydraulics, &c.; Chemistry.

**DIVINITY.**

Divinity; First Course De Religione; Second, De Incarnatione et Ecclesia; Third, De Sacramentis in genere; De Eucharistia.—The Professor obliged to compile Treatises on three subjects, chiefly from the following works: Hook, Bailly, Le Grand, Parisius, 1774; Tournely, N. Alexander, P. Collet, &c. He dictates his courses.

**MORAL.**

First Course.—De Actibus Humanis; De Conscientia; De Peccatis; De Matrimonio—Book; Paul Antoine.—Second Course.—De Legibus; De Virtutibus Theol. et Moral.; De Sacramento Pœnitentiæ; Petrus; Collet.—Third Course.—De Jure et Justitiâ; De Contractibus, De Obligatione Statuum; De Censuris, &c.; Continuator Tournillii.

There is no regular Professor at present of Sacred Scriptures, but a portion of the New Testament is committed to memory every week; the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles, are explained from Domcalmet, Maldonatus, Esthius, the Synopsis Criticorum, and other Biblical Expounders.

**MODERN LANGUAGES.**

**ENGLISH.**—Murray's Grammar; Usher's Elocution; Sheridan; Walker.

**IRISH.**—M'Curtin's Grammar; Irish Testament explained; Fragments translated into English.

**FRENCH.**—Grammar. Fenelon, Massilon, &c.

The following is the establishment in regard to Professorships, as it stood in 1808.

	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	
A President General, Governor of College	227	10*	0	<i>Commons</i> Groceries, use of a servant
A Vice President General, Governor, in the absence of the preceding	85	0	0	<i>Commons</i> Lodging, fire, and candles
A Dean	85	0	0	ditto
A Procurator, or Bursar	106	0	0	ditto
A Professor of Dogmatic Theology	106	0	0	ditto
A Professor of Moral Theology	106	0	0	ditto
A Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy	85	0	0	ditto
A Professor of Logic	85	0	0	ditto
A Professor of Belles Lettres	85	0	0	ditto
A Professor of Greek and Latin	75	0	0	ditto

\* President's real salary £.113. 15s.; remainder for casual expenses.

	SALARY.			other advantages
	£.	s.	d.	
A Lecturer of Dogmatic Theology	75	8	0	ditto
A Lecturer of Moral Theology	75	0	0	ditto
A Lecturer in Logic	55	0	0	ditto
A Professor of English Elocution	100	0	0	none
A Professor of the Irish Language	75	0	0	commons as above
A Treasurer and Secretary to the Trustees	79	12	6	none
A Physician	56	17	6	
An Agent	900*			

Since writing this Chapter, a great event has occurred in favour of National Education in Ireland, a Society for promoting this purpose has been formed, as will appear from the following document.

#### SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING THE EDUCATION OF THE POOR OF IRELAND.

The education of the poor of Ireland is a grand object, which every Irishman, anxious for the welfare and prosperity of his country, should have in view; as the basis upon which its morals and true happiness can be secured. It is, therefore, considered highly important, that schools should be opened, divested of all sectarian distinctions, in every part of the arrangement.

To forward this measure, a Society has been formed and denominated, "A Society for promoting the Education of the Poor of Ireland."

All subscribers of not less than ten guineas, and a donation of one guinea annually, shall be considered members thereof.

The affairs of the society are to be conducted by a committee of twenty-one members, to be annually selected, who shall report to a General Meeting, to be held on the second Monday in May in each year.

The object of the Society being to promote the establishment, and facilitate the conducting of Schools, wherein the poor of Ireland may be instructed in reading, writing, and arithmetic, in a cheap and expeditious way, and without sectarian distinctions, they have adopted the following plan of procedure.

They will give information upon the subject of erecting and fitting up of school-houses upon a suitable plan; and so far as their funds will allow, they will contribute to the expense that may be incurred upon this head, by local associations.

They will assist in procuring properly qualified School Masters.

They will furnish stationery, books, slates, and other articles necessary for schools, at reduced prices.

And they recommend the plan practised by Mr. Joseph Lancaster, giving a scriptural education, and combining therewith economy and method, as well adapted to meet the circumstances of the poor of Ireland. And they further recommend, that in the schools to be founded, there be no distinction on account of religious opinions in managers, instructors, scholars, and that catechisms and books of religious controversy be excluded.

The following Committee, consisting of eleven members, have been appointed, with liberty to add ten others to their number, to take such measures as they shall deem necessary to forward the object

\* Papers presented to the House of Commons relating to the Royal College of St. Patrick, Maynooth; ordered to be printed 30th March, and 6th April, 1808.

of the society, any of whom, as also the Right Hon. David La Touche and Co. treasurers to the society, will receive subscriptions.

Peter D. La Touche, Bank, Castle-street.  
 John Leland Maquay, Stephen's-green.  
 Samuel Bewley, Meath-street.  
 John Barrington, Great Britain-street.  
 Luke Magrath, Grenville-street.  
 Arthur Guinness, James's-gate.

Thos. H. Orpen, M. D. South Frederick-street.  
 Edw. Allen, Upper Bridge-street.  
 Wm. Todhunter, Holles-street.  
 Thos. Parnell, 25, Merton-square, North.  
 W. Thorpe, M. D. Gardiner-street.

## CHAPTER XXV.

### CHURCH ESTABLISHMENT.

THE precise period at which Christianity was introduced into Ireland, seems to be uncertain. A learned antiquary says, "it is incontestably proved, by St. Jerome, that it had a christian church in the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century;\* and that letters were then known and cultivated in that country."† He remarks, also, that "about the year 661, a conference was held at Whitby, to determine whether the ancient discipline of the British and Irish churches, respecting the paschal festival, tonsure, and other rites, should be continued; or whether the Roman innovations, adopted by the Anglo-Saxon church, should be preferred. Wilfrid, an eleve of Rome, supported the latter; as Colman, an Irishman, educated among the Culdees, at Hy,‡ and bishop of Landisfern, did the former. The Easter I keep," says Colman, "I received from my elders who sent me bishop hither; the which all our fathers, men beloved of God, are known to have kept after the same manner; and that the same may not seem to any contemptible, or worthy to be rejected, it is the same which St. John the Evangelist, and the churches over which he presided, observed."§ This author further says, "that there is direct and positive proof that the Irish liturgy was not the Roman, in Gillebert, the bishop of

\* Speaking of Celestius, the bosom friend of Pelagius the Heresiarch, he says, he was made fat with Scottish flummery. "Nec recordatur stolidissimus et Scotorum pultibus prægravatus." *Hæron. in Hæron.* Again: "Habet progeniem Scoticæ gentis de Britannorum vicinia."

† Ledwich's Antiquities of Ireland, p. 54.

‡ A small island near Mull, one of the Hebrides. It is about two miles long, from south to north, and one in breadth, from east to west. It was, anciently, a seminary of learning, famous for the severe discipline and sanctity of Columbus, who built here two churches and two monasteries, one for men, and the other for women, which were endowed by the kings of Scotland. Iona was the cathedral of the bishop of the Isles, after the Scots lost the Isle of Man. This island was formerly called Mii. See Martin's Description of the Western Isles of Scotland, London, 1716, p. 256.

§ Ledwich's Antiq. p. 55.

Limerick's epistle to the Irish prelates, in 1090 ;" and he adds, " that the Irish rites and ceremonies differed from the Roman, not only in the celebration of Easter, but in the administration of baptism, the multiplication of bishops, and in numberless other points, wherein they agreed with the Asiatic and British christians, from whom they received their faith."\*

The conversion of the Irish to christianity is generally ascribed to St. Patrick, a native of Scotland, who is said to have received his mission from Pope Celestine, and to have been raised to the archiepiscopal chair of Armagh; but the writer, already quoted, treats the whole story respecting this apostle of Ireland as a legendary tale, unworthy of notice; and, indeed, the authorities he produces in support of his opinion, are sufficient to shake the faith of the most sanguine believers in this so much celebrated saint. The historian, however, of Henry II. not only credits the existence of St. Patrick, but allows him the merit of converting Leogary, the king, and the body of the nation, about the year 432 ;+ although he admits, that christianity had gained some little ground there before that period, and particularly in Munster.

It appears that, till the 12th century, the pope had no authority in Ireland, ‡ and that, long before that time, a regular hierarchy had been established there, with numerous bishops, every church almost having one, besides those which were appointed to each see.§ Virgil, and seven Irish bishops emigrated to Germany together, in the middle of the 8th century.|| In the 7th they swarmed in Britain, as may be seen in Bede: in that kingdom, there could not be found to ordain Wilfrid, a Romanist, all the rest being of Irish consecration, communion, and almost all natives of Ireland. In 670, Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, decreed that they who were consecrated by Irish or British bishops, should be confirmed anew by a catholic one. The 42d. canon of Chalons, in 813, forbids certain Irishmen, who gave themselves out to be bishops, to ordain priests or deacons, without the consent of the ordinary. The same year, the council of Aix-la-Chapelle observes, that in some places there were Irish, who called themselves bishops, and ordained many improper persons, without the consent of their lords or of the magistrates.¶

- In 1074, Patrick, one of the Ostmen, as they were called, being elected bishop of Dublin, solemnly promised, for himself and his successors, canonical obedience to Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, and the successors of that prelate, by whom, at the desire of the clergy and people of Dublin, he was consecrated in London.\*\*

In the year 1096, an episcopal see was erected at Waterford; and one Malcolm, born in Ireland, but educated in England, being chosen the first bishop, he promised

\* Ibid. p. 56. † Lord Littleton's Hist. of Henry II., Dublin edit. 1772 4 vol. 8vo. vol. iii. p. 16.

‡ Ledwich, p. 78.

§ Ibid, p. 81.

|| User. Syllog. p. 51.

¶ Ledwich, p. 82.

\*\* Lord Littleton's Hist. of Henry II, vol. iii. p. 41.

obedience to the see of Canterbury, and received consecration from archbishop Anselm.\*

In the abovementioned year, Innocent II. being pontiff, Malachy, who had obtained the archbishoprick of Armagh, while his country was agitated with civil dissensions, went to Rome for a pall, which, according to St. Bernard, "had been from the beginning, and was still wanting, to the metropolitan see." Innocent, pleased with this homage from a prelate whose predecessors had been so long independent, received him with great honours, and, taking off his own mitre, placed it on the head of his guest; but being desirous that the request of a pall should be the act rather of the Irish nation, than of the primate alone, he exhorted him to assemble a national council, and to persuade them to sue for that favour. Malachy, therefore, returned, after being invested with the character of legate in Ireland, and endeavoured to carry into effect the injunctions of his new master: but the Irish nation, it seems, did not readily admit the propriety of making the unprecedented petition to which they were urged. For several years it was neglected; and, when the primate had induced his countrymen to apply to Pope Eugenius III., in 1138, for this gift, which Bernard calls the "plenitude of power," he died before he had time to convey to that pontiff the request of the council. On the foundation, however, which he had laid, Eugenius, in the year 1151, sent Cardinal Paparo, *legate à latere*, into Ireland, with four palls, for the archbishops of Armagh, of Tuam, of Cashel, and of Dublin, the last of which cities was then erected into an archbishoprick. Such was the manner in which the Irish metropolitan prelates first received the badge of subjection to the Roman pontificate. While the legate was in Ireland, he embraced that opportunity of imposing on the clergy the unnatural restraint of celibacy, to which they submitted the more easily, as most of them, at this time, indulged their desires without the form of marriage.†

In 1152, Cardinal Paparo, among other canons, directed, at the third general council held at Meath, that on the death of a chorepiscopus, that is, a village bishop, or of bishops who possessed small sees, archipresbyters or rural deans should be appointed by the diocesan to succeed them, in order to superintend the clergy and laity in their respective districts; and that each of their sees should be erected into a rural deanery. From this, we are enabled to form a pretty correct idea of the state of the ancient Irish hierarchy. Ireland was full of chorepiscopi, village or rural bishops. In Meath ‡ there were, Clonard, Duleek, Kells, Trim, Ardraccan, Dunshaghlin, Slane, Foure, Skrine, Mullingar, Loughseedy, Athunry, Ardnurchor, and Ballyloughort. In Dublin were, Swords, Lusk, Finglas, Newcastle, Tawney, Salmon-Leap or Leixlip, Bray, Wicklow, Arklow, Ballymore, Clondalkin, Tallaght, and O'Murthy; which included the rural deaneries of Castledermot and

\* Ibid. ib.

† Ibid. p. 41—43.

‡ Ware's Bishops. p. 198.

Athy. These were all rural deaneries ; and, of course, rural sees, before the year 1152. " If the number of rural deaneries," says Ledwich, " at their first erection, and afterwards, in consequence of Paparo's regulation, could be discovered, from records in the Vatican, or elsewhere, it would give us the number of our rural sees. The rural deaneries, in the common, are not correct, else I might easily have adduced them. Our bishops, I suppose, might have amounted to above three hundred."\*

The oriental practice of hereditary succession seems to have been firmly established in the Irish church. St. Bernard, in his life of Malachy, complains of it in the following words : " A most pernicious custom had gained strength, by the ambition of some men in power, who possessed themselves of bishopricks by hereditary succession ; nor did they suffer any to be put in election for them, but such as were of their own tribe or family ; and this kind of execrable succession made no small progress : for fifteen generations had passed in this mischievous custom ; and so far had this wicked and adulterous generation confirmed itself in this untoward privilege, that, although it sometimes happened that clergymen of their family failed, the bishops of it never failed. In fine, eight married men, and not in orders, though men of learning, were predecessors of Celsus, in Armagh." Columba, founder of the celebrated Culdean monastery of Hy,+ being of the Tyrconnalian blood, the abbots, his successors, were of the same race. The first twenty-seven bishops of Roscarbury were of the family of St. Fachnan, its first prelate. Hereditary succession, therefore, became a fixed municipal law, and pervaded church and state ; and hence the struggle in the see of Armagh, to which Malachy O'Morgair was appointed in 1129, to the exclusion of the old family, which proved nearly fatal to Malachy, and called forth the warm resentment of St. Bernard his friend. ‡

From what source the revenues of the clergy arose cannot easily be determined: St. Bernard and Giraldus Cambrensis both assert that the people in Ireland did not pay tithes. If this were really the case, and there seems little reason to doubt the fact, the clergy were supported by oblations, which, for a long time, they received instead of tithes.§ These oblations appear to have been very large ; for Agobard observes, " that the devotion of persons, in the first ages, was so great, that there was no need to make laws or canons for the supplies of churches, they being amply provided for by the liberality of the people." In oblations were included first fruits, which were paid in the early ages of christianity : as to altarage, mortuary, and obventions, they seem to have been, at length, introduced into the Irish, as into other churches. The whole ecclesiastical revenue, to a late period, was divided into four

\* Ledwich's Antiq. p. 82, 83.

+ Usser. Prim. p. 689. Ogyf. Vind. p. 134. O'Brien's Dict. p. 360. ‡ Ledwich's Antiq. p. 84.

§ Tanquam decimas ex fructibus. Cyprian Epist. 64. Chrysostom. Hom. 86. in Matt. Possid. vit. August. c. 23.

parts;\* one went to the bishop, another to the clergy, a third to the poor, and a fourth was applied to support the fabrick of the church, and to other uses. This four-fold partition prevailed generally in Ireland, and exists, at this day, in the diocese of Clonfert.† Most of the ancient sees in Ireland were deambulatory, having neither cathedrals, deans, nor chapters: such is Meath at present; and such is Kilmore, except the addition of a dean in 1458. The parishes had their beginning with the suppression of chorepiscopal sees in 1152; but it was late before the parochial division of dioceses was finally settled.‡

In 1155, Pope Adrian, finding that the success of Paparo's legateship was still very doubtful, resolved to place Ireland in more powerful hands; and, with that view, issued a bull, in which, after laying claim to the sovereignty of the British Isles, he conferred Ireland on Henry II., in order that he might extend the borders of the church and of religion, extirpate vice, and reform evil manners; on condition of his paying yearly to St. Peter, a penny for each house, and preserving the rights of the churches. Some writers have maintained that this bull is a forgery; but the confirmation of it, by Pope Alexander in 1172, and a recital of it by Pope John, in 1319, seem to place its authority beyond all doubt. Authorized by these omnipotent charters, Henry proceeded to Ireland in 1172; and, having secured the allegiance of the Irish, hastened to Cashel, to regulate the state of the church. A council was accordingly held here for that purpose, and various canons were made; but the most important was that which decreed that there should be an uniformity of worship in the king's dominions, both of England and Ireland.§

It appears, from the papal tax-rolls, that the names of the Irish sees, about 1220, were as follows:

Under Armagh were,

Connor	-	Connor,	Arcduchad	-	Ardagh,
Dun-dalighlas	-	Down,	Rathboth	-	Raphoe,
Lugid	-	Louth,	Rathlurig	-	Rathlure,
Cluainiard	-	Clonard,	Damliag	-	Duleek,
Connanas	-	Kells,	Darrich	-	Derry.

Under Dublin :

Clendelachi	-	Glendalough,	Leghlin	-	Leighlin,
Fern	-	Ferns,	Childar	-	Kildare.
Cainic	-	Ossory			

\* Stillingfleet's Ecc. Cases, p. 171.

† Ledwich, p. 86.

‡ Ware's Bishops, p. 619.

§ Ledwich's Antiq. p. 125.

## CHURCH ESTABLISHMENT.

## Under Cashel :

Andalusia	-	Killaloe,	Waltifordian	-	Waterford,
Limerick	-	Limerick,	Lismor	-	Lismore,
Insula Gathay	-	Inniscahy,	Cluainvanian	-	Gloyne,
Cellumabrach	-	Kilfenora,	Corcaia	-	Cork,
Old-inleah	-	Emly,	Ros-aithir	-	Ross,
Roscreen	-	Roscrea,	Ardfert	-	Ardfert.

## Under Tuam :

Mageo	-	Mayo,	Achad	-	Achonry,
Cell-alaid	-	Killala,	Cinasi	-	Clomacnois,
Roscoman	-	Roscommon,	Celmun-duae	-	Kilmacduagh.
Cluanfert	-	Clonfert,			

This list shews that there were, at that time, thirty-eight sees, which paid anates to Rome; but, in the Roman Provincial,\* compiled at a later period, the number is extended to fifty-seven. The learned antiquary, to whose labours I am indebted for this account, remarks, that until the arrival of the English in Ireland, the number of its sees, and the succession of its bishops, as well as the history of its ecclesiastical affairs, are involved in great obscurity. Ware's manuscript gives but twenty-three bishops, who met the pope's legate at Kells; so many acknowledged obedience to the Roman pontiff, and submitted to the metropolitan then appointed; and, it is very probable, new dioceses for these prelates were then formed. But neither the papal power, nor the terror of the monarch, were able to divest the inferior princes of their rights, or the bishops of their sees; if the latter acknowledged the spiritual dominion of the pope, and paid their anates, the court of Rome was not at all solicitous about their number. And this is proved, by the Irish sees, in the Roman Provincial, being fifty-eight; whereas, in the tax-rolls before, they were only thirty-eight.†

At the time of the Reformation, the ecclesiastical establishment of Ireland participated in the changes which had been made by that new system in England. These changes, however, were not effected without a long and severe struggle, which was continued through several reigns; and, though it, at length, terminated in the establishment of protestantism, as the authorized religion of the country, the ferment it excited has, at various times, been revived, and, unfortunately, seems not yet to have entirely subsided.

It is a happy circumstance, that princes, though they cannot always be moved

\* Car. a Sancto Paulo Geograph. Append.

† Ledwich's Antiq. p. 131, 132.

by a sense of justice and public utility, to adopt measures beneficial to mankind, are often impelled to pursue them by motives of personal interest, which, although less honourable, produce the same effect. The reasons that induced Henry VIII. to renounce all connexion with the see of Rome are well known: disappointed in an object in which one of his leading passions was intimately concerned, he conceived a violent antipathy to the papal authority, and determined to overturn a power which had dared to oppose his views. From being a most strenuous defender of the catholic faith, he became its bitter enemy; and having succeeded in abolishing the popish religion in England, he was encouraged to attempt a similar innovation in Ireland; but the people being too ignorant, and too strongly attached to their ancient religion, to admit of any change, and great opposition being made by the most eminent among the Irish prelates, the task was found to be much more difficult than had been at first imagined. Matters, however, were carried so far, that Henry was declared head of the church, and the authority of the bishop of Rome was solemnly renounced.\* The first fruits of bishoprics, and other secular promotions in the church, as well as those of abbeys, priories, colleges, and hospitals, were vested in the king; all officers, civil and military, were ordered to take the oath of supremacy, and every person who should refuse it, was declared, as in England, to be guilty of high treason.

Little more seems to have been done, till the reign of Edward VI., when a proclamation was transmitted to the clergy, enjoining them to introduce the new liturgy into all the churches where the English government was acknowledged.† This order, perhaps, would have experienced less opposition, had it not been accompanied with another, for destroying all the ornaments and objects of popular superstition; and the execution of the royal mandate having been intrusted to the military, who, as might be expected, performed this service with the most barbarous fury, the prejudices of the people were still further strengthened against a doctrine which could countenance what they considered an indecent profanation of sacred things.‡

The disputes which have taken place among the members of the church, for temporal power and honours, have at all times afforded too much ground for accusing the clergy of ambition, and the following instance seems to shew that they were not wanting in the church of Ireland. The question of precedence, between the sees of Armagh and Dublin, had been agitated for many years, with a violence very little creditable to the ecclesiastical character; and it was at length decided that each prelate should be entitled to primatical dignity, and authorized to erect his crosier in the diocese of the other; but that, according to the distinction established in England between Can-

\* Leland's Hist. of Ireland, 4to. edit. London, 1773, vol. ii. p. 164.

† Leland, *ibid.* p. 195.

‡ *Ibid.* *ib.* p. 106.

terbury and York, the archbishop of Dublin should be contented with the title of primate of Ireland, while the archbishop of Armagh should be styled, with more precision, primate of all Ireland. Dowdal, however, archbishop of Armagh, had given so much offence by his opposition to the new doctrines and forms; and the services of Brown, archbishop of Dublin, had been so conspicuous in supporting them, that the old arrangement was, by the king's patent, entirely reversed; Armagh was deprived of its superior title, which, with all its powers and privileges, was conferred on Brown and his successors for ever, in the see of Dublin.\* Dowdal was so mortified by this degradation, that he abandoned his diocese, and retired to the continent; but on the death of Edward he was restored, by his successor Mary, to the dignity and office of primate of ALL Ireland; and invested with the priory of Athirdee, as a compensation for the waste made in his bishoprick during his absence.†

Although Mary, on her accession to the throne, was as warmly attached to popery as her father had been hostile towards it, no violent changes were immediately attempted in the religious establishment of Ireland. No more than a license was at first published in England for the celebration of mass; but, in a parliament assembled on the first day of June, 1556, a bull from cardinal Pole, the pope's legate in England, being read and approved with every mark of reverence and contrition, all acts made against the holy see, since the twentieth year of Henry VIII. were soon after repealed; the rectories, glebes, and other emoluments vested in the church were restored, and the ancient liturgy and forms of worship re-established‡. The events which took place in the beginning of the next reign, afford a striking proof how little sovereigns can depend on the stability of establishments which are often the dearest objects of their heart. A session of a few weeks, soon after Elizabeth came to the throne, was sufficient to overturn the whole ecclesiastical system of Mary, by a series of statutes, similar to those already enacted in England. The ecclesiastical jurisdiction was restored to the crown, and a new oath of supremacy appointed; laws against heresy were repealed; the use of the prayer book was enforced, with such alterations as had been made in England; and all subjects were obliged to attend the public service of the church. The first fruits and twentieth parts of all church revenues were restored to the crown, and the form of electing bishops by deans and chapters, on issuing the writ called *congé d'elire*,|| was entirely abolished in Ireland, and the queen and her successors authorized, by letters patent, to collate to all vacant sees; it was enacted also, that persons so collated, should be consecrated and invested with all their rights, and that

\* Leland, *ibid.* p. 199.

† Leland, *ibid.* p. 205.

‡ Leland, *ibid.* p. 211.

|| Bishops in England are elected by the deans and chapters, in virtue of what is called a *congé d'elire*, issued by the crown, but this permission is always accompanied with a recommendation of some dignified clergyman to fill the vacant office, and I believe no instance is known of its ever being opposed. In Ireland, the manner in which bishops are made is different, as above stated; for by the 2nd of Elizabeth, chap. 4, it

the prelates directed to consecrate them should pay due obedience to the royal mandate within twenty days, under the penalties of the statute of premunire.\*

Hitherto, the weakness of government, and the inveterate prejudices entertained by the people, had prevented the reformation from extending beyond certain districts; but in the reign of James II., the power of the crown having acquired more vigour, it pursued bolder measures in those places where the prejudices of its opponents were so deeply rooted, and their numbers so formidable. At length, it triumphed over all obstacles; and the orders transmitted by James, for the full establishment of the protestant doctrine, were carried into execution throughout the whole country.

In 1615, a convocation was held in Dublin, principally for the purpose of framing a confession of faith, for the church of Ireland. This important work was intrusted to Dr. James Usher, a man eminently distinguished for his learning and abilities. The profession which he drew up consisted of no fewer than one hundred and four articles, in which were included, almost verbatim, the nine articles agreed on at Lambeth, in the year 1595, and which were disapproved both by Elizabeth and James. The convocation adopted this profession, and it was ratified by the lord deputy. Some attempts were made to prejudice the king against Dr. Usher, for many of the articles were repugnant to his principles; but they seem to have produced no effect, for James, in consideration of his piety and erudition, promoted him soon after to the see of Meath.†

In the succeeding reign, the church of Ireland seems to have been reduced to a very deplorable condition: the places set apart for public worship were in ruins; they had been alienated during the time of public disorder, and the rural clergy, by appropriations, commendams, and violent intrusions, were reduced to poverty and held in contempt. The revenues of the bishops, through absolute grants and long leases, by avaricious incumbents, were now insufficient for maintaining their dignity; and even the provision made for them in the late reign, on settling the plantations, had been defeated by artful and fraudulent commissioners. The poverty of the clergy produced the usual consequences—ignorance, negligence, and corruption of manners. A Romish hierarchy, which exercised a regular jurisdiction in every part of the country, took advantage of their absence or inattention, and in some places had possessed themselves of their ecclesiastical lands. The more viru-

is enacted, that the writ of *congé d'elire* is taken away, and that upon the vacancy of any bishoprick, the queen, her heirs, &c. may by patent confer the same on any person. *Statute Law of Ireland, by Edward Lee, Esq. Barrister at Law. Dublin, 1734, 4to. p. 33.*

A gentleman having said in the presence of Dr. Johnson, that a *congé d'elire* has not, perhaps, the force of a command, but may be considered only as a strong recommendation,—“Sir,” replied Johnson, “it is such a recommendation, as if I should throw you out of a two pair of stairs window, and recommend you to fall soft.”

*Boswell's Life of Johnson, vol. iv. p. 346.*

\* Leland, *ibid. ib.* pp. 225, 226.

† Leland, vol. ii. p. 459,

lent of the Scots presbyterians, outrageously jealous for their own discipline and worship, offered daily insults to the established church government, and treated even its forms and rites with contempt.

To remedy, if possible, these growing evils, Wentworth, who was then lord deputy, resolved to provide churches for the convenience of the people, and to supply them with able ministers to instruct them. Commissions were issued for repairing places of worship throughout the kingdom; and the example of the king, who consented to settle the appropriations possessed by the crown on the resident clergy, induced many to a voluntary acquiescence in the work of reformation, by erecting places of worship, and resigning those possessions which had been usurped from the church. Those who were more refractory, were threatened with prosecutions; and from the earl of Cork in particular, the deputy contrived to wrest about two thousand pounds of annual revenue in tithes, which he had possessed himself of through the disorder of the times.

The grand point, however, that of a complete union of the churches of England and Ireland, by establishing the English articles and canons in the latter as the rule of doctrine and discipline, remained to be effected. The clergy of the puritanical cast, at the head of whom was Usher, were by no means favourably disposed towards an attempt of this kind. It was particularly mortifying to the compiler of the Irish articles, in the late reign, to find them threatened with abolition; and, to reconcile him to the proposed reformation, it was agreed that the former articles should be virtually, but not formally abrogated by those of England; and also that the English canons should not be adopted throughout, but that a collection should be made, of such as might appear most acceptable to the people, to form a rule of discipline for the church of Ireland. The articles were accordingly received and the canons established, yet notwithstanding the unanimous consent of the clergy, though but one member of the convocation had the boldness to avow his dissent.\*

During the times of papal usurpation in Ireland, two burdens were imposed on the clergy, from which the see of Rome derived a considerable revenue:—the first was that called *primatic, anates*, or first fruits, which was the first year's profit of every ecclesiastical benefice or promotion in the kingdom, paid upon admission into the church livings: the other was a tax named the twentieth parts, being the twentieth part of every year's profit of all ecclesiastical benefices or promotions. When the papal power was established, their revenues were annexed to the crown by Henry VIII., and a valuation of them was entered in what is called the king's book, which was formerly lodged in the chief remembrancer's office in the exchequer. By a patent, dated the 7th of February, in the tenth year of her reign, queen Anne re-leased to the bishops and clergy, and their successors, the above twentieth parts; and by

\* Leland, vol. iii. pp. 28-8.

another patent, of the same date, she granted to trustees therein named, the first fruits, amounting to about £450. per annum, to be applied for the purpose of building and repairing churches, purchasing glebes where wanted, augmenting the incomes of benefices where they were not sufficient, and providing for the better maintenance of the clergy. These patents were afterwards confirmed by George I.; and since the patent and act of parliament,\* first fruits have been paid by the clerk or receiver to the trustees.†

But it does not appear that the church establishment of Ireland was much improved by these aids; for Dr. Boulter, in a letter to the archbishop of Canterbury, dated February 13th, 1723, in which he solicits the support of his grace to some bills sent to England, complains much of its being very incomplete. "There are, probably, in this kingdom," says he, "five papists at least to one protestant: we have incumbents and curates to the number of about 800, whilst there are near 3,000 popish priests of all sorts here. A great part of our clergy have no parsonage houses, nor glebes to build them on: we have many parishes, eight and ten, twelve and fourteen miles long, with, it may be, only one church in them, and that often at one end of the parish: we have few market towns that supply convenient food for the neighbourhood, nor farmers that can supply the common necessaries of life, which may be had of most farmers in England; so that all agree no clergyman in the country can live without a moderate glebe in his hands: and as there can be no hopes of getting ground of the papists without more churches or chapels, and more resident clergymen, we have been framing two bills, one for explaining and amending an act for the better maintenance of curates in the church of Ireland.‡ By that act, a bishop was enabled to cause one or two chapels of ease to be erected in any parish, where a number of protestants lived six miles from the church, and that was understood to mean six country miles, which are, at least, nine measured miles, and in many places twelve: we have reduced that distance to five measured miles; the incumbents and patrons' consent we have omitted, as what we fear will render the bill useless; the consents we have made necessary are such protestant inhabitants as may want a chapel exclusive of those of the mother church, or on the other side of it, as they must contribute towards building it: at the instance of the clergy, we have likewise excluded such as live within two miles of a neighbouring church: the bishop has the same power of appointing a salary for these new curates as that act allowed. We have likewise these provided, for the building of chapels of ease in cities and towns corporate."

"The other is an act to explain an act for the better enabling of the clergy, hav-

\* 2 Geo. I. cap. 15.

† Howard's Treatise of the Exchequer and Revenue of Ireland. Dublin, 1776, 4to. vol. i. p. 139, 140.

‡ 6 Geo. I. cap. 13.

ing the cure of souls, to reside on their respective benefices, &c.\* There is, by the old act, a power of giving land under forty acres, for a glebe at half the improved rent, or more; but as most of the estates here are under settlements, it has little effect: and there are now three or four gentlemen that would grant fifteen or twenty acres for glebes, if they were at liberty. This act, therefore, is to empower those under settlements, to give a glebe at the full improved rent, to be settled by a jury, on condition of building and improving."

"Beside the benefit of distress for arrears of rent, the bishop is empowered to sequester the whole living upon complaint to pay such arrears, and that the successor may not have an unreasonable arrear come upon him, the bishop is obliged to inquire at every annual visitation which we hold here, whether the rent is paid, and to sequester and see it paid. The same power of giving a glebe is extended to perpetual curacies, in livings appropriate or inappropriate."

"Having endeavoured to provide glebes, we oblige all future incumbents having convenient glebes, to build. All are allowed three fourths of what they lay out; but we see nothing but force will make them build."†

This able prelate appears to have taken great pains to improve the state of the Irish church, by the introduction of new laws and regulations suited to the exigencies of the times. An account of these may be seen in his letters, where much valuable information will be found of the state of the church at the time he wrote. One regulation which he proposed related to the division of parishes, and as it will shew how badly they were then arranged, I shall give it in his own words: "As many of the parishes here are very large, and intermixed with other parishes, and others of too little income to subsist by themselves, and little enough for extent to be united to some other parish, or part of a parish, an act was passed in the 14th and 15th of Charles II., by which parishes might be divided or united for conveniency's sake, with proper consents, and the approbation of the chief governor and council. As that act was expired, a new act was passed in the 2d of George I. for the real union and division of parishes, in which was a proviso, that no union made in virtue of the former act of Charles II. should be capable of being dissolved, nor any part of such union be united to any other parish, unless the parish church of such united parish does lie three country miles from some part of such parish, &c."

"Now, as three country miles are often five or six measured miles; and as several of these unions were made without regard to the conveniency of the people, but purely to make a rich benefice; as we are now endeavouring to make it possible to have the worship of God celebrated in all parts of this kingdom, we find it necessary to repeal this clause, and to lay such parishes open to a division as well as other old parishes."

\* 8 Geo. I. cap. 12.

† Boulter's Letters, vol. i. p. 169, 170.

There is another clause added to that bill, which relates to the removing the site of churches. By the act of the 2d George I., for the real union and division of parishes, it is enacted, "that the site of an inconvenient church may be changed for one more convenient, with the consent of the patron," &c.

"Now with us, many churches stand at the wrong end of a long parish, or on the wrong side of a bog or river, in respect to the greatest part of the parishioners, or at least protestants; so that it would be very convenient to change such situation of the church; but where the king is patron, as his consent is to be had, the expense of having a letter from England to give his majesty's consent under the broad seal here to such a change, and passing a patent for it, is so great, as to discourage these removals; and I can assure your Grace, £10. is harder to be raised here upon a country parish, than £100. is in England, upon a parish of the same extent, and our gentry part with money on such occasions as unwillingly as the peasantry."

It is, therefore, provided in the same bill, that "the chief governor, &c. may consent for the king, where the king is patron; and as the king's patronage cannot be hurt by such change of the site of a church, but the parish will, probably, prove of better value; as the taking off this expense may occasion the building several more convenient churches, we hope the bill will be returned to us."\*

Even so late as the year 1775, a traveller who made a tour through the south of Ireland, gives a very deplorable account of the situation of the inferior clergy in some parts of the country. "I had been taught to believe that the state of the Irish parochial clergy had been universally comfortable, if not affluent. But the case in Munster is mostly otherwise. It is, indeed, scarcely to be conceived, that in a country so uncultivated, a parish of moderate extent should yield sufficient for the liberal support of a parson. Accordingly, unions of large districts are here common; which, after all, give but a scanty subsistence. In the north, which is said to be very populous, and in the parts of Leinster, which are cultivated, the case is different. There a small parish affords a decent maintenance; but in the south and west, where industry and consequent population is by every means discouraged, the situation of these gentlemen is rather to be pitied than envied. It requires a large income, indeed, to compensate for the want of houses and markets, and those other comforts which the English clergy every where enjoy."† The case, as will be seen in the sequel, is much altered:

According to the present church constitution in Ireland, there are four archbishopricks, and twenty-seven bishopricks. The four archbishopricks are those of Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam.

The archbishop of Armagh is styled Lord Primate of all Ireland; that of Dublin Lord Primate of Ireland.

\* Boulter's Letters, vol. i. p. 175, 177. † A Philosophical Survey of Ireland. Dublin, 1778, p. 303.

## CHURCH ESTABLISHMENT.

The following bishops are suffragans to the several archbishopricks :

*To the archbishop of Armagh,*

Clogher founded, anno	-	-	-	1152
Dromore, originally founded by St. Colmar, in the sixth century, and re-founded by James I.*	-	-	-	-
Down and Connor united	-	-	-	1454
Derry	-	-	-	1458
Kilmore, formerly Brefny	-	-	-	1301
Meath	-	-	-	1200
Raphoe and Ardagh, now united to Tuam	-	-	-	1152

*To the archbishop of Dublin,*

Ferns and Leighlin united in 1600	{ Ferns founded in	-	598
	{ Leighlin	-	692
Kildare	-	500	
Ossory	-	500	
Glendalough, united with Dublin		1214	

*To the archbishop of Cashel,*

Cloyne	-	600	was united to Cork 100 years ago.
Cork and Ross united	-	1586	Cork founded
			700
			Killaloe
			500
Killaloe and Kelfenora united	1752		Kilfenora
			1200
Limerick, Ardfert, and Aghadoe, united	-	1663	{ Limerick
			-
			1901
			{ Ardfert
			-
			500
Waterford and Lismore, united	1536		{ Waterford
			-
			1100
			{ Lismore
			-
			700

*To the archbishop of Tuam,*

Clonfert and Kilmacduagh united	1602	{ Clonfert	-	600
		{ Kilmacduagh	-	700
Elphin	-	450		
Killala and Achonry united	-	660	{ Killala	-
			{ Achonry	-
				450
				550

To the archbishoprick of Cashel, which was made in 1152, was added, or as it is termed, united, the bishoprick of Emly in 1568.

To Tuam was united Ardagh in 1741.

\* James granted to this see a great many uncommon privileges, the bishop being styled by divine *providence*, whereas all the rest are by divine *permission*.

The bishop of Meath takes precedency of all the bishops of Ireland, Meath anciently having been an archbishoprick. The next in rank is Kildare. The other bishops take rank according to the date of their consecration.

There are 33 deaneries in Ireland, and 34 archdeaconries.

In 1792, according to Dr. Beaufort, there were 1120 benefices, extending upon an average, over 11,919 acres Irish, but since that time, many of the unions have been severed.

From a desire of giving an authentic account of the present state of the church establishment in Ireland, and knowing that this was impracticable without the assistance of the bishops, with several of whom I have the honour of being personally acquainted, I took the liberty of writing respectfully to each, making known my intention. The information I received in return, I should have laid before the public, had I not learned from my highly respected friend Dr. Beaufort, of Collon, that he was preparing a new edition of his Memoir of a Map of Ireland, which he published in 1792; and that in this improved work, a minute detail would be given of the situation of the church in that country. I determined, therefore, not to go at large into the history, that I might not interfere with the labours of a gentleman, who is so much better qualified to do justice to the subject, and who has already deserved so well of his country. Mr. Carlisle, in his Topographical Dictionary of Ireland, has inserted a table, which may be useful, although I have reason to believe it to be incorrect; and a similar one may be found in Beatson's Political Index to the Histories of Great Britain and Ireland. An Ecclesiastical Magazine, has been published, which professes to give information on this head, and with these works may be also consulted a report printed from returns made to the House of Lords, and an account reprinted by order of the House of Commons, April 20, 1807.

While I embrace this opportunity of publicly thanking those Right Reverend Prelates who were so obliging as to furnish me with the information I requested, I hope they will consider what I have here stated as a sufficient apology for not having made that use of it for which it was communicated. The favour conferred upon me I shall consider as equally great, and always entertain a lively remembrance of their kind and liberal compliance. One letter, however, which I received from the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Limerick, I cannot refrain from laying before the public, as I am convinced it will be read with pleasure by every person who has at heart the interest of religion and virtue. It affords a most honourable proof of the exertions which have been made, and are still making, by that worthy and learned prelate, to diffuse the blessings of civilization throughout those districts which have been committed to his spiritual care; and I hope his example will induce others, both

of the clergy and laity, to assist where they have it in their power, in so laudable a work.

Limerick, 13th September, 1810.

MY DEAR SIR,

Upon my return last night from my Diocesan Visitation in Kerry, I had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 23d ult.

Since the publication of Dr. Beaufort's Work in 1792, the state of the Established Church in Ireland has been much changed, and for the better. Parliament now wisely grants £50,000. per annum for the purpose of building churches and glebe houses; and for purchasing glebes; so that within the last seven years, more has been done in that way, than in a century before that period.

In this united diocese I have furnished, and am now building, twenty-four churches, and many glebe houses; and in the course of a few years, I hope to have a church and a resident minister upon every benefice in my diocese.

I have been employed for some weeks past in Kerry, inspecting and constructing some new churches in the most distant and wildest parts, along the coast, from Kenmare to Dingle. They had never seen a bishop there before, and in some parishes, I am sorry to say, they had never seen a protestant minister!—I have now given them churches and resident clergy, which must have the best consequences, both religious and political. With respect to Ardfert Cathedral, it was originally a very extensive and magnificent building—totally ruined in the wars of Cromwel; part of it is now fitted up neatly, which serves also for the pariah church. The Chapter is complete, I have just revived and rendered it efficient. It consists of a Dean, Archdeacon, Praeceptor, Chancellor, Treasurer, and Archdeacon of Aghadoe. There is also a minor Canon—all endowed.

The church of Killarney was in a state of ruin when you were at that place; I have had it put into high condition this year. I held my visitation there last week, and found it very handsomely furnished with an ornamental spire, &c. I am building spires to all my new churches, which gives a civilized appearance to that wild country. My Metropolitan, the Archbishop of Cashel, is also very zealous and active in promoting the interests of the protestant religion in this province, by multiplying churches and resident clergy.

Believe me, my dear Sir, your faithful humble Servant,

CHARLES LIMERICK.

*Edward Wakefield, Esq.*

In England there are twenty-six archbishops and bishops, and in Ireland twenty-two, so that in point of number, both countries are nearly on an equality. It is difficult to form an accurate estimate of the amount of their incomes, I shall, however, subjoin a statement, which is the result of information obtained from various intelligent persons, resident in their respective dioceses. It is as correct, in all probability, as any estimate of property can be, which is so variable in its nature; and, for the sake of comparison, I have annexed to it that of Mr. Arthur Young, published in 1779.

CHURCH ESTABLISHMENT.

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	£12,000 per ann.	By Mr. Young	£8,000
Armagh, or the Primacy	12,000	-	5,000
Dublin - - -	7,700	-	4,000
Tuam - - -	7,000	-	4,000
Cashel - - -	7,000	-	4,000
Clogher - - -	4,500	-	2,000
Dromore - - -	5,000	-	2,800
Down and Connor - - -	12,500	-	7,000
Derry - - -	5,000	-	2,600
Kilmore - - -	6,000	-	3,400
Meath - - -	8,000	-	2,600
Raphoe - - -	6,000	-	2,200
Ferns and Leighlin	6,000	-	2,600
Kildare; held in commendam with the Deanery of Christ Church - - -	6,000	-	2,600
Ossory - - -	4,000	-	2,000
Cloyne - - -	5,000	-	2,500
Cork and Ross - - -	4,500	-	2,700
Killala and Kilfenora	5,000	-	2,900
Limerick, Ardsfert, & Aghadoe	6,000	-	3,500
Waterford and Lismore	6,000	-	2,500
Clonfert and Kilmacduagh	3,500	-	2,400
Elphin - - -	10,000	-	3,700
Killala and Achonry	3,500	-	2,900
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	£.125,000		£.74,700

The incomes of church livings in Ireland are generally much larger than in England, and of late years they have been greatly augmented from the increase of tillage. The deanery of Down, in the year 1790, was worth only £2,000. per annum. This year it was let for £3,700. The rectory of Middleton, in the county of Cork, when held by Mr. Berkely in 1785, yielded scarcely £800. per annum; at present it produces upwards of £2,800. A living of £500. is but a middling one in Ireland, and any thing beneath it is considered as very low.

These incomes of the bishopricks arise partly from tithe, as at Killaloe; but generally from grants of land, over which there is a restraining clause, to prevent the incumbent, if I may apply that term to a bishop, from letting them for longer than twenty-one years. As the bishops hitherto have generally been old men, the chance of their surviving that period is not great; they, therefore, renew the lease every third or seventh year, upon receiving a fine, and the tenant pays the old rent. This is done under a special act of parliament, otherwise such renewals would be contrary to the decisions of the English Court of Chancery. In lay possessions a life holder cannot annihilate a lease by which his estate is let, and grant a new one, upon re-

ceiving a fine, for the longest term, which his settlements would allow, because this would keep his successor out of his income when he came to his estate; such, however, is the law in Ireland; but if a lease be suffered to expire, the land must be let at two-thirds of the full improved value, or the lease becomes void. But lately, since some young men have been appointed bishops, they have, as it is termed, "run their lives against their leases," that is, they have made no renewal, ensuring a large sum at the public offices, to be received by their families in the event of their death. It would, therefore, be desirable to know the real value of the estates belonging to the bishopricks, were they now out of lease.

I must observe, that this is not a common case. It is, however, certain, that the late Bishop of Derry realized above £4,000. a year by leases under the see. It appears, that his mode was to purchase the interest of the tenants with whom many years of the lease had expired; to some of these he had refused a renewal, and others were, perhaps, unable to raise the money to pay the fine, and thus sold the remaining term at a cheap rate. This, however, makes no more difference to his successor than if these leases had been purchased by any other person. A friend of mine remarks, that Lord Bristol was so eccentric a character, that no conclusions of importance can be drawn from his conduct. This may readily be granted, but the policy ought to be considered by which the law allows an eccentric or any other man to acquire an enormous fortune without performing his ecclesiastical duty; and whether, while such facilities are left in the power of any individual, many may not be tempted to neglect their sacred functions, while they are seeking often for temporal riches and splendour; and whether the same person who has it in his power to determine the fine, or refuse the renewal, should be permitted to purchase.

It would, therefore, be desirable to ascertain the real value of the estates belonging to the bishopricks, if they were now out of lease. A few that I have heard estimated, from the conjecture of well informed persons, are as follows:

The Primacy	-	-	-	£140,000. per annum
Derry	-	-	-	120,000
Kilmore	-	-	-	100,000
Waterford	-	-	-	70,000
Clogher	-	-	-	100,000

Bishops, who outlive their leases, might let the estates in trust, for the benefit of the devisors to their wills. By this proceeding would church property increase? As the bishops are obliged to let at two-thirds of the real value, it would remove the property of the present tenant into other hands, and, probably, convert it into lay property, from the immediate connexions of the bishops; or, in the event of receiving the greater part of the benefits himself, he might leave his property among the branches of his family, who are not in the church. I am inclined to believe, that the letting to himself, through trustees, to act under his will at the old rent, which would only be a nominal one, would never be permitted; and that

in dioceses where bishops do not renew leases, it would end in creating great and enormous incomes.

In the event of insanity, or imbecility from age, the leases can be renewed by the metropolitan for his suffragan; but the law, I am of opinion, has not provided for the case of a metropolitan so situated, although I understand, that in the case of the Archbishop of Dublin, the Chancellor appointed in March 1811, a committee to manage his temporalities, as in other instances of lunacy, and made the Bishop of Killala, who had been long acquainted with the diocese, as Dean of St. Patrick's, guardian to the spiritualities, reserving the patronage to himself.

The patronage of the Irish bishopricks is very extensive, as will appear from the following table; which, declining the task of forming a new one, for the reason already assigned, I have extracted from Dr. Beaufort's Memoir.

Bishopricks.	Number of Parishes.	The Number in the Gift of the Bishop.	In the Gift of the Crown.	Others.		Improprate, and without Churches or Incumbents.
				Lay.	University.	
Armagh . . . .	103	60	13	22	5	
Dublin . . . .	209	144	15	16		
Tuam and Ardagh . . . .	89	79		10		
Cashel . . . .	No Statement made of the Patronage.					
Clogher . . . .	41	34	1	2	4	
Dromore . . . .	26	23		2		
Down and Connor . . . .	114	53	12	36		10
Derry . . . .	48	23	3	9	3	
Kilmore . . . .	39	33	3	2	1	
Meath . . . .	224	69	81	37		35
Raphoe . . . .	31	15	6	3	7	
Ferns and Leighlin . . . .	232	171	18	19	1	13
Kildare . . . .	81	30	27	24		
Ossory . . . .	136	76	26	30		
Cloyne . . . .	137	106	10	9		11
		and the Deanery.				
Cork and Ross Killaloe and Kilfenora . . . .	127	94	8			
Limerick, Ardfert, and Aghadoe . . . .	138	131	10	36		17
Waterford and Lismore . . . .	176	34	27	65		
Clonfert and Kilmacduagh . . . .	106	43	24	30		9
Elphin . . . .	60	49	3	14		
Killala, and Achonry . . . .	75	72	2	1		
	52	48	4	0		
	2244	1391	293	367	21	95

The livings in the gift of the archbishop of Cashel are worth £35,000. per annum. The bishoprick of Clonfert is not considered as valuable.

Cloyne * £.50,000	1 living	-	-	-	£. 3,000
	1	-	-	-	2,000
	1	-	-	-	1,800
	3 of	-	-	-	1,500
	1	-	-	-	1,400
	2	-	-	-	1,200

and so downwards.

Cork - - £.30,000 - 2 of £.1,000, and many from £.700 to £.800.

Ferns - - £.30,000.

Killaloe has 109 benefices, many worth £1,500. per annum.

Ossory is rather a small bishoprick.

To most of the bishopricks are attached very good houses and domains; where there are none, the bishop is authorized to build a palace, not expending more than two years' income of his benefice, the greater part of which, on his translation or death, can be levied on his successor. I have known gentlemen reduced to great inconvenience, by being obliged to pay this money on their appointment to a bishoprick.

The large incomes of the bishops and clergy from territorial possessions, and the numerous presentations in the gift of the former, enormously increase the influence of this religious body on society. At the first view, it might appear that nearly the whole of this influence is in the hands of the crown; but this is not quite the case. The crown nominates the bishops, it is true; and the bishops present to 1,470 parishes, out of 2,246; but the minister who makes his friend or tutor a bishop to-day, may be removed from office to-morrow, so that the influence is dissolved, and the individual is left a free agent. But, notwithstanding government sometimes experiences disappointments through this cause, the church establishment of Ireland is a political lever, with the power of which persons in England are little acquainted. It must be remembered that the incomes of the Irish clergy are much larger, and society on a more contracted scale than with us: the number of dignitaries being nearly equal to that of England; in Ireland, therefore, a proportionally greater space in the higher ranks of life is filled by churchmen.

In addition to the 249 parishes to which the crown presents, it has the power of

\* Of the 106 benefices in this diocese, the bishop has the patronage of 76. Mr. Newenham, in his View of Ireland, p. 76, says: "The writer has been favoured with an accurate return of the diocese of Cloyne, which states the number of beneficed clergymen at 56, and their revenue at upwards of £40,000." Since 1792, therefore, many benefices have been united, or, perhaps, Mr. Newenham's account comprehends only the revenue of the 56 best benefices.

presenting to every living rendered vacant by the promotion of the incumbent; as in the case of making a dean a bishop, raising a dean to the archdeaconry, or promoting a clergyman. On such occasions, the crown presents to the vacated livings; and patronage is extended through many gradations. To this advantage is still to be added, the translation from an inferior to a more valuable bishoprick, and frequently through two or three degrees. Clonfert and Killala, on this account, are termed "rearing bishopricks."

The immediate parliamentary influence of the church arises from four bishops, or one archbishop and three bishops, who sit in the House of Peers by rotation, and from one member in the House of Commons, returned for the city of Armagh, on the recommendation of the primate.

The indirect influence must be very extensive. First, through the incumbents of the several benefices in the gift of the bishops; secondly, from the tenants under the see, who are looking up to the bishop for a renewal of their leases; thirdly, from the expenditure of a large income, by which considerable individual influence is always acquired; but an influence to which there can be little objection, as it arises from the fairest and most honourable source.

The English reader will, no doubt, be astonished to hear, that there are absentees, among the Irish bishops, some of whom think it sufficient to visit Ireland, and reside there for a month or six weeks in the summer; while others, preferring the enjoyment of society to a dull residence at the diocesan palace, fly from the uncultivated wilds and cheerless bogs by which they are surrounded, to mix in fashionable life, and participate for years in the pleasures of Bath or London, without ever seeing Ireland. However I may be an advocate for liberty, I am, nevertheless, of opinion, that noblemen and gentlemen of landed property, should spend some part of their time and income, among those who cultivate the earth for their support. This duty is certainly more incumbent on prelates and dignified clergymen, than even on those to whom I have just alluded; who, besides other ties, are bound by their official situation, to the performance of many duties which ought never to be neglected. The original title of bishop denoted, a person appointed to overlook or inspect the conduct of others. A bishop, therefore, is an overseer of the inferior clergy; and if he be not resident in his diocese, at least some part of the year, he must fail in his duties, and cannot fulfil the object of his appointment.

Mr. Ensor, a neighbour of the Primate of all Ireland, says, in his work on Ecclesiastical Establishments:\* "The Primate of all Ireland, though in the summer of 1807, he enforced the duty of residence to his clergy, almost immediately after his charge quitted the island, nor did he return till the following summer." But I would ask how many years the primate's family remained in England, while his grace

\* Ensor on Eccles. Establishments, vol. ii. p. 291.

only made summer visits to the metropolitan palace. Does not such a partial residence constitute an absentee bishop? Mr. Ensor in a note, says, "this prelate was not this year a member of the Imperial Parliament." I have stated the fact on the printed authority of a gentleman who, in that or the preceding year, was high sheriff for the county of Armagh, and is there looked upon as a man of distinguished veracity and virtue.

A friend, writing to me, says, "I suspect you have been informed on this subject; if I am mistaken, I own that you cannot be too strong, or too severe in your reflections upon such men, but the late Earl of Bristol is the only instance I can recollect, and he was a very extraordinary character; for the great primate Rokeby, cannot be included in this censure, for residing the last years of his life at Bath, whence he could not be removed on account of his complaint. It is very natural, that Englishmen on the Irish bench, should pay frequent visits to their friends on the other side of the water; but, I believe, it does not often happen, that they remain a whole year in England, except their parliamentary duty requires it, nor do I know of one who makes England his principal residence." It is necessary that I should reply to these observations, because they come from a gentleman whose sources of information are, I acknowledge, superior to mine. Yet I cannot help remarking that defect in the law, which permitted the eccentric bishop of Derry to reside abroad for twenty years. To the absence of the late primate Robinson, humanity prevents me from objecting; and I should be the last person to censure that venerable ecclesiastic, My authority is before the reader, for considering the present primate partly as an absentee. The archbishop of Dublin, is unfortunately incapacitated by infirmity from attending to his duty; but I am misinformed if he was not generally absent, and his family was always so for some years while he was bishop of Ferns. When I was in the county of Cork, in the autumn of 1808, the bishop of Cloyne was not at the palace, nor had he lived there for some time; according to general report he was at Bath. I mention these instances, to prevent that censure which ought to fall on individuals, from being thrown upon the whole body. When my friend talks of Englishmen having a natural desire to leave Ireland, let me call to his recollection, the conduct of Dr. Law, bishop of Elphin, and of the late Dr. Percy, bishop of Dromore, who were constant residents in the country. Of the non-residence of parish ministers, I must remark, that there are upwards of 400 benefices,\* which either have no glebe lands, or whose glebes are too small, or too remote from the church, to admit of parsonage houses being built upon them, and in some part of Ireland there are no houses to be let. Although it is not my intention to apologize for non-residence, it is but justice to the Irish clergy to observe, that on counting the number of residents and absentees in each diocese respectively, as reported to parliament by seven-

\* In Dr. Beaufort's table there are 366.

ral bishops, it appears on a comparison with the clergy in England, that there is a greater proportion of residents in Ireland; the clergy in the dioceses of Ferns, Meath, Armagh, and Dromore, I know to be resident; in the last mentioned diocese, there is but one clergyman who does not reside, and this gentleman lives on a benefice in another diocese. When I make this remark on the above benefices, I by no means wish to confine it exclusively to them, the case is, I hope, the same in many others; nor ought we to forget the situation of some parts of Ireland, where there are parishes without a protestant inhabitant; without a church, and without a glebe. Under such circumstances, it would be hard to require the residence of an incumbent. The proper question is, whether there ought to be an incumbent at all? Where there is no duty to be performed by the clergyman, there can be no spiritual benefit extended to the people, nor any hope of the conversion of a single individual. At present, the residence of the clergyman depends upon the direction of the bishop; I am ignorant what authority the law in this respect gives to bishops, but I confess, I am averse to leaving a matter of such importance entirely to the discretion of the superior clergy.

Some of the present bench of Irish bishops are connected with the most powerful families in the country.

The **PRIMATE** is brother to the Marquis of Bute.

The **ARCHBISHOP** of **CASHEL**, brother to Lord Middleton.

**TUAM**, uncle to the Marquis of Waterford.

**BISHOP** of **RAPHOE**, brother to the Marquis of Waterford.

**ELPHIN**, brother to Earl Clancarty.

**KILALOE**, brother to the Marquis of Ely.

**FERNs**, brother to the Earl of Roden.

**DOWN**, first cousin to the Earl of Caledon.

**DERRY**, son to Lord Viscount Northland.

**CORK**, only brother to the Earl of Hoath.

**KILMORE**, first cousin to the Marquis of Waterford.

I have often heard it asserted, that "large benefices ought to exist, and to be bestowed on men of learning and merit, as an encouragement to others to exert themselves for the benefit of the church." But is merit and long service always attended to in the choice? Were I called upon to state the ages of some of the Irish bishops, it would appear, that these valuable dignities have sometimes been conferred upon very young men. It may, however, be said, that they were educated for the profession, and fitted for discharging its duties by a regular and learned education; But this does not seem to have always been the case: one archbishop, was, I believe,

before his appointment, a lieutenant in the navy; the dean of Clogher was a member of the Imperial Parliament; and the rector of a valuable benefice was lately an aid-de-camp at the Castle. Many similar instances might be adduced, but I hope my readers will consider these sufficient.

Some of the bishopricks in Ireland have arisen out of the junction of some that were before distinct and separate sees; these commonly consist of two, or more, under the title of an union.\* The power which united them, might, as they increase in value, split them again into a greater number. The act of Union, however, has not made any provision for their representation, that point being settled for the bishops to remain apparently the same in number as when the act passed.

For the manner in which the income of the clergy in Dublin is paid, I must refer to a letter from Mr. Whitelaw, printed in the Chapter on Habits and Manners.

The churches in Ireland have seldom more than one bell; the merry peal of which our English villagers are so fond, is never sounded, and this may account for the little taste there is for bell ringing in that country. There are bells, I believe, in some of the great towns; such as Clogher, Armagh, and Drogheda, but the art of ringing them is unknown; and although the Irish are rather musically inclined, the triple bob majors, or grand performances in ringing is never heard in any part of the country.

A clergyman, as in England, cannot hold more than two livings, but the distance between them is not limited, as with us.

The laws that regulate glebe houses is the same in the case of an incumbent of a parish, as of a bishop: the encouragement given to the former by the acts of Geo. I. and II. not being found effectual, Primate Robinson procured a new act, by which the original builder is entitled to receive for his immediate successor, the full amount of his expenditure, not, however, exceeding two years of his income, provided he has complied with certain injunctions prescribed by the act. The next incumbent pays three-fourths of the whole, and the two next in succession, one-half and one-quarter respectively, after which all charges cease; but the liberal donations of parliament to those who build houses and churches, have accomplished more within the last five years, than had been effected in the preceding fifty. The funds are under the management of the Board of First Fruits, but the money is raised chiefly by parliamentary grants; the amount of the first fruits raised on the Irish clergy, is only £3,000. per annum.† The expenditure on this head has been as follows:‡

\* Dr. Beaufort, p. 29, in his account of the Bishoprick of Killaloe, gives the dates when united bishopricks had been severed.

† It was so stated by the Right Hon. John Foster, Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the 16th May, 1808. *Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates*, vol. xi. p. 127.

‡ Extracted from a paper ordered to be printed by the House of Commons, 25th April, 1811.

CHURCH ESTABLISHMENT.

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	Grants.	Paid.	Unpaid.
Gifts for building churches between 1st May, 1801, and } 5th January, 1811.	76,070	43,300	37,770
Loans for ditto . . . . .	59,122	35,988	23,134
Gifts for purchasing glebes . . . . .	20,403	9,703	11,300
Gifts for building glebe houses . . . . .	60,342	18,217	43,325
Loans for building glebe houses . . . . .	112,180	48,406	63,673
	<u>£. 28,017</u>	<u>155,614</u>	<u>176,202</u>

This is a large expenditure, but the purpose is excellent; yet, further information may be necessary on this subject: could the amount of the sums levied by the parishes be given, and which is to be collected from those successors to such incumbents, as have expended money on glebe houses; it would greatly augment the amount granted by parliament. The public has been liberal, as it always is in such cases; but it has a right to investigate, whether the expenditure has effected any good purpose. The object of inquiry is, to have the members of the established church increased? The answer ought to be given from authority; for unless it can be proved, that these large sums have produced some salutary result, we may justly conclude, that if more money were granted, it would be useless for this end, and, therefore, the system requires to be changed.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

## TITHE.

**T**HE custom of appropriating a tenth part of the fruits of the earth and live stock for the support of religious worship, prevailed in the earliest ages; not only among the Jews, but the Syrians, Phœnicians, Arabians, Ethiopians, Greeks, Romans, and other pagan nations.\* The idea of divine right to tithe, has been long abandoned, and some of the ablest writers in the English and Romish churches have expressed themselves against such an opinion; for the law of tithe, as given by Moses, belongs to the civil or political part of the theocracy under which the Jews lived, and not to the ecclesiastical. "The law of tithes," says the learned Prideaux, "enjoined to the children of Israel,† was, as to the determinate part, a law peculiar to that people, as being given to them by God, not as general governor of the world, with an intent of obliging mankind to the observance of it, but as he was in a peculiar and extraordinary manner their immediate king and national governor, in that state of theocracy they were under; therefore, it was no more in the commonwealth of Israel, than as a part of the civil constitution by which they were governed, which no otherwise differed in its nature and obligation from the civil constitutions of other states, but as it happened they had God himself, through the extraordinary mercy and favour they obtained from him, to be the immediate founder and former of it."‡ This author, therefore, very properly, rests the whole of his argument in favour of tithes, on the right which the clergy have to a maintenance; for when Christ first sent forth his disciples to propagate the gospel, he commanded them to take "no provision for the way, nor change of raiment or shoes,"§ because "the labourers being worthy of their hire,"|| they were to be provided with all these things, and with whatever else they stood in need, by those to whom they were sent.¶ Neither here, nor in any other part of the gospels or epistles, is there the least mention of tithes; the allusion is merely to the general obligation of providing a maintenance for those who officiated in holy duties under the gospel, as they did formerly under the law, without pointing out any specific provision, or

\* Selden of Tithes, chap. 3. Spencer de Legibus Hebræorum, lib. iii. cap. 10. sect. 1.

† Numbers, chap. xviii. ver. 21.

‡ The Original and Right of Tithes, by H. Prideaux, D. D. Dean of Norwich, London, 1713, page 18. A celebrated writer of the Romish church says the same thing: "Dieu, par le ministère de Moïse, donna aux Juifs une loi, qui, à l'égard des cérémonies et des jugemens, devoit être la loi propre de cette nation, jusques à la venue de Jesus Christ, qui lui devoit ôter toute sa force. Ainsi, la loi des dixmes est bien une loi divine-mosaïque, qui obligeoit seulement le peuple Juif; mais non pas une loi divine-naturelle, ni chrétienne et par consequent, elle n'oblige personne maintenant." *Traité des Benefices de Frà Paolo Sarpi, quatrième edit. Amst. 1706, p. 91.*

§ Matthew, ch. x. v. 10.

|| Luke, chap. x. v. 7.

¶ 1 Corinthians, ch. ix. v. 13, 14.

determining how it was to be provided.\* On this account, the clergy, in the early periods of the church, were supported by the voluntary contributions of the faithful; and it appears that, for a long series of years, they lived in common on what was in this manner received. But when France, Spain, and Africa, had been erected into distinct kingdoms, and Italy had fallen into the hands of the Goths, from the invasion of barbarous nations, so that the eastern part of the empire was separated from the west, the form of government in the different churches also became changed. The eastern adhered to the established usage of living in common; but in the west, the bishops, from being administrators and superintendents, began to assume the character of masters, and to govern the church with absolute power. Hence much confusion arose in the distribution of its property, to the great injury of the churches, and of the poor, who were either neglected or entirely abandoned. For this reason it was ordained in the western church, about the year 740, that its property should be divided into four portions; the first of which was assigned to the bishop; the second, to the other clergy; the third, for the maintenance of the church, which, besides the edifice where the people assembled, comprehended lodgings for the bishop and other ecclesiastics, and also for the sick and for widows; and the last, or fourth part, was reserved for the use of the poor.†

At this period, the ministers of the gospel were elected by the whole congregation of the faithful, and afterwards ordained by the bishops by the imposition of hands.—The bishop also was chosen by the people, and ordained by the metropolitan, in the presence of all the other bishops of the same province, or at least with their consent, which was given in writing by those who did not attend in person. If the bishop were otherwise engaged, the ordination was performed, with his consent, by three of the neighbouring bishops. In like manner, the priests, deacons, and other clergy, were presented by the people, and ordained by the bishop, or named by the bishop, and then ordained with the consent of the people. A stranger was never received, and no one was ordained by the bishop, whom the people had not either proposed or approved. Nay, so necessary was the intervention of the people considered on such occasions, that pope Leo declared the ordination of the bishop to be invalid, unless sanctioned by the consent of the people; and this is confirmed by all the fathers of that period.‡ Thus we find, that Constantius having been elected bishop of Milan, by the clergy, pope Gregory thought he could not be con-

\* Prideaux, ut supra, p. 26.

† *Traité des Benefices de Frà Paolo Sarpi, quatrième edit. Amst. 1706, p. 25.*

‡ Cum ergo de summi sacerdotis electione tractabitur, ille omnibus præponatur, quem cleri plebisque consensus concorditer postulant, ita ut si in aliam forte personam partium se vota dividerint metropolitani iudicio, in alteri præferatur qui majoribus et studiis juvatur et meritis: tantum ut nullus invitis et non petentibus ordinetur ne civitas episcopum non optatum aut contemnat aut oderit, et fiat minus religiosa quam convenit, cui non licuerit habere quem voluit. *Epist. 12, ad Anastasium Thessalonicensem, cap. 5.*

secrated without the consent of the inhabitants; and, as they had retired to Genoa, in consequence of the incursions of the barbarians, he was desirous that they should be consulted, that their pleasure might be known.\*

About the year 500, however, the bishops having become the sole dispensers of the fourth part of the property of the church, they began to turn their thoughts more to temporalities, and each to form a party in the town wherein he resided: By these means, elections were no longer made with a view to the service of religion, but were carried on by intrigue, and sometimes even effected by violence. For this reason, princes, who hitherto seem to have little regarded who were elected to that office, now paid more attention to the affairs of the church; and, as they perceived that the public tranquillity was often disturbed by the cabals of ambitious individuals who were eager to obtain ecclesiastical dignities, they resolved to interpose their authority, to prevent practices so disgraceful to the sacred character. It was, therefore, ordained that the person elected should not be consecrated without the consent of the prince, or, at least, of the magistracy; and the prince reserved to himself the right of confirming the great bishops, such as those of Rome, Ravenna, and Milan, in Italy, leaving the care of the others to his ministers. In this manner the popes and bishops of Italy were elected, that is to say, with the confirmation of the emperor, till the year 750. But in France, and other tramontane countries, the royal authority, or that even of the *maires du palais*, was more absolute, for the people abstained from the election entirely whenever the prince interfered.†

In France, the bishops made by the king, and still more those raised to that dignity by the *maires du palais*, the royal authority being much weakened, bestowed their whole care on temporal affairs; as was the case also with the abbots, who furnished soldiers to the sovereign, and took the field in person, not to perform the duties of religion, but to combat with arms in their hands. Hence it happened that, not satisfied with the fourth part of the church property which was assigned to them, they managed matters so well for their own advantage, that the poor priests, who preached the word of God and administered the sacraments, were left almost destitute and without any support. The people, therefore, were obliged to contribute, each according to his situation in life, towards their maintenance; but, as this was done more liberally in one place than in another, which sometimes occasioned heavy complaints, they began to consider how much it would be necessary to give to the priest who ministered in holy things. On this occasion it occurred, that a tenth had been appropriated for the like purpose among the Jews, and it was easy to represent the same proportion as due under the gospel dispensation; although Jesus Christ and St. Paul only say, that the people ought to furnish the minister with the necessary means of subsistence, and that "those who serve at the altar ought to live by the altar," without prescribing

\* *Traité des benefices*, p. 29.

† *Ibid.* p. 33, 35.

the quantity; because, in some cases the tenth would be too much, and, in others, the hundredth would be sufficient. "At this time," says a celebrated writer of the Romish church, "and for some centuries after, the object of all the sermons preached in the church, instead of relating to matters of faith, tended only to prove the obligation of paying tithes."\* Such was the conduct of all the curés, whose wants and interest urged them to pursue this method. Sometimes, in their oratorical exaggerations they proceeded to such a length, that they seemed to make all christian perfection to consist in the payment of tithe: and, not contented with that of inheritances, they began to assert that the tithe of personal property was also necessary; that is to say, a part of every thing gained by labour and industry, not even excepting the chase and military pay. As many of these sermons were found without bearing the name of their author, some of them were ascribed to St. Augustin and other ancient writers, either to deceive the world by such gross authorities, or through mistake.† But, besides the proof arising from the style, which shews they were composed about the year 800, it is evident by history, that tithes were never paid either in Africa or the east, and that they originated in France,‡ as has been here mentioned.

Such was the commencement of tithes; and hence it appears, that they can be considered in no other light than as an abuse which crept into the Romish church in the days of ignorance,§ and which, unfortunately, has been retained in ours,

\* A preacher in the time of Charlemagne, asserted in one of his sermons, not only that it was necessary to pay tithes to the priests, but that they ought to be carried to them. "Nec debetis expectare, ut presbyteri et clerici alii decimas vobis requirant, sed cum bona voluntate vos ipsi sine admonitione debetis donare, et ad domum presbyteri ducere." In the Appendix to the Capitularies, p. 1376, see book vi. of these Capitularies, chap. 192, where priests are enjoined to preach in this manner. An abuse against which Alcuin inveighs in one of his letters: "Tu vero, frater dilecte, fili carissime, perge in opere Dei et esto prædicator veritatis, non decimarum exactor; quia novella anima apostolicæ pietatis lacte nutrienda est, donec crescat, convalescat, et roboretur ad acceptionem solidi cibi. Quid imponendum est jugum cervicibus idiotarum quod neque nos, neque fratres nostri sufferre potuerunt?" *Epist. 7 apud Mabillon, tom. iv. Analectorum, p. 279.*

† Cardinal Perron says, that all these pieces were forged and fabricated by the monks, in the time of Charlemagne, because at that period the monks lived for the most part by transcribing books. *Perroniana, under the word DECIMALES.*

‡ The council of Mascon, held in the year 585, proceeded by excommunication against those who did not pay tithes. "Statuimus ac decernimus, ut mos antiquus à fidelibus reparetur, et decimas ecclesiasticis famulantibus ceremoniis populus omnis inferat, quas sacerdotes aut in pauperum usum, aut in captivorum redemptionem erogantes, suis orationibus pacem populo ac salutem impetrent. Si quis autem contumax nostris statutis saluberrimis fuerit, à membris ecclesiæ omni tempore separetur." *Can. 5, in fine.*

§ Celestin II commanded that people should be constrained, by the fear of excommunication, to pay tithes of wine, corn, fruits, trees, cattle, gardens, merchandise, military pay, hunting, and also wind mills: all these things are mentioned in the decretals of the popes. But the canonists went much farther, for they asserted, that tithe ought to be paid by the poor who beg in the streets, from their alms, and by women of infamous character, from the wages of prostitution. *Traité des Benefices, p. 150.*

¶ "Of all the taxes upon the income of land property, the tithe is the worst; and it has, undoubtedly, been established among men before agriculture or taxes were understood. Lands, in all countries, are of different

notwithstanding the outrage that has been made against the errors and superstitions of popery.

Montesquieu gives nearly a similar account of the origin of tithes, which he says were first established by Charlemagne, who, to render them less objectionable to his subjects, laid the same burden on his own property. But the lower classes had little inclination to abandon their interests by examples. At first, the plan did not succeed, and met with great opposition, particularly among the Jews; but the people at length consented to pay tithes, on condition that they should be at liberty, at some future period, to redeem them.\*

At what period the custom of paying tithes was first introduced into Britain, is not with certainty known, but in 794, Offa, king of Mercia, the most potent of all the Saxon kings of his time, in the island, made a law, by which he gave unto the church the tithes of all his kingdom; in order, as is said, to expiate for the death of Ethelbert, king of the East Angles, whom in the preceding year he had caused to be basely murdered on coming to his court, for the purpose of marrying his daughter.† But this establishment reached no farther than the kingdom of Mercia, over which Offa reigned, till about sixty years after, when it was enlarged by Ethelwulf, for the whole realm of England. Prideaux says, that it was these laws which first gave the church a civil right to tithes in this country, by way of property and inheritance, and enabled the clergy to gather and recover them as their legal due, by the coercion of the civil power.‡

This establishment of tithes was afterwards confirmed by various laws, under succeeding reigns; but it is not necessary to particularize them. What has been here said, is sufficient for my purpose, as it demonstrates that the payment of tithe rests on the same foundation as other civil institutions, which the legislature of the kingdom may change, alter, or modify, as it may deem expedient; and as the state of society and the situation of the country may require. Tithes form no part of the constitution, but an established church does; it is of no consequence in what manner the clergy are paid, provided they receive incomes sufficient to support the dignity of their office, and to maintain that respect which is due to the sacred character.

This public burden is generally considered as a charge or tax upon farming; and therefore, by most statistical writers, has been classed under the head agriculture.

qualities; some are proper for bearing rich crops of grain, others are indifferent; some produce pasture, others forest; the revenue of some consists in wine, in mines, and in a thousand different productions, which cost some more, some less expense to cultivate. The tithe takes without distinction, a determinate proportion of the fruits, in which is comprehended the tithe of all the industry and expense to bring them forward."

*Sir James Stewart's Inquiry into the Principles of Political Economy*, 4to. 1767. vol. ii. p. 568.

\* De L'Esprit des lois, lib. xxxi. chap. 12. Œuvres, vol. iv. p. 135. 136.

† The Original and Right of Tithes, p. 105.

‡ Ibid. p. 167.

In one point of view this arrangement may be judicious, as its exaction depresses the ardour of the husbandman; but in many cases it is only a deduction from rent, and this is so often the case as to furnish its supporters with arguments for continuing the system. From this circumstance they are enabled to make use of the language that was adopted by those who argued against the equalizing of the late land tax; and wherever their assertions are correct, that it is only a deduction from rent, their arguments are conclusive: but of all charges "it is the most unpleasant; it is a payment more vexatious than oppressive, and more impolitic than either." It is vexatious, because it is to be paid directly in kind, at uncertain and fluctuating rates; impolitic, because it is highly vexatious. In Ireland, a people unanimous only on this subject, declaim vehemently against it, considering that it might be replaced by a more equal, certain, and satisfactory impost\* I request the reader to attend particularly to this passage, because I can safely assert that the writer has not exaggerated, when he states, that the people of Ireland are "unanimous" in their execrations against tithes. The presbyterian will go to law rather than pay them; the poorer people take up arms to revenge the exactions hereby practised upon them. The gentry look on, and secretly pray and hope, that discontent, so strongly expressed, will induce the legislature to alter the present system. In a word, none but a few of the very higher orders of the aristocracy, and a part of the beneficed clergy, are in favour of its continuance. As to those selfish considerations which would prevent "a consummation so devoutly to be wished," I shall discuss them hereafter; and in the mean time, state a fact, which deserves particular notice, that the counties of Armagh, Clare, Kerry, the Queen's County, Tipperary, and Wicklow, have petitioned the legislature for an alteration.

Were I an incumbent, entitled to the tenth part of the produce of a portion of land, taken by an honest and industrious man into his own occupation, and were my tithe at the time of £10. value; if this person, by unremitting attention, great waste of health and strength, and the sacrifice of many innocent comforts and enjoyments, should increase such tithe from £10. to £100., unless my present feelings were much altered, I could not rob this man of the rewards of his industry, and coldly take away, under the sanction of the law, the £90. that had been created by the heart-rending toil of this poor farmer. But I shall be told by the advocates of the system, that he took this land with the knowledge of this burden being attached it, and he pays his landlord £90. less rent than would otherwise have been the case. I very much question that an agreement was ever made respecting rent, under any such expectation; because I observe his idle neighbour, who never the least increases his

\* Ireland, Past and Present, 4th edit. Dublin, 1808, p. 43.

† The Right Hon. W. Wellesley Pole, stated on the 14th April, 1810, in the House of Commons, that "he believed that persons of all descriptions were anxious to apply some remedy to this evil." *Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates*, vol. xvi. p. 677.

produce, contract for land at the same rate, and from this negligent agriculturist, the incumbent only can receive the original £10. per annum. It becomes, therefore, a lien on the industry, the skill, and the property of the land-owners and cultivators of the soil; and one which, if properly considered, few would be so unfeeling as to exact. A friend of mine says, "but it is to be remembered, that if this farmer's tithes amounts to £100., his crop must have been worth £1,000." This cannot be denied; but how was the crop raised? Was it not by the skill, the capital, and the industry of the farmer; and does not the clergyman exact a tithe of these as well as of the produce of the earth? It is on this account that I object to the system. The landlord has an unquestionable right to his rent, because rent is a compensation for the use of his property; but the tenth part of its ultimate produce is the tithe of industry, a possession which belongs to no man but to him by whom it is exercised. The argument that holds in the one case does not apply to the other. When a proprietor of land demands rent, he asks that which is his own; when the clergy demand tithe of land in its original state, it forms a part of rent; but when improved, they require a portion of that which has been produced by labour and industry. In Ireland, where, as I shall hereafter have occasion to shew, it is confined to tillage; and where the cotters are poor, the collection of tithes is wringing of luxuries for the clergy, from the honest exertions of poverty.

I am ready to admit, that tithes are a tribute to which the clergy have a just title; and never censured those who enforced their collection. No blame is to be attached to the individual; it is the principle which deserves reprobation. But every one must allow, that the parties interested, ought to be at liberty to settle the business irrevocably between themselves, by some kind of commutation.

I have long wished for an opportunity of delivering my opinion publicly on tithe, and I confess, that opinion has been much strengthened by some communications with the late Mr. Pitt. From the manner in which I have been frequently questioned as to his sentiments on this subject, it appears to be believed, that they are known to me; but I beg leave to state, that I was never on such terms of intimacy with that gentleman, as to become the depository of his private opinions on that or any other question. I once had a conversation with him on the general state of landed property, immediately before his introduction of the income tax; but this was the only intercourse which I ever had with him whilst in office. I accidentally met him during the short interval of his being out of power, and at that time he appeared to be desirous of turning his attention to agricultural pursuits. I apprehended, from the manner of his discourse, that he was favourable to the plan of allowing farmers to redeem their tithes, on the same principle as that for the land tax, and that this was the only way in which the business could be settled to the satisfaction of all parties. I conceived, that the success which had attended that measure, induced him to connect the present one with a financial arrangement

of considerable magnitude\* which he, no doubt, meant on some future opportunity to carry into execution.

If I have rightly considered Mr. Pitt's sentiments, from all the attention I have paid to the subject, I am the more convinced that the plan he seemed to have in contemplation was a good one; but it can be brought forward only at a period when the affairs of the state is in the hands of a strong, efficient, and popular administration. To ensure its success it will be necessary at the same time, to obtain the services and concurrence of the leading members of the church establishment. The object must be to excite a conviction of its utility, and not to create discontent; and whilst its advantages are made apparent, to leave the parties in possession of their property as it stands at present; that is to say, the owner of the incumbency should be at liberty to settle with the parishioners, either by retaining a proportion of land or a given amount in the funds, so as to secure an invariable income to the church.

When the cultivated land of Ireland was not the hundredth part of what it is at present, the Irish House of Commons, in one of those fits of frenzy, under which that assembly appear to have frequently acted, came to a resolution, that "any lawyer assisting in a prosecution for tithes of agistment, should be considered as an enemy to his country."† By this extraordinary resolution, adopted without inquiry into the justice or expediency of the measure, and without consulting the other branches of the legislature, they established their will to rob the incumbents of the greater part of their property as absolute authority. In this state things continued till the period of the union; when Sir John Macartney, aware that such a resolution was not law, moved as a part of the act, the abolishment of tithe of agistment, which was meant merely to throw a stumbling-block in the way of the union, as it was not expected that the minister would agree to such a measure; whilst on the other hand, it was confidently believed, that it would act like magic, in urging the body of landed proprietors to oppose the union, which would be the means of making this tithe revert to the original owners. The minister, however, instead of resisting the measure, suffered it quietly to pass; and that which before the union was only a resolution of the House of Commons, is now a formal act of the Imperial Parliament. The tithes of Ireland fall, therefore, only on the tillage land, the greater part of which is held by cotter tenants. I know of no act more mischievous, more impolitic, and unjust. The rich are in this manner exempted from bearing their share of a burden, which is proved by the very

\* Since this chapter was written I have seen Mr. Wheatley's Publication, in which it is stated, p. 329, that a bill was prepared by Mr. Pitt for the commutation of tithe. I rejoice to think that this was the case, as it shews that this gentleman would have done more than talk on the subject. Mr. Wheatley's authority may be relied on. He is a friend of Lord Grenville, and at one time was secretary to the Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer, so that he had the best means of knowing this circumstance.

† 18th March, 1735.

exemption, and the whole weight is suffered to fall upon the poor, who are the least able to support it. The oppression is the more galling, as it increases with the increase of tillage; it will affect the great mass of the people as population is extended; and on the whole, may be considered as one of the most serious of the difficulties which occur in considering the affairs of Ireland. With this grievance Englishmen are unacquainted; our country exhibits nothing that so loudly calls for redress. The poor are exposed to sufferings with us, as well as in other countries; but they have the consolation of seeing the rich subjected to their share of the burden. A stranger, who travels in his carriage to the lakes of Killarney, will hear no complaint on this subject; but let him turn aside and visit the cabins of the poor, and he will soon be convinced that there is no exaggeration in what I have stated.

I wish, for the sake of humanity, and for the honour of the Irish character, that the gentlemen of that country would take this matter into their serious consideration. Let them only for a moment place themselves in the situation of the half-famished cotter, surrounded by a wretched family, clamorous for food; and judge what his feelings must be, when he sees the tenth part of the produce of his potatoe garden exposed at harvest time to public *cant*; or, if he have given a promissory note for the payment of a certain sum of money, to compensate for such tithe, when it becomes due, to hear the heart-rending cries of his offspring clinging round him, and lamenting for the milk of which they are deprived, by the cows being driven to the pound, to be sold to discharge the debt. Such accounts are not the creations of fancy; the facts do exist, and are but too common in Ireland. Were one of them transferred to canvas by the hand of genius, and exhibited to English humanity, that heart must be callous indeed that could refuse its sympathy. I have seen the cow, the favourite cow, driven away, accompanied by the sighs, the tears, and the imprecations of a whole family, who were paddling after, through wet and dirt, to take their last affectionate farewell of this their only friend and benefactor at the pound gate. I have heard with emotions which I can scarcely describe, deep curses repeated from village to village as the cavalcade proceeded. I have witnessed the group pass the domain walls of the opulent grazier, whose numerous herds were cropping the most luxuriant pastures, whilst he was secure from any demand for the tithe of their food, looking on with the most unfeeling indifference.

But let us reverse the picture, and behold the effects which are produced by oppression, when the load becomes so insufferable as to extinguish every sentiment in the breast, but a desire of revenge. I have beheld, at night, houses in flames, and for a moment supposed myself in a country exposed to the ravages of war, and suffering from the incursions of an enemy. On the following morning, the most alarming accounts of Threshers and White Boys have met my ear, of men who had assembled with weapons of destruction, for the purpose of compelling people to swear not to submit to the payment of these tithes. I have been informed of these oppressed

people in the ebullition of their rage, having murdered tithes proctors and collectors, wreaking their vengeance with every mark of the most savage barbarity.\* Cases of this kind are not rare in Ireland, they take place daily; and were a history of such tragical events collected, they would form a work which could not be read without horror, and which would be the best comment upon the system. Were it probable that what I am now writing would be perused by those who are subject to tithes in that country, I should request them to look with confident hope to the period, which, I trust, is not far distant, when effectual measures will be taken to redress this heavy grievance. I should inform them that their fate is no longer at the mercy of an assembly of lawyers and place-hunters, who, instead of adopting measures for their relief, would willingly transfer a public burden from their own shoulders, upon them; a body who would consider it treason were a regulation proposed, which would tend to prevent their sons, when inducted into livings, from oppressing the industrious and the poor, by wringing from their hands the tenth part of the produce of their toil. I should tell them that they were now under the protecting wing of a British parliament, where humanity solicits not in vain, and where justice is respected. I must not be understood to assert, that there are not in that assembly, some individuals, whose feelings are not exactly in unison with those which I wish every legislator to possess; but I know that the voice of such men is too feeble, when opposed to the phalanx of integrity which, notwithstanding the dereliction of duty so much complained of, still exists, to support the honour, welfare, and dignity of the country. I am personally acquainted with many members, who, I am well assured, entered into the House of Commons with no other view, than that of legislating conscientiously for their fellow subjects; and I am happy in being able to state, that there is a very prevailing inclination among the country gentlemen of England, to take this subject into consideration, and to lend a favourable ear to any

\* Lord Charlemont, among the causes of the rising of the White Boys, who were all of the catholic persuasion, enumerates "tithes which the catholic, without any possible benefit, unwillingly pays in addition to his priest money." "During the administration of Lord Halifax, Ireland was dangerously disturbed in its southern and northern regions. In the south principally, in the counties of Kilkenny, Limerick, Cork, and Tipperary, the White Boys now made their first appearance; those White Boys, who have ever since occasionally disturbed the public tranquillity, without any rational method having been as yet pursued to eradicate this disgraceful evil. When we consider, that the very same district has been for the long space of seven and twenty years, liable to frequent returns of the same disorder into which it has continually relapsed, in spite of all the violent remedies, from time to time administered by our political quacks, we cannot doubt, but that some real, peculiar, and topical cause must exist; and yet, neither the removal, nor even the investigation of this cause, has ever once been seriously attempted; laws of the most sanguinary and unconstitutional nature have been enacted. The country has been disgraced, and exasperated by frequent and bloody executions; and the gibbet, that perpetual source of weak and cruel legislators, has groaned under the multitude of starving criminals; yet, while the cause is suffered to exist, the effects will ever follow. The amputation of limbs will never eradicate a prurient humour, which must be sought in its source, and there remedied." *Hardy's Life of Lord Charlemont*, p. 87-88.

just and equitable proposition that may be made. Although the tithes of agistment have been abolished in Ireland, the tithe of lambs and wool is still exacted. In Ulster, potatoes are not considered titheable; while in Munster, the tithe upon this necessary article of food, is universally collected. In some places a sum is paid by the piece for flax land, without regarding its extent; and in others, a difference of vicarial and rectorial tithe is supposed to exist between corn put into the ground with the plough and the spade.

I entertain no doubt, that all land and all crops are liable, unless an exemption can be shewn by title, or an established modus; but the laws of tithing are so little understood, that an agreement for a year is termed a modus.

The probability of an act for the commutation of tithes by an Imperial Parliament, was held out as a lure to the people of Ireland, to reconcile them to the Union. A pamphlet purporting to be the speech of the Right Hon. William Pitt, was circulated throughout Ireland with great industry by government, in which he was made to say, that "some mode ought speedily to be adopted for relieving the lower orders from the pressure of tithes," which he stated to be productive of great practical evil, declaring at the same time, that this was one of the grounds on which he ventured to propose an union. The hope, however, thus excited, was not realized; \* this pledge, like many of those given to the people, was disregarded, while all the corrupt engagements entered into with individuals, were scrupulously fulfilled.

The general mode of collecting tithes in Ireland, is by an agent called a proctor; who, immediately before harvest, estimates the number of barrels of corn, tons of hay, hundred weight of potatoes, or flax, which he supposes there are on the ground; and charging the market price, ascertains the amount to be paid by the owner. In some cases, the incumbent lets his tithe as he would a farm, and it is collected from the occupier in the manner above described; but very frequently the lessee re-lets the tithe to another, and the former is then called the middle proctor. In the south, I frequently heard of the tithe being set out, and sold by auction on the premises. In Connaught, I found it customary to call a sale previously to harvest, at which the tithe is sold to any person who chooses to collect it. When exposed in this manner, it would sell for little, did not the temptation of a promissory note at six months, induce persons to bid.†

\* This is a species of political Charlatanism, to which the following passage of a Roman author, seems very applicable: "Est factorum dictorumque genus a sapientia proximo deflexu ad vafri nomen progressum; quod nisi fallacia vires assumpserit, fidem propositi non invenit, laudemque occulto magis tramite, quam aperta via petit." *Valer. Maximus*, lib. vii. cap. iii.

† In a note to Mr. Parnell's Speech in the House of Commons (*Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates*), I find the following passage: "In 1807, one hundred and forty-one actions respecting tithe, were tried in the Queen's county at the Quarter Sessions,"

I have heard, and I believe it to be the case, that the owner of the crop, through the dread of suffering a stranger to come upon his premises, and from the hope of obtaining credit, often bids more for it than it is worth; yet, notwithstanding some such instances occur, I am convinced that the tithe owner seldom obtains the value of his property. While in Ireland, I noted down the sums paid, in a few cases, which came under my own observation, where the exaction was exorbitant; but as I did not make the state of tithe an object of constant inquiry, my information extends only to some parts of the country. Until a change is introduced, irregularity will prevail in the mode of collection; and as the tempers of men are different, methods more or less oppressive will be pursued, according to the various dispositions of those to whom the tithe belongs. Some there are who will extort their claims to the last farthing; while others, whose ears can listen to the cries of suffering humanity, will be satisfied with a moderate sum.

Here I must advert to the difference between the mode of collecting tithes in England and in Ireland; in the former, there are no tithe proctors, a class of men who have it in their power to be exceedingly troublesome and oppressive; and who, being dependent on their employers, are too much inclined to severity for the purpose of securing their favour. The law, which tolerates such abuses, is one of those legacies that has been left to the people of Ireland by their deceased parliament. It is almost inexplicable why it was suffered to exist; but I am tempted to believe, that a reluctance in abridging the emoluments of the clergy prevails in the breasts of the aristocracy of that country. There is a prospective sympathetic feeling, which induces them not to circumscribe those sources of income that may one day fall into the possession of their own sons.

I never heard of vicarial tithes being so rigorously exacted in Ireland, as they are in many parts of England, where a man cannot cut a cabbage, pull a carrot, or gather a bunch of grapes, without giving notice to the clergyman of his parish. Waste land in England, when first brought into a state of cultivation, is exempted from tithes during the course of seven years;\* but in Ireland, this privilege extends only to flax, hemp, and bog.† Should any measure be adopted for a commutation of tithes, it ought to be general; no separate plan should be formed for Ireland; but such a settlement could be more easily arranged in that part of the empire, than in England.

“ 146 in the County of Sligo.  
 198 . . . . . Kerry.  
 283 . . . . . Limerick.  
 663 . . . . . Tipperary.”

These actions, I imagine, were for the payment of such promissory notes, and if so, they cannot be fairly denominated actions respecting tithes, although the note originated in that demand.

\* Fifth Geo. II. ch. 8.

† See Mr. Grattan's Speeches, Dublin edit. October, 1811, p. 109.

It has already been half effected in the former, by the act respecting the tithe of agistment; and another circumstance in its favour is, that there are very few lay impropriators in Ireland.

Desirous of obtaining every information on this subject, I applied to a respectable friend, Mr. Edgeworth, who transmitted to me a note, of which the following is the substance: "Of the rectorial tithes in Connaught, seven-eighths are impropriated to laymen, and the case is the same with a large portion of those in Leinster and Munster." According to the view in which I consider the subject, it is of no importance to the individual most interested—the poor cotter tenant, whether the tithe belongs to Peter, John, or Martin. Mr. Edgeworth, is, I believe, mistaken: Dr. Beaufort says, that "in 2,496 parishes, there are 562 impropriate rectors,"\* which, if correct, will confirm the statement I have given: but I learn from a source on which I can rely, that there are only 118 parishes in Ireland, wholly impropriate; and that of impropriate rectors with vicarial endowments, there are 562, which corresponds with the account of Dr. Beaufort. In the greater part of these, the tithes of every sort are proportioned between the lay rector and the clerical vicars. In the northern dioceses the rector commonly has two-thirds, and the vicar one-third; in some parishes in Meath, the proportion is five-eighths and three-eighths; but in the south, the tithes are in general, equally divided between the rector and the vicar. To these customs, however, there are many exceptions, the rector receiving the tithe of corn and hay, and also (when titheable) of potatoes; that of wool, lambs, and flax, together with the small dues being only reserved for the vicar.

The presentation to most livings belongs to the bishoprick, or to the crown; and as the see is in the gift of the king, the commutation of tithes would be only a settlement respecting the future state of public property. Perhaps, a particular adjustment with every individual farmer is impossible. In Mr. Wellesley Pole's parish, the clergyman receives tithes from 1,937 persons, in sums of from one shilling and upwards;† I am unacquainted with the number of the land-owners in this instance, but it is probably not great; and had they purchased their tithe, their land would be let to their tenants free of encumbrance, and the clergyman receive an equal, but certainly a much more agreeable income in an annuity from government. Whenever I hear of the difficulties which are to prevent the land owner and the church from coming to an agreement on this most important object; I am always inclined to believe that those who state these obstacles, are little inclined to remove

\* Memoir of a Map of Ireland, p. 137.

† April 23<sup>th</sup>, 1808.—In Mr. Pole's parish, 1,937 persons pay tithes to the curate, who has a lease from the clergyman during incumbency; two-thirds of these people pay from one shilling to ten shillings. He says, Lord Redesdale's bill would not answer, because 1,937 leases could not be granted; and that this would only be adding to the number of the middle-men, to grind the faces of the poor.

them. It is the interest of the clergy, for self-preservation, to use every endeavour to promote such an adjustment; but there is a higher call upon them than that of interest: it is the voice of humanity and truth. It is their duty, as the messengers of peace, to be the first to exert themselves in changing a system which, under the idea of providing for the support of those who are to preach the doctrine of love and good-will among men, engenders the bitterest passions against them, and is productive of riots, blood-shed, and murder. A public character of some eminence in Ireland, in one of his speeches, said, "under the present system, a clergyman's property falls with his virtues, and rises with his bad qualities; just so, the parishioner loses by being ingenuous, and saves by dishonesty."\* Dr. Woodward, bishop of Cloyne, remarks, "whenever a better plan shall be brought forward for the payment of the clergy, that is, one equal in value to them in succession, and more convenient to the laity, they will thank the statesman who shall disencumber them of the constant trouble, and the occasional ill-will arising from tithes."†

Were a few of the most enlightened and liberal-minded of the bench of bishops, such as was the late Dr. Percy, bishop of Dromore; the learned and venerable Dr. Watson, bishop of Llandaff; that respectable prelate, the bishop of Norwich; or a few others of similar talents and character, to confer with an equal number of the greatest landed proprietors, as Mr. Coke, Mr. Western, Sir Edward O'Brien, &c. could there be a doubt but they would produce a plan, calculated to do justice to the church, as well as to the land-owner, and which would satisfy the farmer, and those immediately affected by the system of tithes. Were it possible, at the same time, to connect with such a scheme the financial operations of government, so as to alleviate the burdens of the state, it would prove doubly beneficial, and, of course, be entitled to greater support.

Those who are favourable to the tithing system in Ireland, assert, that a farmer can claim the protection of the law, against any illegal exaction or oppression of a tithes-proctor.‡ This argument may appear plausible, to those who are not acquainted with the situation of the cultivators of land in that country. It may be true, as far as the theory of the law is concerned; but theory and practice are very different. I have seen the practice; and I know that the redress from law is out of the reach of the Irish cultivator. His poverty precludes him from preferring his complaint in a court of justice. In Ireland there is law in abundance, and it is dealt out with no sparing hand to those who can purchase it: but to the poor man

\* Grattan's Speech, vol. i. p. 152.

† State of the Church of Ireland.

‡ This subject is adverted to in the pamphlet of Past and Present Ireland, p. 48, as follows: "The courts are open to the indigent only as spectators. The peasants, oppressed or defrauded to the amount of £10., cannot buy even a chance of redress in the lottery of the law for less than £60. By victory, or defeat, he is equally and irremediably ruined." I have heard that this pamphlet was written by Baron Smith, of the Exchequer, whose official situation must have rendered him a competent judge of what is here asserted.

justice is inaccessible ; it is, however, at the command of his opponent, who never hesitates to sue him in the spiritual court,\* while the clergyman, shielding himself under the act of his proctor, stands by, a cold and unconcerned spectator, taking no part in the transaction. The consequence is what I have already stated—discontent, riot, and bloodshed. The poor, miserable, and ignorant cotter, when thus oppressed, has recourse to resistance as his only alternative ; he despairs of legal redress, and submission would expose him to ruin. In this pressing and deplorable situation, he gives way to the ferocious impulse of passion ; unrestrained by reason, he ranges himself under the banners of his associates in misfortune, and the whole, depending on their united strength, proceed to acts of violence and outrage, which they consider as a just retaliation. Such is the origin of many of those commotions which have taken place in Ireland.

I do not ascribe the poverty of the peasant to the conduct of the clergy, nor do I vindicate his illegal acts. I have related without exaggeration what frequently happens, to enforce the necessity of some change in a system which is so pernicious to the morals of the people, and so hostile to improvement. Sound politicians generally admit that an increase of penal laws is seldom beneficial to society ; and that, in many cases, their only operation is to harden men in iniquity, and to increase those evils which they were intended to prevent. What wise legislator, therefore, when the choice is presented to him, of restraining crimes by the gallows, or by the abrogation or modification of an offensive law, which might be done without injury to the rights or property of any individual, would prefer having recourse to the former ?† Remove the cause of complaint, and the evil will vanish.

\* I must request the reader to consult Grattan's speeches, vol. i. p. 201. for a more detailed account of the difference between English and Irish tithes laws. It will there be seen, that, under the idea of combinations of the peasantry, it is difficult to oblige the rector to receive his tithes in kind ; that they are sometimes refused, and a larger sum exacted, through means of the spiritual court. Two circumstances of this kind were related to me whilst in Ireland.

† La sévérité des peines convient mieux au gouvernement despotique dont le principe est la terreur, qu'à la monarchie et à la république, qui ont pour ressort l'honneur et la vertu.

Dans les états modérés, l'amour de la patrie, la honte et la crainte du blâme, sont des motifs réprimants, qui peuvent arrêter bien des crimes. La plus grande peine d'une mauvaise action sera d'en être convaincu, les loix civiles y corrigeront donc plus aisément et n'auront pas besoin de tant de force.

Dans ces états, un bon législateur s'attachera moins à punir les crimes, qu'à les prévenir ; il s'appliquera plus à donner des mœurs, qu'à infliger des supplices.

C'est une remarque perpétuelle des auteurs Chinois que plus dans leur empire on y voyoit augmenter les supplices plus la révolution étoit prochaine. C'est qu'on augmentoit les supplices à mesure qu'on manquoit de mœurs. *Montesquieu de l'Esprit des Loix, Œuvres* vol. i. p. 146.

“ Δὲν δὲ τῆς εὐπολιτευομένης ἐ τὰς στοάς ἐμπιπλάται γραμμάτων ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἔχει τὸ δίκαιον.” *Isocratis Orat. Areopagit. in Orat.* edit. Wolfii, sumpt. Crispini, 1621, 8vo. p. 292.

Arcesilaus used to say, “ where physicians are numerous, diseases increase ; and in like manner, where laws are multiplied there are many crimes.” *Erasm. Apotheg.* Amst. 1671, p. 542.

It may, perhaps, be objected that I have contemplated the subject in an improper light; that the irregularities to which I allude, do not arise from the causes to which I ascribe them, but to the unfortunate differences in religion. That the catholic labourer is averse to pay the protestant clergyman, from whom he derives no benefit, while, at the same time, he is obliged to provide a spiritual instructor for himself, may be readily believed; but this dislike of remuneration is not confined to the catholics. Does the presbyterian of the north pay the tithe readily and with a good will? He does not, indeed, break out into open rebellion; but the clergyman finds it more difficult to obtain payment from him, than from the unsuspecting catholic of the south. My inquiries have been most particular on this subject, and I can speak with confidence. I know the difference that exists between the professors of the two religions. A remorseless proctor, who is not afraid to wring the last farthing from a southern parish, will not undertake to encounter one in the north. He is fearless of ignorance, with all its attendants, tumult, and wild insurrection; but knowledge, which Lord Bacon defines to be power, he dare not attack. The presbyterian combats him with his own weapons, and law is as expensive to the clergyman as to his parishioners; but to the former it is more ruinous, his purse being unable to hold out against the united contributions of his parishioners. From this cause I have heard complaints made against a presbyterian parish; but, in a catholic one, the tithe may be easily obtained, together with every expense. The law, therefore, is a shield merely in name, and a benefit only to those who have the inclination and property to employ it.

It is true in theory, and I have already admitted it in the early part of this chapter, that tithes fall upon the landlord; but this is one of those cases where theory is opposed to practice. Mr. Pole, on the 13th of April, 1810, after adverting to the practice of letting land by public cant in Ireland, observed, that the people "bid for the land, and give the full value for it, without at all considering, that in addition to a very high price, they have also to pay tithes."\* This is not the mere assertion of a minister or politician, but the judicious remark of the observant Irish landlord, who well knows the situation of the tenantry of the county which he represents. It is, therefore, of much more importance, and, in considering this subject, deserves particular attention. In Munster, where tithe of potatoes is exacted, risings against the system have constantly occurred during the last forty years; in Ulster, where no tithe of them is required, these insurrections are unknown. This proves that, in practice, tithes press heavily on the tenant; and the difference is so remarkable, as to demand consideration from those who turn their thoughts to this subject. It attracted that of Mr. Grattan, who, on the 14th of April, 1788, moved the following resolutions in the Irish parliament.†

\* Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates, vol. xvi. p. 671.

† Ibid. ib. p. 674.

“ That it would greatly encourage the improvement of barren lands in Ireland, if these lands, for a certain time after being redeemed, were exempted from the payment of tithes.

“ That a domestic supply of flax is an object to which His Majesty’s subjects of Ireland should contribute.

“ 2dly. That the house has greatly contributed to the said object, by various bounties ; but that the linen manufacture has only flourished in those parts of the kingdom where a total exemption from, or a small composition for tithe of flax has existed.

“ 3d. Resolved, that in order to extend the linen manufacture, the said exemption or composition should be made general.

“ That potatoes are the principal subsistence of the poor in Ireland, and are, in a great part of the kingdom, most fortunately exempted from tithe.

“ That it would much contribute to relieve the poor of the south of this kingdom, if the benefit of the said exemption were extended to them ; and if it shall be made to appear that the owners of the tithe shall suffer thereby, that this House will make them just compensation.”

“ That this House will be ready to relieve the owners of tithes from the necessity of drawing the same, to give the said owners a power of recovering the value of the same, in all cases, by civil bill or otherwise, provided the said owners of tithe shall conform to certain rateages, to be ascertained by act of parliament.”

This gentleman proposed a bill for explaining these “ rateages,” but his good intentions were frustrated by his resolutions being all negatived.

On the 14th of July, 1788, the same gentleman made a speech in the Irish House of Commons on the subject of tithe, the report of which I have frequently perused with much attention.\* It may be considered as one of the greatest efforts of eloquence that has ever been displayed in the British Islands, and will be handed down to future times as a most brilliant proof of Irish talent and genius. I do not, however, entirely agree in every sentiment which Mr. Grattan has there expressed. Yet I cannot but recommend it to all those who feel interested in this subject. In it the clergy will find excellent advice to their own body, and if they properly attend to it, they will discover a friendly guide for their future conduct. Lord Clare, at that time attorney-general, and a member of the House of Commons, was so overpowered by the thunder of Mr. Grattan’s eloquence, that he rose—not indeed to reply, but to admit that his speech was unanswerable. Mr. Curran also said that there was nothing left to add ; yet a dumb majority, on whom neither reason nor eloquence could make any impression decided against him.

The author of the Past and Present State of Ireland recommends a poundage upon rents.+ The idea is not new, but this is no reason for its being rejected. Paley recommends corn rents.‡ In the island of Jamaica, the rectors are paid with taxes levied on the inhabitants by the vestries.§ Various other plans have been

\* Printed among his Speeches. Dublin, 8vo. edit. 1811. vol. i. p. 147.

† Page 45.

‡ Essays, vol. ii. chap. ii.

§ Edward’s Account of the West Indies, book ii. chap. 5.

proposed,\* none of which it is necessary here to state or discuss, unless a more serious inclination to meet the subject were manifested by parliament. Hitherto every scheme of this kind has been opposed even *in limine*, first, by asserting that the tenant in making his bargain had taken into consideration the payment of tithe, and on that account, agreed for his land at an inferior rent. This argument, I have already combated, and the liberality of Mr. Pole in stating, that the case is otherwise, is of very great importance. The next objection is, that were a commutation adopted, it must be equal to the entire tenth part of the produce of the land, and that in this case, the farmer would pay more than he does at present. I not only deny the necessity of any such extent of commutation, but assert that, if introduced, it would be attended with the most mischievous consequences. The owners of tithe, as has already been shewn in the introduction to this chapter, would gain very little by an inquiry into their title; if the origin of this tax be sought after, its object ought also to be examined; and were it properly investigated, it would be found that tithes were never intended to be confined to the pockets of those who at present enjoy them. This is the answer I should give to those who might reason in that manner.

But there is still, a stronger argument, which may be adduced to shew the folly of such a scheme. An acre of land, yielding a rent of £1., produces a crop, worth at least, £6., the tenth of which would be 12s.; so that by this system, the church would obtain more than one half of the income of the land. Fortunately, we do not live in a period of monkish superstition. In the present state of society, the people would not tamely see any particular order of men possessing so large a share of the income of the country; and the chance is, that in diverting it from its proper course, the owners of tithe, instead of gaining a part, might lose the whole. It is, therefore, their interest to commute on fair and equitable terms, establishing a moderate rate, and not attempting to gain by the arrangement. I shall observe, however unpleasant it may be to those who look to the church for large fortunes, that I consider the enormous incomes of some clergymen as the cause of much mischief. By their superior wealth they are enabled to absent themselves from their parishes, and are tempted to indulge in pleasures not suited to their profession; they are encouraged in idleness, and neglect all those duties which they are so solemnly bound to perform. Government owes it to the public to take this subject into consideration, and to lessen those causes which produce such pernicious effects. This principle has been admitted by Mr. Perceval, and a majority of both houses of parliament, when

\* "I am astonished that so obvious and easy a commutation for tithes, as a land tax on improved rents has not been adopted. Such a tax would be paid by the same persons as before, only in a better form; and the charge would not be felt, except in the advantage that would accrue to all the parties concerned, the landlord, the tenant, and the clergyman. Tithes, undoubtedly, operate as a high bounty on pasture, and a great discouragement to tillage, which, in the present peculiar circumstances of this country, is a very great disadvantage." *Malthus on Population*, p. 441, note, edit. 1803, 4to.

they stopped a part of the income of absentee clergymen, and gave it to resident curates.

In considering the state of tithe in Ireland, it is necessary once more to advert to Scotland, where the clergy are paid in a manner which creates no discontent. Is the Scots clergyman with his £100. or £150. per annum, an house, garden, and small glebe, constantly residing in his parish, instructing and catechizing his flock, ministering to their wants both spiritual and temporal, setting them a laudable example of temperance and self-denial, and watching over their welfare with truly pastoral care, a less respectable character than the pampered sons of indolence and ease, who conceive that they hold church benefices merely to enjoy the luxuries of life? I wish not to reduce the ministers of the church establishment to such incomes as would lessen their usefulness in society, or prevent them from making proper provision for their families. All I would recommend is, that their thoughts be directed more to their duty, and less to their temporal interests. Let their means be liberal, but not such as to corrupt the heart. The good which arises from moderation in church incomes, is visible in the demeanour of the Scots clergy, and the state of morality among the people. The practice and lives of the former are such as become their profession. Attention to the offices of religion, and respect for its precepts; temperance, honesty, and a love of order, are striking features in the character of the latter; and I have no hesitation in ascribing these happy effects in a great measure to the proper and regular conduct of their clergy. Those who have any doubts on this subject, would do well to consult the Report of the Board of Education. When I turn my eyes, however, to the Irish clergy, the prospect is less pleasing; and I am grieved to say, that truth obliges me to state that many of them neglect that duty which they have solemnly sworn to fulfil. The legislature will, I trust, make such provision for the clergy as will render them respectable, and place every necessary enjoyment within their reach; but in such a manner as shall not break the spirits of the people, or goad them to despair. In Ireland, the domains of the nobility, and the pastures of the wealthy grazier, should contribute to this purpose, as well as the potatoe-garden of the poor cottier. The burden should not be suffered to press with more weight upon one class of the community than on another. Tithe, as it is now exacted, is a tax upon indigence; a payment extorted from those who are least able to bear it; and while the present state of things continues, complaints and dissatisfaction among the wretched populace must prevail.

In England, the labour of the horse is employed in the tillage districts in the same manner as a machine. Farming becomes a kind of manufacture, and those who possess capital, are enabled to extend and improve it almost beyond what can be conceived. In Ireland, this art is only in its infancy; tillage is performed in many places chiefly by the bodily exertion of men. Tithes, therefore, in that country, are collected from a much greater portion of manual labour than in England. This difference

is an important consideration in the tithe system of the two countries, and in treating on the subject, ought always to be kept in mind. Besides the collection of tithes in Ireland occasions an annual loss of life, a circumstance to which sufficient attention has never yet been paid. The result of my own observations confirms the opinion given to the committees of parliament by the rebel chiefs in 1798, that "the present mode of collecting tithes is one of the greatest causes of discontent in Ireland, and that an alteration of it should be one of the first objects of an Irish minister." "The true principle with respect to your peasantry is exoneration; and if I could not take the burden entirely off their back, I would make it as light as possible. I would exempt the peasant's cow and garden from tithe; if I could not make him rich, I would do the next thing in my power, I would consider his poverty as sacred, and vindicate against an extortioner, the hallowed circle of his little boundary."\*

## CHAPTER XXVII.

### RELIGIOUS SECTS AND PARTIES.

OF the national church establishment an account has already been given; but the proportion between the number of its professors and that of the other sects, and the effect which this proportion produces, or may produce, in a political or religious point of view, remains still to be considered.

In Ireland there were formerly test laws,† but whether they were similar, to those now in force against the dissenters in England, is not a subject of necessary inquiry. In 1733, the Irish dissenters urged a repeal of these obnoxious statutes; but their efforts were not attended with success until the year 1779.‡

Previously to the union,§ a provision was made for the ministers of dissenting congregations. This measure has rendered the situation of the Irish dissenters, in general, much nearer what it ought to be, under a tolerant government.

#### ANTI-BURGHER SECEDERS.

Of this denomination of christians there are twenty-four congregations in Ireland, twenty-three of which are entitled, by a late grant, to receive the royal bounty. These congregations are distributed as follows:

In the county of *Down*, six;

At Bally-Copland, near Donaghadee,

Newtown Ardes,

Gilnehirk, in the Parish of Castlereagh,

At Hill Hall, near Lisburn,

Moira,

Newry.

\* Mr. Grattan's Speech, 14th July, 1788. † Q. Anne, ch. 6. ‡ Boulter's Letters, vol. ii. p. 85.

§ By primate Boulter's Letters, it appears that the crown, out of its privy purse, allowed the dissenting ministers of the north of Ireland £400. per annum. Vol. i. p. 236.

In the county of *Antrim*, seven :

In Belfast,*	Larne,
At Maragall, near Lisburn,	Aboghill,
Lyle Hill, near Templepatrick,	Roseyards, near Ballymoney.
Ballyeston.	

In the county of *Armagh*, three :

At Market Hill,	Abory.
Tyrone's Ditches.	

In the county of *Derry*, three :

At Killeagh, Parish of Abadowie,	Londonderry.
Newtown Limavady,	

In the county of *Dougal*, four :

At Taughboyne, near Derry,	Ray,
Carnone,	Rathmelton.

Besides these, there is one congregation in Back-Lane, *Dublin*.

Another set of seceders, called **BURGHERS**, are more numerous, forming no fewer than 68 congregations in the north of Ireland, independently of one in Mass-Lane, *Dublin*.

Both these denominations of seceders agree with the general body of protestant dissenters, called the Synod of Ulster, in adhering to the presbyterian form of church government ; and, therefore, are to be considered as presbyterian sects, separated from one another by various shades of distinction, in which christians of other denominations will not feel themselves much interested.†

The amount of the old bounty, or *Regium Donum*, given to the presbyterians of Ulster, was £32. per annum each, paid to 185 ministers.

The new *Regium Donum* amounts to between fourteen and fifteen thousand pounds per annum, and is distributed to three classes of ministers, according to a proportion formed from the population of a congregation, and the voluntary stipend paid by its members. In the first class, sixty-three ministers receive £100. each per annum : in the second class, sixty-two ministers receive £75. per annum : and in the third class, sixty-two ministers receive £50. a year each.

The synod of Ulster comprehends eighty-seven congregations.

Hence it appears, that the system of toleration in Ireland is very different from that in England. In Ireland, political incapacity falls upon the catholics alone.‡ All dissenters from the established church in that country, with the exception of the

\* This congregation consists, at present, of 130 families, containing, on an average, four or five persons in each.

† From a private communication.

‡ The object of my work being Ireland, I am necessarily confined to a discussion of the condition of the Irish catholics. The English catholics will, I trust, believe, that no argument which I shall use in favour of the Irish, is not equally applicable to their situation.

catholics, may rise to the office of prime-minister or lord-chancellor, which separates the people by a line of proscription;\* every one who is not a catholic, being called a "protestant," an appellation which many receive who profess no religious faith. It is remarkable that, politically, every civil office in the state should be attainable by every description of dissenters, the deist, and even the atheist; while those who adhere to the religion of their ancestors, who believe in the sacred scriptures, and worship the Almighty, according to the most ancient ritual, are debarred from many of the most important situations, the hope of attaining which, would be a stimulus to honourable and virtuous exertion. The distinction created by this circumstance, has very naturally raised a claim, under the term of "Emancipation," on the part of those, who, from the consideration of their wealth, as well as of their personal services to the state, consider themselves justly entitled to participate, not only in its protection, but in its honours.

The object of this chapter, therefore, will be, to examine the political exclusions now exercised against the professors of the Roman Catholic religion in Ireland, and to inquire into the motives of those who attempt to justify a continuance of these restrictions; for I agree in the sentiments of the Marquis Wellesley, who, on the 31st of January, 1812, declared, in the House of Lords, "that to deprive any of the subjects of the empire of the common rights, to which they are entitled to share with their fellow citizens, is a great evil, and not to be justified in any instance, but from the most urgent dangers to which the state might be exposed." This is a plain and obvious truth, which must always be kept in view in every discussion of this subject. In advocating this cause, I am acting in opposition to the advice of many of my friends; but, as no general good can be effected by cautious or timid politicians, all minor considerations must yield to a sense of public duty. After spending so long a time in Ireland, where I had opportunities of learning the sentiments of all parties, and of becoming acquainted with the real state of the country; my work, had I not entered into the details of this momentous subject, must have been condemned, as affording no assistance, and as throwing no light on a subject so deeply connected with the happiness of the empire, and with the tranquillity of Ireland in particular. My observations in this important part of my work, are a debt due to the public, and without them, my title-page must have been deceptive. The religious sectaries of Ireland, and some leading men in England, expect from me an ample and unprejudiced examination of its merits, which I shall now attempt to the best of my ability.

By the enemies of religious freedom, my intentions may be misrepresented; I may be accused of being inimical to the protestant interest, and unfriendly to the civil and religious establishments of the empire. But if any should form these conclusions,

\* This subject is discussed at large by Mr. Dillon, in his *Further Supplement, Debrett*, 1800. p. 6.

let them examine before they decide. No man is infallible: and I am ready to allow that it is possible I may have adopted wrong opinions, but should they, by reason and argument, succeed in convincing me of my error, it will be some consolation to reflect, that I stand not alone in this delusion; and that similar opinions have been entertained by many eminent statesmen, and by others, whose names do honour to their country.\*

“The emancipation” of the Roman Catholics, as it is called, is a question which has engaged the attention and exercised the abilities of the ablest men. It has long been before the public, and the arguments on both sides seem now to be nearly exhausted: but I still hope, that the facts which presented themselves to me, while eagerly availing myself of every opportunity to ascertain the real state of the people of Ireland, as well as the views of the different parties in that country will not prove uninteresting, and may yet tend to throw considerable light where some points have been imperfectly understood, or wilfully misrepresented.

I will not conceal my opinion, that it would be an incalculable blessing to the empire, if those who now profess the catholic faith in Ireland, were converted to the established church. The statesman, however, must make the best of his materials; and, although he profess not this faith, his difference of opinion will not justify his treating so many of his fellow subjects with neglect, much less with contumely. Leaving their consciences to themselves, it is impossible not to express a wish, that they were more enlightened; and that the conduct of England towards them was liberal and magnanimous; such as might draw from them respect and attachment. I have regarded the Roman Catholics with sceptical attention, and from all I could observe I entertain no fear of their injuring the empire, if admitted to participate in its blessings, and to become full partners in its destiny. To conceal their physical strength is impossible; and if it were, it would be not only useless, but totally delusive. They are themselves acquainted with its extent, and that is the most cogent reason why it should not be concealed from the people of England. They have publicly stated their number to be 5-6ths of the population of the island; and that this population “occupies the most valuable positions, whether for commercial or for military purposes; the boldest coasts, most navigable rivers, and most tenable passes; the most fertile districts, the richest supplies of forage, the readiest means of attack or defence.” They are conscious of the valuable assistance they afford to the empire at large; and acquainted with that universal principle, which should never be forgotten by the people; that the legitimate end of civil government is the promotion of general happiness. When this is neglected, discontent must ensue; and when discontent is extended to

\* Among these are included Dr. Paley, Edmund Burke, Esq., Mr. Burgh, Sir George Saville, Mr. Dunning, afterwards Lord Ashburton, Mr. Arthur Young, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Bentham, Mr. Windham, Marquis Cornwallis, Hon. Charles James Fox, Bishop Watson, Bishop Bathurst, Lord Grenville, Sir Samuel Romilly, &c. &c.

a whole community, formidable by its numbers, its possessions, and its interests; a prudent government, should it discover its measures to be unproductive of national harmony, will alter its conduct, and endeavour, by proper means, to avert any threatened danger. The number of the catholics is alarming to many; but, however great their body in Ireland, let it be recollected that they are blended with the general population of the united empire, and form but a small proportion of the whole; therefore, the empire may derive assistance from their force, when necessary, without apprehension of that force becoming formidable.

I am anxious to impress on the people of England, that this is a question in which the wishes and, perhaps, the happiness of a large proportion of the inhabitants of the empire are concerned. It embraces the interests of a very great majority of the people of a country who have every title to attention, not only from their number and respectability, but from the justice of their cause, and the moderation with which they have hitherto prosecuted their claims. These claims should not be viewed through the medium of prejudice; those who are determined to vote for their rejection, should prove in a satisfactory manner, that the principles of the catholics are so inimical to the government, that it is necessary to make their situation worse than those who profess no religious creed—than the atheist, the deist, and others who, when interest calls, submit to any test.

The more I consider the subject of religious liberty, the more am I convinced of the beneficial effects that would arise to mankind were it extended all over the world. I hail, with joy, those acts which have already passed in favour of the Irish catholics. Let us not forget that Galileo, to whom science was so much indebted for his discoveries, was exposed to danger, through the ignorance of the times in which he lived, because he dissented from received opinions; and that he escaped the fury of the inquisition only by a recantation, which in these our days may be considered as taking the government qualifying test. Unphilosophical and erroneous opinions have frequently prevailed in the world, and gained general credit; until some genius, soaring above vulgar prejudice, had courage to tear asunder the veil, and exhibit truth in all its beauty and simplicity. I am inclined, therefore, to hope that the period is not far distant, when the impolicy of all intolerant systems being clearly demonstrated, unqualifying restraints and degrading distinctions will be completely abolished.

In the mean time, I am concerned to observe, that there appears to be a determination among those in power, to continue some of these distinctions, which originated in moments of passion, when men were incapable of foreseeing the evils with which they would be attended. The events, by which these passions were excited, have long since ceased to operate; even the remembrance of them is obscured, and such changes have taken place as will prevent their again recurring. There can be

no political reason, then, for continuing a system, when the causes from which it arose have ceased to exist.

If there be any weight in the argument of those who urge the necessity of an intimate alliance between church and state, it would go to render the Roman catholic religion the established religion of Ireland; because the state, in that case, could receive the *quid pro quo*, which is so often repeated. If the government seek influence through a religious establishment, let it adopt the Roman catholic religion and its end will be attained. But I dissent from the position; such arguments I consider as mere sophistry, and am convinced that of the number who continue to bellow "Church and State," very few are acquainted even with the meaning of the words. The state needs no such influence, and it would be safer without the alliance.\* Religious sects may, perhaps, require the countenance and support of the state: if they be not degraded, they will attain public esteem; but the people of England are so accustomed to this cry, that it may be necessary to acquaint them, that governments have existed and do exist, without any such connexion. Jefferson says, "Our sister states of Pennsylvania and New York, however, have long subsisted without any establishment at all; the experiment was new and doubtful when they made it: it has answered beyond conception—they flourish infinitely."† This example strongly proves that there is no necessity for an alliance between the state and a particular religious creed. Religious instructors are highly necessary to teach the people their moral duties; to make them acquainted with the principles of justice in early life; and to administer consolation on the bed of sickness and death. It is highly proper also, that these men should be remunerated for their services, and enabled to support the dignity of the sacred profession; but I doubt whether any political institution is justified in dictating the form under which these benefits shall be conferred upon the people. In many cases, their benefits are deteriorated by such interference; and in others, the advantages arising from them are lessened.

But to return to instances of governments existing without a close connexion between the political system and religious establishments:—China, the largest empire on the earth, which extends over 301,719,360 acres, and contains 335 millions of people,‡ the government of which has continued longer than that of any other, that is to say, nearly four thousand years, has no church establishment. Lord Macartney goes so far as to say, that "the wisdom of government rendered the aid of superstition unnecessary;"§ and he mentions the astonishment of the Europeans,

\* Buchanan relates, that the inquisition at Goa brought their victims out to execution, within sight of the viceregent's palace; in order to make the people believe that it was a state, not a religious, punishment. *Christian Researches*, p. 151.

† Jefferson's Notes on Virginia.

‡ Appendix to the Journal in Lord Macartney's Posthumous Works, vol. ii. p. 461.

§ Ibid. ib.

on finding the "Lamas and Burles, Persees, Jews, and Mahometans, living together in peace, and believing what they pleased without molestation."\* The same system exists in Ava;† and thus the theory of Paley is practised even among pagans. But we have no occasion to travel so far as Asia in search of religious freedom. In Russia, "Christians, Turks, Heathens, and Hindoos, may aspire to all civil and military situations in the empire."‡ In Germany, Prussia, and Switzerland, difference of faith has experienced much more than toleration, for religion has never been considered as a political disqualification. Frederick the Great, in a work entitled *L'Examen du Principe de Machiavel*, says, "to support the civil government with vigour, to permit each person liberty of conscience, to act always the king and never the priest, is the certain means to preserve the state from these tempests," &c.; and it must be kept in mind, that the state which this prince governed, attained, by his energies, to a degree of power that must astonish those unacquainted with the real cause. Switzerland, before it fell under the grasp of the continental despot, exhibited extraordinary examples of toleration in the government, and liberality of sentiment in the people: there, as is the case still in various parts of Germany, the Almighty was worshipped, and divine service performed, by catholics and protestants under the same roof. In Saxony, a protestant electorate was governed by a catholic elector; there a catholic may rise to any situation; and in Osnaburgh, of which the duke of York is bishop, the mitre was alternately bestowed on a catholic and protestant.

The ministers of religion, perhaps, ought to be maintained by the government, and upon this ground I have commended the establishment at Maynooth; the principle of which ought to be extended beyond education. The spirit by which it was planned and proposed, should lead to the payment of the catholic clergy; for if the catholics contribute, by tithes and other taxes, towards the support of the clergy of the established church, it is but reasonable that they should be freed either from these burdens, or that their priests should receive a provision adequate to their situation.

De Lolme, a man who possessed a considerable portion of political sagacity, and who may be supposed to have viewed Ireland with the impartial eye of a foreigner, has expressed a doubt of the political benefit arising from the protestant establishment.§ A similar idea has been suggested by Lord Redesdale, who, in May 1805, said, in the House of Lords, "if the Roman Catholic religion had remained

\* Lord Macartney's Posthumous Works, vol. ii. p. 430. See also Staunton's Embassy, vol. ii. p. 401, and Barrow's Travels in China, p. 486.

† Symes' Embassy to Ava, p. 73.

‡ Tooke's Life of Catherine II. vol. iii. p. 163.

§ Strictures on the State of Ireland, prefixed to De Foe's History of the Union between England and Scotland, p. 49.

the established religion of Ireland, or if it could be now made the established religion of that country, consistently with the solemn pledge given by the compact of union, or consistently with an observance of the faith, so frequently, at various times and in various ways pledged to the protestants of Ireland, or consistently with the principles on which the British constitution, as it now stands connected with the title of the family on the throne, can alone be supported, perhaps, (though this may well be doubted) Ireland, as a Roman Catholic country, might remain united with Great Britain.”\*

When it is considered in what manner the protestant religion was introduced into Ireland, there is cause to regret that the mode adopted was, the worst that could have been devised for reconciling the catholics to a system so much at variance with the religious faith they had been taught to venerate. The bringing about great changes in public opinion, requires a degree of prudence and political sagacity, that seldom falls to the lot of ordinary men. The circumstances of the times must be attended to; and the prejudices, and even the ignorance of the people must be respected. The alarm excited throughout the Russian empire is sufficiently notorious when Peter the Great sent forth his innovating decree, that the beards of his subjects should be shaved. Barrow, in whose writings are excellent observations on several subjects connected with the prosperity of states, gives the following account of the Tartar policy towards China, after it had been subdued by their arms. “Having placed their leader on the vacant throne, instead of setting up for conquerors, they melted at once into the mass of the conquered; they adopted the dress, the manners, and the opinions, of the people, in all the civil departments of the state; they appointed the ablest Chinese in preference to Tartars; they learned the Chinese language; married into Chinese families; encouraged Chinese superstitions; and, in short, omitted no step that could tend to incorporate them as one nation. Their greatest object was to strengthen the army with their own countrymen; whilst the Chinese were so satisfied with the change, that they almost doubted whether a change had really taken place.”† If a part only of the Tartar policy had been employed in Ireland, instead of an endeavour to ingraft, by violent means and at once, the protestant on the catholic religion, much controversy and much bloodshed might have been prevented. Mild and gentle means, consistent with the true spirit of christianity, must have produced powerful effects; and persuasion properly administered, would, have gained over many proselytes, who were otherwise become hardened in their obstinacy. Had that monster, religious persecution, which, to be detested, requires only to be seen, been banished from the land, a very different temper would now exist among the Irish Catholics, those men who were sue-

\* Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates, vol. iv. p. 1064.

† Barrow's Travels in China, p. 413.

cessively branded as disturbers of the public peace, as enemies to good government, and as unworthy of participating in the blessings of a free constitution; because, when goaded to desperation, they have yielded to passions which even those who wish to retain them in subjection, are, themselves not, on all occasions, able to control.

An attempt was made to revive this system in the beginning of the last century, by adopting the same means, namely, penal statutes, and the utmost severity of the law.\* But the scheme proved abortive, because founded on principles of illiberality and persecution. The people, instead of being considered in the light of erring brethren, whom the government was desirous to reclaim, were treated as criminals, and punished for the ignorance to which they were abandoned by their oppressors.† These unfortunate people, were in consequence denied the enjoyment of liberty, and the possession of property; and when men are so stigmatized, whatever may be the means that is used, whether the sword or the law, the sinews of the state are relaxed, the energy and strength of national power is impaired, and individual happiness is destroyed.

These plans were ineffectual and abandoned; but there has been substituted in their stead, a system of exclusion, proceeding from cowardice and timidity, and the ever watchful eye of jealousy and distrust. The generous mind, as well from feeling as from principle, is an enemy to perpetual suspicion. It is no characteristic of wisdom, and it impedes the progress of all human improvement. If ever a system exhibited the political imbecility of its supporters, and their total ignorance of human nature, it is that which I am now endeavouring to expose. Instead of making the catholics forget their rights, or abandon a claim which they consider as just, it has roused them to more vigorous efforts to place themselves on a political equality

\* Even in a conquered country, to employ force to make the people change their religion, is contrary to the principles of justice. "Il faut sour—tout ne point ôter aux vaincus l'exercice libre de leur religion, à moins qu'ils ne vissent à être persuadés de la vérité de celle dont le vainqueur fait profession: Non-seulement cette complaisance est par elle-même très agréable aux vaincus; mais le vainqueur est absolument obligé de l'avoir pour eux, il ne scauroit les violenter à cet égard sans tyrannie. *Ce n'est pas que le vainqueur ne doive tâcher d'amener les peuples vaincus à la vraie religion, mais il ne doit employer pour cela que des moyens proportionnés à la nature de la chose et au but qu'il a en vue et qui n'ayent en eux-mêmes rien de violent et de contraire à l'humanité.*" Principes Du Droit Politique, par J. J. Burlamaqui. Amst. 1751, 4to. p. 317.

† "Of all the monstrous passions and opinions that have crept into the world, none is so wonderful as that those who profess the common name of Christians, should pursue each other with rancour and hatred for differences in their way of following the example of their Saviour. It seems so natural that all who pursue the steps of any leader, should form themselves after his manner, that it is impossible to account for effects so different from what we might expect from those who profess themselves followers of the highest pattern of meekness and charity, but by ascribing such effects to the ambition and corruption of those who are so audacious as, with souls full of fury, to serve at the altars of the God of peace." Spectator, No. 516. Addison applies this observation to the Roman Catholics; but might not the Catholics retort?—

with the rest of their fellow citizens. That they will in the end succeed, there can be no doubt. The only question is, whether government shall continue its opposition, until yielding to public opinion, it is in a manner forced into compliance; from the reluctance with which the right will then be conceded, the catholics will cherish no sentiment of gratitude for the blessing of liberation, but ascribe their success to their own power? Or, will the people of England, like affectionate friends, extend their arms to their catholic brethren, ardently desirous to admit them to an equal participation of civil rights and protection? Right, extorted, loses that incense of gratitude, which it will always receive when liberally and cheerfully bestowed—a tribute of the heart which governors ought never to despise.

It may be urged, that the catholics have obtained much, and that little remains to be granted. Let it be remembered, that they are excluded from seats in parliament, one of the most important privileges that belong to a state of freedom; nor are they suffered to rise to the honours of any of the higher professions; the path of honest ambition is, therefore, closed against them, and they are deprived of that stimulus which has so powerful an influence on generous minds. By these impolitic restrictions, talents among the catholics, however great or splendid, are lost to the country; little opportunity is afforded them of manifesting their patriotism, they can neither lead our armies into the field, nor command our fleets; the aspiring ardour of their youth is repressed; and as if a mark had been set upon them, they find themselves pursued by political jealousy, and regarded with a suspicion, unworthy of that magnanimity which is the distinguishing attribute of a government of liberality and justice.

Like political outcasts, consigned to neglect, and excluded from the high offices of state, it cannot be expected, that their attachment to the government should be very sincere. Where a feeling of wrong exists in the mind, the desire of retaliation is easily excited; and, every thing considered, it would appear as if it had been determined to facilitate in Ireland the success of foreign invasion, by reviving the ancient disaffection of its inhabitants, and creating new subjects of discontent. It would be unnecessary for the emissaries of a hostile power to hold up any other manifesto than the British code of exclusion, which would operate more in his favour, among the common people of the catholic persuasion, than any other argument. A writer in a respectable journal, has lately recommended to England, that “in order to retain the West Indies, she should in future be disposed to conciliate, for the purpose of securing the allegiance of her colonies;”<sup>\*</sup> and this is the line of conduct, which ought to be pursued towards Ireland.

One of the chief reproaches against the catholics of Ireland is, that from the spirit of their religion, they are naturally hostile to the government of England, disaf-

<sup>\*</sup> Quarterly Review, Number xi. p. 159.

fects to its sovereign, and promoters of rebellion. But if we consult the page of impartial history, and look back to periods before the distinction between protestant and catholic was known, we shall find, that resistance to the higher powers, wars, insurrection, and rebellion, were as frequent, and carried on with as much rancour and animosity, as since the time of Henry VIII., when the people were separated into two religious parties by the reformation. Many of the struggles, which took place between the English and the Irish, have arisen from an improper use of power on the one hand, and a love of independence or a desire to repel aggression on the other—a feeling natural to man; and though it is not possible to sanction in every case, the manner in which it is manifested, we cannot condemn the principle which gives it birth.

The reformation in England originated from the mortified pride of a tyrant, and was successful, because it accorded with the wishes of the people, who rejoiced in the downfall of monastic institutions, and participated in the distribution of their property. The case, however, was different in Ireland; the multitude were not only unprepared for the change, but the title, by which the English settlers possessed their estates, was by virtue of a papal bull. The people in general, both those within and those without the pale, were unwilling to renounce their creed, conceiving that nothing could be gained by the alteration. A small portion of the church property belongs to lay patrons, and were the subject investigated, I much doubt, whether it would be found, that any possession of this kind is derived from a title which arose from the reformation.\* This circumstance may serve in some measure to account for the innovation not meeting with the favourable reception there, which it did in England. In Ireland, government at first took no other steps than merely to publish a declaration, and no act of coercion was employed to intimidate the people into compliance. The protestant religion, therefore, was not established in that country, so early as in England, nor was any serious attempt made to introduce it, until the reign of Edward VI.; even then, the measures pursued were not harsh or severe. The catholic form of worship was continued; episcopacy suffered to remain, and the bishopricks were held by catholics as well as protestants.†

In the reign of the cruel and bigoted Mary, every thing that was before done to diffuse the spirit of reformation in Ireland was reversed. The blind attachment of this princess to the Roman Catholic religion, and the persecution which she exercised against those who were hostile to it, are sufficiently known. The whole period of her reign is a blot in the history of the country; and yet, in this enlightened age, attempts have been made to palliate her conduct, if the words ascribed to a noble lord have been correctly reported. In a speech delivered on the 10th of May, 1805, he is made to say, “under Queen Mary, who with good intentions

\* Bellet, p. 41, on the Monasteries.

† Leland, vol. ii. p. 248.

adopted such sanguinary measures, &c."\* But I trust his lordship has been misrepresented, and that the passage quoted is a calumination; for I cannot conceive, how good intentions can be supposed to stimulate or engender persecution. In Ireland, few protestants could be found for the stake, her power was disappointed in producing those horrid scenes by which our nation was disgraced; and it appears that the reign of terror did not extend to that country.

The government of Ireland, under the direction of her successor, Elizabeth, displayed the efforts of an enlarged and vigorous mind. This princess, decisive in all her measures, and superior to that narrow policy which exhibits at the same time timidity and cruelty, foresaw the necessity of preparing the people for the change which she was anxious to effect. But while she was deliberating on the best means of carrying her design into execution, the whole was thrown into a state of confusion by a formidable rebellion, headed by the Earl of Tyrone, a powerful chieftain of the north, whose manifestoes professed the "extirpation of heresy;"† whether religion were really the cause of this revolutionary movement, or merely a pretext to conceal views of greater ambition, is not for me to determine; but it is not improbable, he had in contemplation the design of establishing the independence of his country, and of freeing it from what the Irish considered a foreign yoke.‡ However this may be, the contest was carried on with the most savage barbarity; and the massacre which afterwards ensued, is a striking proof how much the minds of those by whom it was perpetrated, must have been embittered. No one has described in more glowing colours the horrors of this infernal scene, than Mr. Laing,§ the historian of Scotland, who remarks, that the original depositions procured on this occasion, are deposited in Trinity College, Dublin. It would be rendering an essential service to the cause of justice and truth, and enable both parties to form a more correct judgment of an event intimately connected with the honour and character of the Roman catholics; if these original depositions were laid before the public. As the writer to whom I allude, has proved himself eminently qualified for his task, I trust that in a future edition of his book, he will, instead of referring to them, either give them at length, or make such copious extracts, as he may think sufficient to answer every purpose. But whoever was the cause of this rebellion, the odium was thrown on the catholics, and it was the cause of a great part of Ulster being wrested from the hands of the native proprietors, and transferred to private adven-

\* Lord Sidmouth's Speech. *Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates*, vol. iv. p. 695.

† Ware, chap. 31. p. 42.

‡ According to Bacon, the rising of Tyrone was a plan concerted between him and Essex, to make the latter King of England, and the former Viceroy of Ireland. *Bacon's Works*, London edit. 1753. vol. i. p. 573.

§ Laing's Hist. of Scotland, vol. i. p. 198.

turers, on condition of their bringing thither settlers from England and Scotland.\* Those brought from the latter country were the progenitors of the present Presbyterians in the north, where that sect was established about the year 1641, and since that time has formed a separate people, distinguished from the other inhabitants by various peculiarities, as well as by its manners and habits.

The protestant religion did not make a rapid progress in Ireland, notwithstanding the massacres of Drogheda and Wexford, and the severe system of coercion introduced by Cromwel, the remembrance of which has been transmitted from father to son, and has contributed not a little to confirm catholicism in Ireland. The sword, confiscation, and penal statutes, are bad means of conversion; no one was ever yet convinced by persecution, nor will religious errors be ever removed by force. But the establishment of the reformation in Ireland did not deprive the catholics of all political power, they enjoyed one important privilege; they were not excluded from parliament, for the Duke of Ormonde, in a letter to the Earl of Arran, says, that "he did not think it proper to convoke a parliament, chiefly on account of the severity of two bills transmitted† against the papists, the one taking away the votes of peers while they are papists, and the other inflicting death upon a certain sort of papist clergy, if found in Ireland; the one seeming unjust, the other cruel, and neither necessary."‡ This passage deserves particular attention; as it proves, that the lord lieutenant did not consider such bills necessary; nor is it likely that he would have entertained such an opinion, had it been believed, that Tyrone's rebellion was connected with religious motives, or that the catholics were dangerous to the state.

James II., although naturally inclined to favour the Catholics and depress the Protestants, was too weak and too timid to accomplish what he intended. The former, rallied round the throne, and shewed themselves ready to support it; but the king seems to have placed no confidence in their strength, and wavering in his resolutions, he at length abandoned the country. The few of his adherents who remained endeavoured, on the surrender of Limerick, to obtain from his successor William, the best terms they could. To these conditions particular attention must be paid by those who are desirous of considering the subject in a proper light. Such as they were, they formed the basis of a solemn compact, not between one religious sect and another, but between the adherents of a pretender to the throne and the monarch in possession. Some there are who assert, that the letter and not the spirit of this treaty is to be observed; but it would be difficult, after reading the addenda,§ to adopt a narrower interpretation. Illiberal, indeed, must he be, who could entertain such; and if any such there be, I envy not his feelings.

\* Laing's Hist. ut supra.

† Probably from England.

‡ Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormonde, vol. ii. p. 535.

§ This treaty may be seen in Ferrar's History of Limerick, p. 329.

According to the stipulations of this treaty, William undertook to recommend it to parliament for confirmation, and a few years after some parts of it received the sanction. Now, is not this a convention between two contending parties? On this occasion, the Roman catholics of Ireland, the adherents of James, had surrendered the city of Limerick and laid down their arms, which must have been an object of great importance to William at the time. On one side the stipulations were performed, and ought they not to have been observed with the most scrupulous fidelity on the other? Can such a breach of faith be vindicated? No apology is made, no palliative adduced in favour of those who acted so unprincipled a part. The subject was fully and ably argued by counsel, at the bars of the Houses of Lords and Commons of Ireland, on the 22d and 28th of February, 1703; but the members were deaf to the voice of reason and of truth; yet on the 18th of June, 1811, Lord Redesdale, the late Chancellor of Ireland, is reported to have said in the House of Lords, "the noble Earl who has brought forward this motion, has charged upon the country that it violated the treaty of Limerick. This he denied, because every measure which had since been adopted had received the sanction of parliament." I have read this celebrated convention with care, and I am at a loss to find upon what part of it this denial of the noble lord is founded. Many of the stipulations appear never to have been fulfilled. The sanction given by parliament to subsequent measures of coercion and severity, ought to be considered as aggravating the violation of which Lord Donoughmore complained.

For a long series of years the parliament of Ireland, instead of respecting the treaty of Limerick, or consulting the rights and the happiness of its fellow-subjects, or following that heavenly rule, "to do as you would be done unto," persevered in passing act after act, until they had accomplished a code of penal laws, which would disgrace the annals even of an African government. Notwithstanding that it may be desirable that they should drop into oblivion, and, however Irishmen of all parties may be interested in forgetting them, they have made too deep an impression to be easily obliterated. Had their effects been confined to the personal feelings of the inhabitants; had they affected only their civil rights, or their individual liberty, the evils, though great, might have been less extensive. But they struck at the vitals of the country; they dispirited the whole body of the catholics, and quenched the spirit of industry; they excited discontent and disaffection, giving birth to rancorous animosity, and dividing a people, breathing the same air and worshipping the same God, into distinct factions. I shall not attempt to characterize these laws; they are indelibly written, but I leave them to the future historian; when prejudice has subsided, and when all their advocates are mouldering into dust, they will be contemplated with sentiments of universal reprobation. To the honour of the country, however, most of these laws have been repealed, and although their effects still in some measure remain, a foundation has at least been laid for the establishment of a system by which they must in

time be done way. In 1775, when Mr. Young wrote his *Irish Tour*, they were partly in existence; and he, therefore, thought it his duty to point out their impolicy, and the evils with which they were attended.\* The observations he made on this subject are so forcible and so impressive; and the arguments so unanswerable, that they deserve to be read by every friend to Ireland or to humanity; for although the laws which called forth his animadversions, are nearly a dead letter, their consequences are still too visible not to excite regret, that they should have been suffered to exist so long. No one can peruse this work, in which I have endeavoured to give a true delineation of the present state of Ireland, without perceiving, in almost every page, the continuation of their influence: Mr. Young has described it in still stronger terms. It generally appeared anew as I pursued my inquiries, but the DEGRADING DISTINCTION between the Roman catholic and the rest of the community, never failed to be present upon every occasion.

These laws, so impolitic and so unjustifiable, were intended as a punishment for the adherence of the catholics to an exiled prince, who, although he had forfeited his title to the throne, was still regarded by them with an eye of pity and affection. "They were the ebullitions of national hatred and scorn towards a conquered people, on whom the victors delighted to trample, and whom they were not afraid to provoke; they were not the effects of their fears, but of their security."†

In the year 1745, a formidable rebellion broke out in Scotland, which extended to England. The pretender landed in Scotland, with a body of troops from France, and was joined by many of the highland clans and other adherents who were disaffected to the house of Brunswick, and who eagerly supported a plan which they expected would restore the family of Stuart to the throne: On this occasion, although many of the catholics in Scotland and England flocked to the standard of rebellion, and enlisted themselves under a prince, who professed to restore the religion of their ancestors; the catholics of Ireland, so much vilified, so much accused of hostility to the government, when a favourable opportunity was presented for manifesting their sentiments, made not the smallest attempt to take up arms, or shew themselves disloyal. Lord Chesterfield, who was then Lord-lieutenant, is accused of holding one language to the catholics, and of employing another against them to parliament. Whether this was the case or not, it is a matter of indifference; but his private opinions which were never meant to be laid before the public, are on record, and it is from these that his real sentiments are to be collected. In a letter written in the year 1755, he says, "I have carefully read over Lord Limerick's bill, and approve of the principle. I had thought of such a one when I was in Ireland, but soon found it would be impossible to carry it through the House of Commons in any decent shape; but

\* Young's *Irish Tour*, part ii. p. 31.

† Burke's *Letter to Langrahe*, p. 573, vol. iii. in the quarto edition of Burke's Works. Doddsley, 1792.

should Lord Limerick think proper to push it this session, I would recommend a few alterations. I would only require the priests to take the oaths of allegiance simply, and not the subsequent oaths, which, in my opinion, no real papist can take; the consequence of which would be, that the least conscientious priest would be registered, and the most conscientious ones excluded; besides, that when one oath of allegiance will not bind, three will not.”\* Lord Chesterfield has been considered as a man of a lively genius, possessing talents rather showy than solid; but the advice which he gave on this occasion was worthy of an enlightened mind, and displays a thorough knowledge of human nature. This remark ought never to be forgotten, at the present period it is worthy of particular attention. In another letter, dated in 1757, this nobleman remarks, “some time or other, though God knows when, it will be found out in Ireland, that the popish religion and influence cannot be subdued by force;” “tie them down to government by the tender, but strong laws of landed property.”+ In another letter, written in 1769, he says, “as for the papists of Ireland, you know I never feared them; but, on the contrary, used them like good subjects.”‡

In 1774, an act was passed, prescribing the following oath of allegiance to be taken by the Roman catholics of Ireland.

“I, A. B., do take Almighty God and his only Son Jesus Christ my Redeemer, to witness, that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to our most gracious Sovereign Lord King George the Third, and him will defend, to the utmost of my power, against all conspiracies and attempts whatever, that shall be made against his person, honour, and dignity; and I will do my utmost endeavour to disclose, and make known to His Majesty and his heirs, all treasons, and traitorous conspiracies, which may be formed against him or them; and I do faithfully promise to maintain, support, and defend, to the utmost of my power, the succession of the crown in His Majesty’s family, against any person or persons whatsoever; hereby utterly renouncing and abjuring any obedience or allegiance unto the person taking upon himself the style and title of Prince of Wales in the life-time of his father, and who, since his death, is said to have assumed the style and title of King of Great Britain and Ireland, by the name of Charles the Third, and to any other person claiming or pretending a right to the crown of these realms. And I do swear, that I do reject and detest, as unchristian and impious, to believe that it is lawful to murder or destroy any person or persons whatsoever, for, or under pretence of their being heretics; and also that unchristian and impious principle, that no faith is to be kept with heretics. I further declare, that it is no article of my faith, and that I do renounce, reject, and abjure the opinion, that princes excommunicated by the pope and council, or by any authority of the see of Rome, or by any authority whatever, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or by any person whatsoever: And I do promise, that I will not hold, maintain, or abet any such opinion, or any other opinion contrary to what is expressed in this declaration. And I do declare, that I do not believe that the Pope of Rome, or any other foreign prince, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, within this realm.

\* Lord Chesterfield’s Miscellaneous Works, by Dr. Maty, vol. ii. p. 481.

+ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 496.

‡ Lord Chesterfield’s Miscellaneous Works, by Dr. Maty, vol. ii. p. 54.

And I do solemnly, in the presence of God, and of his only Son Jesus Christ, my Redeemer, profess, testify, and declare, that I do make this declaration, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words of this oath, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatever, and without any dispensation already granted by the Pope, or any authority of the see of Rome, or any person whatever; and without thinking that I am or can be acquitted, before God or man, or absolved of this declaration, or any part thereof, although the Pope, or any other person or persons, or authority whatsoever, shall dispense with or annul the same, or declare that it was null and void from the beginning.

“ So help me, GOD.”

No catholic, without submitting to this oath, could at that time or can now vote at an election. It is the test by which every person of that persuasion is qualified to retain his estate; for those who do not make this declaration, are still subject to the whole vengeance of the penal code. One circumstance respecting it claims particular attention. “ The pope’s nuncio at Brussels, and at least a part of the court of Rome, did exert their influence with the Irish catholics, to prevent their taking that oath.”\* The attempt, however, failed; the catholics of Ireland consented to take the oath, and continue to take it; a strong and convincing proof that foreign influence has lost the power that it once possessed, and that it is no longer formidable. It is also evident, from this conduct of the court of Rome, that it is itself aware that its anathemas are of little avail; or why should such exertions have been made to prevent a measure which it had the power so immediately to abrogate?† In less than two years after this oath was taken by the Irish catholics, the Earl of Harcourt, then lord-lieutenant, saw the necessity of repealing the code by which it was enjoined.‡

“ In 1778,” said the Earl of Darnley,§ “ some of the most galling and degrading parts of the code of popery laws was abrogated. In 1782, the catholics were admitted to the rights of property; and finally, in 1793, every thing that remained, including many important and civil rights, was granted, with the exception only of those privileges for which they now petition. During the present reign, the catholics of Ireland have, undoubtedly, received great and important advantages; but I cannot agree with those who are so forward to tax them with ingratitude, when I consider the manner in which these concessions were made, especially the last and most important ones in 1793. Indeed, they all appear to have proceeded rather from the fear of irritation in times of public difficulty, than from any thing like an enlarged and liberal system of policy; but this observation applies particularly to the last concessions. Your lordships all recollect the manner in which the French revolution had unsettled men’s minds, and the wild theories of liberty and equality which were generally entertained. The Irish catholics, as might reasonably be expected, thought the moment favourable for urging their claims; and, in consequence, they petitioned the parliament of that country, in the year 1792, to grant the remaining privileges which they now enjoy; the Irish parliament rejected their application with scorn, by a division of 228 to 23. During the next recess, all the protestant gentlemen throughout the

\* Lord Petre’s Letter to the Bishop of St. David’s, p. 16. Lond. edit. 1790.

† Lord Petre’s Letter to the Bishop of St. David’s, p. 16.

‡ Last Vol. of Dalrymple’s Memoirs.

§ Cobbett’s Parl. Debates, vol. iv. p. 418.

country, corporations, and grand juries, backed by the authority of government, pledged themselves to support this vote of parliament; and yet, in the very beginning of the following year, the same parliament, and the same government, almost unanimously and tamely conceded what they had a few months before so contumeliously rejected, no circumstance having intervened, except an increase of public difficulties, increased boldness of the catholics, and this inconsistent change in the conduct of government. Can it be expected, that they should feel any very lively sentiments of gratitude for favours so refused and so granted? When the union was in agitation, I stated this instance of misadministration in the government, and profligate inconsistency in the parliament of Ireland, as sufficient alone to justify that great measure; and I now again state it, to prove how little reason the catholics have for very warm gratitude to those who so conferred the favours they have received."

The speech, from which this is an extract, was delivered on the 13th of May, 1805; and on the same day the Earl of Westmoreland, the lord-lieutenant under whose administration the favours to which Earl Darnley alluded were both rejected and conferred, adverted, in terms no less strong, although drawing a different conclusion, to the contumely with which the catholics had been treated by the parliament of that period. That parliament is now no more, and peace to its manes. It is an old adage, *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*; but I cannot refrain from transgressing this rule, in observing, that the circumstances here related, afford a fatal proof of the omnipotence of a minister, and the subserviency of a protestant parliament, which could, at one moment, treat such a body of men as the catholics with unwarrantable contempt, and in the next, on a given signal, descend to the most obsequious compliance; the necessity that the legislative body should consist of persons of all religious persuasions, is incontrovertibly proved by this act. It was not long, however, before the catholics obtained a triumph over those by whom, in the plenitude of their power, they had been thus insulted. A few years after, they supported and enforced the act for the political extinction of that assembly; and thus, when the Irish protestant parliament refused the catholics seats amongst its body, and was afterwards deaf to their just and equitable demands, it signed its own death warrant. Little did the members of that parliament imagine, that a part of the people of Ireland whom they were anxious to hold in a state of slavish subordination, would soon have to rejoice over their political death, and hail the day which had brought about so happy a change. Their joy on this occasion was much increased, by the flattering prospect which opened to their view. As an inducement to support this new measure, the minister held out the hope, and even an implied ministerial pledge, that the Imperial parliament, pursuing a more liberal policy, would attend to claims which a protestant faction in their own country had cast from their table with disdain. The catholic hierarchy in Ireland, desirous to facilitate so desirable an event, came to the following resolutions:

"At a Meeting of the Roman Catholic Prelates, held at Dublin, on the 17th, 18th, and 19th of January, 1799, to deliberate on a proposal from government, of an independent provision for the Ro-

man Catholic clergy of Ireland, under certain regulations, not incompatible with their doctrines, discipline, or just influence :—

“ It was admitted, that a provision, through government, for the Roman Catholic clergy of this kingdom, competent and secured, ought to be thankfully accepted.

“ That in the appointment of the prelates of the Roman Catholic religion to the vacant sees within the kingdom, such interference of government as may enable it to be satisfied of the loyalty of the person appointed, is just, and ought to be agreed to.

“ That to give the principle its full operation, without infringing the discipline of the Roman Catholic church, or diminishing the religious influence which prelates of that church ought justly to possess over their respective flocks, the following regulations seem necessary :—

“ 1st. In the vacancy of a see, the clergy of the diocese to recommend, as usual, a candidate to the prelates of the ecclesiastical province who elect him, or any other they may think more worthy, by a majority of suffrages. In the case of equality of suffrages, the metropolitan or senior prelate to have the casting vote.

“ 2d. In the election of a metropolitan, if the provincial prelates do not agree within two months after the vacancy, the senior prelate shall forthwith invite the surviving metropolitans to the election, in which each will have a vote. In the equality of suffrages, the presiding metropolitan to have a casting vote.

“ 3d. In these elections the majority of the suffrages must be *ultra medietatem*, as the canons require, or must consist of the suffrages of more than half the electors.

“ 4th. The candidates so elected to be presented by the president of the election to government, which within one month after such presentation, will transmit the name of the said candidate, if no objection be made against him, for appointment to the holy see, or return the said name to the president of the election, for such transmission as may be agreed on.

“ 5th. If government have any proper objection against such candidates, the president of the election will be informed thereof, within one month after presentation, who, in that case, will convene the electors to the election of another candidate.

“ Agreeably to the discipline of the Roman Catholic church, these regulations can have no effect without the sanction of the Holy See, which sanction the Roman Catholic prelates of this kingdom shall, as soon as may be, use their endeavours to procure.

“ The prelates are satisfied that the nomination of parish priests, with a certificate of their having taken the oath of allegiance, be certified to government.

“ Richard O'Reilly,	R. C. A. B.	Armagh.
J. S. Troy,	R. C. A. B.	Dublin.
Edward Dillon,	R. C. A. B.	Tuam.
Thomas Bray,	R. C. A. B.	Cashel.
P. J. Plunkett,	R. C. B.	Meath.
J. Moylan,	R. C. B.	Cork.
Daniel Delaney,	R. C. B.	Kildare.
Edmund French,	R. C. B.	Elphin.
James Caulfield,	R. C. B.	Fernes.
John Cruise,	R. C. B.	Ardagh.”

Such were the resolutions of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, drawn up to meet the understood wish of Mr. Pitt, the then minister, whose policy in this respect towards

Ireland was worthy of a great and enlightened mind. Like an able statesman, whose views are not confined within the narrow circle of short-sighted politicians, he clearly foresaw the advantages that were likely to result from conciliating the Roman catholics of that country; not by paltry concessions, which betray mistrust and suspicion, but by a complete emancipation from all illiberal and degrading restraints. Entertaining those sentiments which he knew were in direct opposition to many persons of great influence, it became an object of some importance to convince the protestants of England, that the measure he proposed would not be attended with that danger which was generally believed. He procured, therefore, authentic testimonials of the catholic creed, for the purpose of removing ill-founded prejudice, and silencing the idle and illiberal clamour of the ignorant.

An unfavourable prepossession against the catholics has long prevailed even in England, and is annually revived by an anniversary which ought now to be discontinued; but, indeed, it is scarcely attended to by any but children and the most ignorant of the people. It still, however, holds its place in the church service and holidays, serving thereby to perpetuate the cry of "No popery," which some years ago had thrown the metropolis, and almost the whole country into a state of confusion. Notwithstanding that there was no fear of the return of such scenes, Mr. Pitt thought it necessary to convince the people of the true principles of catholicism; and, with this view, a series of questions were transmitted to some foreign universities, which, with the answers received to them, I shall here insert. They are of very great importance in considering the catholic question, as they demonstrate how little the true principles of that religion are understood, and how unjustly the catholics of the present day are vilified and misrepresented, for believing in tenets, which were maintained by that religious persuasion only in ages of bigotry, or that they now approved persecutions which were sanctioned by councils in times of ignorance and barbarity.

*An Abstract of the Answers of the six Foreign Roman Catholic Universities to the Questions proposed to them in the year 1788.—The Questions were proposed in the Latin Language, and the Answers were transmitted in the same Language. The following extracts are faithfully translated.*

### THE THREE QUESTIONS.

- I. Has the pope or cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the church of Rome, any civil authority, power, jurisdiction, or pre-eminence whatsoever within the realm of England?
- II. Can the pope or cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the church of Rome, absolve or dispense with His Majesty's subjects from their oath of allegiance, upon any pretext whatsoever?
- III. Is there any principle in the tenets of the catholic faith by which catholics are justified in not keeping faith with heretics, or other persons differing from them in religious opinions, in any transactions either of a public or private nature?

*Extracts from the Answers of the Faculty of Divinity of the University of Louvain.*

The faculty of divinity at Louvain having been requested to give her opinion upon the questions above

stated, does it with readiness; but is struck with astonishment that such questions should, at the end of the 18th century, be proposed to any learned body, by inhabitants of a kingdom which glories in the talents and discernment of its natives.

The faculty being assembled for the above purpose—[it is agreed, with the unanimous consent of all voices, to answer the first and second questions in *the negative*.

The faculty considers the following propositions to be beyond dispute:—1. That God is the author of the sovereign power of the state in civil matters.—2. That the sovereign power of the state is, in civil matters, subordinate to God alone.—3. It follows, that this sovereign power is in no way, not even indirectly, subject to or dependent on any other power, though a spiritual power, or one instituted for eternal salvation.—4. It also follows, that no power whatsoever, whether of cardinal, pope, or of the whole church assembled in general council, can deprive this sovereign power of the state of its temporal rights, possessions, government, jurisdiction, or pre-eminence; nor subject it to any restraints or modifications.—5. It also follows, that no man, nor any assembly of men, nor even the whole church assembled in general council, can, on any pretence whatsoever, weaken the bond of union between the sovereign and the people; still less can they absolve or free the subjects from their oath of allegiance.—6. Therefore, as in the kingdom of England the sovereign power of the state stands upon the same foundation, and its nature is well known; the faculty of divinity of Louvain has no doubt to apply what has been said before, in its utmost extent, to the kingdom and sovereign power of England.

Such is the doctrine which the faculty of divinity has derived from the Holy Scriptures; the writings of the ancients, and the records of the primitive church:—a doctrine that she will maintain with her last breath, and, with the help of God, impress upon the minds of her scholars.

The faculty of Louvain holds that the principles here laid down by her, are not peculiar to her. She believes that there is no society of learned men, at the present day, in the whole catholic world, who would not willingly *subscribe them* (according to the common expression) *with both hands*.

Proceeding to the *third question*, the said faculty (though astonished that such a question should be proposed to her) most positively and unequivocally answers, that there is not, and that there never has been, amongst catholics, or in the doctrines of the church of Rome, any law or principle which makes it lawful for catholics to break their faith with heretics or others of a different persuasion, either in matters of a public or private nature. The faculty declares the doctrine of catholics to be:—That the divine and natural law, which makes it a duty to keep faith and promises, is the same, and that it is neither shaken or diminished, whether those, with whom the engagement is made, hold erroneous opinions in matters of religion or not.

The said faculty strongly protests against the imputation, that the catholic church has, at any time, held a contrary doctrine. This, she asserts, is a calumny, invented and enforced against catholics by the worst of men, who knowing their charges against the latter to be destitute of truth, endeavour to make falsehood supply its place, and thereby render them odious to princes and nations.

In testimony of the above, we have caused this instrument, authenticated under the seal of our university, to be signed by our beadle.

L. S.

J. B. DE MAZIERE, S. T. D. and Actual Dean.

By command of my excellent lords and masters,

J. F. VANOVERBEKE, Beadle of the Sacred Faculty.

Given at Louvain in an Extraordinary Assembly, Nov. 18, 1788.

*Extracts from the Answers of the Sacred Faculty of Divinity of the University of Douay, copied from the Register.*

January 5, 1789.

At a meeting of the faculty of divinity of the university of Douay, the dean informed the members

that the catholics of England wished to have the opinions of the faculty upon three questions, the tenor of which was as follows :—I. Has the pope, &c. &c. &c.

These questions having been privately considered by each professor of divinity, and afterwards having been attentively discussed at the public meeting :—To the first and second of them the sacred faculty answers: That no power whatsoever was given by God, in civil or temporal concerns, either to the pope and cardinals, or to the church itself; and, consequently, that kings and sovereigns are not, in temporal concerns, subject, by the ordinance of God, to any ecclesiastical power whatsoever; neither can their subjects, by any authority granted from above to the pope or the church, be freed from their obedience, or absolved from their oath of allegiance.

This is the doctrine which the professors and doctors hold and teach in our schools: and this all the candidates for degrees in divinity maintain in their public theses.

To the third question, the sacred faculty answers:—That there is no principle of the catholic faith by which catholics are justified in not keeping faith with heretics, who differ from them in religious opinions. On the contrary, it is the unanimous doctrine of catholics, that the respect due to the name of God, so called to witness, requires that the oath be inviolably kept to whomsoever it may be pledged, whether catholic, heretic, or infidel.

Decided on the day and in the year above named, and signed by order of the most learned doctors,  
BACQ, Beadle and Scribe.

*Extract from the Answers of the Faculty of Canon and Civil Law in the University of Douay, to the same Questions.*

Having seen and attentively considered the above written questions, and the answers of the sacred faculty of divinity to them, the faculties both of the canon and civil law, declare :—That they, without hesitation or doubt, concurred in the aforesaid answers of the 5th instant.

Subscribed, in virtue of our order, by our scribe, this 5th of January, 1789.

SIMON, Scribe.

[Here follow certificates of the magistrates of Douay, that the sieur Bacq is beadle of the faculty of canon and civil law in the said university.]

*Extract from the Answers of the Faculty of Divinity of Paris to the Queries proposed by the English Catholics.*

#### ANSWER TO THE FIRST QUESTION.

Neither “ the pope, nor the cardinals, nor any body of men, nor any other person of the church of Rome, hath any civil authority, power, jurisdiction, or pre-eminence whatsoever, in any kingdom, and, consequently, none in the kingdom of England, by reason of any authority, power, jurisdiction, or pre-eminence by divine authority, interest in, or any other means, belonging to the pope or the church of Rome.”

This doctrine the sacred faculty of divinity of Paris has always held, and, upon every occasion, maintained, and has rigidly proscribed the contrary doctrine from her schools.

Our faculty devotes herself the more religiously to the defence of this doctrine, because she finds it perfectly consonant to the word of God and the tradition of the Fathers.

#### ANSWER TO THE SECOND QUESTION.

Neither “ the pope, nor cardinals, nor any body of men, nor any persons of the church of Rome, can, by virtue of the keys, absolve or free the subjects of the king of England from their oath of alle-

giance."—The present and the former questions are so intimately connected, that the answer to the first, immediately applies to the second. For what greater authority over a sovereign can be conceived, than the right of absolving and freeing subjects from their oath of allegiance to him? With what justice might it be said, *That the kingdom of Christ is of this world*, if the right of deciding upon and disposing of temporal kingdoms had been annexed to its authority, and conferred upon its ministers?

## ANSWER TO THE THIRD QUESTION.

There is no "tenet in the catholic faith, by which catholics are justified in not keeping faith with heretics, or those who differ from them in matters of religion."

The tenet: "*That it is lawful to break faith with heretics,*" is so repugnant to common honesty and the opinions of catholics, that there is nothing of which the advocates of the catholic religion have complained more heavily than of the malice and calumny of their adversaries, in imputing this tenet to them. As it is rejected by christians of every communion, and is repugnant to the fundamental principles both of natural and revealed religion, we cannot think it incumbent on us to enter on this subject, and we think it requires no discussion.

Given at Paris in the general assembly of the Sorbonne, held the 11th day before the calends of March, 1789.

LE CHEVALIER, Dean of the Sacred Faculty.

By order of the venerable dean and masters of the sacred faculty.

HARDY, Scribe.

*The Judgment of the University of Alcalá upon the three Questions.*

It is the opinion of the university, that none of the persons mentioned in the first question, either individually or collectively, or in any council assembled, have any right to civil authority. For the right of governing kingdoms, in civil concerns, as well as that of possession, was instituted before the catholic church was founded by Christ our Lord, the Author of that divine law by which they are governed, by which law he expressly declares he leaves untouched, saying: "*My kingdom is not of this world.*" The sense of these words are well explained by St. Augustine, *Tract 115, in Joan. n. 2.* "Listen," says he, "ye Jews and Gentiles; hear this, all ye nations of the earth: I interfere not with your dominion in this world. Be not seized with groundless fears," &c.

## ANSWER TO THE SECOND QUESTION.

Having considered the state of England and its sovereign, the university, in like manner, is of opinion; that none of the persons mentioned in the proposition has a power to absolve the subjects of His Britannic Majesty from the oath of allegiance which they have taken, or are bound to take to his said Majesty, or to dispense with its obligations.

## ANSWER TO THE THIRD QUESTION.

So persuaded is the university that a doctrine, which would exempt catholics from keeping faith with heretics or other persons dissenting from them in religious matters, so far from being an article of the catholic faith, is entirely repugnant to its tenets, that she could not have believed it possible there should exist any persons who would dare to impute to catholics any thing so iniquitous, had she not learned from the sacred Scriptures that the same pharisees, who had heard our Lord openly commanding to "*Give to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's,*" afterwards laid this very crime to his charge: "*We have found this man perverting our nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar.*" But the devil, who moved their tongues to utter such falsehoods, has never desisted from perverting others in like manner.

These are the unanimous opinions of this university, after a mature deliberation, in a full assembly of the doctors, this 17th of March, 1789.

*A Decision concerning the three Propositions laid before the University of Valladolid by the English Catholics.*

ANSWER TO THE FIRST QUESTION.

The university of Valladolid acknowledges no civil authority, power, jurisdiction, or pre-eminence in the Roman pontiff, cardinals, or even in a general council, much less in any individual, either directly or indirectly, within the kingdom of Great Britain, or in any other kingdom or province, whether catholic or not, over which they possess no temporal dominion.

ANSWER TO THE SECOND QUESTION.

Neither the Roman pontiff, nor the cardinals, nor any council, nor even a general council, can any way absolve the subjects of the king of Great Britain, or any other persons, whether catholics or not, over whom they hold no temporal dominion, from their oath of allegiance, nor dispense with its obligations.

ANSWER TO THE THIRD QUESTION.

Amongst the articles of the catholic church, there is none which teaches that catholics may lawfully break their faith with heretics, or any other person whomsoever dissenting from them in matters of religion. The obligation of keeping faith is grounded on the natural law, which binds all men equally, without regard to their religious opinions; and with respect to catholics, it has still greater force, being confirmed by the precepts of the catholic religion.

This is the decision of the university of Valladolid, signed by all and each of the professors, February 17, 1789.

*A Determination of the University of Salamanca, relating to the concerns of the English Catholics.*

All the doctors and professors being assembled, and the questions proposed to them having been for some time weighed, six members of the university, chosen out of the faculty of divinity and canon law, were appointed to draw up their answers; which are as follows:

ANSWER TO THE FIRST QUESTION.

The same power, and no other, was given by Christ to Peter and his successors, the bishops of Rome, and to the universal church, which to himself, as man, had been given by his Father. *As the living Father sent me, I also send you.* Now he invariably denied that he received any temporal power, by declaring that *his kingdom was not of this world*; by flying away when certain persons wished to make him a king; by his answer to one who said to him: "*Master, speak to my brother to divide the inheritance with me*"; and by his commanding tribute to *be paid to Cæsar*. Therefore, since the rights of the king of England, whether they persecute or tolerate the catholics, are founded on the same principles with those of all other sovereign princes under heaven, we are firmly of opinion, that neither the Roman pontiff, nor the cardinals, nor any council, nor any individual in the catholic church, by virtue of his communion with the catholic church, has any civil authority, power, jurisdiction, or pre-eminence in the kingdom of Great Britain.

ANSWER TO THE SECOND QUESTION.

The solution of this second question, naturally arises from the principles laid down above.—We, therefore, without any hesitation, declare that neither the Roman pontiff, nor the cardinals, nor any council, nor any individual of the catholic church, can absolve the subjects of His Britannic Majesty from their oath of allegiance, or dispense with its obligations.

ANSWER TO THE THIRD QUESTION.

The natural rights of men were not intended to be weakened by the law and doctrine of Christ, but to be confirmed by them. Now, nothing is more clearly engraved on the minds of men by the law

of nature, than the principle: That all men, however differing from each other in religious tenets, are, to every intent and purpose in a state of equality with respect to negotiations, alliances, and compacts. The Spaniards, who, in point of zeal for the catholic faith, yield to no nation under heaven, have entered into contracts, both commercial and relating to peace, with the English themselves, and with other Calvinist and Lutheran states; and it would be an atrocious injury and a vile calumny to assert, that such contracts have been, at any time, violated under the pretence of religion. Because we are catholics, it is not necessary that we should be actuated by a persecuting spirit against those who are averse to our religion. Meekness and charity are its grand characteristics, and the examples left us by our predecessors recommend to us a contrary conduct.—Therefore, amongst the articles of the catholic faith, there is none which teaches, that catholics are not bound to keep faith with heretics, or with persons of any other description, who dissent from them in matters of religion.

Given in the university of Salamanca, A. D. 1789.

Signed, in the name of the university, by the Rector and the six deputed members.

Notwithstanding these incontrovertible proofs, that the tenets of the catholic religion are politically harmless, and that their professors are by no spiritual obligation authorized to refuse allegiance to the government under which they live, or encouraged to any act of rebellion; until the year 1808, a protestant catechism, which ascribed to the catholic creed all the abominable doctrines here fairly and publicly disavowed, was taught in every charter-school in Ireland. Such a circumstance can only be considered as a sanction to those who differ from them in some points of faith to calumniate, by falsehood and misrepresentation, the whole catholic body, and as an encouragement to exert against it the most rancorous hatred. It will, perhaps, be said, that the use of this work in the charter-schools is now prevented by a recent order from the Board of Education. I am unacquainted with the date of their resolutions for this purpose; but on the 29th of July, 1808, I accompanied the bishop of Meath to the charter-school near Abraaken, and I there saw this book in the hands of the children, who were learning the doctrine above described. The bishop ordered one to be given to me, which I have now in my possession. It is a compilation by the hand of bigotry and error; and it is astonishing, that the true spirit of the catholic religion should have been so grossly misrepresented.—To instil, by public instruction, into the tender minds of young persons, contempt and hatred for any sect or body of men living in the same country, is a wicked and unchristian proceeding; and as injurious to those by whom it is practised, as it is unjust towards those against whom such evil passions are excited. It is a violation of the divine precepts of that religion, which inculcates, in the most impressive manner mildness, forbearance, and good-will towards men. But the iniquity and injustice of such attempts become still greater when, they are intended as auxiliaries to aid a wilful perversion of truth. If superstition, and bigotry still prevail among the uneducated catholics, is it just to reproach them for that ignorance which yourselves protect and cherish? Let reason and education be the weapons used against them, and call not upon the ghosts of superstition and persecution to arise from their grave,

to silence the cries of this oppressed people; afford them the means of instruction, remove their prejudices, treat them like men, and the conquest is achieved.\*

Those who have thoroughly examined the tenets of the catholic religion, or who are acquainted with the sentiments of its present professors, will not ascribe to them such monstrous doctrines, as those of which they are accused by their enemies. That there was a time when their conduct was marked by violence and bloodshed, is true; but the same argument, might be adduced against christians of every other denomination. How many years is it since persons in Scotland and England were accused of witchcraft, and subjected to the punishment of death for that imputed crime?†

“ In 1664, two women were executed in Suffolk.‡ In 1712, a woman was con-

\* Park relates a remarkable instance, in a mussulman, of superstition early imbibed extending through life. *Travels in the Interior of Africa*, 2d. edit. 1799, p. 235.

† In the Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. xviii. p. 653, may be seen the trial of William Coke and Alison Dick, for witchcraft, extracted from the minutes of the kirk-session of Kirkaldy, A. D. 1630. These unfortunate persons, who were man and wife, were both burned for this supposed crime, on the 19th of November, 1633.

Another instance occurred in the parish of Erskine, county of Renfrew, in the year 1696-7. “ The person supposed to have been bewitched, or tormented by the agency of evil spirits, or of those who were in compact with them, was Christian Shaw, daughter of John Shaw of Bargarron, then about eleven years of age. A short account of this trial may be seen in Arpot's Collection of Criminal Trials. Three men and four women were condemned to death, as guilty of the crime of witchcraft, and were executed at Paisley. A particular account or journal of the extraordinary circumstances of this case were drawn up at the time when it happened; every paragraph of which is affirmed to have been originally subscribed by witnesses, among whom we find the names of almost all the noblemen and gentlemen, and many of the ministers of the neighbourhood. The narrative was afterwards printed; without these subscriptions, along with a very pious and decently written preface, by the publisher. There were subjoined to it attestations of a physician and surgeon, the judicial confession of some persons accused of witchcraft, and an abstract of the pleadings of the advocates on the part of the crown, and of their charge to the jury. These last, in their reasonings upon the nature of the evidence, and the credibility of the facts, and in the answers to objections, discover much learning and ability. A few copies of the original publication are still extant, and a new edition of it was a few years ago printed at Paisley. It may furnish ample matter of speculation to those whose object is to trace the progress and variation of manners and opinions among men.” *Stat. Account of Scotland*, vol. ix. p. 74.

An instance, still later, took place in the parish of Loth, in the county of Sutherland. The author of the Statistical Survey of that parish says, “ There have been only three presbyterian ministers in the parish prior to the present incumbent. The first was Mr. Robert Robertson, who was settled in 1717 or 1718, and transported to Eddertown in Ross-shire, in 1730. It was during the ministry of this gentleman, and from this parish, that the last unhappy woman that suffered for witchcraft in Scotland, was executed.” *Stat. Account of Scotland*, vol. vi. p. 321.

‡ Amy Duny and Rose Callender were tried and condemned at Bury St. Edmunds, in Suffolk, by the lord chief baron Hale; an account of the trial was printed in his lordship's life time. They were tried upon thirteen several indictments: Amy Duny was charged with bewitching Mr. Pacey's children, and causing them to have fits, and when sir Thomas Brown, the famous physician of his time, who was in court, was desired by my lord chief baron to give his judgment in the case, he declared, “ That he was clearly of opinion that the fits were natural, but heightened by the devil, co-operating with the malice of the witches, at whose in-

condemned at Hertford:\* and in 1716, a woman and her daughter, a child of eleven years of age, were executed at Huntingdon:†—and to murders like these was the great and good sir Matthew Hale doomed to lend himself, under the quaint advice of sir Thomas Brown, one of the first physicians and philosophers of his time, who was devoting his life to the confutation of what he deemed vulgar errors.—And these things were not done in a corner, not in remote provinces, where knowledge was circulating slowly, but at the heart where it beat strongest, within a little space of a learned university, and a day's journey of a great metropolis, and in the midst of a people who said they were of Christ.”‡

Are the people of the present day to be vilified for the ignorance and cruelty of their forefathers? Fortunately, the age of superstition is past; and, if its operations be not yet at an end, the proper remedy is education, and permitting the erring to mix without distinction with the rest of mankind. Extend to the catholic aristocracy the enjoyment of that influence from which they are excluded, and let the inferior orders perceive that they will be allowed to rise by talent and virtue into consideration in the state.

Nothing can be a stronger proof of the badness of the cause which the adversaries of the catholic claims maintain, than that they should be obliged to have recourse to argu-

stance he did the villainies;” and he added, “that in Denmark there had been lately a great discovery of witches, who used the very same way of afflicting persons, by conveying pins into them.” This made that great and good man doubtful, but he was in such fears that he would not so much as sum up the evidence, but left it to the jury, with prayers, “That the great God of Heaven would direct their hearts in that weighty matter.” The jury, having sir Thomas Brown's declaration about Denmark, for their encouragement, in half an hour brought them in guilty upon all the thirteen indictments. After this my lord chief baron gave the law its course, and they were condemned, and died declaring their innocence.

\* In the year 1712, Jane Wenham of Walhern, in Hertfordshire, was tried for witchcraft, and she confessed: the witnesses swore to vomiting pins, &c. The jury found her guilty, the judge condemned her, and some clergymen wrote an account of the trial, which was in a few months' time extended to a fourth edition. The jury found her guilty, but the judge saved her life; and that she might not afterwards be torn to pieces by an ignorant town, colonel Plummer of Gilston, who will ever be had in honour for his conduct on this occasion; took her into his protection, placed her in a small house near his own, where she lived soberly and inoffensively, and kept her church; and the whole country was fully convinced of her innocence.—See next note.

† The following is extracted from, *Characters of Charles James Fox*, by Philopatra Varvicensis, p. 370. “I know not that judge Powel was a weak or a hard-hearted man. But I do know that in the Augustan age of English literature and science, when our country was adorned by a Newton, a Halley, a Swift, a Clarke, and an Addison, this judge, in 1712, condemned Jane Wenham at Hertford, who in consequence, perhaps, of a controversy that arose upon her case, rather than from any interposition of Powel, was not executed; and that four years afterwards he, at Huntingdon, condemned for the same crime, Mary Hicks and her daughter Elizabeth, an infant of eleven years old, who were executed on Saturday the seventeenth of July, 1716. At the beginning of the same century, of which English philosophers and English scholars talk with triumph, two unhappy wretches were hung at Northampton, the 17th of March, 1705; and upon July the 22nd, 1712, five other witches suffered the same fate at the same place.”

‡ Opinions of Different Authors upon the Punishment of Death, selected by Basil Montagu, Esq. vol. ii. Preface, p. 3, et seq.

ments for its support to periods long past. Such conduct brings to mind the fable of the wolf and the lamb: when the latter had refuted all the charges made by its implacable enemy, who was seeking its destruction, the latter changed his arguments, and rested the whole stress on a pretended injury received from the progenitor of the lamb, saying,—“Your father spake ill of me.” In the same predicament are the opposers of the catholics:—We have nothing to say against your conduct; your character is without reproach, but many years ago, your ancestors were our enemies.

I have already alluded to the convention of Limerick, and the shameful manner in which its articles were violated, or not observed, on the part of government. The proceedings upon this compact, were not calculated to impress the catholics with a high idea of the sincerity and good faith of the supporters of the protestant cause; and it is much to be regretted, that the union of the two countries should have afforded cause for similar complaints.

Lord Grenville denies any specific promise, but he acknowledges that the manner in which the measure was proposed, excited the most sanguine hopes;\* and the resignation of the ministry, in consequence of not being able to carry this measure, is, at any rate, a strong presumptive proof of their intention. But evidence still stronger is furnished by the following important papers, and the cause would be ill-defended without their insertion.

“The leading party of His Majesty’s ministers, finding insuperable obstacles to the bringing forwards measures of concession to the catholic body whilst in office, have felt it impossible to continue in administration under their inability to propose it with the circumstance necessary to carrying the measure with all its advantages, and they have retired from His Majesty’s service; considering this line of conduct as the most likely to contribute to its ultimate success.

“The catholic body will, therefore, see how much their future hopes must depend in strengthening their cause on good conduct. In the mean time, they will prudently consider their prospects as arising from the persons who now espouse their interests, and compare them with those they could look to from any other quarter.

“They may with confidence rely on the zealous support of all those who retire, and of many who remain in office, when it can be given with a prospect of success.

“They may be assured, that Mr. Pitt will do his utmost to establish their cause in the public favour, and prepare the way for their finally obtaining their object.

“And the catholics will feel, that as Mr. Pitt could not concur in a hopeless attempt to force it, now that he must at all times repress with the same decision as if he held an adverse opinion, any unconstitutional conduct in the catholic body.

“Under these circumstances it cannot be doubted, that the catholics will take the most loyal, dutiful, patient line of conduct; that they will not suffer themselves to be led into measures which can by any construction, give a handle to the opposers of their wishes, either to misinterpret these principles, or to raise an argument for resisting their claims, but that by their prudent and exemplary demeanour, they will afford additional grounds to the number of their advocates, to enforce their claims on proper occasions, until their object be finally and advantageously determined.”

\* See his Lordship’s Speech. *Cobbett’s Parliamentary Debates*, vol. iv. 659.

*“ Sentiments of a sincere friend to the catholics of Ireland, the Marquis Cornwallis. ”*

*“ If the catholics shall now proceed to violence, or entertain any ideas of attaining their object by convulsive measures, by forming associations with men of jacobinical principles, they must of course, lose the aid and support of those who have sacrificed their own situation in their cause, but who would at the same time, feel it their indispensable duty, to oppose every thing tending to confusion. On the other side, should the catholics be sensible of the benefits they possess, by so many characters of eminence pledged, and not to embark in the service of government, except the terms of the catholic privilege be obtained; it is to be hoped, that on balancing the advantages and disadvantages of their situation, they would prefer a quiet peaceable demeanour, to any line of conduct of an opposite description.”*

After this period, the catholic question rested till the 25th of January, 1805; when a petition was presented to both houses of parliament, and which may be found in Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates, vol. iv. p. 97.

This petition was presented to the House of Peers by Lord Grenville, and to the House of Commons by Mr. Fox. It is here necessary to remark, that a part of the administration in each kingdom, who assumed the reins of government on the resignation of Mr. Pitt, Lord Grenville, and the Marquis Cornwallis, in 1801, having been removed previously to this time, Mr. Pitt was again called to His Majesty's councils; but without the assistance of his relation, Lord Grenville, who formed no part of the new ministry. This circumstance seems to be accounted for in a subsequent debate in the House of Lords; in which that noble lord, after stating that offers had been repeatedly made to him to take a part in His Majesty's council, said, “ my answer to all such overtures was, that my sovereign might always command my services in any frame of government which might be formed; but at the same time, I always explicitly declared, that I never would forego my right to state my sentiments on this question in parliament, whenever any occasion should occur which might call for such a statement.”\* Hence it may be inferred, that Mr. Pitt, whose opinion had before coincided with that of his noble relative, accepted the office he then held on terms contrary to those sentiments, and on condition of observing silence on the question of catholic claims; a restriction to which Lord Grenville refused to assent. This is corroborated by Mr. Pitt's subsequent conduct in the House of Commons, who voted against the catholics, but delivered a speech which was so ambiguous, as to be almost unintelligible. It was as vacant and wandering as if it had been the production of idiocy; what sense it did contain, would have answered for any time or any place; and, like the responses of the oracle, every auditor might interpret it according to his own feelings. Mist and obscurity veiled it round. The contract into which he entered, most unfortunately for his fame as well as for the honour and happiness of his country, prevented him from advocating the measure, which, had he not sacrificed principle and conviction on the shrine

\* Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates, vol. ix. p. 235.

of power, he would certainly have supported. There is one part, however, of his conduct, which deserves not to be overlooked. Several violent philippics had been poured forth on this occasion against the catholics and their adherents; but these he discountenanced and discouraged.

On this memorable day Mr. Grattan spoke for the first time in the Imperial House of Commons, and a speech of so much eloquence has seldom been delivered within its walls. It is one of those specimens of British oratory, which will be handed down to future ages as a proof of the genius, learning, and taste, of the present times.

In Mr. Pitt's administration, the office of lord-lieutenant of Ireland was held by the Earl of Hardwicke, a nobleman who had accepted that high situation on the resignation of the great and virtuous Gornwallis, when Mr. Addington, now Lord Sidmouth, became minister of England; and as appears by the events which ensued, formed an administration on principles diametrically opposite to catholic concessions. I notice this circumstance here, as I shall have occasion to allude more particularly to it hereafter.

By the death of Mr. Pitt, this administration, after a short existence, was dissolved. Lord Grenville, who, in 1805, carried up the catholic petition, became prime minister, in the month of April, 1806, on the decease of his illustrious relative; Mr. Fox, who presented, and so ably supported the catholic petition in the House of Commons, was another of the new ministers. The Duke of Bedford, who had voted in favour of the catholic claims, took the place of Earl Hardwicke; and the Right Hon. William Elliot, the intimate friend of Earl Fitzwilliam, and who had held an official situation when that nobleman was lord-lieutenant of Ireland, was appointed chief secretary. Although the arrangements for this administration were not finally settled until April, a young member of parliament, the Hon. Augustus Dillon, member for Mayo, who was at that period [of life, when enthusiasm and honest zeal are generally predominant, and who was a decided friend to catholic emancipation, rose in his place in the House of Commons, on the 11th of March, and addressed Mr. Fox as follows:—

“With a view to learn the future intentions of that Right Hon. Gentleman, with respect to the claims of a large portion of His Majesty's subjects in Ireland; in doing this, he was not actuated by any wish to embarrass His Majesty's ministers, or by motives of idle curiosity. Rumours had gone abroad, of a very extraordinary change of sentiments having taken place in certain quarters, on the subject of the claims of the catholics in Ireland. It was also rumoured, that the great body of the catholics had acquiesced in this change of opinion. It was of the utmost importance to the tranquillity of Ireland, that this subject should be set at rest one way or other; and he trusted the Right Hon. Gentleman would relieve him from his suspense on the subject.”

Mr. Secretary Fox spoke to the following effect:

“Really, the question of the Hon. Gentleman is so extremely vague, that I cannot pretend to answer it, for I confess that I do not strictly understand it. The Hon. Gent. has talked of some rumours afloat, as to an alteration of opinion respecting the catholics, among those who formerly supported

them; but as I do not know to whom he alludes, I cannot give him a precise answer. But, with regard to the rumour that the catholic body have acquiesced in the reported alterations respecting their claims, I should rather ask the Hon. Gentleman himself on that point. So far as I am concerned in this question, whenever it comes under discussion, I shall be perfectly ready to state my opinion; and all I think it necessary to say, as to my future conduct, is to refer to a consideration of my past. I cannot, however, hesitate to state, that if any Gentleman were to ask my advice as to the propriety of bringing forward the catholic claims at present, I should recommend him to take into consideration the prospect of success, and the greater probability of succeeding this year or the next; at the same time, to bear in mind the issue of last year's discussion. In the part which I took upon that occasion, I was actuated by the strongest sense of duty;—but, at present, I do not feel myself obliged to say any thing more upon the subject."

The session of 1806 passed over, without any thing being brought forward in favour of the catholics. "The administration hoped, by a prudent, lenient, and conciliating mode of government, to keep the question, for some time, at rest."\* Thus, a system of state-quackery was to be employed, and political anodynes and soporifics used. This tergiversation occasioned no small disappointment and discontent. It began to be discovered, how much difference there was between the man and the minister; between him who is courting power, and him who has obtained it. By this conduct, however, the administration was afterwards overturned, but this excited little astonishment, and still less regret. Mr. Fox was carried off by an obstinate disease; an event deeply mourned by his associates, and which gave a fatal blow to their political existence; for they had now lost that "tower of strength," in which all their hopes were centered.

Parliament was then dissolved. When the new one met, Lord Howick brought in a bill, the object of which was to allow the Roman catholics in the navy and army the privilege of having clergymen of their own persuasion to perform divine service, confirming to them, under parliamentary sanction, what had hitherto been extended to them only as an indulgence; although, according to the laws of Ireland, this was their right when in that part of the united kingdom. It was further proposed, by the same bill, to open to them some high situations in the army and navy; and great expectations were entertained, that this favour would be received by the catholics with the most lively gratitude. To those who opposed the catholic claims, it was held out, that it was hardly any favour, particularly as it had been promised to the catholics in 1793, by the Lords Clare and Buckinghamshire, which appeared by a dispatch preserved in the office of the secretary of state for the home department.† But this measure, instead of producing general content, offended both parties, and undermined the political power of those who anticipated from it a much longer ministerial existence. This paltry scheme met with its deserved fate; and

\* Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates, vol. ix. p. 204.

† Ibid, vol. ix. p. 266.

should any be inclined to question the truth of this observation, let them consult Howard on Prisons, where he will find, that the former part of this mighty indulgence proposed to the Irish catholics, had not been denied, even by the old French government to malefactors suffering the punishment inflicted on them for a breach of the law.\* Alluding to the same circumstance, Mr. Ensor exclaims ; “ Mark the difference : the French government, long since, treated the faith of robbers and murderers with respect ; though the government of England, at the present day, treats contemptuously the faith of the defenders, and of the very life-guards of the state.”†

Soon after this transaction, the minister, Lord Grenville, was called upon to deliver up his seals of office. The reason for this requisition he has himself explained in his speech in the House of Peers, and to prevent misconception, I shall here present it in his own words.

“ At the period of the change of administration, to which I have already referred, your lordships know that great and illustrious statesman (Mr. Pitt), to whom I never can allude but with sentiments of the most unfeigned respect, was at the head of His Majesty’s government. My lords, in the year 1801, it was the opinion of that illustrious statesman, in which opinion I completely concurred, that large further concessions should be made to the catholics of Ireland. It was then thought expedient that a measure for that purpose should be proposed to parliament. That proposed measure not meeting with His Majesty’s approbation, the consequence was, the resignation of the then ministers. The result was different in the present case, for reasons which I shall presently state. I, at that period, thought it my duty to resign, and cheerfully sacrifice all those personal gratifications which may be supposed to attach to one of His Majesty’s ministers. My Lords, I will sacrifice those considerations over and over again upon the same principle. It is, undoubtedly, true, that no pledge was given to the catholics of Ireland, that further concessions to them should be one of the results of the union. Their consent was, undoubtedly, not purchased by any such promise ; it is well known, however, from the speeches in parliament upon the great question of the union, and we know from that, what is said in parliament somehow or other becomes known to the public—that the understanding upon the subject certainly was, that further concessions to the catholics of Ireland might, and ought to be, a measure consequent upon the union. That such a measure was not only politic and expedient, but absolutely necessary, was the opinion, as I have already stated, of that great and illustrious statesman, (Mr. Pitt) ; it was also the opinion of his great and illustrious rival, Mr. Fox. These eminent statesmen concurred in opinion in three great measures of policy—the establishment of the sinking fund, the abolition of the African slave trade, and the necessity of farther concessions to the catholics of Ireland. The first of these measures was adopted upon its first proposition ; the second, the abolition of the African slave trade, met with much, in my opinion, mistaken opposition, but has at length been carried ; the third, that of a system of conciliation and kindness to the catholics of Ireland, remains yet to be carried into execution ; but it rests upon the grounds of such unavoidable necessity, that I think it impossible for any man, after weighing on the one hand the objections which have been urged against it, and on the other, the advantages which must inevitably flow from it, to resist the coming to this resolution—that it is a measure, which for the welfare of the country, ought to be speedily adopted. It was in this view, that on a former occasion I sacrificed my situation in the government,

† Howard on Prisons, p. 166.

† Ensor on National Education, p. 150.

and that sacrifice I was ready to make again, being now convinced, that four millions of our fellow-subjects in Ireland are to be governed by conciliation and kindness, and not by persecution."

*Lord Grenville's Speech, Parliamentary Debates, p. 234, vol. ix.*

"The sentiments of most of the persons who became members of this administration, upon the catholic question, were well known from their public declarations, and particularly in consequence of the discussion which had recently taken place on the subject. When, therefore, we were called to the councils of our Sovereign, no man could suppose that we were called in any other manner than that in which ministers ought constitutionally to discharge their duty, namely, to give on all proper occasions to His Majesty, conformably to the oath we had taken, full, fair, and upright counsel, and not to withhold that advice from interest, affection, or any other motive. I do not make this assertion, my lords, from my own recollection only. Within these few days my Sovereign has declared it to be conformable to his recollection also, and authorized me to confirm this statement, not from myself only, but from him. After what had recently happened, it will not be supposed that it could be the desire of the late administration to press the catholic question, or to revive any measure known to be painful to the feelings of a great Personage, to whom every respect is due, unless the pressure of unavoidable necessity compelled us to bring it forward. We flattered ourselves, therefore, that from the character of the persons to whom the government of Ireland was intrusted, many causes of dissatisfaction in the people of that country would be diminished. The manner in which the noble person at the head of that government (the Duke of Bedford) executed the laws, and the just, but conciliating spirit of his administration, gave us reason to hope, that the unanimity so much desired in the sister kingdom, might at last be accomplished. We had but one wish, the welfare and security of the whole empire; and by knitting together the hearts of all His Majesty's subjects, we cherished the hope, that this great object might be attained. We were induced to pursue this conduct, as well because we knew the agitation of the subject might prove painful in a high quarter, as because the recent discussion of parliament had rendered it very unlikely that it could be carried, while it was probable that it would revive animosities. One of the first objects of the late administration, therefore, was to prevent, if possible, the revival of the catholic question. In the first session of parliament our endeavours were successful, but the state of Ireland during the last year was not so satisfactory; disturbances had broken out in several districts, disturbances of that nature, which this measure was particularly calculated to prevent; these commotions were, however, composed by the ordinary exercise of the civil administration of the country. Such was the love of justice and lenity, which distinguished the noble Duke at the head of the government of Ireland, that he carefully avoided resorting to any extraordinary measures, in repressing these disturbances, and his system of conciliation had proved successful. At the time these events occurred in Ireland, the attention of His Majesty's government in this country, was anxiously directed to the means of raising a great military force, which the total destruction of the power of Prussia had rendered more than ever necessary for the security of the British empire. No measure could be so well calculated to promote that end, as one which would induce the superabundant population of Ireland to enter into the army and navy; and for such a proceeding, the great Earl of Chatham had set an important example, when in order to remove the disaffection in the highlands of Scotland, then nearly in the same situation as Ireland now was; he held out inducements for the population of those districts to enlist in the army. With regard to the state of Ireland, until the wealthy yeomanry could be interested; by having opportunities of providing for the younger branches of their families, similar to those afforded to the same description of persons in this country, it was in vain to expect that they would exert their influence in recruiting the army. Besides those persons who have the charge of religious instruction in that country, will never, with any zeal, encourage men to enter into a service where the

exercise of their worship is not protected by law. It was to remove these difficulties that the measure which had lately been withdrawn in the House of Commons was introduced to the consideration of parliament. With regard to the general question, I hesitate not to declare it to be my opinion, that the Roman catholics, by pushing forward their petition at the present moment, have acted highly injurious to their own interests, and to the interests of the empire at large. It was, therefore, my anxious wish, as well as that of those who acted with me, to devise some means by which the discussion of the general question in parliament might have been prevented; and nothing appeared to us better calculated for that purpose, than the bill which was intended to give to all the subjects of His Majesty, the right of holding every description of military employment. About fourteen years ago, the parliament of Ireland opened to the Roman catholics, the army, with the exclusion only of the rank of commander-in-chief, master-general of the ordnance, and general of the staff. With these exceptions, His Majesty was enabled to give commissions in the army to all his catholic subjects in Ireland; and there was no doubt, from the construction of the act, that it opened to them the navy also, in so far as the authority of the Irish parliament could extend to that service. As this act, however, could not extend to the catholics in Great Britain, it operated as an obstruction to the removal of the military force from the one country to the other. So absurd, so incongruous a state of law never existed in any nation in the world. Instead of asking why it is not put an end to, the question ought rather to be, how it is possible that it could have existed so long? In such a state of things, was it to be wondered that we should endeavour to apply a remedy? and when we were to propose to the catholics, in every part of the empire, to enter into the army or the navy, we resolved not to make that proposition upon a narrow principle, but to call them to a liberal system of service, and to open to them every rank. Here, however, another point arose; which it was necessary to meet fairly. In the year 1778, the Irish parliament thought proper to open to the Protestant Dissenters in Ireland, not only the navy and army, but all employments whatever. Therefore, in 1795, when it fell to the lot of my noble friend, who was then at the head of the Irish government, to propose the admission of the catholics into the army and navy: he had no occasion to enter into any consideration as to the situation of the dissenters. In England, however, the case is different; here dissenters are excluded from all public employments, unless they take a sacramental test, which is contrary to the principles of their religious faith. If we had adopted the Irish act of 1793, in this country, the catholics would have been admitted to offices from which the Protestants were excluded. Let me ask your lordships, whether such a measure would not have awakened the attention of the Protestant dissenters. And what answer could you have given them, if they asked you to explain the reason of the distinction made between them and the catholics? Regarding the question, then under all those points of view, I was induced to form the decided opinion, that the measure to be submitted to parliament in the form of an act, should, after reciting the danger to which the empire was exposed, also recite the remedy by which all hearts and hands might be united in warding off every attempt of the inveterate foe of this country. I am aware that much may be expected to be said on the manner in which the measure was brought forward. In the first place, it may be observed, that it is the duty of all members of parliament, to propose those measures which they may conceive to be conducive to the welfare of the country. In the like manner, it is the duty of the members of government to submit to His Majesty, such measures as they may think calculated to promote the interest of the public. If His Majesty should not approve of any measure they may suggest, they have then to choose whether they will abandon that measure or tender their resignation to their Sovereign. I need not tell you, my lords, that in the recent instance which has occurred, of this difference of opinion, the former course was that which was adopted. In the other case, in 1801, when a similar measure was proposed to the King, and disapproved by him, the

administration of that day thought proper to resign. In the present case, however, the same result was brought about in a different manner. The measure was withdrawn, and it was intended to suffer it to drop entirely, but His Majesty had, in the mean time, thought fit to appoint a new administration. I shall, my lords, endeavour to state, as briefly as possible, the circumstance which gave rise to this event. A misapprehension of the nature and extent of the measure proposed appears to have taken place, and the statement of that misapprehension comes from a quarter to which I give the most implicit credit. In the explanation I am about to make, I only wish to shew, that I, and those with whom I acted, had reason to suppose, that the nature of the measure was fully understood, which from my heart and soul, I am convinced it was not. I only mean to justify our characters, by stating the reason which induced us to suppose that no misapprehension existed. In doing this, my lords, it will be necessary for me to recapitulate the different stages of the proceedings which took place. The draft of the bill was laid before the King for his approbation; that draft contained a recital of the Irish act with the restriction. It then proposed, that the services of catholics should be received without any restriction, and no condition required but the taking the oath of allegiance. When this draft was submitted to His Majesty, I thought I had done every thing on the subject which my duty required of me. Afterwards, however, I learned that difficulties were stated, and that there was a repugnance in His Majesty's mind to the measure. A written answer to this effect was received by His Majesty's servants, and to which a representation was returned. I am sure, my lords, there is no man into whose hands that representation must have fallen, but must regard it as a most dutiful and respectful address, such as was fit to be represented to the best of sovereigns by his subjects. On that representation His Majesty was pleased to give orders, that the bill might be submitted to parliament. A dispatch was immediately sent to Ireland, in order that His Majesty's consent having been obtained, it might be communicated to the catholics. At the conference which took place, in consequence of this proceeding, between the government of Ireland and certain persons who possess great influence with the catholic body, a question was asked, whether the rank of general of the staff, and other employments, from which the catholics were excluded by the act of 1793, were to be laid open to them? The answer given on the part of His Majesty's government in Ireland, was, that from the words of the dispatch they understood that the catholics were to be allowed to hold every rank in the army and navy. The lord-lieutenant's dispatch, containing the account of this conference was, as all such dispatches are, communicated to His Majesty, and by him returned without any comment. In answer to it, another dispatch was sent to Ireland for the purpose of giving full information of the nature of the measure to the catholics, which was also laid before His Majesty. This dispatch contained copies of the clauses of the bill, and a remark was subjoined, that these clauses laid open the army and navy to the Roman catholics, and enabled the lord-lieutenant to answer the question, which had been put on that point, in the affirmative." *Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates*, vol. ix. p. 236.

Hence it appears, that this important question, the object of well-founded hopes on the one side, and of groundless fears on the other, induced Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville in 1801 to resign; made Mr. Pitt enter into a shameful compromise, and accept an office under the degrading restriction of acting contrary to his better judgment; induced Mr. Fox, when in office, to forego the magnanimous sentiments in favour of the catholics which he had, but a little time before, so warmly expressed in the House of Commons; and drove Lords Grenville and Howick from the ministry,

when they attempted such limited concessions as could scarcely be considered worthy of acceptance. All these events, which, to those who are acquainted with the use of human power, will not appear extraordinary, will demonstrate how much a sense of private interest prevails over that of public duty, even among those who are emulous of the appellation of patriots. When the present situation of Ireland is considered, connected with the urgent necessity, which now impels the British Empire to concentrate all its strength, and call into action all its resources, such conduct in the English ministers appears like a political *felo de se*. It is evident that had catholic emancipation been granted in its most unlimited extent, it would have allayed a considerable part of the prevailing discontent, and permitted all our effective force to be employed on the continent; a single French soldier would not, at this time, in all probability, have been left in the territories of our oppressed allies. Had public men, instead of sacrificing principle to temporary advantage, boldly persisted in their duty, they would have preserved their reputation unsullied; and the consequence would have been, peace and tranquillity at home, and an incalculable accession of strength to our fleets and armies abroad.

The change of administration was followed by a dissolution of parliament, and the fanatical cry of "No Popery," the war-whoop of persecution, was immediately raised by the ministry, and bellowed out by the infuriated mob, from one end of the empire to the other. Bad must that cause be, which leads men in power to appeal for support to the worst and most malignant passions of the human heart. I have already alluded to the disgraceful riots of the year 1780, which will always be a stain on the government of the country; and a similar spirit was awakened on the present occasion, although, fortunately, the little resistance it met with allowed it to die away without producing any fatal consequences. The vulgar were told, by those whose apparent interest it was to deceive them, that the adoption of this measure would overturn both church and state, banish liberty from the land, and renew those scenes of barbarity which marked the reign of Queen Mary. But what may appear scarcely credible in the present times, sentiments of this kind seemed to be believed not by the ignorant alone: Lord Sidmouth, that champion of orthodoxy, is reported to have said, on the 27th of May, 1808, "That it behoved those who framed this proposition, to consider what use had heretofore been made by the Roman catholics of political power, and particularly to reflect on the manner in which it was exercised in the reign of Queen Mary."\* If this remark be correctly stated, what opinion can we form of his lordship's judgment or liberality? Is a man, who is weak enough to express such a fear, qualified to hold an official situation? Was he ignorant of the burnings for witchcraft by protestants, a little more than a century ago, to which I have already referred at page 520? His argument will apply to one religious sect as

\* Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates, vol. xi. p. 669.

well as to another; but, thank God, we live in different times:—neither sect would now be permitted to wreak their holy vengeance on the other.

It is, however, but justice to the country to remark, in order to save our character a little in the page of history, that this outcry, which proceeded from an overflowing of self-interest and folly, caused considerable disgust among the higher and middle ranks of society.

I was witness to the conduct of one of these mobs at the last general election. It was impossible to view them and hear their senseless yell against the catholics, without mingled sensations of pity, shame, and indignation. I compassionated that ignorance which comprehended not its own folly: I blushed to hear Englishmen revile a respectable body of their fellow citizens; and my indignant feelings were aroused when I reflected that they were thus made, by interested men, the unconscious instruments of their country's ruin. This scene, however, convinced me how necessary it is to explain to the people of England, the creed, the rights, and the condition, of the Roman catholics of Ireland; which may be easily accomplished by disseminating cheap publications, containing a true statement of these points in plain and familiar language. The passions of the populace are easily influenced; to allay them is a task of considerable difficulty. Such prejudices were excited against foreigners until a late period, and particularly the natives of France, that they could hardly appear any where in public, without being exposed to insult. During the political reign of John Wilkes, who, for a period, was director-general of the London mob, the case was the same with Scotsmen; so much were the minds of the populace inflamed against them, by the libels and diurnal abuse circulated in newspapers, that, even in walking the streets, their personal safety was endangered. It does not, therefore, excite surprise, that a class of society, so easily worked upon, should be the ready instruments of designing men, to accomplish any purpose they had in view.

I would particularly recommend it to the Irish catholics, to avoid that conduct which I have here described. *Suaviter in modo, sed fortiter in re*, is an excellent maxim, which deserves always to be kept in mind. If instead of holding tumultuous meetings, where complaints are too generally uttered in the language of peevish and clamorous irritation, and speeches addressed to the passions rather than to the understanding, they would confine themselves to the dispassionate statements which are dictated by moderation and justice, they will bring their cause much sooner to a happy termination. Some of the most respectable public journals, which are favourable to their demands, are widely circulated, and have contributed to dispel much ignorance on this subject, and to guide public opinion. But deep-rooted error and prejudice still remain to be combated, among those whose education has unfitted them for a free use of their reasoning powers. Nevertheless, liberality is fast spreading; and if we may judge from the resolutions of some protestant meetings

in this country, a very general conviction prevails, that the demands of the Irish catholics are neither unreasonable, nor of such a nature as to create any alarm.

Last year (1811) a very considerable accession of strength was unwittingly given to the catholic cause, by the very exceptionable bill which Lord Sidmouth proposed in parliament; which had the effect of rousing in the common cause the whole body of protestant dissenters in England, and from which, doubtless, has arisen a sympathetic feeling among all sectaries in favour of their catholic neighbours. This measure, which was meant to increase coercion and augment the penal laws, met with so formidable an opposition from public opinion, that it was thought prudent to relinquish it. The occasion, which gave birth to this resistance, will not soon be forgotten; and, in all probability, it will prove in the end, beneficial to the catholics of Ireland. They will hereafter be indebted to the man who officiously assumed the place of Mr. Pitt, when that enlightened statesman found that he could not retain his seat in the cabinet, without being exposed to the alternative of granting the catholic claims, or violating his honour. This is one of those political anomalies, of which many instances are to be found in history. Persecution, instead of suppressing a religious sect, always strengthens and increases it. When the exercise of divine worship is restrained, under whatever tenets it may be exercised, its belief, however wild or extravagant, is strengthened and confirmed. Philosophy and true policy will leave it to pursue its own course, without elevating its doctrines from neglect and obscurity by legislative interference.

One of the first acts of the new parliament was to limit the grant made to the catholics, for the support of the college of Maynooth. The sum voted was so reduced, that it could be a matter of no consideration with even those who might be most scrupulous in attending to economy in the expenditure of the public money. It was easy, therefore, to perceive the spirit by which this paltry retrenchment was advocated. It certainly has produced no benefit to the nation, and as it displayed a marked hostility to catholic improvement, it cannot but excite regret. Soon after Dr. Duigenan, the member for the city of Armagh, was called to a seat in the privy council. It would be uncharitable to increase the public hatred against any individual, but the sentiments expressed by this gentleman, when Mr. Fox presented the first petition of the Irish catholics to the imperial parliament, was so hostile to this body of his countrymen, that they might be supposed to have proceeded from a follower of Moloch, rather than from one professing to belong to any christian sect. There are some occasions when silence is more expressive than language; and, therefore, I shall leave the reader to his own reflections.—It may be necessary, however, to state, that the elevation of this gentleman to a seat in the privy council did not pass uncensured in Ireland. It was a subject of sorrow and regret among all ranks, and in every company with which I mixed in Ireland. Notwithstanding I often attempted to defend the justice and honour of the British government, my

arguments seemed to produce very little effect: when I mentioned the value which Englishmen placed upon Ireland, and spoke of the great attention which I had observed members of parliament bestow upon all questions relative to that country, the constant reply was, "And after all, what has your government done? Has it not conferred one of the highest honours it can bestow, on the man who, in the most extravagant, illiberal, and outrageous manner, reviled, abused, and insulted the catholics? In selecting for favour, an individual so decidedly hostile to the cause of Ireland, have they not marked in the strongest and most decisive mode, their hatred to the Irish people?"—a term often applied to themselves by the catholics.

In discussing great and momentous political questions, it is necessary that we should divest ourselves of passion and prejudice. It is, therefore, much to be regretted, that any circumstance should occur, which could induce a belief that the catholic claims have been converted into a question of party. The most probable mode of accounting for the circumstance, is that it was the ill-judged triumph of some individuals belonging to a party who exalted Dr. Duigenan to a seat in the privy council. This charge cannot be made against the administration, as a body; it was not an act of the cabinet, but it originated from party feeling. If the just claims of a considerable proportion of the inhabitants of the empire, who, since the repeal of a great part of the penal code, are constitutionally protected, should be converted on either side into a party question, the views in which their claims are seen will become entirely changed. In this case, it can neither meet with fair discussion, nor experience unbiassed support. To accuse men of disaffection, while they are denied an opportunity of evincing, in situations of public employment, the falsity of such imputations, is impolitic and unjust. Who, in these days would reproach the brave highlanders now fighting the battles of their country, because their ancestors, from a mistaken sense of duty, espoused the part of an unfortunate family, who had forfeited their title to the British throne? They have given too many proofs of attachment to excite the least suspicion.—And are not the children of the Roman catholic church, now protecting by their disinterested valour, that very constitution, in the advantages of which they have so long been praying to participate? As this is the conduct of the catholics towards England in distant parts of the world, let those who are left at home to combat for their civil rights, use this great argument in support of their cause; and never relax their constitutional endeavours, until they have been as successful in their native country in raising themselves to the rank of freemen, as their relatives abroad have been in elevating the military glory of their country. Unconcerned about the private characters of the men who may form the administration of the day, never let the catholics consent to suspend their petitions for a minister's convenience; but perseveringly urge their claims, alike regardless of enemies or lukewarm friends.

In the month of May, 1808, Mr. Grattan presented to the House of Commons,

and Lord Grenville to the House of Peers, a petition from the Irish catholics, which will be found in Cobbett's Parliamentary Register, vol. xi. p. 490.

This was a general petition of the catholics of the kingdom, but there were separate petitions also from the catholics of the counties of Tipperary, Wexford, and Kerry, and the cities of Waterford and Kilkenny. In opposition, the corporation of the city of Dublin petitioned against any concession to the catholics; but this seems to have been a solitary instance, no other body having thought proper to imitate the example of the capital.

On the 25th of May this year, Mr. Grattan displayed his usual eloquence in favour of these petitions, and in the course of a long speech, replete with strong and forcible reasoning, said: "I have a proposition to offer, a proposition which the catholics have authorized me to make, 'that in the future nomination of bishops, His Majesty may interfere and exercise his royal privilege, by putting a negative on such nomination; that is to say, in other words, that no catholic bishop shall be appointed without the entire approbation of His Majesty.'"\* This offer on the part of the Roman catholics, originated I believe, in the following manner; should my statement prove erroneous, the persons whose names I have here introduced, are still living, and can correct my mistake. The idea of giving the crown a *veto*, on the nomination of the catholic bishops, was by no means new; this had been proposed and acceded to by the catholic hierarchy, in the year 1795; it had also been discussed in parliament by Mr. Burke. Lord Fingal attended with the catholic petition; and at a meeting between his lordship, lord Grenville, Mr. Grattan, and Mr. Ponsonby, the noble lord was asked, Whether the catholics would strengthen by this concession the arguments which might be used in their favour? The noble lord replied, that he could not entertain any doubt on the subject; but as there was an accredited agent of the catholic hierarchy then in England, the Rev. Dr. Milner, he was desirous, before any thing farther was done, that this prelate should be consulted. Dr. Milner, who resided near Wolverhampton, was immediately sent for; and on his arrival in London, he authorized these parliamentary leaders to make the statement here mentioned: when about to return, he observed, that as oral communications were liable to misconstruction, he had, therefore, committed to writing the proposition to which he meant to adhere; and he put into the hands of Mr. Ponsonby the following paper:

"Dr. Milner presents his respectful compliments to the Right Hon. Mr. Ponsonby, and takes the liberty of stating distinctly in writing the substance of what he did say, or meant to say, in the conversation which he had the honour of holding with Mr. P.

I. The catholic prelates of Ireland are willing to give a direct negative power to His Majesty's government, with respect to the nomination of their Titular Bishopricks, in such manner, that when they have among themselves resolved who is the fittest person for the vacant see, they will transmit his name to His Majesty's ministers; and if the latter should object to that name, they will transmit another and

\* Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates, vol. xi. p. 556.

another, until a name is presented, to which no objection is made; and (which is never likely to be the case) should the Pope refuse to give those essentially necessary spiritual powers, of which he is the depository, to the person so presented by the catholic bishops, and so approved of by government, they will continue to present other names, till one occurs which is agreeable to both parties, namely, the Crown and the Apostolic See. It is to be observed, however, 1st, That the crown does not interfere with the concerns of any other religious sect, or church, which it does not support; 2d, That the nominators in this business, namely, the catholic bishops, have universally sworn allegiance to His Majesty; 3d, That they will, moreover, engage to nominate no person who has not taken the oath in question.

II. It appears that the clause concerning the Protestant succession does not occur in the oath of the Defence Bill; but it would be highly gratifying to the consciences of the catholic bishops and clergy, and a great proportion of the laity, (should an opportunity occur) if any friend of theirs would distinctly state in what sense they understand that clause in oaths appointed for them to take, particularly in that of 1791, viz. as a penalty which must for ever remain upon them, and to which they submit with all humility, not as an engagement which they take upon themselves, in such sort that they would be obliged to take up arms against His Majesty, if he were to go to mass. They conceive themselves justified in understanding the clause in this sense, by the most positive assurances that such was the meaning of the legislature, which were given them in 1791, by bishop Horsely, and other distinguished Senators, who managed the bill in parliament.

III. The practice of forcing catholic soldiers and sailors to attend the established service of the church in England, and every where else, except in Ireland, is a religious grievance and oppression, which is deeply felt by all catholics, particularly by the subjects of this intolerance.

IV. Mr. P. was so good as to say, that he would disclaim, in the name of the catholics of Ireland, the civil and religious code of Thomas Paine, which they have been accused, in the newspapers at least, of teaching and holding. Doctor Milner has not of course had an opportunity yet of consulting with the catholic prelates of Ireland, on the important subject of the catholic presentations; but he has every reason to believe, that they will cheerfully subscribe to the plan traced out in the first page of this note.

11, *Queen-Street, Bloomsbury-Square.—May, 1808.*"

Mr. Grattan's speech on this occasion, combined with the above proposition, and enforced by the powers of reasoning and eloquence, produced a wonderful effect on the public mind; and notwithstanding the majority against the petition, the question was considered as virtually carried. The case of the catholics was placed in so conspicuous a light, their demands appeared so equitable, and their concession was considered so fair and honourable, that the public mind was attracted towards them, and the collision of sentiment produced symptoms highly favourable to their cause.\*

• The numbers in the House of Commons for receiving the petition were	125
Against it	281
Majority	153
Of the minority, 35 were Irish members.	
In the House of Lords there were for considering the petition	74
Against it	161
Majority	87

On the 30th of May, 1808, it was moved in the House of Commons, "that the catholics ought to be considered eligible to become governors, deputy-governors, and directors of the Bank of Ireland, if otherwise qualified;" but it was negatived by a majority of three; 61 voting for it, and 64 against it. Ten Irish members voted in the minority.

On the following day, May 31st, a bill being introduced for a renewal of the Bank Charter, the subject was again brought forward, but negatived by a majority of 13; on this occasion the voters were, for the question 83, against it 96.

In the House of Lords the majority was still greater, the numbers standing as follows: contents 63, non-contents 101; majority 38.

I have had occasion to remark the ignorance and indifference which the people of Ireland exhibit respecting our funding system and our traffic in stock. Of funded property they have no conception, and, therefore, all their spare capital is retained amongst themselves. Bank stock, and the public funds, are considered by them as the same thing, and they believe that the bank directors have the entire management of the whole. A more certain means could not have been adopted to perpetuate this idea, than the renewal of a charter, by which the affairs of the bank were to be continued in the hands of persons devoted to the state religion. But those who acted upon the principle of commercial exclusion on account of religious faith, overlooked or forgot the principle of Dr. Price, that all stock-holders are pensioners of government, whose property is involved in its fate. If it be an object, therefore, to secure the attachment of the catholics to the constitution, it would be wise and politic to bind them to it by the powerful tie of interest, and this might be effected if they could be induced to become purchasers in the funds. Were the catholics admitted to an equal right of conducting the concerns of chartered and incorporated bodies with their protestant brethren, the utmost benefit would accrue to the country; and there are many catholic merchants who would form excellent bank directors. Of these I shall instance as one, Mr. Conolly, who is eminently fitted for the discharge of so important a station; Mr. Byrne also is a gentleman of character, abilities, and opulence, to give him a title to any office of confidence; but it may be invidious to dwell upon particular instances.

As soon as the parliament was prorogued, and the members had returned to their homes, many who took an active part in favour of the Roman catholics, received letters of thanks for their conduct; several of these letters I have seen; some from the principal gentlemen of the catholic church, and others from the leading and most popular catholic bishops. In the year 1808, I remained in the county of Meath from the 24th of July, to the 4th of August; and had often interviews with the Earl of Fingal at Killeen Castle, and frequent opportunities of mixing with his friends in the neighbourhood, but I never heard one of them dissent from granting to His Majesty a veto in the appointment of catholic bishops. Confidence of success

seemed to excite among them a common feeling of satisfaction ; and they appeared to be impressed with a belief, that their cause would finally triumph.

In the mean time, a Roman catholic synod was held at Cork, where, unfortunately, objections were suggested to the granting of the *veto*. No sooner was this spirit of opposition known, than it began to spread ; a meeting was convened at Dublin in September, when the prelates came to the following resolution :—

“ It is the decided opinion of the Roman catholic prelates of Ireland, that it is inexpedient to introduce any alteration in the canonical mode hitherto observed in the nomination of the Irish catholic bishops, which mode long experience has proved to be unexceptionable, wise, and salutary.

“ That the Roman catholic prelates pledge themselves to adhere to the rules by which they have hitherto been uniformly guided ; namely, to recommend to his holiness only such persons as are of unimpeachable loyalty, and peaceable conduct.”

These resolutions are in direct opposition to those entered into in the year 1799 ; and shew that Dr. Milner was not authorized to make the communication which he did to Mr. Ponsonby. Had he afterwards stated this in a candid and open manner to the public, his conduct would have been without blame ; but his publications are inconsistent with his own written declaration. I now consider Dr. Milner on the one side, and Dr. Duigenan on the other, as gentlemen, whose interference, judging by experience, will do their respective causes more harm than good. On the part of the Roman catholic clergy, there is much to blame ; those who thanked the parliamentary leaders by whom their claims had been brought forward and supported, evinced in the first instance, too much precipitation, and afterwards too little regard to the dignity of their character and sect, to recede in so capricious a manner from declarations publicly made. It cannot be said, that their resolutions in 1799 bound them in 1808.—It was not the Roman catholic hierarchy who failed in carrying them into execution in 1799, but His Majesty's ministers, who had over-rated their own powers—the contract was at an end ; and in 1808, it was only the leaders of a minority in parliament, destitute of power to carry any one point in their favour, who were anxious to enter into the same compromise. The clergy considered, that even according to the proposition which had been submitted to parliament, it would be their lot to sustain the whole burden, while the laity would reap the advantages. The discussion in parliament was forgotten amidst the irritation of private dissension, and throughout the southern part of the country a considerable contest took place between the laity and the clergy. This ill-judged misunderstanding, which could not have arisen at a more unfortunate period, while it was regretted by all their friends, furnished a cause of triumph to those who were hostile to their claims.

In this manner, the higher orders of the catholics were divided into two parties, the supporters and the opposers of the *veto*. Among the populace, however, the real nature of the question was altogether unintelligible, and the whole resolved into

the alternative of supporting the clergy, or a party of their aristocracy, between whom a considerable division in general prevails. To his religion the Irish catholic is particularly attached, and the veneration he entertains for his "altar," is as strongly marked as the affection he has for his parent. The dispute was soon considered by them as an attack upon the sacred pledges, and the mob decidedly took part with the prelates.

The following anecdote, connected with this subject, was related to me by Major Bryan of Kilkenny. It is deserving of particular observation, as it shews the trifling influence of the priests over that part of the catholic population which feel most by the present restrictions, and the great extent of their authority over such of the poorer class as have been admitted to participate in political power. The major had been active in procuring signatures in favour of conceding the *veto* to the King, and with others, had obtained that of the Roman catholic bishop of Ossory, and of some catholic gentlemen who were bankers in that diocese, and, I believe, in Kilkenny. After the meeting of the Roman catholic prelates in Dublin, the bishop changed his opinion, and publicly stated that he had done so. For such tergiversation no apology can be offered. It is sufficiently blameable in private life, but in public men, on public measures, it is doubly injurious. On this occasion it produced a controversy in the Kilkenny newspapers between the parties, by which it appeared, that the priest had not unlimited power over the major. The bankers, however, were the chief sufferers by the contest. The promissory notes which they had in circulation, were instantly returned for payment, and all this was the act of the people in defence of their bishop. I relate this circumstance as it was communicated to me; but it is to be recollected, that it was given by one of the parties interested; for I have been since told, that were the *veto* granted, and the catholics allowed to sit in parliament, the major would be a candidate to represent Kilkenny. The correspondence as published, however, did not convey a favourable impression of the bishop.

In December 1809, Lord Grenville was elected Chancellor of Oxford, between that period and 1812, no petition has been presented, or protest entered against the catholic claims in any part of the united empire. This circumstance deserves particular attention, since it evinces a great change in public opinion. If a learned university, the champion of the church, and the zealous defender of the Protestant cause, elected for its Chancellor a nobleman known to be favourably inclined to the catholic claims, can it be supposed, that the heads of this university are not influenced by a similar spirit. This is a favourable omen; it shews that the clergy of the established church are beginning to entertain more tolerant and liberal opinions. It is honourable to themselves, and will neither endanger the church nor injure the cause of christianity. Well might Mr. Grattan exult in this circumstance, which certainly has been of considerable service, in exciting a general wish among the

people of this country for the success of the catholic claims. "There is not on your table," said that eloquent speaker, on the 18th of May 1810, "a single petition against the catholics. The city of London has not stirred; the University of Dublin has been equally silent; a great northern protestant county in Ireland has passed resolutions in their favour. The University of Oxford, in her late distinguished appointment, has marked her approbation of the principles of civil and religious liberty. Your pulpits resound with strains the most liberal, in lessons equally brilliant and sound. The mitre is placable; we recognize with gratitude the genuine majesty of the christian religion."

In the month of February 1810, a petition from the Roman catholics of Tipperary was presented to the House of Commons.

On the 22d of February 1810, two petitions were presented from the catholics of England.

On the 27th of February 1810, Mr. Grattan presented the general petition of the catholics of Ireland, which is inserted in Cobbett's Parl. Debates, vol. xv. p. 638.

Petitions were presented also from the Roman catholic freeholders of the Queen's County, and from the Roman catholics of the city of Cork.

These petitions gave rise to a warm and interesting debate in the House of Commons, and in the course of the discussion, which was continued for three days, the Irish members appear to have been addressing the Irish catholics on the subject of the *veto*, rather than the legislative body of the nation. Mr. Grattan spoke of "domestic nomination," without sufficiently explaining the nature of his plan, or in any manner shewing that it was approved by the catholic hierarchy in Ireland. The fact is, the conduct of Dr. Milner, and those of the clergy who incautiously assented to the *veto*, and injudiciously retracted that assent, had materially injured the cause of the catholics in Ireland. It furnished their opponents with arguments, and its interest was forgotten amidst the warm altercation which took place on the danger to be apprehended from the clergy. It is, therefore, hardly necessary to state, that the question was lost, the numbers for it being 109, and those against it 213, giving an unfavourable majority of 104.

In the House of Peers, where, on that occasion, Lord Grenville did not appear, the numbers were as follows: contents 68; non-contents 154: majority against it 86.

On the 27th of May 1811, the Marquis of Downshire presented to the lords a petition from the Roman catholics of Ireland, which Lord Donoughmore moved the consideration of, on the 18th of June, which motion was negatived, 62 voting for it, 121 against it—majority 59.

In the Commons 83 voted for a committee to consider the catholic claims, and 146 against it, forming a majority of 63.

In 1812, the corporation of Dublin and the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge petitioned parliament against catholic claims.

On the 22nd of April 1812, the same subject was again debated, 102 voting for it, and 174 against it, forming a majority in the Lords of 72.

In the Commons 215 voted for it, 300 against it, forming a majority of 85.

I had written an account of the late proceedings of the catholics in Ireland, which have so much attracted public attention, and which have been brought before a legal tribunal; but the length of my work inclines me to omit a subject so well known to the majority of my readers.

My anxious wish is to see the doors of parliament opened to catholics as well as to protestants; and I am thereby precluded from approving of a catholic committee sitting in Dublin, which must, if continued, end in a catholic parliament, a circumstance which would be productive of as many evils as those which arose from the late protestant one. Public liberty will always be sacrificed when a parliament is exclusively formed of sectarians, or when any class of men are excluded on account of their religious belief. As the consideration of this subject hardly comes under my cognizance, I shall proceed in discussing those points which form the more prominent parts of my undertaking.

I have thought it necessary to give this short, but imperfect, history of the proceedings on the catholic claims, referring to authentic documents published in other works, that the reader may comprehend the question, and the situation in which it stands. It may not be improper now to offer a few observations on the general character of the Irish catholics, as a body, and forming a large proportion of the population of the country. Their old aristocracy are not very numerous; I found those that remain a most honourable class of men. The Irish protestants, and particularly those of the north, who are readiest in describing them to the public, are little acquainted with their real character or disposition. From my frequent opportunities of examining into the habits and manners of these people, my knowledge of them is intimate and correct.

These persons differ very much from the general aristocracy of Ireland. Having mixed less with the world, and having been deprived of the advantages of education, they exhibit in a striking manner the true spirit of an aristocracy. This is the class which have been chiefly affected by political exclusion, and it is natural for men, who are themselves prevented from acquiring weight and consequence, to attach the greater importance to ancestral rank and family distinction, when they are suffering a species of political penance, by which the moral and physical powers are uniformly repressed. Their sensibility, however, is keenly alive to a sense of their degraded condition; and while they are indignant at their wrongs, they shew less impatience than might reasonably be expected. They neither express dissatisfaction in the irritable language of discontent, nor manifest rancour against those who oppose their claims or revile their doctrine. Possessing a conscientious rectitude, they are prevented from sacrificing their principles to pecuniary

advantage, and refuse to swear themselves into the enjoyment of honours and rank. Of this attachment to principle they have great reason to be proud; if they even extend this feeling until it borders on vanity, it is a weakness which may readily be excused. To those who may be fond of the garrulity of ancient family pride, the company of a descendant of an ancient catholic family of Ireland must be exceedingly pleasant. In England, where wealth is considered as every thing, and the consequence arising from family worth or antiquity of lineage, is lost amidst the false splendour of riches, a conception can hardly be formed of the feelings of those, whose chief gratification is derived from a recollection of the achievements of their ancestors, who once possessed those districts, that are now divided among a new aristocracy, whose progenitors were needy adventurers, the soldiers or partisans of Cromwel, the greatest of all the oppressors of Ireland. In that country it can scarcely be said that wealth is widely diffused; and whenever this is the case, the knowledge of former events is much nearer to our own times. Traditionary history is better preserved, and has a greater effect on the minds of the people. The Irish Roman catholic, therefore, speaks of centuries past, with as much interest as he recounts the events of his own life. This propensity has been urged as a reason for not admitting him to political power, lest he should regain possession of his ancient estates. But, as far as I can judge, this class of persons evince no want of attachment to the interest of the empire. Whatever opinions they may entertain of particular administrations, their love and respect for the constitution are unshaken; and although they dislike those laws, which deprive them of equal rights, they do not entertain a thought hostile to the government. Convinced that the importance and the happiness of Ireland depend on its connexion with Great Britain, they have no desire to see them disunited. I may here apply to them what the Earl of Westmoreland said of the catholics of England, "their loyalty and good conduct have been unimpeached, and suspicion never broached a whisper in their disfavour."\* As to the higher classes of the Irish catholics, I shall quote the authority of a right honourable friend of mine, whose opinion I consider of importance: "I know personally many of these gentlemen who have signed the petition, those of them whom I have either the honour or pleasure of being able to speak of from personal acquaintance, are as loyal men, as good subjects, and have acted with as much zeal and energy to uphold the state against the rebel, and against the invader, as any individuals in the kingdom."† These opinions, as they are formed from impartial observation, afford a strong presumption, that the idea of any danger to the state from the catholic aristocracy, is weak and ill-founded. But a farther and a respect-

\* Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates, vol. iv. p. 791.

† Speech of the Right Hon. John Foster, May, 14th, 1805. Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates, vol. iv. p. 1001.

able testimony in their favour can be adduced; the Rev. Horace Townsend, a beneficed clergyman of the church of Ireland, who has spent among them the greater part of his life, unconnected with politics, and uninfluenced by any other motives than attachment to truth, says, "I see among the Roman catholic gentry of this country, a liberal and manly spirit of support to the common cause, the sincerity of which it would be preposterous to doubt."\* The Rev. Dr. Austin, the rector of Middleton, in the county of Cork, a living worth £2,800. per annum, delivered the following speech at a public meeting held at Cork, in the month of September, 1811. When he presented himself to address the meeting, he was hailed by an universal plaudit, and throwing up of hats; many voices were heard crying out, "GOD BLESS HIM."

MR. CHAIRMAN—It is impossible for me to rise without some emotions in addressing you this day, as never having spoken before so large an assembly in my life; but the present momentous occasion calls upon every man to stand forth. I shall not, my brethren, trouble you at length. I wish only to state to you, that after the most anxious inquiry, and the most mature and deliberate consideration, I am decidedly of opinion, that the removal of the disabilities under which you labour, would be not only conducive to the best interests of Ireland, but essential to its welfare, and to that of the empire at large. And let not your opponents say that this is the opinion, and these the expressions of a temporizer. No; I am a most steadfast adherent to the doctrines and practices of the Established Church, and most zealous for their propagation; but the only weapons which I use, or would wish to see employed, are mild dispassionate reasons, drawn from the pure word of God. And I hold it as a principle, that no man should be punished for holding those opinions which his conscience leads him to think right. Neither can it be said that I am ignorant of what the catholics are. I have resided either as a curate or rector since 1796 in my parish, which is situated in the county of Cork, and was formerly near the boundaries of the counties of Tipperary and Limerick. I am also a magistrate, and must, in that capacity, have had many opportunities of meeting and of knowing them most intimately. Nor can it be said, that I am factious or dissatisfied, because I considered myself overlooked. No—my situation in the church gives the lie to any such imputation. I, therefore, declare to you, that I trust you will persevere in your determination to petition, until you shall have obtained, what every subject of this realm has a right to enjoy—A COMPLETE EXEMPTION FROM TEMPORAL PAINS ON ACCOUNT OF RELIGIOUS OPINIONS."

But with all their political degradation and disabilities, the Roman catholic gentlemen of landed property possess a very peculiar influence over the common people, which is not enjoyed by protestants of the same rank. The circumstance of their being proscribed by disqualifying acts of parliament, for a faithful adherence to the religion of their forefathers, awakens a sympathy in the breasts of their immediate dependants, and in the circle of their friends and acquaintance, which gives them a power in their neighbourhood unknown to the protestants. The general mass of the people, indeed, have but an imperfect knowledge of the rights from which

\* Townsend's Survey of Cork, p. 94.

they are excluded; but they place implicit confidence in the integrity of their superiors, who are at all times ready to afford them assistance and support. A Roman catholic gentleman of fortune has thus a paternal character, and is looked up to with affection by the population of a very extensive district. Towards the protestant landlords, there is no such feeling, their influence is limited to their own immediate tenants.\*

The next order among the catholic body are those who by the possession of old leases, and the business of grazing, have acquired fortunes. Many of these are to be met with in all the rich and fertile districts of Ireland. Some by the sale of their stock of dairy cows, and by letting their lands to cotter tenants; and others, by commercial pursuits in Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Waterford, and the inland towns, have raised themselves to affluence. These people, since the alteration of the law, invariably vest their property in land, and are rapidly forming a very powerful aristocracy in Ireland; with these the old catholic families seldom associate, and nothing but a bond of union which I shall afterwards have occasion to mention, and which unites all ranks, could have power to bring them together. The possession of wealth will in the course of time obliterate this distinction, and blend them into one common mass.

Among this description of catholics, education by no means keeps pace with property; and hence it is easy to account for the violence with which their conduct has been marked on various occasions, and the hatred which they manifest towards the government. But, they are afraid of the populace, and being uncertain which may gain the ascendancy, the government or the people, they frequently censure the government, in order to ingratiate themselves with the community at large; but if the day of trial should come, self-interest would induce them to cling to the power that was successful. The truth is, these people will unite with those who are best able to secure to them the enjoyment of their property.

I am ready to agree with Mr. Parnell, that this class of the catholics are treated with great contempt, in consequence of the protestant ascendancy. To dwell upon the impolicy of allowing such a superiority to exist, would be useless waste of time. Those who have examined the progress of national wealth, who know that the riches of a country depend chiefly on laborious exertion, will respect those who are supported by their industry; and the people to whom I allude, are the industrious part of the Roman catholics in Ireland. Their mental acquirements rise not to a correspondent height with their consequence and rank in society; but though, in this respect, they are not entirely blameless, the censure is greatly due to

\* I am well aware that Mr. William Parnell, in his *Historical Apology*, 3d London edit. 1808, p. 169, has asserted, that "a protestant of £700. a year, is more looked up to than a catholic of the same income." I do not know with whom Mr. Parnell has associated, such doctrines he might hear at an Orange Lodge, or at the Castle of Dublin, but with the mass of the people the case is directly the reverse.

that system of exclusion, which holds out no inducement for the acquirement of knowledge. Confined to the humble occupations of grazing, commerce, and manufactures, they are negligent of education; their pride is gratified by subscribing to a petition for emancipation, which is almost the only consequence they can acquire. Hence, they are not only ignorant on general subjects, but have little knowledge of their own country; they, however, entertain an idea, that emancipation would allay all popular ferment, and render their property and estates secure; and it is on this principle that they take so decided a part in the catholic cause.

Much of the wealth that Dublin, Limerick, Cork, and Waterford, now possess, has been acquired by Roman catholics engaged in commercial pursuits. In the north, throughout the linen manufacturing districts, personal property is principally in the hands of presbyterians. These two classes of people are distinguished from each other by many peculiarities of character: the presbyterian has, perhaps, obtained his fortune by lending money on colonial produce; by exporting goods to England, or elsewhere, and having been accustomed to mix with men of all countries, and of every religious persuasion, his attachments are less confined; and he, finally, invests his money wherever he conceives that it will produce the greatest return.

The Roman catholic grazier obtains his opulence by remaining quietly at home; education is, therefore, scarcely necessary to ensure success to his pursuits, and this defect is not supplied by that extensive knowledge of men and manners, which a more varied life affords: acquiring his fortune by the rise in the value of lands, he mixes little in society; and his intercourse is confined to his provision merchant, or his butter factor, both persons professing his own religion. When he is satisfied with his accumulation, he invests his property in land, regardless of the income which he is to derive from it; his sole object is its security, and while within his sight he considers it safe. Of the funds he knows nothing; he makes no inquiries respecting them; and, as he has little confidence in their stability, he never purchases stock.\*

The difference in the characters of these two classes may serve to shew why the catholics in Ireland are so rapidly becoming proprietors of the soil—a fact, which might be more incontrovertibly established than by adding up the numbers on grand juries. Becoming land-holders, they become more attached to their country; they are rendered thereby deeply interested in its welfare, and are anxious to promote every scheme that may tend to give it additional security and strength. The case is not the same with the presbyterians, and particularly with those of the north? And I am inclined to think, that were the catholics actuated by the same principles as

\* See Millar, vol. iv. p. 132.

\* The same merit has been remarked in Switzerland. Coxe says, "the protestants are more commercial and industrious than the catholics." *Travels in Switzerland*, vol. i. p. 29, 2d edit. 1791.

these sectarians, neither the church government, nor connexion with England, could long remain. With the spirit of the latter the English are very little acquainted; they have no emancipation to claim; they are burdened with no test acts, and subject to no penal laws: they may rise to every office in the state; the peerage is open to them as well as to other subjects, and every constitutional object of ambition is placed within [their grasp. Most of the new made peers in the north of Ireland are of that persuasion; and, therefore, they have no cause to complain that they are degraded by illiberal distinctions, or debarred by exclusive restrictions from the enjoyment of civil rights. Yet possessing all these advantages, which give them a most decided superiority over the Roman catholics, they look upon the clergy of the established church with the most sovereign contempt; shew the utmost indifference to the government, and even a want of attachment to the soil. Every public man among them who accepts an office is detested and abhorred. They emigrate, on the slightest occasion, to their favourite land of liberty, America. If they remain at home, they evince their loyalty by disobedience to the laws, and the spirit of their religion by resisting the collection of tithes. Acquainted with every quirk and quibble of the law, and unrestrained by any delicate sense of right or justice, they continually harass their rector with law-suits. Ask any clergyman of the church of Ireland, how long tithes would remain, if the country were peopled with presbyterians instead of catholics? Republicans in principle, they are in their hearts decided enemies to the established government; and whatever may be said of catholic discontents, it is the interest which the catholics take to possess their full share of the constitution, that keeps the presbyterians in that state of inactivity in which they remain. Although restless, turbulent, and dissatisfied, they have too much prudence to commit themselves, and their quietness is the quietness of expedience alone. Government is fully aware of their temper and disposition; it views them with an eye of jealousy, but it leaves them unmolested; although more danger is to be apprehended from the dark and insidious machinations of the gloomy fanatic, who broods over his discontent, than from those who proclaim their dissatisfaction, and openly avow their designs.

On the other hand, the mass of the catholics are clamorous for an equality of rights; although, it is urged, that the claims which they have brought forward do not excite among them that lively and general interest which might be expected: yet patience under sufferings is sometimes construed into insensibility, and coolness mistaken for indifference. The catholics have displayed, notwithstanding the harsh treatment they have experienced, a magnanimity which entitles them to praise; were the case reversed, would the protestants have been as forbearing? This conduct on their part, adds great strength to their claim, and shews, that some of those objections which have been made against them are fallacious.

Among those who have rendered themselves most conspicuous in the part they

have taken respecting the catholic claims, I shall notice a number of noisy demagogues, who, with more talents than property, employ the former to prevent the accomplishment of an object, by the attainment of which their hopes would be destroyed.

In all countries there are men of turbulent spirits, whom no measures can please, and no treatment conciliate; who eagerly embrace every opportunity of sowing the seeds of discontent, and of exciting popular commotion. That persons of this description should be found among the Roman catholics of Ireland, needs occasion no surprise; and, although they are little to be dreaded, the complexion of the times is so uncommon, as to render it necessary to regard them with a careful and vigilant eye: their talents and the consequence they assume, give them considerable influence over the people; and, by rousing the hopes of some, and inflaming the passions of others, they are enabled to gain many of the unthinking. Guided by no honest principle, and restrained by no sense of duty, they employ the most insidious arts, first, to deceive, and then to irritate, the populace; every ray of discontent is collected into a focus, which daily acquires strength, and nothing is wanting, but a favourable opportunity to excite a general conflagration. Whether any of this description of persons have a stronger attachment to France than to England, I will not venture to say; but a wise and prudent government will be careful to guard against the secret machinations of such men; it will take every just and legal means to strip them of their assumed power, and will endeavour to prevent them from robbing the aristocracy of that influence in society, which it is the interest of the country they should possess. The people, in Ireland, are not yet prepared for that degree of liberty which is enjoyed by the English; to bestow upon them what they neither understand nor know how to use, though it might gratify their pride, would not increase their happiness. There is wanting, also, in that country, a very important link; a middle class of persons, possessed of wealth, enlightened by education, and free from aristocratical pride: these are the most valuable members of society, and form the best bulwark of liberty. I have no desire to see a despotic government established in Ireland; but, being convinced that no other than an efficient one can benefit the country, and knowing, at the same time, the state and the disposition of the common people, I must regret that the class of persons to whom I allude, without possessing any qualification, should be suffered to direct public opinion, and to assume a consequence, which gives them the power of occasioning much mischief. If I be asked, how are they to be stripped of their assumed power? I reply, not by opposition, but by allowing the aristocracy of their sect its due weight in society. Deny the catholics their rights, and every refusal adds weight to this class of persons.

The Roman catholic church of Ireland is composed of four archbishops and twenty-two bishops. The archbishops take their titles, as in the established church, from Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam.

Of the bishops, eight are suffragans of Armagh, namely, those of Ardagh, Clogher, Derry, Down and Connor, Dromore, Kilmore, Meath and Raphoe.

Dublin has but three suffragans; Leighlin and Ferns, Kildare, and Ossory.

Six are suffragans to Cashel, viz. Ardfert and Aghadoe, Cloyne and Ross, Cork, Killaloe, Limerick, and Waterford and Lismore.

Four are subject to Tuam, viz. Achonry, Clonfert, Elphin, and Killala.

There is also a bishop of the united dioceses of Kilmacduagh and Kilfenora; the one in Connaught, and the other in Munster, who is alternately suffragan of Tuam and Cashel.

Every bishop has a vicar-general of his own appointment, who holds his office only *durante bene placito*, and whose jurisdiction ceases on the death of the prelate.

Every diocese has also a dean, appointed by the cardinal protector, or the cardinal in Rome, who has the peculiar direction of all ecclesiastical matters appertaining to Ireland; and also an archdeacon named by the bishop. These two are merely nominal dignities, having neither power nor emolument annexed to them.

On the death of a bishop, the clergy of the diocese are empowered by the canon law to elect a *vicar capitular*, who is invested, during the vacancy, with episcopal jurisdiction; but if such election does not take place within a specified number of days after the demise of the bishop has been notified to them, the archbishop of the province may appoint, of his own authority, the vicar.

The clergy, in the mean time, assemble, and choose one of their own body, or sometimes a stranger; and petition the pope, or, according to the technical phrase, *postulate*, that he may be appointed to the vacant see. The bishops of the province also consult with each other, and unite in presenting to the pope two or three men of merit, one of whom is usually appointed; for the recommendation of the prelates has always more weight in Rome than the *postulation* of the inferior clergy.

The appointment of the Irish bishops lies in the cardinals, who compose the congregation *De Propaganda Fide*. This ceremony takes place on Monday, and on the following Sunday their choice is submitted to the pope, who confirms or annuls the nomination as he thinks proper, but it very rarely happens that he does not confirm it.

Formerly, Irish officers, in the service of foreign princes, have been known to influence the congregation *de propaganda*, through the recommendation of their courts, to nominate their friends or relations. But it being found that various inconveniences and abuses were the consequence of this influence, the congregation, about the year 1785, decreed, that in future no attention should be paid to any foreign recommendation.

It is customary in all Roman catholic countries, and it is frequently the case in Ireland, that a bishop may choose any meritorious clergyman to be his co-adjutor and successor at his death, when rendered incapable by old age, infirmity, or any ac-

cidental visitation. This recommendation is almost invariably attended to in Rome, and the object of his choice is consequently appointed and consecrated, taking a title from some oriental diocese; but this title he relinquishes on his succeeding to full possession on the death of the bishop whom he has been assisting. While he retains the oriental title, although in character and by consecration a bishop, he is called a bishop *in partibus*, because the see from which he takes his designation, being under the dominion of some eastern power, is styled in the language of office *in partibus infidelium*.\*

Besides the four catholic archbishops and twenty-two bishops, there is a dignitary, who, without episcopal consecration, has episcopal jurisdiction in the town and district of Galway, under the title of warden. This district was detached from the archdiocese of Tuam in the year 1484, at the request of the inhabitants, by pope Innocent VIII. The warden is elected by the clergy and the representatives of particular families; but his election is confirmed by the pope, from whom he also receives canonical institution, and who grants him the faculties usually given to the bishops. In the same district there is also a protestant warden. The archbishop retains the appellat jurisdiction; he holds a visitation of the district every third year, on which occasion he administers confirmation, and ordains all who have dimissorial letters from the warden: in every other respect he is independent of the metropolitan, and enjoys a separate jurisdiction.

The funds and other supports of the hierarchy not being adequate to the decent maintenance of the bishop, he receives proxies from the parish priests and curates at the time of Easter. These proxies vary, according to the customs of different districts and the liberality of the clergy. In general, the parish priests give two guineas, and the curates one. Dr. Walsh call them *cathedraticum*, and states them to be very high in the diocese of Cork. The bishops receive also what is called mulct money, or money for dispensations to marry in the prohibited degrees of kindred, and for licensing marriages without the publication of banns: the latter practice, however, does not prevail in the archdiocese of Cork, nor in the suffragan sees of Kildare, Leighlin, and Ossory. As administrator of a parish, the bishop, like the parish priest, receives the usual offerings at Easter, and dues, as they are called, for marriages, baptisms, and other rites. These customary offerings and dues fluctuate, according to the means and disposition of the parishioners. Where collections are made at marriages for the parish priest, as is the case in Munster and a few other dioceses, they are a precarious source of emolument. In many parts of Ulster the parish priests receive offerings or dues, but the mode of collecting them I have not been able to ascertain. A respectable Roman catholic prelate, to whom

\* Letter from a Roman catholic clergyman, in the diocese of Cork, in Newenham's View of Ireland, Appendix, p. 39.

I am indebted for this information, says, "As bishop, I never received more than £165., and as parish priest, £350. currency. A dozen of my brethren, I think receive more; but others much less. As to other parish priests, the majority of them do not receive above a hundred guineas a year, and there are many who do not get £60.; these are supported chiefly by the hospitality of the parishioners."

"We not only deny," continues this worthy prelate, "looking forward to the possession of the property of the established church of Ireland, but have solemnly disclaimed any such intention, by a declaratory oath not to use the elective franchise, or any other privilege, to weaken or disturb the established church, or to subvert property, as now appropriated and possessed by law. If we should give cause for being only suspected of perjury, we deserve no favour. Our communication with the pope, since his captivity, has been intercepted by the prohibiting decrees and orders of Buonaparté. Formerly we had an agent at Rome, by whom our wants and wishes were made known to his holiness, and who transmitted his rescripts to us."\*

The catholic archbishop of Armagh is primate of the catholic hierarchy, but rather in form than in fact; for, as far as I could get information, he is not invested with the same degree of power as the primate in the church of Ireland. Each bishop has a coadjutor, who assists him in all his episcopal duties: he is generally the nominal bishop of some eastern see, and, if he outlive the present possessor, succeeds to the diocese. Those who have witnessed the conduct of the catholic prelates, taken as a body, will have no hesitation in saying, that they are patterns of strict attention in the discharge of their religious duties; that they are constant residents among those who are committed to their care; are continually visiting every part of their dioceses to inspect their clergy and the people, and consequently, that they are better acquainted with the disposition of their followers, and possess greater influence than would otherwise be the case. I am personally acquainted with Dr. Troy, the catholic archbishop of Dublin, and Dr. Moylan, the catholic bishop of Cork; but I am no stranger to the character and reputation of the others, and I know how much they are loved and esteemed—Of Dr. Power, the catholic bishop of Waterford, Mr. Bagwell, of Marefield, who is at the head of the protestant party in the south of Ireland, spoke in the highest terms of panegyric: he particularly mentioned to me the indefatigable pains he had taken, by precept from the altar, and by personal exhortation, to instruct the people in their duty, and to repress the tumultuous movements, the symptoms of which were beginning to appear in his diocese, when I was in Ireland. Dr. Plunket also, the Roman catholic bishop of Meath, is a man of a most excellent character: admiral Pakenham, who has a thorough knowledge of Ireland, informed me that this prelate receives no confessions but in English; and he represented him

\* Communication from a dignified catholic clergyman, dated 16th September, 1811.

as a man of most exemplary life. But these are not the only testimonies which I received when in Ireland, from protestant gentlemen in favour of the prelates of the catholic church; and it is proper that they should be made known to the protestants of England, as they rest upon authority too respectable to be questioned. Dr. Knox, the bishop of Derry, expressed himself in similar terms of the catholic bishop of that diocese; and, upon the whole, I shall not hesitate to say, that, taken as a body, the catholic hierarchy are learned, virtuous, and excellent men.

Occupied chiefly with the care of their dioceses, they seldom interfere with politics, unless cases of a public nature occur, when it becomes necessary that they should deliver their opinions. I wish it to be understood that I speak of their general character, and on authority which I have no reason to distrust.\* The late Dr. Hussy, bishop of Waterford, is accused by some persons of having been strongly disaffected

\* Were proofs wanting I might refer the reader to the following extract of a letter from a dignified catholic clergyman :

“ Steps were certainly taken by me, in conjunction with other catholic prelates, to prevent the Irish clerical students at Lisbon from accepting Buonaparté’s invitation for them to repair to Paris. The following is the copy of a letter written on the occasion to Dr. Crotty, rector of the Irish college at Lisbon.

“ Reverend dear Sir,

“ Dublin, 24th January, 1807.

“ We, the undersigned archbishops and bishops, have been lately made acquainted with an extraordinary proposal of the Reverend Dr. Walsh of Paris, to the young men at present under your care and guidance in Lisbon, inviting them to abandon that establishment, and repair to the seminary established by the head of the French government, under his direction in Paris. You may easily conceive the degree of indignation we felt at such a proposal, nor can we believe but that it proceeded from any but very sinister motives. We shall refrain, on the present occasion, to make those comments which occur to us, on the general conduct of Mr. Walsh since the period of the French revolution; but we cannot avoid remarking, that the great inducements held out to the young men of your house, seem calculated to inspire them with a veneration for, and attachment to the present French government; while, at the same time, he seems actuated by a desire to alienate them from that allegiance which they owe to the government of their own country. It is needless to remind you, Sir, that one of the principal duties of a catholic clergyman is, to inculcate a subordination to the laws, and allegiance to the established authorities under which we live: we, consequently, submit to your consideration—Whether an education, received under such an hostile power and such a revolutionary government as Buonaparté’s are, can possibly tend to enforce these maxims. We have not the most distant idea of attaching any blame to you, Sir; but we are extremely anxious that you should be thoroughly acquainted with our sentiments on a matter of such serious moment.

“ Bound as we are by every tie of gratitude to the government, for its very liberal support of our ecclesiastical establishment at Maynooth, (and which, under the auspices of the present administration, we hope will very shortly be considerably enlarged), we not only feel it our duty to declare, in the most unequivocal terms, our reprobation of such attempts to seduce the youth of your house, but are determined to use the authority vested in us, in order to prevent even the possibility of excuse on the part of the students of our respective dioceses, who might attempt to accept of that insidious offer.

“ We, therefore, desire that you will convene all those who are under your care, and make known to them, that we never will give any ecclesiastical faculty in our dioceses to those individuals, who should accept of the offer; and that we authorize you to declare to all those in holy orders, that by an acceptance of a similar offer, they will incur a suspension *ipso facto*.

to the government; but aspersions of this kind are easily propagated, and so many occasions have occurred when they were found altogether false, that I entertain great doubt of the truth of this charge. Let it not be forgotten that Dr. Hussy was the friend of the illustrious Burke; that he was esteemed by many of the greatest men of the day in which he lived; and, in consequence of his intimacy with these celebrated characters, he caught some of their spirit, and became a politician. He held a high situation among a class of citizens who were, in his time at least, a greatly oppressed body. His rank in life, his talents, his erudition, pointed him out as one eminently qualified to take the lead in all questions in which the interests of the catholics were to be discussed. His learning too enabled him to enforce their claims by deep and ingenious reasoning. He was, therefore, regarded as one of their ablest defenders, and through this circumstance forced into notice as a public character; a situation in which it is scarcely possible to avoid obloquy and reproach.

Dr. Caulfield also, the Roman catholic bishop of Ferns, a man labouring under the infirmities consequent on great age, has been aspersed in a similar manner. He was in the town of Wexford during the late rebellion, and some persons have insinuated, that he countenanced and encouraged the people; but this report, in a pamphlet, he afterwards strongly denied. When a charge is brought against a whole body, it would be illiberal to select individual instances for a general calumny were the facts even proved. Taking them in the aggregate, I have no doubt that they are as well affected towards government as any other set of men; and although a body possessing great power, as they have the appointment of all the parish priests of Ireland, they have never abused that privilege. They are particularly careful to select such persons as they consider best qualified, by their knowledge and character, for that important office; notwithstanding which, I have heard these parish priests reviled for being not only ignorant and superstitious, but hypocritical, drunken, idle, vagrants, and the worst rebels in the empire. I am convinced they have been much injured and misrepresented. In every profession there are some unworthy persons, and

“At the same time, however, that we pronounce this sentence, we do confide that their own sense of duty is sufficient to prevent the necessity of it. And we do hope, that they will not suffer their principles of allegiance to their lawful sovereign, to be biased by the intriguing dispositions of those persons, who are the instruments of his avowed enemies, in disseminating discord and discontent.

We remain, with much esteem,

Very reverend dear sir,

Your most humble servants in Christ,

RICHARD O'REILLY, (Armagh),	J. T. TROY (Dublin)
THOMAS BRAY, (Cashel),	EDWARD DILLON, (Tuam),
FRANCIS MOYLAN, (Cork),	DANIEL DELANY, (Kildare & Leighlin),
JOHN CRUISE, (Ardagh),	PATRICK JOS. PLUNKETT, (Meath),
PATRICK RYAN, (Germanicia, Co-adjutor Ferns)."	

among the clergy of the established church there are those who are a disgrace to the cloth. But no one will revile the whole clergy of England, on account of three of its members, in the course of the last century, having been publicly executed for three of the greatest crimes in the catalogue of human depravity. To the honour of the Roman catholic clergy I can state, that I never heard of a priest being criminally prosecuted, or a party even in a civil cause; except in an action against the catholic bishop of Raphoe, for excommunicating a person who resided within his diocese. Such of the catholic priests in Ireland, as I had an opportunity of observing, appeared to possess a very considerable degree of learning, and a deep knowledge of theological subjects. They mixed very little with society; paid great attention to their parishioners, with whose prejudices, temper, and wants, they were intimately acquainted, and of whom they spoke in terms of kindness and affection. I have often endeavoured to induce them to converse upon politics; but they seemed exceedingly reluctant, and every attempt, however delicately it was urged, always failed of success. The impression upon my mind, from what I had an opportunity of observing, was, that they did not display that zeal and ardour for emancipation, which I should have expected. They were not, however, entirely indifferent respecting it; there was none who did not wish for it, and it is the only political subject on which I ever heard a catholic clergyman offer an opinion.

The parish priests with whom I became acquainted in Ireland, had all received part of their education in a foreign country; by a long residence abroad, they spoke the French language with fluency, and had a very general knowledge of the affairs of the continent; with England they seemed to be little acquainted, few of them having ever been there. The greater number had gone from Dublin or Cork to Bourdeaux or Lisbon, and after staying in Portugal or France for some time, had returned to their native country. In the north of Ireland, the protestant gentry seldom associate with them; and they often live in a most dependent state, having little provision for their support but what is supplied by the casual bounty of those among whom they reside. It is necessary for them, from their abject condition, to flatter the weakness, and humour the prejudices of the people, over whom they endeavour to acquire all possible influence; but I have been assured by many Roman catholic gentlemen, that notwithstanding these endeavours, the effect is entirely reversed; over them the people have obtained a complete political ascendancy, for their daily food depending upon their parishioners, their conduct must be conformable to their opinions. If the clergy were to entertain sentiments different from their hearers, this cause would prevent their conscientious avowal. The populace in general are impressed with an idea, that the English are their enemies; that from protestantism arise all their misfortunes, and that government and its friends are their oppressors. A priest, however well disposed towards his country, or desirous to preserve peace and tranquillity, is often reluctantly obliged to hear and to

see proceedings which his heart condemns, without venturing to declare his disapprobation. Should he express a different opinion, or endeavour to rectify the mistaken notion of the populace, he would immediately be considered as an apostate and a hireling of the Castle. He has, therefore, no alternative; he must either be silent or starve. My attention was particularly directed to this subject, and I am persuaded in the fullest manner of the truth of what I have here stated. In the course of my tour, I remarked several instances of the unbounded influence which the priests have over the people; but I have also observed cases where they did not possess any. On the 9th of January, 1809, while I was on a visit to Lord de Vesci, the parish priest brought his lordship a sum of money which he said belonged to him, asserting, that he had been robbed by one of his parishioners, and he had obliged him to return it. When I was at the house of the Right Hon. George Ogle, the co-adjutor bishop of Ferns sent him money under similar circumstances; and these instances, with the anecdote already related of the Kilkenny bankers, all demonstrate the extensive influence which these men have over their parishioners. During my stay in the neighbourhood of Castle Dermot, in the county of Kildare, in June 1809, two itinerant methodist preachers took their station on a Sunday in the market place, where they began to harangue the populace, the one in Irish and the other in English. The parish priest, however, who well knew the mischief which might be produced by the inflammatory rant of these ignorant enthusiasts, dispersed the audience in a moment with a horse-whip. A similar circumstance took place a few weeks after at Tullamore, in the King's county; and I was informed that at Maryboro' in the Queen's county, the priest had power, without the whip, to disperse such assemblies. In many parts of Ireland, I was told of the priest inflicting on his parishioners manual correction; but when I make this remark, I have no intention to characterize the catholic clergy in that country, as vulgar and intemperate men who are regardless of the mild spirit of christianity.\* I made many inquiries respecting their conduct, and it would be doing them injustice to withhold the testimony in their favour given by the Rev. Wm. Elliot, rector of Trim, a protestant prelate, of good sense and much observation; who, although a native of England, has resided many years in Ireland. On the 28th of September, 1808, he told me that he knew but of two drunken priests, and they were universally held in contempt. In the mountainous parts, where every thing exhibits the utmost poverty, a drunken priest is not uncommon; and this is to be ascribed to their having no society, but the wretched inhabitants, whose manners and customs they adopt. I learned from the same authority, that a priest was once set up in a parish in Loughrea, in opposi-

\* The best men may sometimes in an unguarded moment, be led into error, for we find that the protestant bishop of Killalla, acknowledges in his pamphlet, "that he lost his temper towards his butler," and almost knocked the fellow down with "a box in the ear." *A Narrative of what passed at Killalla in 1798*, fifth edit. p. 102.

tion to the bishop, which occasioned an appeal to the pope. Mr. Elliot knew no priest at Trim who had not been educated abroad; but the youths, now in a course of preparation for the ministry, all prosecute their studies at Maynooth. Before the establishment of this seminary, they received the preparatory part of their education in hedge schools. The Irish bishops of the diocese gave them deacon's orders; they then begged six or eight guineas to enable them to proceed to the Irish colleges in France, Spain, or Portugal, where they procured a subsistence by saying a mass every day, for which they received a livre. In this manner they supported themselves for three years, until they obtained priest's orders, after which they returned to seek a settlement and preferment at home; both these orders of the priesthood are now conferred at Maynooth. It was formerly the custom, when the bishop made his visitation, which he does to each priest, instead of being attended, as the usage is in the established church, by all the priests in his diocese, to give an entertainment, to which the opulent in the neighbourhood were invited. In Meath, the gentry made a point of attending; but in 1796, no invitation was sent, and since that time there has been very little intercourse between the protestants and the catholic ministry. This account was confirmed to me in a conversation with Mr. Sterne Tighe, at Mitchelstown, in the county of Westmeath, on the 29th of September, 1808. Mr. Tighe, who is a steady friend to the catholics, found it very difficult to get the parish priest to his house, although they lived on terms of respectful friendship. But the feeling is different in different places; when at Mr. Bolton's of Faithleg, near Waterford, in December 1808, I found, that although he had been a member of parliament, he lived with his parish priest upon the most social and intimate terms. When the conduct of the protestants towards the catholics is considered, some allowance must be made for this reserve of the catholics, and for any little jealousy which they may entertain. The fault is exclusively with neither party, and I am inclined to the opinion that taking the whole island in the aggregate, more jealousy prevails among the protestants than among the catholics.

The father of the girl, whom I saw tried at Trim for stealing guineas, had been advised by his parish priest to lay out his money on land, but in this case, he had no influence. While I was in Ireland, an action, as I have already mentioned, was brought against the catholic bishop of Raphoe, for excommunicating a parishioner; the trial took place at Lifford; and the jury, one half of whom were catholics, gave a verdict, if I remember right, of £200. against the bishop. All these facts shew, that the catholic clergy do not possess that influence over their parishioners which is generally attributed to them; and that they are too ignorant of the world, to employ the influence which they have in the most beneficial manner for themselves. When a man of so much good sense, as Dr. Walsh, dreads "innovation," and asserts, that he would refuse an income if offered by the government; I cannot help being astonished, as such a declaration betrays great weakness. The catholic clergy

can have no other object than the spiritual and temporal happiness of their flocks; and were they supported by the public, they would have it in their power to become more useful, as well as more respectable, and the people under their care, would be more happy; as they are situated at present, they are obliged not only to conduct themselves towards their parishioners with the most abject servility, but to flatter their prejudices, and sometimes even to overlook their vices through a fear of losing their fees. I wish not to insinuate, that this is the conduct of Dr. Walsh, I should be sorry to misrepresent his character; but when he protests against any other system of maintenance for the catholic clergy, than the miserable pittance which is at present their sole dependence, he advocates a system which accumulates wretchedness over some of the fairest districts of Ireland. While their means of subsistence is so dependent, and in many instances so circumscribed, the catholic clergy will fail to attain to that dignity of character which is necessary to render them useful to society, nor will their people emerge from ignorance and poverty. The Roman catholic clergy ought to be desirous of becoming independent of the people. The Rev. Dr. Stock, now bishop of Waterford, expresses his sentiments on this subject, with a candour and liberality which do as much honour to his judgment as to his heart. This worthy and learned prelate was a constant resident in his diocese, and seems to have been well acquainted with all his catholic neighbours. His opinion, therefore, independently of its being that of a dignitary of the established church, is entitled to particular attention.

“The almost total dependence of the Romish clergy of Ireland,” says he, “on their people, for the means of subsistence, is the cause, according to my best judgment, why, upon every popular commotion, they have been, and, until measures of better policy are adopted, always will be, found in the ranks of sedition, and opposition to the established government. The peasant will love a revolution, because he feels the weight of poverty, and has not often the sense to perceive that a change of masters may render it heavier. The priest must follow the impulse of the popular wave, or be left behind on the beach to perish. There was a time, indeed, when superstition was of force to uphold the credit and revenues of the church of Rome, even where convulsions shook to pieces the fabric of civil government. But the reign of superstition is either passed or passing; at least, if it hold the mind of the believer, it is not, by many degrees, so effectual as formerly to open his purse. Holy oil, and indulgencies, and absolutions, have fallen very much in their price; confessions are, comparatively speaking, unproductive; and even the golden mine of purgatory seems to be running to a thread. Voluntary contribution, the main resource of the priest, must depend on his popularity: “live with me, and live as I do; oppress me not with superior learning or refinement; take thankfully what I choose to give you, and earn it by compliance with my political creed or conduct.” Such, when justly translated, is the language of the Irish cottager to his priest. It is language which will be listened to in proportion to the exigency of the case. A sturdy moralist will do his duty in spite of penury. Admirable, and not to be looked for among the common herd of mankind, is the virtue which can withstand the menace of absolute want of bread. The remedy for this defect in the present political system of Ireland should seem to be as easy, as it is obvious.”\*

\* “A Narrative of what passed at Killala, in 1798, by an eye-witness,” Edit. the 5th, 1809, p. 91.

My opinions are in unison with this writer. The means of raising the condition of the catholic priesthood, is as obvious, as it is necessary, in the present circumstances of the country. Their interest, and that of the state, are so connected, that they cannot be separated. When I have urged this subject in conversation with some of our public men, I have always been told that the adoption of this plan would be the formation of a catholic establishment in Ireland. I must confess that to me the evils that are apprehended from such a measure are not apparent; my opinions are favourable to such an establishment; and it affords me great satisfaction to find a protestant bishop impressed with the same ideas. Some persons argue, that this would encourage the catholic religion. It would, undoubtedly, contribute in no small degree to enlighten its professors, and to render them better subjects; for, as Dr. Stock justly observes, it is the ignorance as well as the penury of the catholic priest, which is to be combated. By ignorance, I do not mean a want of theological or classical learning, but of that general knowledge of mankind which must be acquired by every man who is desirous of becoming useful to his country, and which can never be attained by those whose poverty excludes them from mixing with the mass of society. He who is condemned for life to a situation where he must exist by the hospitality of the miserable inhabitants, "gradually imbibes the sentiments, and insensibly acquires the manners of those with whom he associates."\* Man is an imitative animal, and capable of being so changed by example, as to lose the former habits of his life. British and French officers, compelled by accidental circumstances to live among savages, in the course of a few years, have adopted their manners, and have even tattooed their bodies.†

No precedent is wanting for the payment of the Catholic clergy. In the year 1796, the Glengary Scotch Fencible regiment, commanded by Lieut. Col. M'Donald, and at that time quartered in Kildare, had a catholic chaplain, Alexander M'Donald, authorized and maintained by government. The same year the above regiment, the Kildare militia, commanded by the late Duke of Leinster, the Donegal commanded by the present Earl of Leitrim, and the Clare by the present Earl Conyngham, were all quartered at Loughlinstown camp, beyond Bray. The chapels in the neighbourhood were not capacious enough to receive at mass so great an influx of strangers; and a memorial was drawn up by Mr. Tickle, the mayor of Kildare, to General Crosbie commander of the district, to request that government would appoint a catholic chaplain to the camp. A catholic clergyman was accordingly ordered to attend every Sunday, and received half-a-guinea each time for his service.

But there is an instance still more recent. In the sessions of 1809-10, an act was

This pamphlet bears every evidence of being the production of Dr. Stock. The perusal of it cannot be too much recommended, as it shews the necessity of that conduct, which must, in my opinion, be pursued, to preserve the tranquillity and promote the prosperity of Ireland.

\* Dr. Walsh's Letter.

† Barrow's Voyage to Cochin China, p. 369.

passed, directing the grand jury of each county to pay a catholic priest for attending the county gaol. These are the only cases of an avowed connexion between government and the catholic clergy, that have come to my knowledge; but there is, no doubt, a secret understanding, and we know of an open communication between the Earl Fingal and Dr. Troy, the respective heads of the catholic laity and clergy, and His Majesty's ministers. Should any symptoms of insurrection appear, their assistance would be required, in preference to all the protestants in Ireland; and were the general concurrence of the country necessary to any public measure, they would be the first persons consulted by His Majesty's ministers. This was the case at the time of the Union; and I have often been told that the man whose influence government was most anxious to obtain, and who first signed the petition in favour of that measure was Dr. Caulfield, the catholic bishop of Ferns.

Notwithstanding the opinion expressed by Dr. Walsh, many of the most respectable of the Roman catholic priests have assured me, that their clergy, would yet abandon their scruples against receiving a stipend from the crown; as it is well known, that there is no prospect in the catholic church of an independent subsistence for its ministers, none but the children of the poorer classes are educated for the priesthood;\* and this remark is confirmed by a passage in Dr. Walsh's letter. This gentleman has the care of a populous parish, and the incomes of the catholic clergy arise from a kind of poll-tax. The Reverend Doctor may not, therefore, feel "the griping hand of penury" himself; but, I doubt, whether he has sufficiently taken into consideration the condition of some of his brethren in mountain parishes, in which there are few inhabitants. Those really acquainted with the interests of their country, and desirous to see internal tranquillity established on a solid and permanent basis, can have no objection to the catholic clergy being paid by the public. The establishment for these men ought to be completed, and their salaries apportioned; the acceptance must then be left to their own discretion: this would exonerate government, and if discontent should afterwards arise, the cause would be more easily ascertained. I cannot, however, conceive on what ground the catholic clergy could refuse an offer which would impose no other restraint upon them than what arose from the feelings of gratitude; it would neither interfere with their doctrine, nor the internal administration of their church; and if these divines reflect that their people in every part of the country, besides paying a full share towards the expenses of the state, contribute largely to the support of the established clergy, they would readily perceive that they are themselves entitled to a permanent and settled provision from the public. Dr. Walsh supposes that the influence of the catholic

\* Dr. Paley says, speaking of a ministry whose incomes depend upon voluntary payment, "at least, it may be pronounced, that a ministry so degraded would soon fall into the lowest hands." *Moral and Political Philosophy*, 2d edit. p. 562.

clergy over the population depends upon the continuation of the present system of payment. But what influence can be of such benefit, as that derived from respectability of character, the result of superior talents and virtue? Let the clergy enjoy a due influence over their followers;\* without this salutary awe, their spiritual labours can have little effect; but when influence is employed to multiply population, by those who have not the power to create a proportionate increase of wealth, it is not deserving of encouragement.† Many of the opposers of catholic emancipation complain of the baneful effects arising from this power of the catholic clergy, and it has been particularly enforced in the House of Peers by Lord Redesdale. I would recommend to that noble lord the perusal of the passage in Dr. Walsh's letter, in which he laments the loss of influence, and accounts for it by the cessation of persecution. Those who entertain apprehensions of mischief from this influence, and who are desirous of avoiding the danger, would do well to adopt a line of conduct that would break the talisman by which it has been created. Let all persecution cease, and the dreaded effect will vanish. It, perhaps, may be said, that the catholics labour under no persecution. But exclusion from civil rights, in whatever degree, is a negative persecution; the feeling is the same, whether a man be robbed of his property, or withheld from that to which he is legally entitled. Dr. Walsh thinks that this influence is necessary; but if it be necessary, it is only for the purpose of securing an income to the priest; let him derive this income from some other source, and the necessity of the influence, as it effects the catholic clergyman, is at an end. Many are surprised at the popularity of the catholic clergy of Ireland, but they ought to recollect what has been said by Swift: "I never saw, heard, nor read, that the clergy were beloved in any nation where Christianity was the religion of the country; nothing can render them popular but some degree of persecution."‡

I entertain a high opinion of Dr. Walsh's letter, and readily subscribe to the greater part of it; but I desire a little farther explanation of that part where he speaks of the necessity of influence to the priesthood; if he mean political influence, then we are at issue. Let the clergy confine themselves to their proper sphere: I apply this remark to the church of Ireland as well as to the church

\* "Il faut donc dire que le gouvernement qui convient aux Pasteurs, est un gouvernement de conseil, d'instruction, de persuasion, et dont la force et l'autorité consiste toute entière, dans la parole de Dieu, qu'ils doivent enseigner aux peuples, et nullement dans une autorité personnelle. Leur pouvoir est de déclarer les ordres de Dieu, leur commission ne va pas au-delà." *Principes Du Droit Politique*, par J. J. Burlamaqui. Amst. 1751. 4to. p. 185.

† In Ireland, it is the interest of the priest to increase the number of the people, by encouraging early marriages. Pallas mentions "the instance of a colony in which the priesthood are otherwise paid; and, therefore, their influence is exercised to prevent the premature union of young persons." *Voyage de Pallas*, tome v. p. 253.

‡ Swift's Thoughts on Religion.

of Rome. Let them attend to spiritual concerns, and leave temporal affairs to the laity. In no country in the world is this separation of spiritual and temporal interests more necessary than in Ireland; where the power of the priest, either by multiplying holidays, or encouraging population beyond the progress of wealth or the demand for labour, produces national idleness, with all its train of evils. Were it possible, the political influence of the priesthood should be restrained as strictly as it is in Thibet,\* a country which, in this respect, holds out a most salutary example. In Norway, also, the priest refuses to perform the marriage ceremony, unless the parties can shew that they possess the probable means of supporting a family;† and Malthus ascribes the superior condition of the peasantry in Switzerland to a similar cause.‡

Dr. Walsh complains, that the influence of the clergy is on the decline; and I am acquainted with many protestant gentlemen, who express similar regret; experience has taught them that they can manage the people only through the interference of the priest. If a theft be committed, application is immediately made to the priest; when a riot is apprehended the priest is consulted on the best means of preventing it. This practice, however, arises from the want of education among the common people of the catholic persuasion, with whom the power of the priest is substituted for that of reason. Dr. Price has justly remarked, that "he who in religion cannot govern himself by his conviction of religious duty, but is obliged to receive formularies of faith, and to practise modes of worship imposed upon him by others, wants religious liberty."§ And in another place he says, "without civil and religious liberty, man is a poor and abject animal, without rights, without property, and without a conscience; bending his neck to the yoke, and crouching to the will of every silly creature, who has the insolence to pretend to authority over him. Nothing, therefore, can be of so much consequence to us, as liberty. It is the foundation of all honour, and the chief privilege and glory of our nature."||

It is common for the parish priest to hold some lands, and his parishioners gratuitously perform all the labour. I have frequently seen protestant yeomen scoffing at them while so employed, and asking in what manner they were to be paid; a few curses, ejaculated against their task-master, were the only answer they returned: burdens heavy enough are imposed upon them exclusive of those of the church; and it is extraordinary that they submit to all this labour without any benefit to themselves. The habit has been early ingrafted; the mind has been so accustomed to the yoke, as to lose all ideas of independence; and thus a slavish oppression has become a duty,

\* Turner's Embassy to Thibet, part ii. ch. 8. p. 312.

† Malthus on Population, p. 186, who relates this circumstance from personal observation when in Norway, in 1799.

‡ Ibid. p. 278.

§ Price's Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty, 5th edit. 1776, p. 4.

|| Ibid. p. 6.

In Tipperary, I asked a boy, who complained of having worked some days for his parish priest without being paid, why he did so? He replied, "because it would be shameful to refuse the good man." The emancipation, which would be availing to the catholic poor, consists in a release from the heavy burden of working for the priest without remuneration, and from the payment of church fees. The discontent among the people from the latter cause, impels them to riots and acts of violence. At the time I was in the county of Roscommon, the inhabitants of a townland were compelled to swear, that they would no longer pay the priest for baptisms and marriages, more than the stated sum; and they carried their outrage so far, as to *card* a new married pair for having complied with his demand. But this desire of being freed from the trammels of sacerdotal influence, is not confined to the peasantry. Among the uneducated catholic aristocracy, there are many whose religion consists rather in an attachment to the appendages of catholicism, than to the principles of its creed; and no class can be more impatient to liberate themselves from the dominion of their clergy. Were I to speak of a yet higher order, I should say, that among them, this sentiment is still more strongly manifested. When the catholic hierarchy protested against granting the *veto*, I was in Ireland; and it was then evident, that this class had a marked and decided enmity to the political influence of their church. By this circumstance I was convinced that the anxiety which is manifested by the more respectable part of the Roman catholics, to participate in political power with their protestant brethren, is real; that their public meetings have been held with this view; and, that the unworthy suspicions entertained of their claims being only a veil to conceal treasonable designs, is void of foundation.

It is difficult to form an estimate of the sum annually paid to the catholic priesthood in Ireland. I am inclined to believe, that the number of persons who attend chapels, where worship is performed according to the rites of the church of Rome, is not less than four millions. But as young children do not contribute towards the support of the clergy, and as these may be taken at one-third of the whole, or 1,200,000, the number who actually sustain this burden will be 2,700,000. In country parishes at Christmas and at Easter, the donation is one shilling; according to their circumstances or the generosity of their dispositions, some give half-a-crown, others a crown, and a few, a guinea a year.\* In the course of my inquiries, I never found that the heads of families gave less than half-a-crown a year; but in general half-a-crown at each period, making a crown annually. I shall average the 2,700,000, persons above stated at 2s. 6d. each per annum, which will give £337,000. † but this must be much below the real sum that is paid for Christmas and Easter dues.

\* Dr. Walsh's Letter.

† Perhaps, in towns all members of the church of Rome do not communicate, in which case they do not contribute.

The proportion of marriages in Ireland seems to be greater, according to the population, than in any other country of Europe; and for the reason already assigned, particularly among the catholic inhabitants. In England and Wales they appear to have been as 1 to 123;\* in France they used to be as 1 to 113;† in the Pays de Vaud in Switzerland, as 1 to 140;‡ in Norway as 1 to 130.§ This subject might be pursued farther; but these instances are sufficient for my purpose, as they are all taken, that of the particular district in Switzerland excepted, from entire countries; and, therefore, allowance is made for any diminution of numbers in cities, or during years of scarcity. The average of these four countries is 126½.

Supposing marriages, therefore, not to be more numerous in Ireland, than in the countries above-mentioned, although I believe they are, it will be found, if 4,000,000 be divided by 126, that there are at least 31,745 marriages annually among the Roman catholics. According to Dr. Walsh, the bishops receive for a marriage license, the publication of banns being considered disgraceful, never less than a crown, and according to the abilities of the parties, sometimes 10*s.* 6*d.*, or a guinea. But I shall average these 31,745 marriages at 7*s.* 6*d.*, which I conceive to be near the truth: whatever may be the custom in the diocese of Cork, I can inform Dr. Walsh, that in other parts of the kingdom, I never heard that a license was granted for less than 10*s.* 6*d.*

Dr. Walsh says, that “in the diocese of Cork, by an order of the bishop, no clergyman is warranted to receive more from the parties than 10*s.* 6*d.*; yet the sum universally given by the bridegroom for performing the ceremony, is a guinea.”

In addition to this, a collection is frequently made among the friends of the parties who have been invited, for the benefit of the parish priest. The amount of this contribution it is difficult to estimate. It may, however, I think, be taken at another guinea, although I have known many instances of its amounting to several pounds, and particularly among respectable farmers.

The parochial fee for each christening is 2*s.* or 2*s.* 6*d.*, besides which, something more is usually given by the sponsors. I shall take the whole at 2*s.* 6*d.* a birth. The proportion of births to the population of England and Wales, is as 1 to 30.¶ In France, the proportion is as 1 to 25, a mean of which is as 2 to 55.¶ According to this calculation, therefore, we should have in Ireland 148,148 births annually, at 2*s.* 6*d.* each, making £12,587.\*\*

\* Observations on the Result of the Population Act, p. 11.

† Necker de L'Administration des Finances, tom. 1. ch. ix. p. 255.

‡ Muret Memoir du Societe' de Berne Année, 1766, tab. 1.

§ Malthus on Population, p. 242.

¶ Ibid. p. 318.

¶ Necker de L'Administration des Finances, tom. 1. ch. ix. p. 254.

\*\* I have here taken an average of two European countries, although I am convinced that it is by no means equal to the fact in Ireland.

A trifle is generally given for visiting the sick, which in the country is usually a shilling.\*

In some parts of the country it has been established into a custom, that a quantity of hay is sent to the priest, by the more opulent parishioners; and that his turf should be cut, his corn reaped, and his meadow mowed, gratis. It may be also stated, on good authority, that in some parts of Ireland, bordering on the coast, a stipulated quantity of fish is given to the priest, in lieu of parochial dues.†

There are no data upon which the amount of the last two items can be calculated, the latter of which Dr. Walsh calls "parochial dues," an expression which shews the universality of the custom.

Dr. Walsh says, "the retribution for each mass in the diocese to which he belongs, is 2s.; in other parts it varies, being sometimes more and sometimes less; but if mass be said at the house of a parishioner at his own request, he usually gives the clergyman a crown."

"A dinner is prepared for the priest at every house where he appoints a station; the householder's friends and neighbours are invited." Dr. Walsh makes some just observations on this custom, which he has abolished in his parish; but in other parts of the kingdom it is general.

This gentleman has not enumerated the retribution at funerals. He includes it, I suppose, under the head of mass said in private houses; but I have been present at many, where a general collection was made after the service was finished. I never heard of this being done at the grave. The sum, therefore, arising from funerals, cannot, I think, be calculated at less than that produced by christenings.

Hence it appears, that the account will stand as follows:

Christmas and Easter offerings	-	-	-	£337,000
Marriage licenses	-	-	-	11,914
Marriage fees for performing the ceremony	-	-	-	33,332
Collections made at weddings	-	-	-	33,332
Christening fees	-	-	-	12,587
Burials	-	-	-	12,587.

This calculation is sufficient to shew, that the support of the regular catholic clergy imposes on the people, an annual burden of more than £500,000., which, if added to the taxation for the established clergy, the whole will form an enormous amount when compared with the revenue of the country. Many other expenses, which fall upon the Roman catholics, I have not here mentioned; such as the repairs and building of new chapels, in which they are frequently assisted by their protestant neighbours, and sometimes by protestant bishops. A contribution for this purpose was lately announced in the newspapers, from the bishop of Derry. This conduct is liberal and praiseworthy: the principle upon which it was given cannot be

\* Dr. Walsh's Letter.

† Ibid.

unfavourable to the catholic clergy being paid by government; and is the same which permits catholics to accept contributions from protestants towards the building of their chapels. The practice which prevails of the catholic priest receiving presents from the protestant inhabitants of his parish, proves that the tenets of their religion can form no obstacle to this mode of payment.

Vanity is a predominant feature in the character of the Irish, of all ranks and religions; and as if the genius and disposition of the catholics were totally misconceived by the protestants, they sometimes treat their clergy, the objects of their profound veneration, with the utmost scorn and contempt. It is not difficult for a protestant gentleman to live at peace with his catholic neighbours; if he behave with common civility to their parish priest, he will be loved and respected: but if he value his own peace, he will not forget that the priesthood, in the estimation of the common people, are a high aristocracy, who must not be offended with impunity. An injury done to a priest is an insult to his parishioners; he is always a constant resident among them,\* and ever ready to attend to their wants, to listen to their grievances, and to sooth their misfortunes. Familiar intercourse makes them intimately acquainted with their situation; and when suffering under bodily affliction, he does not merely administer the balm of spiritual comfort; he has a medicine-chest at his house; and going from cabin to cabin, he supplies their sick inhabitants with such medicines, as may be suited to their diseases. Thus he becomes the partner of their destiny, participates in their joys and in their sorrows, and regards their good fortune with a parental eye. Is it wise policy, therefore, to consider a man, of so much consequence in his neighbourhood, as unworthy of respect, or to manifest an aversion to associate with him? This, however, is frequently to be observed; and the consequence is, that society among the Roman catholics is in a miserable and degraded condition.

It has been asserted, that the conduct of the catholic clergy in 1798, did not merit the approbation of government. This, however, was not generally the case; some, perhaps, forgetting their allegiance, did join the standard of rebellion; but according to the accounts given to me, they were men of depraved characters, who being disgraced in the eyes of their own bishops, and having nothing to lose, were ready to embark in any desperate attempt by which they thought they could better their condition. On the contrary, numerous are the instances which occurred of the attachment shewn by the catholic clergy to the government. Every thing, indeed, considered, it is astonishing, that so many remained inactive, and were not tempted to assist in a rebellion, which at one time held out the prospect of placing them in a much better situation.

It will be seen by the extracts from my journal, inserted in this chapter, that there

\* This is confirmed by Mr. Townsend, Survey of Cork, p. 163.

are in various parts of Ireland both monasteries and convents. The priests, who reside in the former, make itinerant visits through the country, in order to collect money from the people for the support of their establishments. This tax, extorted from industry, occasions loud and frequent complaints, many instances of which I had occasion to remark during my residence in Ireland. The convents are the principal seminaries for female education, and are supported by the salaries paid by the young ladies who are brought up in them.

Besides the catholic clergy with regular and permanent settlements, there are priests who belong to no parish, but officiate occasionally, and marry, christen, and perform other rites, at a cheaper rate than those who have been regularly appointed. By the respectable part of the Roman catholics, these persons are held in the greatest contempt. Well knowing how easily the populace are worked upon by the power of superstition, they propagate among them for their own advantage the most absurd notions. They distribute, it is said, indulgences, and like the African *grisgris*,\* and *saphies*,† sell amulets, containing a verse or two of scripture, sewed up in a piece of leather, which I have seen worn as a charm, by sick children round their necks. To those, unacquainted with the ignorance which prevails among the lower Irish, it may appear surprising, that in the present day, such delusions should have any power over the mind; but such is certainly the case. They have also a custom, similar to one common among the negroes of Africa‡: having performed a pilgrimage to some holy well, near which there is generally an ash tree, they hang upon it a piece of their garments; and trees may be seen covered in this manner with party-coloured rags.

These practices, common only among the lowest vulgar, bring odium on the whole body of the Roman catholics, and afford a pretext to their enemies to accuse them of the grossest superstition. They call, therefore, for the most serious attention of the catholic bishops, who, if they regard their own character, and the honour of their religion, ought to pursue proper means to instruct the people in the true principles of their faith, and wean them from such erroneous notions. Much has been written upon popish superstition, and many follies have been ascribed to that religion, which in reality does not belong to it. Every person who has studied ecclesiastical history knows, that practices similar to those to which I allude, have at various times, and in different places, been expressly forbidden, not only by the fathers of the church, but by councils and synods. But without entering at large into the subject, which would afford ample materials for a long dissertation, I shall content myself with mentioning a few of the prohibitions issued against amulets, which are supposed by the ignorant to operate as cures, or to act as preservatives

\* Beaver's African Memoranda,

+ Parke's Travels, 2d edit. 1799, p. 38.

‡ Parke's Travels, p. 43.

from disease. The council of Constantinople, in 692, forbade the use of these preservatives under the pain of six years' excommunication, and those who continued obstinate in employing them, were to be for ever expelled from the church.\* The third council of Tours in 813, ordered curates to inform the faithful, that ligatures could in no manner afford relief to men or to animals labouring under any disease, or be of use to the lame or the dying, and that they were only snares laid by the devil.† Champagne, in his Capitulary of Aix-la-Chapelle, in the year 789, forbade ecclesiastics, agreeably to the thirty-sixth canon of the council of Laodicea, to make any incantations or preservatives, under pain of being expelled from the church.‡

The diocesan synod of Mount Cassino in 626, ordered confessors to be careful to inquire of their penitents, and of persons at the point of death, whether they employed any superstitious remedies unknown to medicine, for the recovery of their health.§

“Languis,” says the Abbé Thiers, physician to the Electors Palatine of the Rhine, “refuted, on the authority of St. Augustine, cures attempted to be performed by means of certain words taken from the holy scriptures.”|| And the same physician complains of quacks, who employed incantations, and magical and superstitious remedies, thus degrading the practice of medicine, one of the greatest blessings conferred by the Almighty upon mankind.¶

My remarks, on the general character of the humbler orders of the catholics in Ireland, will be found in the chapter on Manners and Habits, to which it more properly belongs. They form, by far, the majority of the inhabitants of the country; and, therefore, to ascertain their real disposition is a matter of the utmost importance, especially as different opinions are entertained on the subject. To judge from the resolutions so frequently entered into by the catholic aristocracy in Ireland, we might be induced to believe, that the catholic populace are as loyal as any other class of men in the kingdom; but I am convinced, from the result of all my observations, that on their attachment to government no dependence can be placed: nor is this surprising, for the man who has nothing to fear from any change that might take place, cannot be supposed to be very anxious for the preservation of a system which permits him not to enjoy even the pleasures of hope. After what I have advanced in various parts of this work, it is not here necessary to inquire into the cause which

\* “Sexennii Canonii subjiçiantur amuletorum præbitores; eos autem qui in iis persistunt, Ecclesia omnino exturbandos decernimus, sicut et sacri Canones dicunt. Concil. Trallan. Can. 61.” See also on this subject the venerable *Bede Hist. Anglor.* lib. iv. cap. 27.

† Can. 42.

‡ C. W. deeset 2.

§ Num. 72.

|| “Merito apiles illos versiculos ex sacræ scripturæ verbis una cum divo Augustino desuimus, &c. Ego eas præcipuè quæ verbis constant, non assis facio.” *Traité des Superstitions selon l'Écriture Sainte*, par M. Jean Baptiste Thiers, Bachelier en Théologie de la Faculté de Paris, Paris, 1679, p. 416.

¶ Prefat. in Epist.

has produced the general discontent, and the disposition to revolt, which form so conspicuous a feature in the character of the catholics in Ireland: the low and degraded state in which they have been kept, and which precludes them from every kind of improvement, is the great operating cause. This impolitic system continued for a series of years, has produced a hereditary disaffection; it is imbibed in infancy, acquires strength by age, and is confirmed by experience. A remedy, therefore, for so dangerous an evil cannot be applied too soon; and that which seems to be most effectual; is the diffusion of useful knowledge, the conciliation of the heart by mild and gentle treatment, with a constant excitement to industry. This is the task to be accomplished—a task worthy of any government, whose best security is the affections of the people.

Some persons assert that the catholics are not degraded: but the circumstances which might be produced to prove the contrary are too striking and too numerous to admit of any doubt. Were a stranger, passing through Essex, to announce at every village, that on a certain night, a party, no matter of what religious persuasion, intended to spread desolation around them, by burning the houses, and massacring all their inhabitants, such a threat would excite only a smile. But let us suppose that instead of a stranger, I, who am known in that county, should propagate a similar report, what would be the consequence? It would, no doubt, be concluded that I had lost my senses. In the year 1798, a rumour of this kind was spread in various parts of Ireland; the people were threatened that on a certain night the Orangemen would burn their houses, ravish their wives, and make a general massacre of the inhabitants. This story, was implicitly believed; and the consequence was, the people deserted their houses, and fled to the bogs and the mountains. But it will be said, this was during the period of rebellion; the inhabitants were in arms, and the country was on the eve of being involved in all the horrors of a civil war. This I will readily admit; but I am sorry to say, that I saw numbers lying out of doors, in the neighbourhood of Ross, in the year 1809, in consequence of such a report being spread by a stranger; and I am convinced, that at this moment, any one, in the least known, who might spread such alarm would cause the catholic inhabitants of whole districts to desert their homes. Is not this a proof that the poor live in continual apprehension, and have no confidence in their own situation? They are haunted with the terror of persecution; they feel that they are without protectors; they are alive to the least alarm; and this must be the case, until they see the aristocracy of their own faith participating equally with the protestants in the political power of the country.

This miserable state of society cannot be said to have arisen from want of power in the government. Should any be disposed to entertain such an opinion, I refer them to the insurrection bill, and to the frequent practice of placing whole districts under martial law. Neither can it be said, that government has been without

the means to enable it to exercise these powers with promptness and vigour; these means have been liberally furnished, and it does not appear that the energy of its arm was ever arrested by the fear of responsibility. Punishment has been amply inflicted; torture has been employed; executions have been frequent; and thousands, consigned to a less rigorous fate, have been transported to distant climes. Yet it is still a question, which labours under the greater apprehension, the wretched populace, whose condition I have here faintly portrayed, or the government, whose resources I have described? Riots have taken place at various times in England; but they have always arisen from local and temporary causes. We have seen, in our own day, the mechanics and labouring manufacturers, in various towns, assemble in a tumultuous manner, when reduced to want by some accidental stagnation of trade; the artificers of a dock-yard frequently become riotous in order to procure an increase of wages. In the year 1780, a senseless cry against the proposed repeal of a part of the penal statutes upon the catholics, exposed the professors of that religion in the metropolis to imminent danger, their houses were burned; and a similar spirit of intolerance drove, a few years ago, an eminent philosopher from our country, and deprived science of the result of his labours in a valuable library which fell a prey to the flames. But England is a stranger to those continued and simultaneous risings, which evince, among the great body of the people, a general discontent, and a desire to throw off the yoke of government. Nor is she acquainted with great insurrectional movements, which can be restrained only by a powerful military force, and by which the government is compelled to call to their aid a standing army, giving to the country the appearance of a late conquest. Various circumstances have contributed to place Ireland in this delicate and alarming situation; one of the most prominent, and least liable to be mistaken, is the degraded state of the great body of the catholics, who do not consider their lives, their families, or their property at all protected; and who, in consequence of the present system may be oppressed by the meanest of the protestants, without any fear of retaliation. Montesquieu says, that "the political liberty of the subject consists in a tranquillity of mind, arising from the opinion each person has of his own safety;" and he adds, that "in order to obtain this liberty, it is requisite that the government should be so constituted, as that one person need not be afraid of another."\*

While the uneducated classes of the protestants are permitted to oppress the catholics with impunity, so long will the latter be wretched, discontented, and unruly. The word papist, or catholic, carries as much contempt along with it, as if a beast were designated by the term. When the comfort or the interest of the catholic is

\* "La liberté politique dans un citoyen est cette tranquillité d'esprit qui provient de l'opinion que chacun a de sa sûreté; et pour qu'on ait cette liberté, il faut que le gouvernement soit tel, qu'un citoyen ne puisse pas craindre un autre citoyen." *Esprit des Lois*, lib. ix. ch. 6. *Œuvres*, vol. i. p. 279.

under consideration he must always give way ; for although he stands as erect before his Maker as does the protestant, he is yet considered as an inferior animal, and thought unworthy of participating in the same enjoyments. But the prejudices of the protestants are rather to be pitied than blamed ; if the law have made such degrading distinctions the ignorant part of the protestants are in some measure authorized to entertain such ideas. If a catholic have not taken the oath of allegiance, the protestant, on tendering him five pounds, can demand and by law retain his horse, whatever may be its value. I shall be told, perhaps, that the act by which this is authorized has become obsolete, but an instance which shewed that it was in full force occurred about twenty years ago, at Kells, in the county of Meath. This act is generally known ; and although the protestants are better educated than the catholics, many of them are still ignorant enough to believe that their catholic fellow-subjects are the *helots* of the country, who ought to be retained in a state of political bondage.

That the character of the Irish catholics is different, in different parts of Ireland, has been already mentioned. They all, however, agree in dislike to the government : and it is to be recollected, that the mob, in consequence of their numbers, turn the scale to whichever side they incline. In one case, they form the strength and security of the government ;\* in the other, they become its most dangerous enemies when the tie of affection is dissolved. Wretched and perilous must the state of that country be, where oppression has excited among this class a general spirit of discontent, and where they look forward to a favourable opportunity, either of enlisting under the banner of rebellion, or of throwing themselves into the arms of the first foreign invader that may offer them assistance.

The causes which have produced this irritable and inflammable spirit among the great mass of the Irish catholics are various, and, perhaps, unequally felt. Every individual exposed to oppression, is not equally alive to suffering ; nor are general evils viewed in the same light by those upon whom they fall ; but the grievances of the catholics, are considered as concentrated in one great political evil, which palliatives will but increase, and which can be cured only by emancipation and other great benefits conferred by the liberal hand of a wise and enlightened policy. To emancipation their chief attention is directed ; and although influenced by different interests, a conviction that nothing but unanimity can ensure success, unites them firmly together. Their priests, in consequence of their dependent condition, must

\* Mr. Chalmers says, " We may now perceive that money cannot buy men ; that men are of more value than money. The policy, then, which regards riches as the chief good, must end in the ruin of the state ; and that statesman who should consider the exchequer as the only object of his care, would soon be without an exchequer to care for." *Chalmers's Estimate*, edit. 1810, p. 820.

yield to the current of public opinion, and sanction sentiments which they might under other circumstances be inclined to condemn.\*

It is urged against the catholics, that they have never been satisfied with what has been done for them, and this is given as a reason why no further concession should be granted. But it ought to be remembered, that the same charge is applicable, in a much greater degree, to the protestant, who has seldom yielded but from fear, never with a good grace, and always with regret. Partial justice excites no respect; and when men receive only a part of what is their due, little gratitude can be expected; here we have the reasons why the concessions already made have not appeased the catholics. Since the year 1793, they have been twice disappointed in their expectations of relief; first, by the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam, and afterwards by the resignation of Mr. Pitt, the Marquis Cornwallis, &c. The unfortunate death of those liberal patrons of catholic emancipation, the Lords Mountjoy and O'Neil, has frequently been held up in debate, as a sign of ingratitude on the part of the catholics; and, although it may be of little importance to the great question, it ought to be placed in its real point of view. Lord Mountjoy lost his life at the battle of New Ross; the rebel ranks certainly consisted, for the most part, of Roman catholics, but their general, Mr. Bagnal Harvey, was a member of the church of Ireland; and it is believed, by many who were present, that His Majesty's arms were finally victorious, in consequence of the death of that nobleman, who, I think, commanded the Dublin militia. He was exceedingly popular with his regiment, and they fought with redoubled ardour, in order to avenge his fall. Nor must it be forgotten, that many in that regiment were Roman catholics. Lord O'Neil did not lose his life in battle, but was basely murdered by a banditti of rebels, to whom, through mistaken confidence, he exposed himself too rashly. But these rebels consisted chiefly of presbyterians; and the affair at Antrim where he was killed, had as little to do with a catholic insurrection, as it had with one of the Janissaries at Constantinople.

That great concessions have been made in the course of the present reign must be admitted. They throw a lustre over it, which will be more durable than the splendour of the military and naval achievements by which it has been so eminently distinguished; and although they may be forgotten by the vulgar, whom they less affected, they are duly appreciated by the better sort of catholics, who have practically felt their value. But it is disgusting to hear the continued boast of the "great and magnanimous policy by which these measures were dictated; and the incessant calls upon the Irish Roman catholics for eternal gratitude, on account of the benefits

\* "From the difficulty," says Paley, "with which congregations would be established upon the *voluntary* plan, let us carry our thoughts to the condition of those who are to officiate in them. Preaching, in time, should become a mode of begging. With what sincerity, or with what dignity, can a preacher dispense the truths of Christianity, whose thoughts are perpetually solicited to the reflection how he may increase his subscription?" *Moral Philosophy*, 2d edit. 4to. 1786, p. 561.

they have received." A gift bestowed through expediency is not entitled to much gratitude; and whatever merit is due, belongs to a magnanimous individual,\* by whose eloquence, perseverance, and talents, these great and honourable measures were carried in England. What share belongs to the persons who composed His Majesty's councils, may be inferred from the remarks of Lord Hawkesbury, who, in his speech of the 10th of May 1805, said: "As I never could have approved of the principle of that code, I rejoice at its repeal; but, although I approve of the repeal in substance, I question the wisdom and policy of the mode in which many parts of it were effected. It does not appear to have been the result of any great and consistent system of policy."†

Another argument against the admission of the catholic claims is, that the middling and poorer classes would receive little benefit from it, and are, therefore, not interested in the question. This may be true as far as it respects the adult part of the present generation; but it supposes what is very unnatural, that men have no wish that their children should rise above their own condition, and have the liberty of distinguishing themselves in the paths of honour and glory. To the man of humble birth, who toils to support the splendour of the lord of the soil, or who contributes by his ingenuity or industry to his enjoyments, it is a great consolation, to reflect, that his offspring, by meritorious exertion, may rise to consequence and rank. How many plebeian families in England have been raised to the peerage, by the talents of various kinds which their relatives possessed? From this indiscriminate encouragement to honest ambition the state derives great benefit, and that strongest passion of the human breast, the desire of future remembrance or present honours, is stimulated and cherished. Many of the ablest generals and bravest admirals in the British service, have been men, whose families were neither splendid in ancestry nor wealthy from inheritance. Such examples are powerful incentives to the aspiring mind; they inflame the heart with a love of glory, and produce a spirit of emulation which cannot be repressed by difficulties nor appalled by danger. Is it possible that men should be indifferent to restrictions which condemn their children, however endowed by talents for filling the highest situations in the state, to inactivity and obscurity? The continuation of a system of policy, by which the country is deprived of the genius and talent of four millions of people cannot be too soon discontinued. A respectable and useful magistrate, who has the best opportunities of studying character among the humbler classes, says, in his *Treatise on Indigence*,‡ "Whatever tends to debase the labouring people in their own eyes, generally operates injuriously with respect to the interest of the community." This observation is applicable to the mass of the catholics in Ireland, who consider themselves as degraded by exclusive laws and invidious distinctions.

\* Edmund Burke, Esq.

† Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates, vol. iv. p. 687.

‡ Page 292.

That the Irish catholics feel, and in no slight degree, the injury to their character by the continuance of these restrictions is manifest upon all occasions. What are the feelings of a man of military talents, who is emulous of rising in his profession, when he finds that he must abandon his country, to seek in a foreign land that rank and promotion which are denied him at home? The instances are numerous, which might be produced of natives of Ireland having attained to the first military rank in almost every nation of Europe. Does it not excite regret to hear such men complaining of this their expatriation? At the catholic meeting of the county of Dublin, held at Kilmainham, in the month of September, 1811, colonel O'Shea, who had long served on the continent, addressed the chairman in the following words:

"In returning thanks to the chair, for the very distinguished mention made of me, I beg leave a moment to request the attention of this, so very respectable meeting, to introduce myself as an instance of the illiberality still so forcibly existing against our body.

"Having made in the Austrian army the campaigns against our mutual enemy, I found myself, at the late unfortunate struggle at Wagram, a colonel commanding a regiment of upwards of 3000 men; a rank I still retain, with the advantage of being able to resume my military situation, should Austria again make common cause with the other powers of Europe, groaning under France's despotism; and there every employment, the first situation, *even the command of the army is open to me*, CATHOLIC or PROTESTANT, did I but possess the necessary talents; and such is our established reputation, that archduke Charles said to me, "That never was the house of Austria better officered, than when possessing so many Irish, of whom, at one time, upwards of thirty were generals." How very different the situation at home! Although amongst the oldest and most respectable families in the country, possessing fortune and consequence to back it, let my acquirements and talents be what they will, I am curbed in my pursuit—no confidence to be placed in me—no command to be intrusted to me, *because a catholic*.

"In foreign countries, where I spent the greater part of my life, no such difference is conceived. Austria, catholic, has whole districts protestants, and some of the first employments throughout the empire are held by people of that persuasion. Saxony, protestant—its sovereign, is catholic; nor does religion ever interfere in state; such distinction is unfortunately only known to us, as those restrictions do not here extend to foreigners. Frederick of Prussia, the greatest warrior, the most enlightened sovereign of his time, built a catholic church (one of the chief ornaments of Berlin, opposite to his palace, although the religion he professed, the established religion of his country, was the protestant."

While such are the feelings and sentiments of the Irish catholics, it is a folly in us to undervalue those rights which they deem of such importance; if they be trifling in themselves, there is no reason why they should be withheld; if they be of consequence, they are the more justified in demanding them. Military exclusion, it is true, affects but a small portion of the community; but those who are acquainted with the Irish character must know that with them national pride is a ruling passion, and that their sympathies are awake to the cause of their countrymen. The common cause is like a conductor, to every individual of the whole body, by which the feeling becomes general. To be a free man of Rome gave eligibility to the highest

situations of the state: Brutus evinced his knowledge of the Roman character when he exclaimed, "Who is so mean that he would not be a free man?" there are few persons in Ireland so ignorant, as not to feel for those who are excluded from offices of honour and trust. A protestant judge, a protestant sheriff, and a protestant mayor, are daily before their eyes; and appear as a constant reproach. In such a situation is not the comparison obvious between themselves and their privileged neighbours? Nothing can be more natural, and yet they are accused of apathy, because the peculiar circumstances under which they are placed, oblige them to pursue a line of conduct, that shall not give offence. If they petition, they are discontented; if they remain quiet, they are considered as indifferent. That they are discontented, our own feelings as men may convince us; and that they are anxious for liberation, we shall easily be persuaded, by changing places with them, and then looking into our own hearts; but that they are indifferent can scarcely be believed; unless we admit, what Dr. Johnson said, was the motive upon similar occasions, that they signed because "they saw others sign, or because they were desirous of shewing that they could write."

It would be useless to dwell longer on this subject. The catholics, I speak of them in general, are not indifferent to their rights; and though they press their cause with prudence and moderation, their hearts are strongly with it, and they anxiously pant to be admitted to a full participation of the privileges of the British constitution. Emancipation is the object to which every eye is directed, and which every tongue would hail with joy. It is the door which must be thrown open, implicitly, if the protestant religion and church establishment be to be retained. Some there are who may consider this as a bold assertion, but its truth is to be proved by the best of all authorities, that of history and experience.

The first office to admission, of which the Roman catholics would feel much benefit, is that of sheriff. I do not deny, that should this trust be extended to them, caution might not be necessary respecting the persons selected. But attention here is of as much importance in the case of a protestant. The duty of sheriff is, at all times of consequence to the state, and in Ireland it has become much more so since the union. The catholics are excluded from the legislature; and the ambition which would lead them to this object, will naturally be directed to some other.—Grand juries are formed in each county twice a year; and the situation of a grand jurymen is, consequently, always in their view, which excites among all the resident catholics a wish to obtain this distinction. As none of their religion are authorized to summon those from whom the jurors are to be selected, they never conceive that impartiality, as far as respects their sect, is strictly observed. No exclusion affecting their personal rights excites so much complaint, as that which renders them incapable of filling the office of sheriff. It exhibits to the people, the continued degradation of their aristocracy. They know that the sheriff has the power of selecting for juries

whomsoever he pleases; and experience convinces them, that where a religious party spirit exists, passion is too apt to prevail over duty. Hence those frequent insinuations of packed juries, and that inveterate suspicion in the minds of the common people, who, alive to the slightest whisper, and ever ready to believe the worst, become at length habitually mistrustful of every man who professes a different creed. The consequence is, a timidity and a reserve which are unfriendly to social intercourse, and which strengthen the idea of separate interests, and weaken the bonds of society. The vigour of national exertion is thus paralyzed; and by a disunion of its parts, the state becomes languid and weak.

Much has been written on both sides, on the admission of catholics into corporate bodies. At present, all corporations are exclusively filled by protestants, and this privilege is a subject of illiberal exultation to the latter, who, indulging in malignant sarcasm, say to their Roman catholic brethren, "We should have no objection to admit you, but you know you are not eligible." Corporations, however useful in former times, have outlived their benefits to society. But even if it should be allowed that they are of some service to the state, when they become the means of perpetuating party distinctions, their utility ceases.

To enumerate all the instances of exclusion, to which the catholics in Ireland are subjected, would be useless. Those already mentioned are sufficient to shew the wall of separation that exists between the professors of the two religions; and how much cause these people have to complain. A Roman catholic cannot be a guardian to a protestant, nor their clergy act in this capacity to persons of their own faith; no disqualification can be more degrading to the character of men, who, as ministers of the gospel, are to be considered honest and disinterested. In the early ages of christianity, the clergy often acquired great wealth, by inducing those over whom they had influence, to leave their property to the church, as the sure means of obtaining salvation; but the age of superstitious fear has long ago passed away, and mankind are too enlightened to believe, that they can obtain the favour of heaven, by robbing their own families and relations. A catholic merchant is debarred from the enviable distinction, of becoming a bank director. The same system affects all ranks, from the merchant to the farmer, who pays a parish rate but who must not vote at a vestry; and from the farmer to the day-labourer, who, although he contribute to the support of the state, shares not in the usual alms bestowed on the indigent.

All these exclusions are part of a regular system, established by the sanction of the law. But such is the force of prejudice, and so strong the propensity which men have towards usurpation, that it is extended in practice beyond its intended limits.\* The labouring class of protestants have an immediate communication with

\* This spirit is manifested, not only by persons in common life, but by men in high official situations, among whom sentiments more liberal might be expected. During my residence in Ireland, the Scotch Greys were

their aristocracy, whose influence is general throughout the country. In the hands of the latter all patronage and preferment is placed. It may, therefore, be readily seen who are the objects of their favour; and it is natural that they should select those who agree with them in their religious faith. On days of exercise, a preference is shewn to men, whose sentiments are favourable to their ascendancy, and who may be considered as hostile to every measure that might tend to overturn it. Every lucrative situation is thus filled up by protestants; and considering the opinions they have imbibed from infancy, and which the government encourage, they are not much to be blamed. It is lamentable that such a spirit should continue to exist. It may, perhaps, be said that I am arguing as if places were created merely for the private advantage of those who hold them; but in this case, character and consideration are the objects, rather than emolument. Men of honourable minds will be as tenacious of their reputation as of their property. The influence attendant upon offices of trust, would enable the wealthy catholic to dispense the blessings of equal rights and civilization among his brethren; for until the aristocracy of that religious persuasion are placed in the same situation as their protestant fellow-citizens, improvement among the people will be looked for in vain.

These instances of exclusion are sufficient to shew the magnitude of the grievance and what cause the catholics have to be dissatisfied. The author of a very sensible pamphlet on this subject says:

“Religious distinctions in a state will produce disorders; and all restraints and disabilities, discontents. It is not easy to reason those who suffer disabilities into the belief that they merit them.

“The feelings of mankind are always on the side of that party which suffers in defence of its principles; and that cause is always popular, the supporters of which renounce the rights belonging to the society in which they live, for the love of what they seek to inculcate.

“Where the government presses equally upon all, what is universally the lot may be borne with patience: power may be exercised with moderation, and submission may be cheerful. But the insolence of a slave master and a slave merchant is proverbial; and from this extreme of human degradation, to

were quartered in some of the counties to the north of Dublin: a Roman catholic young gentleman of the county of Meath became acquainted with the officers, and having a strong attachment to a military life, was desirous to obtain a commission in that regiment. A cornetcy was accordingly agreed for, and his father was ready to advance the money, when his hopes were suddenly disappointed by the receipt of the following letter:

“SIR,

*Royal Barracks, Dublin, Sept. 14, 1809.*

“The command of the R. N. B. Dragoons having devolved upon me, in consequence of Lieut.-Col. Balfour's absence, I have the honour to inform you, that I have received a letter from General Sir David Dundas, in which he declines to recommend your son to a cornetcy in the regiment, on account of his religion, and particularly because the majority of the regiment are of the presbyterian persuasion.

“I shall very much regret if this decision should prove a disappointment to the young gentleman; but I should imagine that there are many other regiments of dragoons, where no such objection will be made. I have the honour to be, &c.

*J. Taffe, Esq.*

JAMES INGLIS HAMILTON, Lieut.-Col. R. N. B. Dragoons.”

(COPY.)

the last shade of difference between the powers and privileges of men, exclusive enjoyment will be accompanied, as long as the world exists, with intolerant presumption. The principles of liberty are more strong in those provinces of America that carry on the slave trade, than in those that have desisted from that inhuman traffic. Freedom in Virginia is worth twice the value of the same blessing in Pennsylvania: the moral character of the two states is indeed different, and a parallel might be easily found on this side of the Atlantic. It is of no importance to the argument to examine at present whether the establishment in Ireland be more or less intolerant, or the catholics be more or less submissive than they were a few years past; it is sufficient to remark, that the existence of any distinction, proceeding from any cause, inevitably leads to a party feeling, always hostile to the interests of the country; the former party may not govern with insolence, the latter may patiently submit; but the division of its people into two classes, should not be the aim of a legitimate government, the duty of which consists in the promotion of union, and which finds its reward in the affections of its subjects. Were there even equality of numbers in the division, and difference pre-supposes pre-eminence on the one side and degradation on the other; the first will entail bigoted faction, the second may produce rebellion.

“Whether the state then be protestant or catholic, it is its duty, as well as policy, to encourage by all the means in its power, an union of the whole people. The league between the injured, to resist the encroachments of power, ought to be prevented. The existence of such league is a proof of some defect on the part of the government, which it is bound to correct. Instead of enforcing the pains and penalties that caused that combination, all the principles of public and private interest call upon it to dissolve such union, in the only manner in which such dissolution can in safety be effected by the removal of all the causes that contributed to its formation. Independent of the state of insecurity and alarm in which a government must always remain when its existence is owing to the weakness or forbearance of the people whom it oppresses, that state of things is hostile to the narrow interests it attempts to support. As natural objects of hatred and envy, the poor and the miserable are armed against their rulers. A general suspicion of each other pervades every part of the empire; and the government, tottering on itself, exists in hourly expectation of general revolt, and is compelled to support a precarious being, at the expense of the lives and liberties of its subjects. If, on the contrary, the wealth of the community be an important consideration to the state, there appears to be no means so secure for the tranquil possession of it, as well as for its rapid increase, as an encouragement held out to the collective industry and ambition of all its inhabitants, and that industry is best excited and stimulated by the hope of improving their condition—an expectation that sets in motion the activity both of body and mind of all the nations of the world. In proportion as this object, so important to be obtained, is increased or diminished, in the same ratio does the industry of a people increase or decline.”\*

A point of much importance to be considered in the discussion of this question is, the difference in the increase of population, between the protestants and the Roman catholics. The protestant never quits his life of celibacy, until he has a reasonable prospect of maintaining his family, and of giving a decent education to his children; marriages, therefore, do not take place so early among persons of that persuasion, as among the Roman catholics. If we compare the increase of a young couple who marry at the age of seventeen or eighteen, and of another, who prudently wait until they attain to a more mature period of life, the difference will be found to be astonishing. In Ireland the causes of this difference are little noticed, although the evils

\* Thoughts on the Protestant Ascendency in Ireland, p. 78.

consequent upon such a custom deserve the most serious consideration:—were there no other argument for elevating the condition of the Roman catholics in Ireland, this alone would be sufficient.

An ingenious writer says, experience demonstrates that the young of animals which are suffered to breed too early, never attain to their natural strength and size.\* The same thing happens among the human species, when too early an union of the sexes takes place. The old Gauls and Germans were aware of this important truth; and, therefore, they considered it a shame to marry too young. They paid particular attention also to equality of age, as well as to proper size and strength; and Tacitus assigns this as a reason for the extraordinary strength and stature of the old Germans.+ Aristotle, who has not overlooked this point of political economy, expresses a similar opinion; and he remarks, that it had been observed in cities where people married young, that their offspring were diminutive and weak. He adds also, that females who bring forth at too early a period, suffer more in child-birth, and that, on this account, many of them perish during that operation of nature.†

These early marriages, therefore, among the catholics, are to be considered as a great political evil. They may produce children; but these children, if they even attain to the age of maturity, will be weak and sickly, and a burden to themselves and to their country. Degeneracy will thus be entailed on succeeding generations, and the hardy race of Irish peasantry debased from their original manliness and vigour.

In Ireland, the unmarried servant and the unmarried yeoman are invariably protestants. A protestant girl expects to be well married, and she enters not into that state until she meets with such a match as she fully approves. But the catholic marries in the greenness of youth, when “reason seldom interrupts his career, and asks him whether he may not bring into the world a progeny for whom he cannot provide the means of support.”‡ Few people are more careless in this respect than the catholic part of the population of Ireland. Malthus asserts, that in most

\* Die Göttliche Ordnung in den Veränderungen des menschlichen Geschlechtes, von J. P. Süssmilch, Berlin, 1775, Entur Theil. p. 184.

† Sera juvenum venus; eoque inexhausta pubertas; nec virgines festinantur: eadem juvena, similis proceritas, pares validique miscentur, ac robora parentum liberi referunt. Tacitus de Mor. German. cap. 26. in Oper. edit. Oberlini. Lipsiæ, 1801, p. 713.

‡ Qui diutissime impuberes permanserunt, maximam inter suos ferunt laudem: hoc ali staturam, ali vires, nervosque confirmari putant: intra annum vero vigesimum feminæ notitiam habuisse; in turpissimis habent rebus. Cæsar de Bello Gall. lib. vi. cap. 21. Oxon. 1800. p. 127.

‡ Εἰ γὰρ πᾶσι ζῴεις ἀτιλῆ τὰ τῶν γένων ἕγγονα καὶ θαλασσὴ μᾶλλον καὶ μικρὰ τῶν μορφῶν. ὡς ἀναγκᾶσι τάσσουσι τὸ συμβαίνει καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. τεμῆριος δὲ ἐν ὄσασι γὰρ τῶν πέλων ἐπιχυμιάζεται τὸ γένος συζευγόμενοι καὶ εὐεὶς ἀτιλῆς καὶ μικροὶ τὰ σώματά ἐσι. ἔτι δὲ ἐν τοῖς τόκοις αἱ γέναι πορῶσι τε μᾶλλον καὶ διαφθειροῦνται πλείους.

Arist. Polit. lib. vii. cap. 16. Francov. 1601, 8vo. p. 493.

§ Malthus on Population, edit. 1803, p. 3.

societies where the people live on scanty fare (which, I believe, to be frequently the case with the Roman catholics), the women practise the means of procuring abortions, and become addicted to habits of prostitution.\* Nothing of this kind, however, fell under my observation in Ireland; for the name of prostitution can hardly be given to the prevalent custom in that country of females, of the indigent class, having illicit intercourse with their landlords. This is simply the connexion of one man with one woman, and, in general, is the precursor of a marriage. Although this circumstance is frequent, it is by no means general, and of attempts to bring about abortions, I never heard an instance in Ireland. The knowledge that potatoes can be easily procured, and the listlessness about a better habitation than the miserable mud cabin, which every landlord is ready to build for the purpose of creating freeholders, are the chief inducements to early marriages among the catholics.† But there are others, which, although proceeding from a less powerful motive, deserve to be mentioned. Of this kind are the hopes of escaping from parental slavery, and the general recommendation of the parish priest, who seldom looks beyond the interest of the moment. Thus a voluntary submission to the lowest state of life, and a disrelish for superior comforts, become habitual; the system of premature marriage is perpetuated, while the increase of numbers is an unchecked increase of misery:

From the want of parish registers there is no possibility of ascertaining the date of life among the Irish catholics: as far as my own observations extend, I have no reason to suppose that longevity is common among them. "The fever," as it is termed,‡ and their aversion to call in medical aid when attacked by sickness, may account for the loss of numbers. The same evils prevail among the presbyterians § in the north; but among the catholics, they are increased by a greater degree of dirtiness and ignorance. Whoever has seen much of Ireland, must have particularly remarked the striking difference between the catholics and protestants, in domestic comfort and personal cleanliness. The cabin of the former, filled with smoke and covered with dirt, exhibits a spectacle little superior to that of

\* Principles of Population, p. 29.

† The inhabitants of Delting, in Shetland, are encouraged to marry early by their landlords, who wish for population to prosecute the ling fishery. But the consequence is, they involve themselves in debt and large families. *Stat. Survey of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 385. In Ireland, the landlords do the same thing for a different purpose, and, as the people are too poor to get into debt, their state is truly wretched.

A similar account is given of Brassay, Burra, and Quarff. "The farms are split, the young men are encouraged to marry without having any stock, and the consequence is, poverty and distress." *Stat. Account of Scotland*, vol. x. p. 194.

‡ Thompson, in his *Survey of Meath*, p. 74, says, "few, who are any way acquainted with the condition of the lower orders, but must acknowledge the dreadful wretchedness arising from repeated attacks of infectious fever, to which they are subject."

§ Sampson's *Survey of Derry*, p. 454. Dubourdieu's *Survey of Down*, p. 34.

a Hottentot ; and the appearance of the family who reside in it, is too disgusting to be described. The habitation of the latter, however humble, is always kept neat and clean ; and the owner, and every one around him, are decently clothed, and live in a superior style. The protestant never pays so much rent as the Roman catholic, and he will not hire land unless he sees a probability of a suitable maintenance for himself and family. On the other hand, the catholic looks only to a bare existence. This is a fact well known to every Irish landlord and agent, and without the assistance of parish registers, may account for what has been here stated.

We often hear of emigrations from Ireland ; but they need excite no alarm, for their effect is trifling on the general population of the country. Those who quit their native land are chiefly presbyterians, whose pride will not suffer them to submit to hard fare and poverty. The lands which they leave vacant are soon taken by catholics ; and being split, divided, and subdivided, as their families grow up, the consequence is, that catholicism is daily and rapidly increasing. Among the catholics also, there is little of that division of labour which improves the arts, and which, while it stimulates industry, increases national prosperity. The miserable hut is erected, the clothes are manufactured, and the food produced by the same hands. Harris, who wrote on Money and Coins, and whose small volume abounds with important truths in political economy, says, " the mutual conveniences accruing to individuals from their betaking themselves to particular occupations is, perhaps, the chief cement that connects them together."\* This cement is wanting in Ireland, and is one of the principal causes of the great increase of the poor, who seem to propagate their species with as little thought of the consequences as the seeds which vegetate in the forest.

Could proper data be collected, a greater proportion of marriages, births, and deaths, would be found among the Roman catholics than among the protestants ; although the reverse ought to be the case, as the population of the former is confined chiefly to the country. This is a point of no little importance, and deserves the attention of those who have it in their power to enforce regulations for the keeping of proper registers. Should the result be, as I suppose it will be found, that " much of the mortality" has arisen from want of prudence and foresight, an economical defect observable among all people where the state of society is degraded. Such is the case with the catholics of Ireland ; and nothing but the " improvement of their condition" can give them a decent and proper pride, the consequence of which would be, that the proportional number of marriages might remain nearly the same ; but they would rear more of their children, and the additional population that was sought after, would be supplied by a diminished mortality instead of an increased number of births."† A useful lesson would be given to all parties, would

\* Part. i. p. 15, 1757.

† Malthus on Population, p. 246.

they examine minutely the catholic population of Ireland. The supporters of protestant ascendancy would perceive how low it is depressed and degraded, and that its numbers increase in such a ratio as will in a few years exterminate the protestants. The catholic priests would likewise be convinced of the absurdity of that system of extending population, which they encourage; it adds to the number, it is true, but it gives birth to a puny and feeble race, shortens the period of life, is unfavourable to the progress of moral improvement; and while it extends misery and heightens distress, saps the foundation of national prosperity. The protestants are known to live better, and to enjoy more comforts than the catholics; and from this an interested clamour for continuing the restrictions, is re-echoed from one end of the kingdom to the other. Mistaken opinions are propagated without examination; and it is by trusting to such delusions, that those statesmen who oppose catholic emancipation, blindly suffer themselves to be led into error. With the experience of ages before their eyes, and the example of other countries, it is astonishing that they should evince so little political wisdom. A late writer says, "I was very much struck with an effect of this last kind, in an expedition to the Lac de Joux in the Jura."———"at the end of the lake, when the mistress of the house began to complain of the poverty and misery of all the parishes in the neighbourhood. She said that the country produced little, and yet was full of inhabitants. That boys and girls were marrying who ought still to be at school; and that while this habit of early marriages continued, they should always be wretched, and distressed for subsistence."\* These observations are applicable to every part of Ireland; but particularly to those where the catholics abound; and could that article which Sir Francis D'Ivernois† recommends to be inserted in all parish registers, be exhibited, namely, an account of children reared beyond infancy, it would shew, in a more striking point of view than any other, the folly of catholic depression.

Nothing would sooner create this relative check than education, and I agree with the observations thrown out on this subject by Mr. Townsend. "From the view given of the Roman catholic schools, without some more qualifying explanation of their real state, strangers may be led to form opinions of the people very different from truth and reality. By this it should seem that learning was advancing with rapid strides among the lower orders of that community, while in those of the other, the comparative paucity of schools exhibited a contrary progress. This is the ostensible inference, but what is the well-known fact? directly the reverse. Protestant schools are few, and many of them ill-attended, because the children of catholics are naturally enough sent in preference to others. Yet with all this parade of scholastic appearance, there is hardly a protestant of the lowest class who cannot read and write; few

\* Malthus on Population, p. 281.

† Tableau des Bercés, ch. 3. p. 16.

catholics who can."\* In another place, speaking of the catholics, he says, "of these the greater part derive no eventual advantage from their schooling, being recalled at an early age; mixing then with a family who speak only Irish, even the little smattering of English they had acquired is soon lost. It is far otherwise with the protestant children, in whose families English is always spoken, and where books of some kind may generally be had."†

The whole of Mr. Townsend's remarks are too long to be inserted here, but they are highly worthy of attention. I shall, therefore, refer the reader to them, and to the chapter on Education in this work, where I have given my thoughts at some length, on the best means of educating the catholic poor.

That the education of the catholic population is practicable, I am well convinced; and my reasons for this opinion are contained in my chapter on Habits and Manners. In the county of Wexford, I found the condition of the peasantry superior to what it is in many of the other southern parts of Ireland. The land is parcelled out in larger divisions; and although the catholic is the prevailing religion, the language every where spoken is the English. Until I read Mr. Townsend's remarks, I could not fully comprehend the cause of the great improvement which is so apparent among the people there. By the universality of the English tongue they are enabled to enjoy the benefit of reading English books, which produces far more effect than scholastic education. It is this employment of the mind that is given by education; this continuance of it, which exalts the moral faculties of the Wexford peasant, inspires him with a higher idea of his own consequence; makes him seek for more and greater comforts; induces him to desire a larger portion of land; and habituating him to reflection, prevents him from engaging in the married state until he sees some probability of being able to maintain his family in a decent manner. Give man education; accustom him to think; teach him that pride which will make him independent and moral, and you convert him into a new being: his actions, instead of being guided by passion, or instinctive ungoverned impulse, will be directed by reason; his views will be enlarged, his manners softened and refined, and he will become a better subject, and a more valuable member of society. By these means, while he contributes to the comforts of those around him, his own happiness will be increased. He will no longer be the prey of priestcraft or superstition; nor will his mind be so susceptible of impressions from the insinuations of artful men, who always find it easy to convert the ignorant into the ready instruments of their designs.

That no doubt might remain as to the increase of the catholics in Ireland, I endeavoured to procure every information on the subject, and the general answer to all my queries on this subject was in the affirmative. The Bishop of Meath, indeed, on the 28th of July, 1808, shewed me the returns of some of the rural deans in his

\* Survey of Cork. Addenda, p. 60.

† Ibid. p. 62.

diocese, which exhibited an increase of protestants; but this afforded a negative rather than a positive proof that the catholics were not increasing.\* When in the north, I expected to have found catholicism on the decline; but this did not appear to be the case. On the 13th of September, 1808, being with the Bishop of Derry, his lordship stated, "that the town contained 11,000 inhabitants, of whom 1,600 were members of the church of Ireland; 3,500 Roman catholics, and the rest dissenters." He added, "that the increase of catholics was extraordinary. Within fifty years they had not been permitted to remain near the place; but, at present, a Roman catholic bishop resides in Derry, who has a seminary for the education of young priests, and is most attentive and active in promoting the interest of his religion." After this account I was anxious to extend my inquiries to every part of Ireland, and if the case should be generally the same, to ascertain if possible the cause. The result was such as I expected, a confirmation of the fact by testimony which left no room for doubt. By some it was ascribed to the zeal of the resident clergy, who, as their subsistence depends on the propagation of their faith, exert themselves with unceasing diligence to promote that end. Others assigned as a reason, the enterprising spirit of the protestants, which induces them to emigrate, while the catholics remain at home.

In another part of this chapter I have given a curious paper, which exhibits the number of persons belonging to each religious communion in Belfast; and the Irish reader will, no doubt, be astonished to find, that there are 4,000 Roman catholics in a town, in which I was informed there were hardly any of that faith.

Bandon, in the county of Cork, is another protestant settlement, at the entrance of which was inscribed, "*Turk, Jew, or Atheist may enter here,—but not a Papist;*" and for many years a catholic never *boiled his pot* within its precincts. Its situation, however, in this respect, is completely changed, as will be seen hereafter, by an account which I obtained of the different religious sects in each county. For the information, about Bandon, I am indebted to Mr. Newenham.

But although these facts afford pretty strong evidence, that the catholic religion has increased, and is increasing, there are many others which might be produced.

In the year 1731, a return was made to the Irish House of Lords, of the number of protestants then in Ireland; I had the record office in Dublin searched for this document, but without success; for the records have been thrown into such

\* Anxious to state facts on both sides, I wrote to the bishop, requesting a copy of his return; but his lordship being in England, he could not furnish me with a document which I should have been glad to publish.

His lordship assured me that the people in Meath, where the Roman catholics are in the proportion of 20 to 17, were "contented, industrious, and happy." He complained of the "Roman catholic gentry leading the lower orders astray, by asking for emancipation." This remark, in some degree, disproves the former opinion, for if the poor were "contented," how could they be led astray? And does it not shew that the question of emancipation is not uninteresting to the lower ranks?

confusion, by their removal from the parliament-house to the place where they are now kept, that it will, probably, be some years before they are properly arranged. These returns, therefore, have been so scattered, that those only of a few districts, or baronies, have been found. No general abstract has been discovered; but there is little doubt that there has been one in existence, since the total number is stated by Anderson, in his Dictionary of Commerce, and a catholic bishop in a theological work, gives such an account. Mr. Tighe, the member for Wicklow, saw it when he wrote his Survey of Kilkenny, in the year 1800. The numbers in this return I shall give in a subsequent part of this work, and in this place insert an abstract from an account entered in the lords' journal.

No returns had been made for the dioceses of Ardfert and Aghadoe; the returns also of some of the bishops were defective, not giving any account of several parishes; it appeared, however, that the number of mass houses in Ireland, independently of huts, sheds, and moveable altars, of which above one hundred had been returned, was one hundred and ninety-two, the number of private chapels fifty-four, and the number of priests officiating in them was one thousand four hundred and forty-five. The number of friaries was fifty-one, of fairs two hundred and fifty-four, and of nunneries nine. The number of popish schools five hundred and forty-nine.

After the above abstract the report says, "And since, in many of the returns, notice is taken of numbers of itinerant priests and friaries, besides those whose residence is fixed, and, consequently, better known; and since, in some of them, popish schools are said to be very numerous, though the number of them be not specified; taking all these things into account, together with defects already mentioned, the lord's committee are of opinion, that the disproportion between mass houses and churches, Romish ecclesiastics and protestant ministers, and popish and protestant schools is so great, as to give their lordships the most just and reasonable apprehensions of the continuance and increase of the popish interest in Ireland." The report also observes, that of the mass houses returned, about two hundred and twenty-nine were found to have been erected since the reign of George I.

In another report of the same year,\* the following list is given of friaries in the county of Mayo alone, and of the order to which they belonged:

FRIARIES.	ORDERS.
Rosserick - - -	St. Francis
Mayne - - -	Minors of the Observance
Rathbran - - -	Friars' preachers
Burrisoole - - -	Predicants

\* Extracted from the Journal of the House of Lords, 5 Dec. H. p. 169.

FRIARIES.	ORDERS.
Murisk - - -	Augustinians
Strade - - -	Dominicans
Ballahaun - - -	Augustinian Hermits
Ballinsmale - - -	Carmelites
Mayo - - -	} Augustinians
Ballinrobe - - -	
Ballintobber - - -	
Congue Abbey* - - -	
Orlare - - -	Predicants
Burriscarra - - -	Augustinian Hermits.

On this test it is remarked, that "the number of abbots and friars residing in these abbeys and friaries, were generally about 115, besides strolling and vagabond friars, who were supported by begging and plundering the poor people in the country; and whatever they obtained in this manner, they carried to the house of their abbot or prior, to be disposed of for the use of their respective fraternities. They likewise said mass, and got themselves appointed to be chaplains to popish families. It is farther stated, that they procured money, and did a great deal of mischief, by marrying protestants to papists, so that one-third of the common people who were protestants were married to popish wives."

In the county of Galway there were ten friaries and a nunnery. The latter was at the town of Loughrea, and the friaries at the following places :

Meclick, near Eyrecourt—Portumna—Kennelehen, near Loughrea—Athenry—Knockmoy, near Athenry—Clare-Galway, near Galway—Ross, near Headford—Dunmore—Kilconnell—Altycoffee, near the Abbey of Cloontuskert, not far from Aughrim.

By the return made from the parish ministers in the diocese of Clonfert, it is stated, that there were forty parishes, and as many mass houses; thirty-eight priests who officiated in them, and eight or nine chapels, six friaries, one nunnery, and fifteen popish schools. The bishop, to whom this return was sent, remarked, that there were but eleven churches in that diocese, where divine service according to the church of Ireland was performed.

In the diocese of Kilmacduagh, there were thirteen mass houses, fifteen priests, four popish schools, and but four clergymen of the established church, who performed divine service.

The reports from which these extracts are taken, afford not sufficient data whereon to form the ground of any calculation of the total number of Roman catholics in Ireland at that time; of the protestant population, however, an estimate somewhat

\* The head of this abbey was styled Lord Abbot.

666 RELIGIOUS SECTS AND PARTIES.—PROTESTANT POPULATION, AN. 1740.

near the truth may be made from the following document which was drawn up a few years later.

AN ABSTRACT of the number of Protestant Housekeepers in Ireland, as returned by the several Supervisors of Hearth Money in their respective Surveys, in obedience to an Order from His Grace the Lord Lieutenant to the Chief Commissioners of His Majesty's Revenue. Dated the 2d of April, 1740.

Names of the several Surveys.	Number of Protestant Housekeepers.	Names of the several Surveys.	Number of Protestant Housekeepers.
		Brought forward	64,666
1 Antrim . . . . .	19,100	12 Kilkenny . . . . .	2,242
2 Armagh . . . . .	11,416	13 Limerick . . . . .	2,246
3 Athlone . . . . .	1,936	14 Londonderry . . . . .	14,404
4 Clare . . . . .	1,455	15 Mayo . . . . .	824
5 Cork . . . . .	4,053	16 Philipstown . . . . .	2,320
6 Donegal . . . . .	9,523	17 Rathkeale . . . . .	945
7 Drogheda . . . . .	1,664	18 Sligo . . . . .	1,457
8 Dublin . . . . .	7,065	19 Waterford . . . . .	1,521
9 Enniskillen . . . . .	2,744	20 Wexford . . . . .	2,343
10 Fermanagh . . . . .	4,447	21 Wicklow . . . . .	3,092
11 Kerry . . . . .	1,264		
Carried forward	64,666	Total	96,067

By the above table it appears, that the number of protestant house-keepers in the different fiscal divisions of Ireland, was 96,067. If each family, therefore, be calculated at six souls; the whole number of protestants at that time, must have been about 576,422.

In the year 1766, another enumeration was made, the general result of which is contained in the subjoined Table, extracted from the Book of Returns preserve din the Record Office, Dublin.\*

\* When I first applied at the Record Office, 35, Anglesey-street, Dublin, for a copy of this document, it could not be found. It was, however, afterwards discovered, but being too voluminous to be given at full length, "I have confined myself to an extract, which I consider as sufficient for my purpose; the whole book contains 150 pages of "pro patria" sized paper, and gives the names of the protestants alphabetically arranged.

LIST OF PROTESTANTS AND CATHOLICS, ANNO 1766.

AN ABSTRACT of the LIST of the RETURNS, made by the several Parish Ministers and Curates in this Kingdom, of the Protestant and Popish Families, and of the Number of Protestants and Papists (individuals), and Priests and Friars, in the respective Parishes and Dioceses in this Kingdom, by Order of the House of Peers, in 1766: procured from the Record Office, Dublin.

Diocese.	Prot- est- ant Families.	Papist Families.	Number of Prot- est- ants.	Number of Papists.	Priests.	Friars.	Counties.	
Armagh	8,020	9,736	1,363	3,670	29	8	{ Armagh, London- derry, Tyrone, and Louth	Note.—The order directed the several Ministers and Curates to return a List of the Protestant and Papist Families; the Number of Protestants and Papists, Priests and Friars in their respective Parishes. See the Order. But they omitted or mistook making said Returns, conformable to the Order (except Cork), and it will appear a little odd to see the number much less than the families in this Table, until you please to read the following Observations.
Waterford	1,637	9,796	1,375	18,316	58	8	Tipperary	Note.— There are about 33 parishes or unions returned in this Diocese, and no more than 5 parishes thereof returned the number of protestants and papists, but all the parishes returned the families, priests, &c. regularly, so that about 28 parishes omitted registering the number.
Water and Ross	4,814	23,039	25,471	108,634	69	10	Cork	There are about 59 parishes, &c. in this Diocese, and no more than 8 returned the number of protestants and papists, but all returned the families.
Down	10,546	13,519	1,271	1,609	44	5	{ Tyrone, Monaghan, and Fermanagh	There are about 80 parishes, &c. in this Diocese, all of whom returned the families and numbers, &c. as directed by the order, but no other Diocese did the same.
Down and Antrim	426	5,958	442	10,946	37	48	Galway	About 37 parishes, and no more than 4 returned the number, but all returned the families, except 3 of said 4, which did not return the families.
Down and Antrim	1,534	12,971	1,089	27,747	46	4	Cork	About 33 parishes, and only 5 returned the number of each, but all returned the families, &c. except 2 of said 5.
Down and Antrim	13,286	9,586	8,394	3,225	23	8	Derry and Donegal	About 55 parishes, and no more than 11 returned the number, but all returned the families.
Down and Antrim	21,629	6,504	9,281	4,342	19	1	Antrim and Down	About 32 parishes, and no more than 4 returned the number, but all returned the families.
Down and Antrim	9,619	8,823	26,526	47,867	90	18	{ Dublin, Wicklow, and Kildare,	About 63 parishes, and no more than 5 returned the number, but all returned the families.
Down and Antrim	6,093	3,900	2,509	276	9	0	{ Down, Antrim, and Armagh	About 90 parishes (city included), and no more than 24 returned the number, but all returned the families, except 16 of said 24.
Down and Antrim	1,300	13,268	961	7,572	36	15	Roscommon	About 21 parishes, and no more than one parish returned the number, but all returned the families.
Down and Antrim	4,546	21,433	2,243	7,192	74	13	{ Cavan, Longford, Ros- common, Meath, and Fermanagh	About 58 parishes, and no more than 10 returned the number, but all returned the families.
Down and Antrim	905	8,533	2,237	10,969	51	7	{ Tipperary, Clare, and King's County	About 54 parishes, all returned the families, but only six returned the number.
Down and Antrim	1,987	12,481	1,300	6,195	36	14	Sligo and Mayo	About 60 parishes, all returned the families, but only six returned the number.
Down and Antrim	4,240	14,393	713	4,374	34	4	{ Kildare, King's, Queen's, Dublin	About 40 parishes, all returned the families, &c. but no more than six returned the number.
Down and Antrim	1,491	9,777	6,770	35,854	38	5	{ Limerick, Clare, and Tipperary	About 42 parishes, all returned the families, &c. but no more than 2 returned the number.
Down and Antrim	3,340	15,049	2,528	14,967	56	13	{ Carlow, Wexford, Queen's, Wicklow, and Kildare	About 88 parishes; no more than 25 returned the number, but all returned the families, except 20 of said 25.
Down and Antrim	1,283	12,249	4,865	42,739	52	4	{ Meath, Westmeath and King's	About 114 parishes, and no more than 9 returned the number, but all returned the families except 4 of said 9.
Down and Antrim	1,168	9,638	751	9,705	51	8	Kildare and Queen's	About 104 parishes, and no more than about 40 returned the number, but all returned the families except 22 of said 40.
Down and Antrim	6,596	7,700	72	476	27	7	Donegal	About 90 parishes, and no more than 20 returned the number, but all returned the families except 11 of said 20.
Down and Antrim	2,234	20,521	1	—	37	20 and a convent. 25	Galway and Mayo { Tipperary and Wa- terford	About 28 parishes, and no more than 1 parish thereof returned the number, but all returned the families, &c.
Down and Antrim	2,879	16,519	2,512	13,274	49	25		About 36 parishes, not one returned the number, but all returned the families, &c.
Parishes, not in what case	21,263	40,288	11,692	41,952	157	64		About 74 parishes, no more than — returned the number, but all returned the families except 7.
	130,263	305,680	114,166	416,781	1,143	303		These are from sundry parishes in this kingdom, the Ministers of which did not mention in what Diocese or County they were in. The return of the families being omitted in some, as above, and the return of the number omitted in others.

Some of the Returns were sent up so confused, that it was impossible to make out a more complete List than the above, which contains as amount of each Diocese, as nearly as could be ascertained.

\* This blank was not filled up in the return.

Mr. Newenham, in his inquiry into the progress of population in Ireland,\* has referred to many documents to shew the proportion between the number of catholics, and that of protestants in 1751. I have examined these documents with the utmost attention, as well as the various facts which he states as proofs of the increase of the former; and examining them with the accounts given to me in every part of Ireland, by persons of all persuasions, I am inclined to allow full credit to the conclusions which he has drawn on this subject, although I differ from him in many other particulars respecting the situation of the country.

Any one who carefully examines these documents with the accounts which I have collected from each county, and the general table of results, will perceive a diminution of the comparative proportion of protestants to catholics; and can a stronger proof be required of the impolicy of the present system, since it has produced an effect contrary to that which was intended? This is no theoretical opinion; it has been tried by the test of experience; and the result is, that it has been found altogether insufficient for the accomplishment of its object. Does not this shew the necessity of a change, and expose the weakness of those who have supported measures, which instead of checking catholicism, have tended only to increase it? The fact is too well established to be controverted; I challenge any one to prove the contrary by any documents worthy of credit. Does this diminution of protestants and increase of catholics, form the "securities," and the "safeguards," without an equivalent for which, it would not be prudent for the House of Lords to go into a committee on the claims of the catholics. Continue then these "safeguards," maintain these "securities;" be lulled into a fatal confidence, till you are roused from your delusive dreams, when you may perceive that the favourable opportunity has been lost; and that the secret disease, which preys on the vitals of the country, has taken too deep root to be effectually removed.

As for the jargon of bulwarks, which is vociferated from one Orange-lodge to the other, and even listened to in parliament; it is a term which, when applied to places or things I can understand; but as used to the catholic claims, it is altogether unintelligible. If these bulwarks consist in pains and penalties, their *policy* and *importance* may be estimated from one simple remark: it is a truth, that the progress of every improvement in Ireland, has been proportionate to the progress made in destroying these monuments of folly, usurpation, and arbitrary power; yet, the same childish fear, and the same cant of bulwarks, roused the church, when the first attack was made on that detestable code. Hear what has been said by a nobleman, who, although an enemy to power misapplied, was, undoubtedly, a sincere friend to his country: "But the trumpet of bigotry had sounded the alarm. To give the wretched cottager a permanent interest in his miserable mud-built habitation, was

\* Sect. xxv. edit. 1805.

said to be an infringement on the penal code, which threatened the destruction of the church and state. A cry was raised, that the protestant interest was in danger; the lords were summoned to attend; the house was crowded with zealous supporters of orthodoxy and oppression, and I was voted out of the chair, not wholly unsuspected of being little better than a papist.”\*

It is weakness to entertain any fear, that the breaking down these “bulwarks” will make an encroachment on the establishment of the church. They are a delusive defence, planned by ignorance, founded on injustice, reared by the unhallowed hands of tyranny, and continued by folly. No bulwarks can be equal to the affection and loyalty of a free people. Place the catholics of Ireland on the same footing as the protestants, and no cause will be left for complaint; their destiny will then be inseparably united with that of their country, and they will be sensible, that it is their duty as well as their interest to maintain a constitution, by the justice of which they enjoy their rights, and to the stability of which they must look up for their protection.

So lately as the last session, the chancellor, Lord Eldon, is reported to have said in the House of Lords, on the 18th of June, 1811: “Give me your distinct propositions, explain to me your safeguards and securities, and I will most anxiously consider and examine them;” as if there were any safeguard or security equal to that which would arise from promoting catholic industry. Industry would create wealth, wealth would supply all those comforts of life which are objects of human attention; and it is in the enjoyment of these, and the fear of losing them, that we must look for that attachment to country, which forms the surest pledge of loyalty and good conduct.

But it will, perhaps, be asked, how is the evil of which I complain to be remedied? To answer this question, little consideration is necessary; remove the odious distinctions which exist between the protestants and catholics. Brand not the latter as persons unworthy of being trusted. The accomplishment of this object, however desirable, cannot be done at once, it will require time; but the longer it is delayed, the more difficult it will become. Even were all legal restraints abolished, they would leave behind them an illiberal prejudice, which would remain for some time. I have already given instances of the marks of distinction by which the catholics are degraded; but there are others which can be removed only by bringing about a change in public opinion, and not by altering the laws.

To mention a few will, perhaps, suffice. Among them are militia regiments without a Roman catholic officer; Roman catholic chapels without steeples, while the Board of First Fruits is erecting these marks of distinction on all churches for the established religion; and country gentlemen, to use their own expression, making

\* Hardy's Life of Lord Charlemont, p. 191.

“pets” of protestant yeomen, or in common language, giving them the preference in every occurrence of life. It is difficult, indeed, to devise a plan which would have an immediate effect in counteracting the current of popular favour. It has run too long, and with too much strength in one direction, to be readily turned into any other course. Some years ago, a Roman catholic was prevented by law from marrying a protestant; the law has been repealed, but its effects still remain. Prejudice holds out the papist as a being with whom protestant pride is ashamed to be connected; and thus the protestants and catholics of Ireland have become, under the same government, as different as the white men and people of colour in the West Indies. In favour of this degraded class, the legislature, as far as this instance of oppression is concerned, has done every thing that could be expected.\* They are here released from all restraint; and they are, therefore, ready in every rank of life to unite closer to the protestants by the ties of matrimonial alliance; I never heard of an instance to the contrary: with the protestants the case is different; they feel a great repugnance to unite themselves with catholics; and although it is sometimes overcome, the majority would as soon marry an African, or a female of Kamtschatka, as a “papist.” Those who conceive that the hatred between the two sects is reciprocal, are greatly in error; the fault lies chiefly on the side of the protestants; and the idea of superior consequence, generated by superior wealth, renders the separation still wider. I have always remarked, that this hatred is much less prevalent among persons distinguished by their rank and their property, than among the poor and uninformed; and this may be accounted for by two causes, education and wealth; the former of which inspires them with more liberal ideas, and the latter, which in general makes up for many defects, brings them nearer to a level. Nothing will contribute so much to obliterate this prejudice, as raising the condition of the catholics, by exciting them to a greater degree of industry.

Those unacquainted with the real state of Ireland, and the character of the people, may doubt what I have here said of the hatred of the protestants to the catholics. Desirous, therefore, to avoid the imputation of partiality, and to support what I assert by proofs, I shall beg the reader's attention to the following speech, which was delivered in the protestant county of Armagh:

“*It is no secret*, that a persecution, accompanied by all the circumstances of ferocious cruelty, which have, in all ages, distinguished that dreadful calamity, is now raging in this country; neither age, nor sex, nor acknowledged innocence, as to any guilt in the late disturbance, is sufficient to excite mercy, much less to afford protection. The only crime which the wretched objects of this ruthless persecution are charged with, is a crime, indeed, of easy proof—it is simply, a profession of the Roman catholic faith. A lawless banditti have constituted themselves judges of this species of delin-

\* We have a striking instance how difficult it is to change public opinion, when it has been long sanctioned by law, in the perseverance with which men still attempt to carry on the Slave Trade, though the law has not only abolished it, but inflicted pains and penalties against those who attempt to revive it.

quency, and the sentence they have pronounced is equally concise and terrible—it is nothing less than a confiscation of all property, and banishment. It would be extremely painful, and surely unnecessary, to detail the horrors that attend the execution of so rude and tremendous a proscription, which certainly exceeds, in the comparative number of those it consigns to ruin and misery, every example that ancient and modern history supply; for where have we heard, or in what story of human cruelty have we read, of more than half the inhabitants of a populous country deprived, at one blow, of the means as well as the fruits of their industry, and driven, in the midst of an inclement season, to seek a shelter for themselves and their helpless families, where chance may guide them? This is no exaggerated picture of the horrid scenes now acting in this country. Those horrors are now acting with impunity; the spirit of impartial justice, (without which the law is nothing more than an instrument of tyranny,) has, for a time, disappeared in this country, and the *supineness* of the magistrates of Armagh is become the common topic of conversation in every corner of the kingdom. I know my own heart, and I should despise myself if, under any intimidation, I should close my eyes against such scenes as present themselves on every side, or my ears against the complaints of a persecuted people.”\*

The sentiments expressed in this harangue are too clear and precise to require illustration or comment; I shall leave the reader to his own reflections, but I must in justice remark, that all the protestants of Ireland do not fall under this censure. It is to a part of those in the north that my observations are chiefly applicable; and I should feel less regret, were their animosity confined to the mere expression of hatred and contempt. Against some of them damages have been given, for wantonly burning the houses of catholics; and nothing but the fear of the law restrains these implacable enemies from again assailing the peaceful inhabitants, in hostile array, to gratify their causeless malignity.

But this spirit is not even confined entirely to the north; I have been informed, by a friend in whose veracity I can place full confidence, in a letter dated Nov. 10, 1811, that a most violent outrage had been committed; at a place called Tullow, not far from Wicklow, where there is a Roman catholic chapel distinguished by its superior neatness. Some miscreants broke in, and, besides demolishing the inside work, carried off a valuable painting, which was placed over the altar, and for which the people entertained a high veneration. A large reward was offered for the discovery of the perpetrators, but they were not detected. A peculiar evil attends outrages of this kind: the ignorant among the people imagine that government is privy to these persecutions and insults, and hence, were sentiments of disaffection exist, they are strengthened and increased. It becomes, therefore, more necessary, that every exertion should be made on the part of the police, to trace out the guilty; and if the loss were made good by the government, it would, undoubtedly allay, in a great degree the irritated feeling.

Anxious to obtain accurate information of the number of the catholics and protestants in Ireland, I applied to those gentlemen who were likely to aid my

\* Lord Gosford's Speech.

researches. His Grace the Duke of Bedford favoured me with a letter of introduction to Dr. Troy, the catholic archbishop of Dublin, which enabled me to impress on his mind the importance of ascertaining the real state of the catholic population; but, although he readily furnished me with some accounts of his own diocese, he declined entering farther upon a task, which from its peculiar delicacy presented many difficulties. In a letter from that gentleman last year,\* he repeated his former opinion. "A complete enumeration of the inhabitants of Ireland, distinguishing their respective religious creeds, cannot be effected without the sanction or permission of government, which the present administration will not grant. The partial enumeration referred to by Mr. Newenham, excited uneasiness in the minds of the ascendancy and Orange partisans, who represented them as records of catholic numbers, to threaten the smaller number of protestants. A similar enumeration, even in a single parish, must be conducted with caution and delicacy. Had the Duke of Bedford remained here, an exact enumeration would have been made before now." Such were the difficulties I had to encounter in this arduous attempt; but I flatter myself, that I have been able to lay before the public a tolerably correct estimate of the catholic power and weight in each county. Although I have been obliged to suppress many of my authorities, this will not affect the truth of the facts which I have stated. In considering the question I have not been actuated by prejudice or interested views; I have no personal rancour to gratify, nor any party to please; but I consider it highly improper to expose, without permission, the names of those who have obliged me with confidential communications, and who, by the disclosure, might be placed in a very awkward predicament. The accounts must rest, therefore, in many instances upon my credit alone; and if caution, in taking for granted what was sent to me, can give any weight, I may truly assert, that no circumstance has been received on single authority, nor admitted without the concurrent testimony of different persons, whose accuracy as well as veracity are above suspicion.

**ANTRIM.**—The inhabitants in some parts of this county are all protestants. In Belfast, where protestantism prevails more than in any other town of Ireland, there are at present twelve places of public worship.

An established church in Donegal-street.

Six presbyterian meeting-houses—one in Rosemary-street, and one in Donegal-street, belonging to the general synod of Ulster; two in Rosemary-street, belonging to the presbytery of Antrim; one in Berry-street, belonging to the antiburgher seceders; and one in the back of Donegal-street, belonging to the reformed presbytery, or covenanters.

The Independents have two places of worship; the tabernacle in Donegal-street, and one called Bethel, in Little Donegal-street.

\* Dated April 5th, 1811.

The Quakers have a meeting-house in the back of North-street.

The Methodists, a chapel in Donegal-square east: and,

The Roman Catholics a chapel in Chapel-lane.

The members of the third presbyterian congregation in Rosemary-street, under the care of the synod of Ulster, are Calvinists. A number of them reside in the country, in the vicinity of Belfast. In his last visitation, the minister found seven hundred and forty families residing in town, belonging to that congregation. In these there are above three thousand individuals, old and young.

In visiting the people of his congregation, the minister of that place found that there were many families residing in Belfast, who have not connected themselves with any place of public worship. They are generally poor; and it is presumed, that the same observation may be made in all large towns.

At the time of the Revolution, in 1688, Belfast contained a very few streets, and the houses, a small number excepted, were thatched with straw:

The following Table, which exhibits the number of houses and inhabitants at different periods, will shew the progressive improvement which has taken place in this commercial and manufacturing city:

Years.		Houses.	Inhabitants.
1757	By a hearth-money return - - - - -		8,549
1782	Voluntary enumeration, by Robert Hyndman - - -	2,026	13,105*
1791	Ditto, by ditto - - - - -	3,107	18,320
1802	By the return of Mr. Murdoch, collector of hearth-money -	3,197	19,001
1806	Voluntary, by Arthur Thompson - - - - -	3,846	22,095
1809	Enumeration, by Mr. Casey, supervisor of hearth-money -	5,000	27,000†
1810	The supposed Number - - - - -		25,000‡

STATE OF THE DIFFERENT CONGREGATIONS.

		Persons.
I.	ESTABLISHED CHURCH. - One place of worship, has 138 pews, capable of containing . . . . .	1,178
II.	PRESBYTERIAN DISSENTERS. 1st. Congregation, Rev. Dr. Bruce, Pastor, Meeting has 88 pews . . . . .	572
III.	— — — — 2d. Congregation, Rev. Wm. Drummond, D.D. 108 seats . . . . .	715

\* From the vulgar apprehension of a poll-tax, and from a religious prejudice against "numbering the people," many, it is said, falsified their return, and made them short.

† This number is given merely from memory, Mr. Casey not having his notes by him when the information was communicated.

‡ At present the inhabitants are daily increasing, so that there is a great want of dwelling-houses of almost every description.

RELIGIOUS SECTS AND PARTIES IN ANTRIM.

IV.	—	—	—	—	5d, or New Erection, Rev. S. Hannah, Pastor, 169 seats	200
V.	—	—	—	—	4th. Donegal-Street Meeting, Rev.—Acheson, Pastor. The number of families stated by him, 200; individuals 650; seats 84; contain 7 each	588
VI.	—	—	—	—	Antiburgher Seceders, Rev. — Nicholson, Pastor, number of families stated by him, 130; seats, 34	476
VII.	—	—	—	—	Methodist Chapel, Rev. Wm. Alcom, Pastor, acknowledged members stated by him	150
					Attend of all denominations, every evening	1,000
VIII.	BETHEL CHAPEL	-	-	-	Contains 45 benches, and is attended by	280
IX.	TABERNACLE	-	-	-	Evangelical. Rev. — Brown, Pastor, communicants 70; seats 64; regular attendants, as stated by him	200
X.	REFORMED PRESBYTERIANS, OR COVENANTERS.				Pastor, the Rev. Joseph Alexander, benches 33; probable number of members, not including children	75
XI.	SOCIETY OF QUAKERS.				Number of members	83*
XII.	ROMAN CATHOLIC CHAPEL.				A subscription has been entered into by 850 persons, who contributed from £55. to 1s. 8d. each, towards building a second Chapel. The amount of the sum subscribed is now £1,100. and the whole number of catholics may be estimated at about	4,000

In this city there is not, I believe, one Roman catholic merchant, certainly there are none of eminence; those engaged in commercial pursuits being almost all presbyterians; a few traders there are who are members of the church of Ireland; but these must have become so of late years, for fashion, that capricious ruler of all things, has been extended even to religion. The presbyterians are considered only as the second class of society in Ireland, and it appears to me, that to follow the *ton*, is the prevailing taste among all ranks in the country.

*Lisburn.* In the year 1776, this place was found to contain 4,578 inhabitants. The greater part of those in the higher ranks are presbyterians; the church, although not an elegant structure, will contain one thousand persons.

The quaker meeting-house is a small neat building, for about one hundred and fifty people, and it is always filled on Sunday.

The methodist meeting-house is of considerable size, and is much crowded on Sunday morning.

There is also a Roman catholic chapel which will accommodate a congregation of about three hundred persons.

\* Of late years there was scarcely one quaker on the roll of the inhabitants, at present they are in a flourishing condition.

It would be unjust to the quakers, not to mention that they have in this place established a boarding-school for the education of their children, to which, as well as to the maintenance of their poor, they pay the most scrupulous attention. The late Mr. John Hancock, an eminent linen-draper of Lisburn, and a member of this community, intended to establish an academy to be conducted by a quaker, for the education of children of every religious sect, but he died in 1764, before he could carry his benevolent design into execution. He, however, bequeathed four thousand pounds for this purpose, to be vested in the hands of four trustees, who finding it insufficient, raised the like sum by subscription among the quakers in the town and neighbourhood. During the vice-royalty of the Earl of Hertford, they obtained a lease, in perpetuity, of a few acres of ground adjacent to the town, in a delightful situation, where they have built a large and commodious house, with a spacious school-room. The school was opened in 1774, under the superintendence of Mr. John Gough, well known as the author of an excellent treatise on arithmetic. In his time every branch of school education was taught in this seminary; but the present system, which was adopted in 1794, is different from that originally pursued; the classics being now laid aside, and none admitted into the house but the children of quakers. Twenty boys and twenty-five girls are boarded, clothed, and educated in this school, each paying only three pounds per annum: children of either sex whose relations are not in circumstances to defray this expense, are supported by the quakers-meeting, to which they belong, without any distinction being made in their treatment. The remaining expense of the institution is provided by voluntary subscription among the quakers, and by the bequests of persons belonging to the society. The whole expenditure of last year amounted to £794. 12s. 10d.; from which, if the sum arising from the £3. paid by each scholar, that is, £180., be deducted, the remainder will be £614. 12s. 10d. Hence it appears, that the expense of each boy to the institution is about £14. per annum. The attention paid to the morals, health, and comfort of the children, by the present superintendents, who are all quakers, is highly praiseworthy; cleanliness and ventilation are particularly attended to, and the beneficial effects of this care are conspicuous in the good health of the boarders. Lately the apothecary's bill, for one year, amounted only to seven shillings, and no part of this small sum was incurred by infectious disorders. The scholars who are admitted at the age of ten, remain until they are fourteen, and such as are poor, since 1794, are apprenticed out by the society; there have been admitted 95 boys, and 117 girls. Two similar schools are supported by quakers in Leinster.

In Lisburn there is also a French church, the endowment of which, is about £60. a year. The present population of the town is about 5,000; in the country parts the inhabitants may be estimated at the same number.

*July 6th, 1808.*—Was in the parish of Ballinday, near Lisburn, which contains 9,500 acres, and between four and five thousand inhabitants. In this place there

is one church, one dissenting meeting-house, and one Moravian chapel. There is but one mass-house, and one-ninth of the inhabitants are catholics.

*Maragoold Parish*, adjoining, contains 5,000 acres, and has one church, but no other place of worship; about one-tenth of the inhabitants are catholics.

*Glennery Parish*.—The population of this parish is stated to be as follows:—

Protestants . . . . .	1,841
Dissenters . . . . .	1,426
Roman Catholics . . . . .	1,932
	<hr/>
Total . . . . .	5199

The children who attend school in this parish amount to 196, of whom 146 are protestants, and 50 Roman catholics.

On this return it is necessary to remark, that a distinction is made between protestants and dissenters; I do not, therefore, know exactly what is meant by the term protestants, whether it is to be considered as including members of the church of England, and those persons who profess no religion at all.

*Mullaghach*.—This parish contains 14,000 inhabitants, and has two churches, two meeting-houses, and one mass-house.

*Glenarm*.—Sept. 1808.—The majority of the inhabitants are catholics; but this is not the case throughout the whole coast, the great body of the people being presbyterians, or other protestants.

*Ballintoy*.—The accuracy of the following statement of the population in this parish, which is situated on the northern coast, may be relied on:

	Masters of the Established Church.	Deputies.	Balloters.
In 1793 . . . . .	1660 . . . . .	491 . . . . .	362
1802 . . . . .	1939 . . . . .	940 . . . . .	505
1803 . . . . .	2075 . . . . .	997 . . . . .	521

This return exhibits an immense proportion of catholics in a parish which has a resident minister of the established church, and who is distinguished by exemplary attention to the duties of his office.

I could obtain no other returns in this district; but I found the mountains, of which a great portion of the county is composed, inhabited by Roman catholics, although there are two large protestant towns, and many parishes in it, where the people seem to have a strong attachment to that faith. I much question whether the majority of the inhabitants be not catholics; this, however, is only opinion, having no data from which an estimate could be formed. I know of no catholic who has landed property in this county, nor any who was ever called upon a grand jury, or held commissions in its regiment of militia. Of the protestants, a very great majority is presbyterian; I consider Antrim to have a greater proportion of protestants than any other county in Ireland.

**ARMAGH.**—This county contains the city of the same name, near which is the episcopal palace of the Primate of Ireland; and attached to it there are many protestant institutions, a large public school, an observatory, &c. Such attractions render this a desirable residence for protestants.

The population of the town of Armagh is estimated at 6,000. The catholics in the whole parish are said to amount to about 1,580; but it is supposed that there are more, as some do not register their names, or contribute to the support of their priest, and thereby escape notice.

In the Armagh militia, the catholics are about one-third of the full number.

The mountains of this county are entirely inhabited by Roman catholics; and it may be estimated, that one-half of the inhabitants in the other parts are of the same persuasion; consequently, the catholics are to the protestants as three to one. Mr. Ensor says, he has not observed an increase in the proportional numbers of either faith; and I mention this remark, because, if I except another to the same import made by the bishop of Meath, an increase of the catholics over the protestants is universally admitted.

In this county, the catholic priests find it difficult to collect their "dues," and they appear to have no more influence over their flocks, than the clergy of the established church. Their people all attend mass as a matter of form, and their behaviour in going thither, is as light and careless as if they were going to a pattern or fair. No Roman catholic was ever known to emigrate from this part of Ireland; it is the presbyterians who are restless, and anxious to quit the country; many go to America, and those who remain are in the habit of expressing a desire to follow their example. Methodism is increasing, and its ministers who are here called "cavalry preachers," are daily making proselytes among the presbyterians and quakers. Their practice is to travel through the country two together, one preaching in English, and the other in Irish. The Evangelical methodists are more successful than the Wesleyites, but I never heard of an instance of the conversion of a Roman catholic. The protestants have wakes as well as the catholics; they display great anxiety to be present when the breath leaves the body of the dying, and they suffer it not to be out of their sight, until the priest or the clergyman has blessed it in the earth. Bigotry and superstition are much weaker in this part of Ireland among the catholics, than in the south. Every house pays 3s. to the priest; 1s. is given for confession, and 10s. 6d. for a marriage license; the emolument at burials depends on what may be collected.

It is to be remarked, that of the protestants in this country, a very small proportion indeed, belong to the established church; of the catholics some possess landed property sufficient to qualify them to be called on grand juries. I remarked a custom here, which, although it may be general, I did not observe in the rest of Ireland, Roman catholic widows lay aside their rings.

**CARLOW.**—The county town of this name contains one church, one Roman Catholic chapel and college, one Quaker meeting-house, and one Methodist chapel.

I was at church in this town in the summer of 1809, on the Sunday before the races; the congregation amounted to some hundreds, but I am inclined to believe, that very few protestant families reside in this county. The higher order of gentry who live in the neighbourhood attend the church; but there is a part of the town called Grainge, on the Queen's county side of the bridge, where, in 1806, according to the account given to me by an inhabitant, there were 310 houses, containing, no doubt, a much greater number of families, of whom 17 only were protestants. There are in Carlow, a Roman Catholic college for priests, and an elegant chapel, capable of accommodating a very large congregation.

There are not many families in Carlow of any other than the Roman catholic persuasion; a respectable protestant tradesman, with considerable property, complained that his business was not worth following, as no Roman catholic would deal with him; the protestants were but partial customers, and even if they were all his customers, they would not afford him sufficient support.

It is to be remarked, that in the towns in Ireland, the general leaning is towards protestantism; wherever this is not the case, it will be found, that there are few inhabitants in the country who are not Roman catholics. The intelligent agent to a very large estate in this county, who is himself a protestant, informed me, on the 1st of July, 1809, that he observed the protestant cotters to be cleaner and more comfortable than the same class among the catholics. The difference he accounted for by the former being in better circumstances from holding superior leases, which enables them to educate their children. They are the "pets" of the country gentlemen, and are paid for serving in the yeomanry corps. He added, that he found it difficult to manage them, and to restrain them from oppressing their neighbours. The protestant clergy have no power over these people, but by applying to the priest, he could direct the conduct of the catholics as he pleased.

On the 14th of July I was at Borris, the seat of Walter Cavanagh, Esq. This gentleman was a Roman catholic. The title to his large estates is derived from one of the ancient kings of that part of Ireland. The common people call him "the monarch." The rebels attacked his house and burned his property in 1798.

The Roman catholics, in this county, are said to be more inclined to enlist than the protestants, who are too proud to become common soldiers.

In Carlow, the middling class of catholic farmers are rapidly increasing in wealth, the divisions of land being much larger than in most of the other counties. This remark is of importance, as it shews that the personal property of the catholics must be considerable. Mr. Bagot, of Dublin, who possesses a good estate, is called on the grand jury; but Mr. Cavanagh, already mentioned, has the most extensive landed property in the county. He has read his recantation; yet he is still

considered by the catholics as belonging to their body. The protestants scarcely look upon "a convert" as a member of their church.

The catholics in this county are to the protestants as ten to one; but the latter, whether they have any religion or not, profess to be members of the church of Ireland. It is necessary to remark, that all persons who are not catholics are claimed by the protestants as belonging to their party. The catholics possess here a very considerable property, consisting chiefly in leases and farming stock; consequently, their political influence is very powerful.

Mr. Cornwall, major of the county militia, and proprietor of a large estate, who was a member of the late Irish parliament, informed me, on the 28th of July, 1809, that Mr. Bagot, whom I have already mentioned, endeavoured at all the catholic chapels in his neighbourhood to procure signatures to the catholic petitions; but the people would not subscribe their names till they had consulted him to ascertain his opinion. He found the influence of the catholic clergy much on the decline. The priest of the parish where he resides had never been out of the kingdom, which he considered as an extraordinary circumstance. This clergyman was educated at Maynooth; appeared to be a man of superior understanding, and was much more attached to his country than those who had studied on the continent. I mention my authority for this fact, as it is a proof of the benefit of the establishment at Maynooth. The majority of the protestant gentlemen in this county are decidedly in favour of the catholic claims.

The Carlow regiment of militia consists of a colonel, a lieutenant-colonel, two majors, six captains, thirteen lieutenants, five ensigns, a paymaster, adjutant, quartermaster, surgeon, assistant surgeon, thirty-four sergeants, fourteen drummers, and six hundred rank and file; of the officers all are protestants except the adjutant, quartermaster, assistant surgeon, and one ensign.

The non-commissioned officers, drummers, &c. are almost all protestants, and the rank and file are in the proportion of 5 to 2, the catholics being the larger number.

**CAVAN.**—The principal towns in this county are Cavan and Cootehill. In the latter there are about 2,000 inhabitants, and seven places of worship. The catholics are to the protestants as five to one, and this proportion seems to prevail throughout the county. Of the protestants, the majority are dissenters. At Stradone, there is a grammar-school kept by a protestant, where young gentlemen of the catholic persuasion are qualified for the college of Maynooth. Mr. Dease, a nephew of Lord Fingal, and a catholic, who resides in Westmeath, has a good estate in this county, and serves on the grand jury. None of this faith are officers in the Cavan regiment of militia, and above one-half of the privates are protestants. Here the catholic tenantry are completely under the control of their protestant landlords; their farms are small, and the leases of little value. The catholics, therefore, have no political interest, and the protestant gentry are decidedly hostile to their claims.

As is the case in Carlow, the catholics enlist more readily than the protestants.

**CLARE.**—This county has no large towns, and the catholics are so numerous that the proportion which they bear to the protestants cannot be easily determined. Two Roman catholic gentlemen are called on the grand jury. The graziers, who possess very considerable property, both in leases and stock, are all stated to be of that religion. It was told me by a person of great consequence, that the tenants are universally catholics, and that those who pretend to be protestants are so only in appearance, and from interested motives. The flat lands of the county are employed chiefly for grazing, and the greater part of the population has been driven to the mountains. The gentry are, for the most part, members of the established church, and are decidedly favourable to the catholic claims.

In the Clare militia there is only one catholic officer; yet he cannot be considered as rigid in his principles, for he often goes to church. The greater part of the corps are catholics, there are only fifty protestants, including privates and non-commissioned officers.

**CORK.**—This county abounds with large towns, of which Cork is the most considerable. The following account of its population, together with that of the whole county, is given by Dr. Smith, from a return made by the collector of hearth-money :\*

	“ 7,366 Houses and 2,569† protestant families, at 7 to a family, 17,983 protestants	} 1732 and 1733.”
	5,398 popish ditto ditto 37,786 papists	
In the county	- 4,520 protestant families, at 5 to a family, 22,600 protestants	
	36,983 popish ditto ditto 184,951 papists	

Hence it appears, that the catholics, at the above period, were to the protestants, in the city, as more than two to one, and in the county as eight to one.

This statement appears, in many respects, to be worthy of credit. Anderson, in his Dictionary of Commerce, gives the whole population of the kingdom, as it was in the year 1733, on the authority of Dr. Maule, bishop of Dromore; and he states the proportional numbers of catholics and protestants, of which he says there was a printed list, but does not mention how it was obtained. There can be no doubt, therefore, that a census was taken prior to 1731; and this, added to the high character of Dr. Smith's work, renders the account he has given more worthy of attention.

Dr. Burke, the Roman catholic bishop of Ossory, in his *Hibernia Dominicana*, published in 1762, says, that in 1731 there were in the whole kingdom 700,563 protestants, and 1,309,768 catholics. This account agrees with that of Bishop Maule, and furnishes a farther proof of a census having been taken about the year 1731,

\* Civil and Natural History of Cork, vol. i. p. 407. edit. 1750.

† Anderson gives a similar account, vol. iii. p. 199.

and, probably, for the purpose of facilitating the collection of the poll-tax, which was imposed at that time.\*

The following information was communicated to me by Mr. Newenham, to whose character I am ready to pay every tribute, although our political opinions, do not agree on many points respecting Ireland.†

In a letter, dated July 9th, 1811, he says,

“ In the city of Cork, exclusive of the liberties, which are very populous, there are, according to an accurate enumeration made at my request by the Roman catholic clergy, within the four last years, 234 streets, 6,416 inhabited houses, and 55,265 inhabitants, of whom 45,205 are Roman catholics. Among the houses, are included three alms houses, which contain together 128 inhabitants. In 1809, there were, in the little town of Passage, contiguous to the harbour of Cork, 258 inhabited houses, containing 1,639 persons, of whom 1,408 were catholics.”

The population of the county and city of Cork, is 675,364. This, at least, is the common result of two very different methods of computation, grounded on different public documents, and supported by facts.”

In another letter, dated May 28, 1811, he remarks that :—

“ The whole patronage and nine-tenths of the landed property of the county are in the hands of the

\* 7th William, ch. 15.

† The following extract of a letter from this gentleman, contains some observations of so much importance, that I shall make no apology for giving it at full length.

“ In the county, there is a vast number of wealthy Roman catholic landholders and lessees, but near nine-tenths of the fee simple property belong to protestants. In the city, the numbers of each belonging to the mercantile body are, I believe, nearly equal. In the southern counties of Ireland, two-thirds, at least, of the armed *yeomanry*, as they are improperly called, are Roman catholics; and this is one consideration, among many others of a much more effective nature, which dispose me to hope that, instead of suffering the affairs of this country to reach that point, which they approach more rapidly than many people seem to think, government may be induced to adopt a prudent system of conciliatory measures calculated to assuage that irritation, which a party of ambitious men assiduously endeavour to increase, and to dissipate those fatal inveterate prejudices which that party seek to confirm. A spirit of industry actually gains ground in this country, and if that spirit were seasonably fostered by munificent encouragement in the line of agriculture wherein it is most apparent, the projects of designing men would, probably, be paralyzed at least, if not rendered abortive. The interchange of the British and Irish militias was a very wise measure. But taking fully to account the acknowledged bravery of all ranks of Britons, to expect to put down by the instrumentality of 20,000, or even 40,000 British militia, the Roman catholics of Ireland, if generally precipitated into political disaffection is, I assure you, Sir, one of the vainest expectations that was ever harboured by a statesman.

“ Were I made acquainted with the definite object of your intended publication, I might, perhaps, on revising my papers, be able to add considerably to your mass of information, and although on the eve of engaging in a work of a very interesting nature, should do so with little hesitation, my object being, with a view to the general welfare of the Empire, to put government in possession of correct and detailed information respecting this country, not by magnifying its population and other resources to intimidate government, as some who are utterly ignorant of my principles, and, perhaps, incapable of acting on such themselves, have flippantly and falsely asserted.

I am, SIR,

Your obedient Servant,

THOMAS NEWENHAM.

protestants, though the population is chiefly Roman catholic. In the city of Cork, and the towns of Youghal, Bandon, Kinsale, and Cloghnakilty, taken together, the catholics are to the protestants as more than six to one. In the other towns of the county, the proportion is not less than twelve to one.

“ In the north Cork regiment of militia, there is but one Roman catholic officer. Among the private soldiers, the proportion of catholics to protestants is, I believe, about three to one.

“ In the south Cork regiment there is not, to my knowledge, one Roman catholic officer, but the proportion of catholics to protestants is greater among the privates than in the north Cork, being perhaps, about four to one. The proportion of the former to the latter in the city of Cork regiment is, I apprehend, rather less than in the south Cork. In the three regiments taken together, the Roman catholic private soldiers are to the protestant, in my opinion, as upwards of seven to two.”

*July 9, 1811.*—I have learned on further inquiry, that the protestants and catholics in the South Cork regiment, bear nearly the same proportion to each other as in the North Cork.

*November 4, 1808.*—Went to the Ursuline Convent, to hear high-mass, which was performed with great pomp and ceremony. This establishment is supported by voluntary contributions, and contains thirty nuns, all of whom have assumed the black veil. Those admitted are generally women of fortune, who contribute £500. each. There were also fifty-five scholars, who paid what was denominated a pension, that is, an annual sum for their education. These ladies expressed great veneration for their bishop, falling down on their knees when he entered the apartment. Each nun is accommodated with a small separate bed-room, and on each bed is placed a crucifix.

In Cork there are seven chapels and two convents, in which seven masses are said in summer, and six in winter, on every Sunday between six o'clock in the morning and half past twelve in the afternoon. Vespers are said in the evening. The principal chapel will contain five thousand persons, and twenty thousand attend service on Sunday.

*November 5, 1808. CORK.*—A foundling hospital is established here, which contains 250 children.—There are also charter schools, and a school for the education of catholic orphans. From the information which I was able to collect, I am convinced, that the population of this city does not exceed 80,000 persons, and of these a great proportion are catholics. The principal part of the higher ranks are of that persuasion. Of the two leading physicians, one is a Roman catholic. There are two barristers who confine their practice to the city, one of them is a catholic. Of banking-houses there are four, two protestant, one quaker, and one catholic. Among the merchants there are many opulent and respectable catholics; but the chief wealth of the city is in the hands of the protestants. The corporation are almost entirely of that persuasion, for they scarcely admit a catholic. In this city there are seven churches.

*November 13, 1808.*—CASTLEMARTYR. About 230 protestants attend the established church. The Roman catholics amount to 5,000.

*November 15, 1808.*—The Roman catholic bishopricks of Cloyne and Ross are united. Mr. Hyde says that he has been repeatedly told by the Roman catholic clergy, that if their's was the established church, they would exact a tenth part of the produce as tithe.

According to the account given to me by Mr. Newenham, three catholic gentlemen are called on the county grand jury; but, I believe, there are seldom more than two on the city grand jury. Mr. Rochford, and two or three other catholics have been members.

Along the sea coast of this county, the occupation of weaving is much followed. Many of the weavers are presbyterians and methodists; to the latter sect some of the gentry belong.

BANDON, which is situated in this county, was originally an English protestant settlement. I heard that on the 12th of July 1809, there was a scene of riot, tumult, and confusion, excited by a yeomanry corps mounting orange cockades, which was a disgrace to a civilized country; and I am sorry to say, that similar scenes frequently take place in the northern parts of Ireland.

*November 23, 1808.* DONERAILE.—The priests are paid three guineas for a marriage, and, therefore, encourage them by every means in their power. The catholic property in the county of Cork does not appear to be extensive.

*November 26, 1808.* CASTLE-OLIVER.—Mr. Oliver observes, that the priests depend chiefly for their support on marriages, christenings, confessions, and burials; the same inducement operates here also for their encouragement of the union of the youth of both sexes. He is of opinion, that guineas are hoarded, especially as some of the catholics are scrupulous in receiving interest.

*March 26, 1809.* YOUGHAL.—This town formerly abounded with protestants, but at present circumstances are much changed in this respect. The income of the priest depending on numbers, he is zealously active in making converts. A different motive actuates the protestant clergyman, whose situation becomes easier the more his flock falls away; in two adjoining parishes there is not a protestant family, hence the office of their pastor becomes a sinecure, which permits him to reside wherever he thinks proper, while he is regularly paid by the parishioners.

The political influence of the catholics in Cork is very limited; when Lord Kingston comes to his estate, should his opinions agree with those of the Earl of Bandon, the Earl of Shannon, and Mr. Anderson, the county members would certainly vote against the catholic claims. They have numbers sufficient to return one representative for the city; but the boroughs of Bandon Bridge and Youghal are close corporations, which elect gentlemen recommended by the Earls of Bandon and Shannon.

Among the protestants there are many wealthy quakers, who have engrossed the greater part of the woollen trade.

**DONEGAL.**—In this county there are no towns. The catholics are to the protestants as six to one. The latter are generally presbyterians. Lord Southwell, who is a catholic, has a good estate; but there is no landed property belonging to the professors of that religion. No catholics, therefore, are ever on the grand jury. Here the catholic wealth must be inconsiderable, since the county in general is poor. The rental is so very small, that leasehold property is of little value. The regiment of militia has not one catholic officer.

In this county, there is a celebrated catholic station, an account of which will be found in the following extract from my journal:

*September 24, 1810. COLLON.*—Yesterday, at Castle Blaney, I met with the Rev. Mr. Elliot, rector of Trim, who holds also the living of Temple Mayhera, in Fermagh, in which parish there are 271 catholics, and about the same number of protestants. This account was confirmed to him by the priest. It is near Castle Archdall, and extends to Loughderg, of which he gave me the following particulars: The island contains an Irish acre. The *station*, as the catholics call it, lasts from June to September, and during that time there are never fewer than from 1,000 to 1,200 persons assembled on the island; all those who visit it on this occasion, from whatever distance they come, must travel the whole way barefooted, as well as bare-headed, and remain nine days and as many nights. Each person is allowed eight oaten cakes, one of which serves as a day's allowance; but the last twenty-four hours must be spent in fasting, in the course of which they all bathe. On the island they have neither beds, nor any kind of shelter; they sleep under the canopy of heaven; and have nothing to quench their thirst but the water of the lake, to which they give the name of wine. For the most part of the day they are on their knees.

The lake is almost circular, and the island is situated in the middle, about a mile from the shore; near a cavern, called the Cave of St. Patrick, there is a wretched hovel, dignified with the name of the chapel, into which the votaries crowd during the last twenty-four hours of their pilgrimage. Horses with pillions are in readiness to carry home the women.

A priest, with six assistant ministers, nominated by the catholic bishop of Clogher, attends to assist the penitents in their devotions. The priest receives one shilling from each person on landing, and the assistants are paid by those whom they confess. One says mass the whole day, in Irish, while the others are engaged in confessing. This employment is laborious, but it is also profitable; and while the people are confined to their oaten cakes, these directors of their consciences take care to recruit their exhausted strength by something more substantial, being supplied with meat, wine, and porter, from the main land, and with excellent fish from the lake.

The penitents are all bare-headed as well as bare-footed; but it appears that the visit paid to this island is not so much a penance for sin, as a pilgrimage on account of some superstitious veneration entertained for the place. There are few adult per-

sons of the catholic persuasion in Donegal, Derry, Tyrone, or Monaghan, who have not been here, once in their lives at least. As the clergy who officiate on such occasions belong to the diocese, and make considerable profit by these labours, many apply to the bishop to be employed, and every priest recommends this pilgrimage to his parishioners.

St. John's Well, in the county of Meath, is also a station from the 24th to the 29th of June, but of a very different description. The catholic bishop of the diocese, Dr. Plunkett, has done every thing in his power to suppress this meeting; but the superstition and inveterate habits of the people are not easily overcome. It is attended only by itinerant friars, as he never authorizes any of the clergy of his diocese to officiate there. In consequence of its vicinity to Dublin, and the season of the year, it is an annual scene of confusion, drunkenness, and debauchery, bearing a greater resemblance to a fair, than an assembly for the purpose of devotion.

During the rebellion it was totally prohibited, and for two or three years after was almost entirely deserted, but it has been lately revived, and is attended by greater numbers than ever. Formerly penal laws were enacted against these stations; but like many other severities, by which weak governments attempt to destroy superstitious notions and popular prejudices, they tended only to confirm the ignorant in their attachment to their old habits.

September 18th, 1808. *Ballyshannon*. Mr. Hamilton is of opinion, that in the county of Donegal, the catholics are in proportion to the protestants, as more than six to one.

September 10th, 1808. *Donegal*. The priests here are paid by a hank of yarn: for confession they receive a peck of oats, or 2s. 2d. in money, from the head of each family. The living of Ardra is worth £200. per annum. The catholic bishop of Raphoe is paid by a poundage on the incomes of his clergy, which amounts to about £1,000. per annum.

September 10th, 1808. Lord Conyngham's Ross estates contain 30,000 acres, inhabited by 5,000 people, who are chiefly Roman catholics.

September 11th, 1808. *Ballyconnel*. There are few chapels in this county. The priest and his congregation must sometimes meet under a rock, or take advantage of any other shelter they can find. The gentlemen of this county, who are but few, mix freely in social intercourse with the catholic clergy, and live with them on the best terms.

In this county, great riots have been excited by mobs of Orangemen. Some scenes of this kind, in the neighbourhood of Letterkenny, have given occasion to trials, the result of which will, I trust, render their authors more cautious in future, and prove a salutary lesson to those who are too anxious to obtain power, and when it is obtained, abuse it.

**DOWN.**—This county contains, perhaps, more wealth than any in Ireland.

From the best accounts I was able to obtain, it appears, that the people who inhabit the mountains, and the poorer orders in many other places, are catholics. It is the opinion of many intelligent persons, that one half of the population belongs to that faith, although there are some parishes, between Lisburn and Belfast, and along the southern shore of Belfast Lough, in which a catholic is not to be found: but the same may be said in other parishes of the members of the established church. In that in which the earl of Londonderry resides, there is not, I believe, any family belonging either to the Romish church or to that of Ireland: of the protestants, the majority are presbyterians. There is also a considerable number of quakers, and it appears that the methodists are gaining many converts from both. Mr. Byrne, a merchant of Dublin, has an estate here of £3,000. per annum, which is the only one in the county belonging to a catholic, sufficient to give a qualification for being on the grand jury.

June 30th, 1808. *Mayallon*. The common people here are catholics or presbyterians. Whether the latter are in favour of catholic emancipation seems doubtful.

July 5th, 1808. In the parish of *Tullish* there is a church, where I this day counted 300 persons. There are here two mass houses, two presbyterian meetings, and one evangelical, and one quaker: also three free schools frequented by 180 children. The Roman catholics in this parish are not so numerous as the protestants and dissenters, but they have increased since 1797.

June 5th, 1809. *Killensky*, county of Down. In this place there is not one family belonging to the established church. The inhabitants, a few catholics excepted, are all presbyterians.

The higher ranks, and yeomanry, of which there are many in this part of Ireland are decidedly hostile to the catholic claims. A sort of hereditary prejudice, which prevails too much in Ireland, induces them to consider the catholics as an inferior class of men. In this county there is not only a protestant but an orange party, who are distinguished by that spirit of persecution which, in the catholics of former times, has been so much reprobated. A proof, when power is placed in the hands of the ignorant, whatever be the religion, it is always extended beyond its just bounds, and perverted to the worst of purposes.

DUBLIN.—This county contains the capital of the kingdom, where the seat of government and a protestant university have been established.

According to Anderson,\* the population of Dublin, in the year 1731, was:

Protestant families . . . . .	8823
Popish ditto . . . . .	4119.

Of the present number there is no return, but, in my opinion, the proportion of catholics to protestants, in the city and county taken together, is as six to one. On this subject, I beg leave to refer to the letter of the Rev. Mr. Whitelaw, inserted

\* Vol. iii. p. 199.

in the chapter on Habits and Manners. Better authority cannot be quoted, and in this gentleman's parish there were nine catholics to one protestant, but he believes the proportion in other parishes to be greater. From the whole of the statement, which he gives, the proportion, may be reduced to that which I have mentioned, namely, as six to one. If this be compared to the proportion in the year 1731, which was somewhat more than as two to one, it will be found that the catholics have considerably increased.

The following is the proportion of some parishes in the diocese of Dublin, received from a dignitary of the catholic church :

Kilcullen,	Union Catholic Families	720	Protestant ditto	30
Narramore,	ditto ditto - - -	1,050	ditto - -	25
Athy,	ditto ditto - - -	305	ditto - -	30
Castledermot,	ditto ditto - - -	874	ditto - -	43
<b>County of WICKLOW,</b>				
Dunlavin,	ditto ditto - - -	732	ditto - -	65
Blueditches,	ditto ditto - - -	310	ditto - -	20
Hollywood,	ditto ditto - - -	283	ditto - -	7
<b>Counties of WICKLOW and DUBLIN,</b>				
Ballimore,	ditto ditto - - -	150	ditto - -	15
<b>Counties of WICKLOW and KILDARE,</b>				
Blessington,	ditto ditto - - -	640	ditto - -	90
<b>County of DUBLIN,</b>				
Lagard,	ditto ditto - - -	375	ditto - -	16
		5,499		341

In the royal Dublin regiment of militia, commanded by colonel Sankey, there are no officers, either commissioned or non-commissioned, of the catholic faith: of the privates, 470 are catholics.

In the county regiment of militia, there are scarcely any catholic officers, but many of the privates are of that persuasion. In one company, containing two hundred men, there were only seventy protestants.

Four grand juries are impannelled every year in this county; one in each quarter. Two of these are presenting juries. On the presenting grand juries, summoned half-yearly, there are on an average three Roman catholics. On the other two about five. In the city grand juries the number varies, according to the political sentiments of the high sheriff: sometimes none of that persuasion are called.

According to a small anonymous work, published in 1811, entitled "A Picture of Dublin," the population of the city may be estimated at nearly 200,000. I am assured, from most respectable authority, that this work is extremely accurate.

The same work makes the different places of worship to be as follows :

There are nineteen established parish churches, besides St. Kievens, united to St. Peter's; St. George's, a chapel of ease; the Castle Chapel, for the accommodation of the viceroy; and those places of worship not under the archbishop; viz. the Magdalen Asylum, Bethlem Lying-in Hospital, the Blue-coat Hospital, Foundling Hospital, Sunday North Strand School, Marine School, and Hibernian School.

There are sixteen protestant dissenting meeting-houses, which may be classed as follows:

Mary's Abbey,	Presbyterian,	Westminster Confession,
Usher's Court,	Ditto,	Ditto,
Strand Street,	Ditto,	Unitarians,
Eastace Street,	Ditto,	Ditto,
Mass Lane,	Ditto,	Burgher Seceders,
Back Lane,	Ditto,	Anti-Burgher Seceders,
Plunket Street,	Independents,	
York Street,	Ditto,	
Swift's Alley,	Baptist,	
Bishop Street,	Moravian,	
Mountjoy Square,	Methodist,	Wesley Chapel,
White Friars Street,	Ditto,	
Hendrick Street,	Ditto,	
Ranelagh,	Ditto,	Callens Wood Avenue.
Sycamore Alley,	Quakers,	
Meath Street,	Ditto.	

The Jews have no synagogue in Dublin or Ireland; but they have a burying ground near Ballybough bridge.

There are in Dublin five Roman catholic parish chapels, three friaries, and three nunneries.

FERMANAGH.—In this county there is a strong body of protestant yeomanry, but they are far outnumbered by the catholics; in what proportion I am not enabled to state. Of landed property, no Roman catholic gentleman has enough to entitle him to be on the grand jury. The gentry are decidedly unfavourable to the catholic claims.

In the Fermanagh regiment of militia, which consists of 650 men, the officers are, I believe, all protestants: of the privates, about 100 are catholics.

September 2nd. *Castle Coole*, FERMANAGH. In this, as in many other parts of Ireland, protestantism has conferred on its professors a superior rank in society. People of this persuasion, whatever be their condition, are almost sure of rising above the catholics.

September 5th, 1808. The catholics of this county live on eels during Lent.

September 6th, 1808. At *Ennismacsaint*, an island in the centre of the lower

part of Lough Erne, is a catholic burying ground, which is held in great veneration. At the entrance stands a large stone cross, which, seen from the rising ground in the centre of the island, forms a very picturesque object.

From Church Hill to Ballyshannon, this country seems to be inhabited chiefly by protestants. The children in the schools on the road side, between these two places, are invariably protestants.

August 29th. *Belleisle*.—Of eighty-one farms here, seventy-nine belong to Sir Richard Hardinge, whose tenants are all protestants; but on another estate of £1,000. per annum, scarcely three miles distant, there is not one to be found. I never heard of any catholic possessed of considerable property in the county. The gentry are zealous protestants, who carry their aversion to catholicism so far, that a catholic priest is never admitted to their tables.

GALWAY.—Of the inhabitants of this county, the far greater number are catholics. Mr. Burke, a gentleman of great intelligence, who lives near Loughrea, and was a member of the late Irish parliament, informed me on the 8th of October, 1808, that he believed the catholics in Galway to be in proportion to the protestants, as twenty to one; that in landed property they were as one to three; and in personal property as three to one. In the following year, when I again visited this county, I was informed that there was reason to believe the proportion in the numbers to be forty or fifty to one. In the parish where Mr. Burke resided, his family was the only one of the protestant religion. In the western parts of the county, there are districts, of fifty miles, perhaps, in extent, where there is neither a church nor a single protestant inhabitant.

The Galway militia consists of 1,000 men, all catholics, excepting the band and petty officers, amounting to sixty or seventy, who are protestants.

September 30th, 1809. *Galway*.—Saw fourteen priests at dinner at Tuam, and on inquiry found they had been performing a *requiem* for the soul of their late bishop. As the priests, in consequence of confession, have a private conversation four times a year with every parishioner, they are considered by their flocks as the depositories of their private thoughts, and of course are regarded as their common father. While the clergyman of the established church, having less intercourse with his parishioners, the attachment between them is weaker, and the influence of course is not so powerful.

In this county ten Roman catholics are called on the grand jury. The laws against them are not strong enough to coerce, but sufficiently oppressive to irritate. The Roman clergy should have incomes which would induce them to reside, but not so large as to tempt them to seek for dissipation or unbecoming amusements.

——— *Loughrea*.—The catholics of this place differ from any I have yet seen. The three ancient protestant families are Eyre of Eyrecourt, Lord Clancarty, and Oxboro, near Gort. Lord French is a catholic, and all the bankers in the county

are of the same faith. The priest in this parish sometimes gets drunk and beats his parishioners; but on the whole he seems a good sort of man, and well affected to the government.

Mr. Burke mentions "convert interest," that is, catholics, who for worldly consideration have read their recantation, but retain their prejudices, and exert all their influence to promote the success of the catholic religion. The following Roman catholics have landed property in this county: Christopher Delham Bellew, £6,000. per annum, Sir Thomas Burke, father to Lady Clanrickarde, £6,000.; John Burke, Glynst, £7,000.; Lord French, £3,500.; Malachy Doneyland, brother of Lady Fingal, £5,000; Mr. French, Rayson, £4,000; Malachy Daly, £4,000.; John Brown, Moy, £2,000.; Blake French, Fort, £3,000.; John Burke, Anna, £3,000.

October 3rd, 1809. *Galway*.—Mrs. ——— being at the point of death, she was compelled to put on the priest's stockings, which it is believed answered the purpose of extreme unction. These superstitions have little influence but with the vulgar.

October 8th, 1809. Preaching is performed here in Irish. If in their sermons they exhort their parishioners to be loyal and obedient subjects, they are suspected of being in the pay of government.

Many popish livings are in the gift of the Clanrickarde family, who present the priest to Loughrea.

*Ballinasloe*.—According to a return obtained from the parish priest of this place, who has kept a register since 1791, the births in that year were 95, but in 1810 they amounted to 126. The number of houses inhabited by Roman catholic families in the same year was 313; in 1811 there were 401, and each house, on an average, contains at least six persons. The protestant population in the same district, seems to be stationary. In the neighbouring parishes, the increase of the catholics, within the last fifteen years, is equally apparent, and is stated to have been as 5½ to 7.

KERRY.—According to a return made in the year 1733, by the collectors of the hearth money, the catholics were, to the protestant families, in the proportion of nearly 12 to 1. Dr. Smith, who gives this estimate, says, in a note, "the number of Roman catholics is here under-rated, for the hearth-money collectors, in the wild uncultivated mountains, are obliged to compound for this tax, and to accept a certain sum of money for many cabins, otherwise they could collect nothing; besides, many poor families, who are Roman catholics, are excused, on account of their poverty, by certificates from the magistrates, and are not numbered in the above estimate."\*

When in Kerry, in 1808, I was informed that the proportion of Roman catholics is so great, that, when compared with the number of protestants, the latter almost

\* Smith's Nat. and Civil Hist. of Kerry, p. 77.

vanish: it is stated to be as 100 to one, or, perhaps, more; to Lord Kenmare, who is of that persuasion, one-eighth of the county belongs. Other large estates belong to catholics, and there are never fewer than five or six of these people on the grand jury. The catholics here have also considerable leasehold property, and I am inclined to think that they possess the greater part of the personal property of the county. Mr. Herbert, who was colonel of the county militia, told me, in May 1811, that from 1793 to 1796, all the officers, except three, were protestants: at present the number of catholic officers is greater; one half of the non-commissioned officers are of that faith, and five-sixths privates. Among the landlords, however, there is what is called a very strong protestant interest.

October 15th, 1808. *Tarbert*.—The inhabitants are almost all catholics.

October 17th, 1808. *Kerry Head*.—There is only one priest to the three parishes of Ballyhuige, Killerey, and Ballyduff. His income is £300. per annum. He receives 2s. per house, and the marriages produce a considerable sum.

The Roman catholic bishop is paid 16s. 3d. for a license. The bishop of Kerry lives at Killarney. His income is £1,500 per annum, which arises from licences, altar-money, and one-half of the fee to priests for performing the marriage ceremony, which is 10s. 6d., besides presents from the guests.

Father Nena is the priest here, who is a magistrate, and has an estate of £1,500. per annum.

October 18th, 1808. *Tralee*.—Mr. Herbert says, that a lease of lives was made to give the privileges of a freehold without any expectation of catholics ever being admitted to vote. The law was established at a time when they were not permitted to take such leases, and for the purpose of giving the protestants a decided superiority over them. Afterwards, the catholics were allowed to possess freehold leases, and thus they obtained elective franchise; and, if events hold the same course, they will eventually engross the whole power of returning members to parliament.

October 22d. 1808. *Killarney*.—Catholics, when about to marry, instead of purchasing a license, may have the banns three times proclaimed at mass, as is done in our churches; but this practice is considered the greatest of all signs of poverty, and accounted so disgraceful, that the parties will borrow money, or submit to any privation rather than have recourse to it. The Irish have this saying, "that the property of a young man is spent at his wedding; that of an old one at his wake."

The people here are almost all catholics.

October 22d, 1808. Lord Kenmare's ancestor was the Sir Anthony Brown alluded to by Mr. Parnell, in his Historical Apology for the Catholics of Ireland. His lordship, notwithstanding his being a catholic, was created a peer by his present Majesty. He has an immense estate in this county, which, though greatly underlet, produces £8,000 per annum. His other Irish property brings about £7,000. It

is, however, all let upon determinable leases, and when these are expired, his rental may be made one of the best in Ireland.

**KILKENNY.**—In the year 1731, the total number of inhabitants was 42,108. Among these there were 1,055 protestant families, containing 5,238 persons; and in 1800 there were only 731 protestant families, which shews a decrease of 324, between the year 1731 and 1800.\*

The catholics in this place seem to have increased as follows. In 1731, according to the above statement, the number of catholics was 36,870: in 1800 the whole population was 100,191, of which 731 families were protestants. Now, allowing six to a family, which is a greater number than they seem to have averaged in 1731, the number of protestants at that time will be 4,386; this taken from 100,191, the whole population, leaves 95,505 for the number of catholics in 1800. But in 1731 they amounted only to 36,870; so that there has been, since that time, an increase of 58,935.

Hence it appears, from the most unquestionable authority, that a very great decrease of protestants has taken place in a wealthy country, containing the largest inland town in the whole island, while the increase of population has been entirely among the catholics.

In general, five catholic gentlemen are called on the grand jury of this county, and a considerable leasehold property belongs to catholics. The gentry are decidedly in favour of the catholic claims. According to an account taken in 1811, it appears, that on Lord Desart's estates there were 400 persons to 1,000 acres, and that about one in a hundred were protestants.

The Kilkenny regiment of militia consists of eight companies, each 100 men, with five sergeants and five corporals. Of the subalterns, three are Roman catholics; sixteen sergeants, nine corporals, and seventy-five privates, are protestants.

**KILDARE.**—In this county, taking the inhabitants throughout, the catholics are in proportion to the protestants as 30 to 1.

Jan. 4th, 1809. *Kildare.*—Major Bryan observes, that if the priests do not adopt the same sentiments as the people, they must starve.

Seven Roman catholics are called on the grand jury of this county. The proportion here is as 40 to 41; in the country, as 30 to 1. Wogan Brown, although a convert, is still considered as a catholic. Mr. Archibald, a catholic, has £2,500. per annum; and Dominic O'Reilly £1,500. Daniel Caulfield possesses a good tenant interest under the Duke of Leinster. Mr. Cassada, a brewer, at Monastereven, is a catholic.

June 23d, 1809. *Kilkay.*—Here the parish priest announces from the altar the holidays which are to be kept. This minister lately observing many of his congrega-

\* Tighe's Kilkenny, p. 454.

tion listening attentively to two itinerant methodists, who were preaching at Castle-Dermot, he repaired to the place with a horsewhip, and dispersed them.

June 27th, 1809. The Glengary fencibles, a Scotch regiment, quartered here in 1798, consisted chiefly of Macdonalds, who were almost all catholics. One of their captains was a priest. They visited the catholic gentry; but they were distinguished for their loyalty and good behaviour.

Dec. 11th, 1809. The Roman catholic clergy possess here very little wealth, and have not the same interest in the state as the clergy of the establishment.

**KING'S COUNTY.**—The proportion of catholics to protestants in this county, is, in my opinion, 8 to 1. About four of the former are called on the grand jury; and the gentry, in general, are favourable to their claims. There is, however, a strong protestant interest, by which the members are returned.

April 5th, 1809. *Gloster.*—Mr. Lloyd thinks that the catholics give more rent for land than the protestants, and, therefore, the comparative numbers of the former increase. The protestants, however, are more willing to enlist, and are less afraid of being entrapped when they go from home; the young men emigrate, and embark in various enterprises, while the catholics are stationary; never leaving the place where they reside. Although the King's County is considered as a protestant one, Mr. Lloyd estimates the proportion of catholics to protestants to be as I have stated above 8 to 1.

July 2d, 1809. *Tullamore.*—The protestant inhabitants amount to 1,500; the catholics, probably, to 2,500.

July 3d, 1809. *Durragh.*—The parish priest of Tullamore prevented a prosecution against two officers of the Meath militia, who had committed an assault, because he thought it would disgrace their religion. The Meath militia are nearly all catholics.

The church, which is erected within the domain, stands on the site of an old monastery. The tombs of the common people all face the east, according to the manner in which they stand at mass; but that of the priest is to the west, being the point towards which his face is turned when he performs divine service.

The tendency of the population, in towns, is to a greater proportion of protestants.

Colonel Stepney would rather have a catholic servant or tenant than a protestant: those of the latter persuasion are self-sufficient and arrogant, considering themselves a superior order of men, which, in some degree, arises from their being allowed the use of arms, a privilege denied to the catholics. This exclusion, as it points out to them their own weakness, draws them, like animals in a storm, closer together; and thus that feeling, which originated in a knowledge of their defenceless situation, has added greatly to their strength. He has found the catholics more ready to enlist than the protestants.

July 4th, 1809. Cleanliness among the protestants seems to increase in the same ratio as their wealth. A man whose rental is £100. per annum, is much more decent and orderly than one who has less.

On Sunday two itinerant methodists preached at Tullamore in Irish. The catholics have a rigid order, which is supposed to have descended from Elijah, who style themselves Carmelites.

Of the catholic property in this county, Mr. Bermill has £4,000. per annum, and Mr. Fitzsimmons £1,600.

July 7th, 1809. Mr. Stepney is of opinion that the influence of the priests is rather local and casual, than permanent and general. Mr. Riley says, it is powerful only when the opinion of the priest is in unison with that of his parishioners.

The majority of the non-commissioned officers in the King's County militia are protestants. On the religious faith of the commissioned officers I have obtained contradictory information. According to one account, the proportion of Roman catholics to protestants among the privates, is as 12 to 1; but another states it to be much less, or only as 6 to 1.

LEITRIM.—With this county I am but little acquainted; yet from what I know, I am convinced that the majority of the inhabitants are catholics, and I estimate the proportion to be, as in the neighbouring county of Sligo, 30 to 1. About two catholics are called on the grand jury. There is reason to suppose that considerable landed estates are in the hands of the catholics, and they possess the greater part of the personal property; but they are individually too poor to have political interest, therefore their influence is of no importance.

In the Leitrim militia four officers are catholics; the paymaster, one lieutenant, the surgeon, and his mate. The privates amount to 600, two-thirds of whom are catholics.

LIMERICK.—It is unnecessary to state the proportional number of catholics in this county, much the greater part being of that persuasion. The only catholic gentlemen who possess large estates in fee, are Mr. Lyons of Croom, and Mr. Grady of Grange. Much leasehold property, however, and the greater part of the personal, belongs to catholics; and, as the gentry of the county are in favour of their claims, they assume a considerable political influence.

The Limerick militia consists of 42 officers, 44 sergeants, 19 drummers, and 770 privates; of these, 2 captains and 9 subalterns are catholics. All the privates, except 50, are of the same faith.

The city of Limerick militia has 600 men, 7 only of the privates are protestants. Of the officers I have no accurate return.

The population of the city of Limerick is estimated at 60,000; but I shall take it only at 45,000, and of that number, not above 3,000 are protestants. There are

four protestant churches, one methodist meeting-house, one presbyterian, one quaker, and eight Roman catholic chapels.\* Dr. Warburton, the bishop of Limerick, informs me by letter, that the population of this city is called 60,000, of whom not above 5,000 are protestants.

**LONGFORD.**—Mr. Edgeworth has favoured me with an account of the population in four baronies of this county, which he states to be 16,744 catholics, and 1,829 protestants, giving a proportion of about 8½ to 1. Two catholic gentlemen have property, which qualifies them to be on the grand jury; but one being a minor, the other only is called. The gentry are few, and all political questions are decided by four families; the catholic influence depends, therefore, on the turn which their opinions may take. Of the personal property in this county, I conceive the majority to be catholic.

Oct. 3d, 1808. *Edgeworthstown.*—The catholic bishop of Ardagh has an income of £300. per annum. The priest associates freely with the protestants, and is much esteemed. About 2,000 persons attend mass.

Oct. 4th, 1808. There are four parishes in the barony of Granard, the population is as follows:

Parishes.	Protestants.	Roman Catholics.
Granard	790	6,821
Abbey-laragh	194	1,919
Amboyney	699	3,000
Cullumhill	146	5,004
Total	1,829	16,744

Oct. 5th, 1808. *Athlone.*—Met with a protestant yeoman, who thought the Roman catholics were increasing in the county of Longford, and that the proportion of the latter to the protestants was about ten to one.

The priests, I find, possess one kind of power which gives them very great influence over their people. If they lay an individual under interdiction, no one will have any intercourse with him.

\* It appears, by the following extract of a letter from a dignified catholic clergyman, dated September 16th 1811, that the catholics are increasing here. "Dr. Young, the catholic bishop of Limerick, was absent from home when my letter reached him. On my return from the country I met him here. He confirms the general statement of Dr. Power, as to the increased and increasing population of the catholics in the city, and diocese of Limerick; and in the same degree, in my enumeration, all non-catholics are comprehended under the denomination of protestants. It would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to enumerate the individuals of each sect, in the numberless ones differing from each other, and from the established church, in doctrine and discipline, and disclaiming her authority from the right of private judgment in the interpretation of the scriptures."

**LONDONDERRY.**—The land of this county was granted chiefly to English adventurers, for the purpose of forming protestant settlements, yet the population of the mountains is entirely catholic, and one third of the inhabitants of the flat parts may be considered as professing the same faith.

The catholics, in point of property, hold a very low rank in the scale of society; they are considered as the dregs of the people, and live in more awe of their protestant neighbours, than of their priests. In the north, the catholic clergy seem to have less influence over their hearers, than those in the south.

Sept. 13th, 1808. *Londonderry.*—The town and suburbs contain about 10,000 inhabitants, 1,600 of whom are protestants, and 3,500 catholics: the rest are dissenters. Here the increase of catholics is extraordinary. Some years ago they were not permitted to reside near the place.

A catholic bishop, whose income is estimated at £700. per annum, resides here. He has a seminary for the education of young men destined for the priesthood, and is active and zealous in promoting the interest of his religion.

Sept. 22d, 1808. *Moneymore.*—The catholics are more numerous than the protestants. The priest receives 2s. 6d. for every family, and a stack of oats; and with this allowance he is said to be badly paid.

**LOUTH.**—The proportion of catholics to protestants in this county I estimate to be as 15 to 1. This county has two large towns, one of which, Drogheda, is of considerable extent, but its inhabitants are remarkably poor. To those who have compared this place with Belfast, where the population is nearly the same, the difference must be very striking; and nothing can more clearly evince the superior condition of the protestants over that of the catholics; there being as many protestants in Belfast, as there are catholics in Drogheda. The humbler classes of the protestants are ashamed to be seen dirty, or with bad clothes; but being so much outnumbered, they, in consequence, find very little society among persons of their own faith, and have a stronger propensity to emigrate. Dr. Little, who has been rector of Louth for twenty years, told me, on the 12th of August 1809, that in summer his hearers generally amounted to forty, but in winter to seldom more than three or four, while, at the popish chapel, where many masses are said in a day, there were 1,000. He thought the catholic tenants gave more rent than the protestants, who cannot submit to live in so poor a manner. The catholics pay their tithes with cheerfulness; the members of the established church with less alacrity, but the presbyterians pay them with great reluctance. The methodists were increasing, but few converts were made among the catholics. Collon is, perhaps, the most protestant parish in the county; the church there is attended by about 130 persons, and the popish chapel by 1,000. There is also a methodist meeting-house.

When the militia was first raised, Colonel Foster found it difficult to induce the people to list; but the brother of the parish priest having entered, they soon fol-

lowed in numbers. I observed that the catholic priest lived on the most friendly terms with Mr. Foster; and, contrary to the opinion of Mr. Parnell, that protestants will not employ catholics, Mr. Foster's agent is of that persuasion, and a man of as reputable a character as any in the country. In no part of Ireland does less animosity exist between the catholic and protestant than at Collon. Two Roman catholics, Sir Edward Bellew, and Mr. Taafe, are called upon the Louth grand jury. Lord Southwell, a catholic, resides in this county, and possesses a good estate. Several other catholics, also, have estates here, and their personal property must be considerable. As they rise in wealth they acquire political power, but at present, it can hardly be said that they have any.

In the Louth regiment of militia, the proportion of catholics to protestants is as about 5 to 4. The officers, with one exception, are all protestant.

**MAYO.**—This is one of those counties of Ireland, where the majority of the people are Roman catholics. Like Galway and Kerry, there are districts of fifty miles in extent, where a protestant church is not to be seen. Nevertheless there is a considerable protestant interest, of which lord Tyrwley formerly was the head. Mr. Peter Lynch, a gentleman of considerable influence, is the most prominent character among the catholics. Two or three catholic gentlemen are called on the grand jury. It was remarked to me, when I was here in November, 1809, that "the term Catholic is not a mark of religious distinction, but of every other distinction whatever." This coincides exactly with my own opinion, and constitutes that degradation which I consider to be a great public evil.

**MEATH.**—According to my estimate, the catholics in this county are to the protestants as forty to one. Kerry and Galway excepted, there are more catholic landholders in this county, than in any other in Ireland, many of its gentry being of that persuasion. In general, two or three catholics are called upon the one grand jury, and from three to four on the other; but it has been represented to me that a catholic is called only once a year. This is another of the numerous degrading distinctions.

The leaseholds in this county belong to catholics; and I should suppose that a considerable part of the personal property is also, in the same hands. The protestant gentry are decidedly in favour of their claims.

For the following important information I am indebted to a most intelligent and respectable catholic gentleman of this county.

In the parish of Navan, and part of Bective, the catholic population has increased 2,000 within the last fifteen years. No visible diminution or increase has taken place among the protestants. During the last eighteen months, eight persons of that persuasion have been received into the bosom of the Roman catholic church at Navan.

" According to a registry kept by the Rev. John Hacket, parish priest of Drumcondra, the baptisms were,

In 1764	36	-	In 1805	126
In 1783	77	-	In 1810	172
In 1798	98			

" Parts of my parish have been depopulated by graziers, yet the number of communicants has been doubled since my coming; I had then about 800, and now about 1,000; from 60 to 70 baptisms annually, and now from 100 to 120. There were then eleven protestant families. The father of one family died a catholic, and his survivors are catholics. Can any of our enemies doubt the increase of catholics? They are more prolific, being more laborious, and less luxurious. If any forsake us, it is exultingly gazetted, and how seldom this happens. The poor cannot be tempted; they expect no comfort in this life, and look forwards to eternity. The proselytes of charter schools and founding hospitals often come back to us, when they are convinced, by experience, that we are not the blood-thirsty papists represented to them. Our congregations are too large for our chapels; and in towns, where many masses are daily said, crowds return from each. In the country, the poor of either sex, who have not a second suit, are not stopped by snow or storm. How many die catholics who lived protestants: and can they seriously believe that we are not increasing?"

This account of the increase of the catholics is confirmed by another catholic gentleman, who, in a letter received last year, says,

" Our old chapels, which formerly contained the congregation, are not, at present, equal to our increased numbers, and new ones are universally building, of from one-third to double the former dimensions. From the best information I can procure, I believe the protestant population is rather on the decline. Enclosed I send you the register of numbers in the parish where I reside; I believe it is very accurate, as our parish priest, Mr. Hamilton, has taken considerable pains to ascertain the population. Our parish is reckoned rather a protestant one. In many of the neighbouring parishes, there are no resident protestants. Dr. Plunket, the Roman catholic bishop of Meath, performs the visitation of this diocese every year, and on that occasion, he gives confirmation in every parish. The number confirmed by him at three different periods, I have enclosed."

" Account given of the population of the united parishes of Killbarry and Donaghpatrick, by the Rev. John Fay, P. P. of the said parishes:

In 1797	Protestants	- -	51	Catholics	- -	3,750
In 1811	Ditto	- -	15	Ditto	- -	4,120.*

" Number of Children baptized in the parish of Navan, in the three following years, attested by John Rafferty, R. C. Curate of that parish: †

In 1782	.	.	.	.	.	204
1790	.	.	.	.	.	227
1810	.	.	.	.	.	264.

\* In this number are included seven received into the catholic church since 1797.

† The years made choice of were not selected on account of their being more favourable than others to population.

“ Account of the number of children confirmed in the R. C. diocese of Meath, for the following years, attested by the same :

In 1783 . . . . .	2,057
1801 . . . . .	4,203
1810 . . . . .	6,940.

“ Population of Slane and Rathkenny parishes, county of Meath, in 1785, attested by M. Hanlon, P. P. of the said parishes :

Protestants - -	230	Catholics - -	3,560.
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“ These numbers, though not taken from any written document, are sufficiently correct. They were ascertained by calculating the number of houses built since 1781, and from this consideration, that the present chapels, though more than twice as large as the old ones, are too small for the population.

Population in 1811.

Protestants . . . . .	132	Catholics . . . . .	5,948.
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“ These numbers are perfectly correct, as I enter every year, on my books, the names of the catholics, for the purpose of obliging all to a compliance with their religious duties.

“ The protestant population of 1781 was ascertained by consulting old people, who named and counted each individual. The number of 1811 is correct to a unit.”

These documents require very little comment. If a protestant parish have 5,948 catholics to 132 protestants, what must be the proportion in the whole county? I have had accounts of parishes here, which could not furnish a protestant clerk, who was sent for from another place.

*Navan.*—This parish contains 6,000 acres, and 4,000 inhabitants; one church, one catholic chapel, and six protestant families. The priest receives 10*s.* 6*d.* for marriages. Mr. Cusac thinks that the catholic clergymen would be willing to receive salaries from government, if they exceeded those now given by the people.

The parish of Navan and a part of Bective, now united, contain 7,000 Roman catholics, and only 175 protestants. Among these protestants, are included several persons who profess no particular religion, and never frequent any place of worship. It is generally believed by those who are best acquainted with this parish, that within the last fifteen or twenty years, the catholics have increased one-third; but, as no actual enumeration has been made, it is impossible to give any accurate statement. To judge, however, from the number of new houses which have been built, and the increased congregations, there can be no doubt that a very considerable increase has taken place.

The parish of Kilbarren contains 5,500 acres, and has but one protestant family besides that of the clergyman, whose wife is a catholic, and presents to the living, which is worth £400. per annum.

The parish of Castletown and Clongill contains 2,574 catholics, and 70 protestants. The population of this parish has decreased, within the last ten years

## RELIGIOUS SECTS AND PARTIES IN MONAGHAN AND QUEEN'S COUNTY.

upwards of 100 families have left it ; the land, on the expiration of the leases, being let to a few wealthy individuals.

*July 31, 1808.* Athboy consists of a union of parishes, and contains 8,000 acres; about 40 people attend church. The Roman catholics here, are to the protestants as eighty to one.

The Union of Kells consists of 10,000 acres, and contains 2,000 families, 100 of which are protestant. This is the most protestant part of the county of Meath. The chapel at Kells, when finished, will accommodate 3,000 people. That at Navan 2,000, and three masses are said every Sunday, which are attended, in the course of the day, by at least 5,000 persons. There are generally 500 outside the door. It will be necessary to remark that the boundaries of the catholic and protestant parishes do not correspond.

*September 27, 1808.* *Brittas.* The privilege, which the catholics enjoy of purchasing land, will, in time, render their influence superior to that of the protestants; considering how lately this right was extended to them, it is astonishing how much power they have already acquired. Being excluded from holding places under government, and having no dependence but on their own exertions, they waste not their time in courting public favour. On this account, as they amass wealth, they become the possessors either of the fee, or of what amounts to the same thing, of perpetual leases.

**MONAGHAN.**—According to my estimate, this county contains five catholics to one protestant. The protestants in general are presbyterians. There are no catholic estates in this county, nor do I believe that any gentlemen of that faith are officers in the militia, or are called on the grand jury. The interest of the protestant overpowers that of the catholic, who seems indeed to have no political weight.

*September 28, 1808.* *Monaghan.*—A great proportion of the people are catholics, but they possess no landed property.

*December 19, 1808.* The Monaghan militia consists of 700 men, 400 of whom are protestants. None of the officers, either commissioned or non-commissioned, are catholics.

**QUEEN'S COUNTY.**—The inhabitants of this county are chiefly catholics, the proportion being as twelve to one. Of the remainder, the majority are methodists, between whom and the catholics, a strong inveteracy prevails. Mr. Thomas Parnell is at the head of a sect of the former, who are called Parnellites. Mr. Grace, a catholic, but at present a minor, has an estate which, when he comes of age, will entitle him to be called on the grand jury; and a part of the property of the late Lord Bewley belongs to catholics. The gentry of this county are decided friends to their claims.

As there are so many catholics in this county, it may appear extraordinary that

Mr. Pole should have been returned one of its members to parliament. But this gentleman is popular; he is a good landlord, employs no middle men, and lives on the best terms with his catholic neighbours, who, notwithstanding his having joined the present administration, place great confidence in him, and believe that the whole of the Wellesley family are, in their hearts, favourably disposed to their claims. Mr. Pole commands about 100 freeholders on his own estates, but he is supported chiefly by the interest of Lord Montrath, to which may be added, every thing like protestant interest in the county. The catholics, so far from deserting this gentleman, are desirous that he should continue their representative. This affords a strong proof, that like the rest of mankind, they are attached to those who have it most in their power to promote their interest; and it will shew the folly of the assertion so often repeated, that were complete emancipation granted to the catholics, they would immediately return to parliament a phalanx of 100 catholic members.

ROSCOMMON.—This is another of those counties in which the catholics are so numerous, that to endeavour to point out the proportion between them and the protestants, would be ridiculous. Many catholic gentlemen here have landed property, and not less than five or six are called on the grand jury. The catholics possess also in this county, much leasehold property, as it contains many rich graziers of that persuasion. The personal property of the catholics likewise must be considerable. The protestant gentry are all favourable to the catholic claims.

The Roscommon regiment of militia consists of 765 men; only ninety-four of whom are protestants, and the rest catholics: the commissioned and non-commissioned officers are all protestant. In conformity to a regulation, peculiar to a few regiments which exclude catholics from rank, I have been informed that Lord Lawton, the colonel, makes every officer before he is admitted declare, on his word of honour, that he is not a catholic. This formality, his lordship says, is not enforced on account of any objection to gentlemen as catholics, but is merely intended to prevent unpleasant feelings and disputes, which might arise at the mess in consequence of certain established toasts. Many catholic gentlemen of property have in vain applied for admission into this regiment. Lieutenant-colonel Eustace and Majors Lloyd and Kelly have no property in the county. The Roscommon militia is not recruited by ballot, but by a bounty; so that the number of catholics and protestants of which it is composed can be no criterion to judge of relative numbers in the county. Many of the privates are induced to conform, that they may obtain rank as petty officers.

SLIGO.—The proportion of catholics to protestants in this county, according to every estimate, is at least as 80 to 1; but it is, probably, much greater. Only five or six catholics are called upon the grand jury; this arises rather from the non-residence of gentlemen, than there not being estates sufficient to afford qualifications. Personal

wealth does not abound in this county, and the rental being low, leasehold property is not of much value. Its political influence is directed chiefly by absentees, who, with three protestant gentlemen, are hostile to the catholic claims.

When the militia was first raised, it was entirely protestant; at present, one-half of the privates are catholics. The officers, however, are still protestant, the choice depending entirely on the colonel.

**TIPPERARY.**—The catholics are so numerous in this county, that it would be waste of time to attempt an estimate of the proportion which they bear to the protestants. The chief town is Clonmel; and here, and in the neighbourhood, are some wealthy protestants, but a considerable part of them are quakers. Garrick, the next town in size, contained, in 1799, a population of nearly 11,000 persons, of whom 300 only were protestants. This information was communicated to me by the Rev. R. Herbert, the protestant clergyman of the place, in a letter dated April 24th, 1811; according to a census taken in the spring of that year, the catholics on Lord Desart's estate, were to the protestants as 100 to 1. Here are some large estates belonging to catholics, and during the Duke of Bedford's administration, seven gentlemen of that persuasion were always called on the grand jury; but when I was there in 1808, and 1809, not one was called, the nomination of sheriff being entirely an affair of party.

Much leasehold property in this county is possessed by catholics, and their personal property, consisting of stock, is immense.

Mr. Bagwell is at the head of a strong protestant party; he is a gentleman of great respectability and worth.

No patterns are held in Tipperary, in consequence of their being suppressed in 1798 by a mandate issued by the catholic archbishop, Dr. Bray, whose bishoprick is worth £1,000 per annum.

*Decem.* 6th, 1808. **CLONMEL.**—The catholics have here a chapel, school, and friary, the ground rent of which Mr. Bagwell remits, besides a large poor-house; to which the county contributes £500. per annum.

*February* 2d, 1809.—The bigoted class of protestants are exceedingly unruly and troublesome. They have no idea of subordination, and are as regardless of the law, as of the rights of their fellow citizens.

*March* 24th, 1809. *Lesheen.*—It is customary here with the catholics when they take an oath, to place their bare knees on the priest's vestments; yet, there are instances of persons being absolved from such an oath.

*March* 25th, 1809. Sir Thomas Fitzgerald is of opinion, that one of the chief causes which retarded the prosperity of Ireland, was the law which prevented Roman catholics from purchasing land.

A part of the Orange test is a profession of protestantism; by which that body

becomes a religious association, rather than a military corps for the defence of the government and constitution.

*April 9th, 1809.*—In the upper part of Tipperary, the leases are in general granted for perpetuity, and belong mostly to catholics; the Scullys, Ryans, Maras, &c.

A dignified catholic clergyman, in a letter dated Thurles, August 20th 1811, says, "Though it is very evident, that the catholics are increasing every year much faster than the protestants, I find it impossible to ascertain the exact ratio; but I am convinced, that the catholic population, in the parish of Thurles, has increased one-third within the last twenty years."

**TYRONE.**—Of the proportion between the catholics and protestants in this county, I cannot form an opinion. In the city of Clogher, and in the county around the episcopal palace, there appear to be about four of the former for one of the latter. Lord Northland assured me, that in the town of Dungannon, the inhabitants are almost all catholics; and the mountains, in the north-west part of the county, are entirely peopled by them. The proportion of six to one, therefore, throughout the whole county is, perhaps, rather in favour of the protestants; but this is my own conclusion. In the possession of property, the catholics here are very low, indeed; only one gentleman is called upon the grand jury. There is a strong Orange party, which in 1808, on account of a religious quarrel, occasioned the loss of some lives at Omagh; yet, in the spring of 1810, at a county meeting the protestant landlords agreed to resolutions, which convey sentiments similar to those expressed by Lord Grenville in his letter to Lord Fingal.

This county contains much waste mountain land, which produces little rent; and the cultivated parts are broken into such minute divisions, that the leases are of little value. Great catholic wealth is to be found only in the fertile districts of Ireland; in Tyrone, the personal property of persons belonging to that faith, is very limited.

**WATERFORD.**—The inhabitants of this county are nearly all catholics; so small, indeed, is the number of protestants in some parishes, that the clergyman might almost begin the service as Dr. Swift once did, by addressing his clerk instead of the audience.\* It is not unusual to see the church-walls grown green in the inside; and the clergyman, dressed in a surplice covered with iron-mould spots; which, perhaps, had not been washed for twelve months, delivering a discourse to a congregation, composed of from two to six persons. When this state of the protestant church is compared with that of the mass-house, some idea may be formed of the proportion between the followers of the two religions.—Lord Enniskillen sold,

\* This anecdote is well known. The Doctor began the services, addressing the clerk, who was the only person in church besides himself in the following manner, "Dearly beloved Roger, the scripture moveth me and thee in sundry places, &c."

a few years ago, a large property in this county, which was purchased chiefly by catholics.

In the city of Waterford, one-third of the merchants are Roman catholics, and some possess considerable wealth; there are also several opulent quakers. The places of religious worship in this city are, a cathedral and two churches, St. Patrick's, and St. Olave's; a French protestant church; an anabaptist and an evangelical meeting; six presbyterian meetings, and one quaker; four catholic chapels, a nunnery and a friary.

No catholics are admitted on the city grand jury; and on that of the county, there are never more than two or three.

The following was the state of the Waterford regiment of militia, 12th August, 1811:—

	Protestants.	Catholics.
1 Colonel	1 Colonel	1 Major
2 Lieutenant-Colonels	2 Lieutenant-Colonels	3 Captains
2 Majors	1 Major	4 Lieutenants
8 Captains	5 Captains	1 Ensign
16 Lieutenants,	12 Lieutenants	19 Sergeants
6 Ensigns	5 Ensigns	21 Corporals
40 Sergeants	21 Sergeants	581 Privates.
40 Corporals	19 Corporals	
650 Privates	69 Privates	

*December* 10th, 1808. The Marquis of Waterford has the support of all the catholics in the county. John Claudius Beresford, at the last division in the House of Commons, left the house.

*December* 12th, 1808. FAITHLEG.—The catholic property in this neighbourhood is increasing, Mr. Barron has £3,000. per annum; Mr. Power and his brother £6,000.; another Power, £3,000. All the freehold property offered for sale is bought up by persons of that persuasion. When the catholics were restricted from being land-owners, they employed their money in stocking dairy farms, which has turned out more profitable than the purchase of land, or lending on mortgage; by this they are enabled now to get into their hands all the estates that are sold.

Mr. Bolton observes, that the cruel and absurd laws against the Roman catholics were never enforced but for the purpose of punishment. They were at variance with that principle which ought to be the object of all law—the general and indiscriminate protection of the people.

The power granted to catholics to purchase estates has been attended with this effect, that they interest themselves only about new titles, and no longer look to the return of possession under old ones.

In Waterford there are many respectable catholic and quaker merchants. Three of the bankers are protestants.

If a catholic work on a holiday, the money he earns must be spent in drink; it must not be applied to the maintenance of his family.

A dignified catholic clergyman, in a letter, dated Waterford, August 14th, 1811, says, "the proportionate number of Roman catholics to that of protestants, has considerably increased, and is increasing in every part of the diocese of Waterford and Lismore. In what ratio this increase has taken place, I cannot pretend to state with any degree of accuracy. Except in this city, and one or two small towns, the Roman catholics throughout the county are to the protestants, nearly 100 to 1; in the city, they are nearly as 10 to 1; of their increase for the last fifteen or twenty years, some idea may be formed from this consideration, that the chapels built in some parishes about that time, and amply sufficient to accommodate the respective congregations, are now found too small for the population, at least by one-third of their dimensions; with respect to Waterford city, I have no data from which an opinion can be formed of the respective increase of catholic and protestant population. The former is certainly beyond the latter, that is, the ratio becomes greater every year, although it is evident, that it has not kept pace with that in the country parts of the diocese."

WESTMEATH.—The land-owners in this county are almost all protestants, yet the population is chiefly catholic, but there are only three catholic land proprietors qualified to be called on the grand jury.

In the Westmeath regiment of militia, there are only two catholic officers, one lieutenant, and the surgeon. Of the non-commissioned officers, two-thirds are protestants. The proportion of catholics to protestants, among the privates, is about 8 to 1.

August 7th, 1808. From Castletown Delvin to Lord Sunderlin's, at Barontown, the people are all catholics, and regular in attending places of worship. They are, however, much addicted to superstitious notions, and make their horses swim in some of the lakes on Garlick Sunday, that is, the second Sunday in August, believing that this will render them healthy during the rest of the year.

August 8th, 1808. Saw a school-house built by Lord Sunderlin, who sent a young man to London, that he might acquire Mr. Lancaster's method of teaching; at present, it is attended only by protestant children, those of the catholics having been forbidden by the priest.

August 12th. REYNELLA.—Saw here a protestant labourer, a circumstance very rare in this part of Ireland.

At Rochfort, the priest discourages, by every means in his power, a school established under the patronage of a gentleman, no doubt through a spirit of jealousy

and a desire to retain his influence over the people. Does not this shew the necessity of raising the condition of the poor, and rendering them more independent?

In the year 1745, Mr. Rochfort's father purchased Rochfort estate, and was at great pains to bring protestant labourers, servants, and tradesmen, so that he had not a catholic about him. At present, including Mr. Rochfort's family, there are not ten protestants on the property.

*Mullingar* parish, which is twelve miles long and nine broad, contains at least 10,000 inhabitants, in which number there are not more than twenty-five protestants fit to bear arms. None but these few protestants are armed.

August 14th, 1808. The union of Maylukar in this county, contains 4,400 acres, on which there are only 97 male and 100 female protestants. It has six schools, one protestant and five catholic; but the children who attend the protestant establishment are almost all Roman catholics.

May 5th, 1809. *Dublin*. Mrs. ——— informs me, that indulgences are still sold at a friary at Multifarnham, in the county of Westmeath. The fee for marriages has lately been considerably raised in that parish; crowds, therefore, go to be married by a couple-beggar at Edgeworth's Town.

August 16th, 1808. *Coolure*. The priest at Castlepollard beats his parishioners into respect for their clergy when they displease him, and they submit to this treatment without the least grumbling.

Dr. Plunkett, the Roman catholic bishop of the diocese, obliges the people to attend prayers, and to confess in English. No instance is known of a priest revealing what he has heard at confession.

August 18th. The inhabitants of Castlepollard are nearly all Roman catholics.

A stream of water, proceeding from a spring which passes under a hill and again appears at Fore, is an object of superstitious veneration: nothing could induce a Roman catholic to eat fish caught there, and to bathe a diseased limb in it, is considered as an effectual cure.

August 19th. *Fortland*. Admiral Pakenham estimates the catholics in the county of Meath, to be to the protestants as forty to one.

August 21st. The Admiral is of opinion, that if Trinity-college, Dublin, had been enlarged, so as to admit Roman catholics, it would have been better than forming the establishment at Maynooth.

WEXFORD.—In this county, in general, the catholics are to the protestants, as ten to one; yet I was told by Mr. Beaumont, that in the neighbourhood of Goree they are only as three to one. Some large estates belong to catholic proprietors, none of whom, Mr. Redmond the banker of Wexford excepted, are residents. During the Duke of Bedford's administration, three or four catholics were on the grand jury. In 1808 and 1809, when I was in Ireland, none were called; but I understand, that at the spring assizes of 1811, the sheriff was favourably disposed towards

them, and that four were selected, some of whom, I believe, were not qualified by their property. The partiality displayed in the appointment of sheriff is an evil of the most mischievous tendency, and calls loudly for redress. Although, during the two years I was in Ireland, I only observed it, in two counties, these instances are sufficient to excite the indignation of every honest mind.

The greater part of the personal property of this county is catholic. The protestant influence, however, is very powerful, and the majority of the gentry are unfavourable to catholic claims.

The following extract of a letter to a friend of mine in the county of Wexford, from the co-adjutor bishop of Ferns, contains some very interesting remarks on the population of the county.

“In regard to the increase of protestantism, the Board of Education are totally incompetent to form any, even probable, opinion on that subject, if they judge merely from the increase of these schools, or of the numbers educated in them. These schools are, I do believe, entirely under the control of the protestant clergy. Such of these gentlemen as wish to stand well with their most *anti-catholic* bishops, are known to compel, by threats and otherwise, the poor of their neighbourhoods to send their children to them; they are known to distribute the produce of the poor-box largely, among such catholic parents as consent to have their children taught in them, and withhold it very frequently from those who do not consent to such a plan. In many cases, they will not employ on their grounds or glebes, such as refuse to do so. It would be invidious to mention names, but I assure you it could be done. All these children are represented as protestants, and most falsely. To know whether they become protestants it ought to be inquired whether they attend divine service in the churches on Sundays, with the same constancy as they do either the school or the catholic chapel. Let any protestant clergyman, suppose in this diocese, put his hand to his breast and honestly declare, whether in the year there are more converts from them to us, or from us to them. Free me from the apprehension of a *præmunire*, and, in this diocese, I will name one hundred to one in our favour. This I say not vauntingly but sincerely: They have law on their side, and can speak out; we have it against us, and must be silent. I do not calculate on such a year as 1798, when terror deprived some of their senses.

“I do not know much with accuracy as to the population; but to shew the great disparity or rather disproportion in numbers, I will merely mention the very protestant town of Wexford, the population of which was most accurately counted last year. The catholic parish consists of the whole town, and so much of the country as is contained within the rivulet that runs through Boston's nursery on this side, and on to the Steep Bridge on the Forth side of the town, towards Grange, including a few farm houses towards Kellett's house, the last in the parish. In this district, there are exactly 8,684 souls of every description; of these, 1,040 only, including protestants, quakers, methodists, &c., are not catholics. I can vouch for the authenticity of this enumeration, and will boldly say, that, in the gross number, there is not a difference of 150 persons, and in the less number, not of 20. I rather think, that in this town\* the disproportion is nearly as great. Here then you have the two most protestant spots in the whole country, and judging from them, what must be the case in the remainder? What will give a tolerably accurate idea of the whole county, is the consideration that, with few exceptions, the male part of the protestant population, able to bear arms, are yeomen. Count these, and then making al-

\* This letter is dated from Enniscorthy.

lowance for the remaining branches of their families, you have nearly the protestant population in a small compass. They appear more numerous than they really are, because they have power and make a shew; we are without it, and make none. Look to chapels on Sundays, and look to the churches. Look to your father's former church; it is at this moment smaller than the rector's drawing-room, while the same parish has two large chapels, and these by far too small for the flock. I should remark that a return of the sects in the different schools is an unfair mode of calculating, as in most parts the parents are more inclined to have their children uneducated than run the risk of having them protestantized. In such places there will of course be more protestants than catholics; and the Board of Education will make little progress, till they give up the idea of making proselytes instead of scholars. Let the Board admit some catholic associates of zeal, penetration, and courage, and then their schools will flourish."

*December 19, 1808.* ENNISCORTHY.—The coadjutor Bishop of Ferns, Dr. Ryan, possesses great influence over the catholics of the county. Two town lands having agreed to fight a pitched battle, he ordered their priest not to administer the sacrament to any of the inhabitants who had been concerned in it. In consequence of this "ban," thirty of them came to him in the course of the day. He ordered them to do penance, which they performed, by going twice round the chapel on their bare knees.

*July 16, 1809.* WEXFORD.—At Ross, there is a friary, which is called a convent, and consists of four fathers and six young men. There is another at Clominis, and a third at Wexford. They are of the order of St. Augustine, and belong to what are called the secular clergy. Their establishment is supported by contributions, which they levy on the farmers in the country, and to whom they pay regular visits on horseback, attended by a servant. On these occasions, they generally give previous notice, and after preaching, a collection is made for them among the hearers. Their principal business is to officiate for any of the priests, when prevented from performing their duty through illness or from any other cause; but as they are competitors with the priests, for worldly gain, a great jealousy subsists between them. The collections consist of corn, butter, eggs, and other articles, as well as money.

Mr. Cornock is of opinion, that where the divisions of land are small, catholics are better tenants than the protestants; they pay a larger rent, live harder, and are more industrious. But when the holdings amount to forty acres or upwards, the protestants are more desirable.

Of the Wexford militia I can give no accurate return. When I obtained any information the number of catholics was 549; but at that time 250 privates were wanting to make it complete. All the officers, and 244 rank and file were protestants.

WICKLOW.—I estimate the proportion of catholics to protestants in this county, to be the same as in the preceding, that is, as ten to one. One Roman catholic lady possesses here an estate that would qualify a gentleman for the grand jury. There is no other landed property belonging to catholics so extensive as to confer the

same privilege. As many of the protestants here are opulent, and either are at present, or were connected with Dublin, I am led to conclude that the greater part of the personal property is in their hands, and that the gentry are averse to the catholic claims.

In the Wicklow regiment of militia, all the officers, and most of the non-commissioned officers, are protestants.

From the foregoing details I have formed the following Table, which exhibits a comprehensive view of the state of the catholic population, property, influence, &c. in Ireland; but it does not rest upon data sufficiently accurate to be implicitly relied on. Notwithstanding, I have considerable confidence in the result; and it is evident that no absolutely correct document of this kind, can, perhaps, ever be obtained. The catholics, fearful that the protestants might draw unfavourable conclusions, are averse to any enumeration of their people; and in general, when I received information from them, it was with an injunction that the name should not be given to the public. The protestants also, are reluctant to let governments know that they interfere at all with the subject; and some from private motives, laid me under the same restraint; but were I at liberty to expose my authorities, the statements would acquire much more importance, than they will in the manner I am compelled to exhibit them.

In those columns which I have filled up with the term "unknown," I meant to state, that I have no data by which to form a calculation.

TABLE OF RELIGIOUS SECTS.

COUNTIES AND CITIES.	Conjectural Proportion of Catholics to Protestants.	Number of considerable Landed Proprietors.	Number of Catholics called on Grand Jury.	Catholic Commissioned Officers in the Militia.	Catholic Non-commissioned Officers in the Militia.	Proportion of Catholics to Protestant Privates in Militia.	Proportion of Protestant Dissenters to Members of the Established Church.	Prevailing Sect in Political Influence.	Total Population of Ireland in 1798, according to Dr. Beaufort's Memoir.	Number of Catholics calculated on the Population of 1798.	Number of Protestants calculated on the Population of 1798.
Antrim	One half	None	None	None	Unknown	One-half	{ Very great majority, chiefly Presbyterians. }	Protestant	160,000	80,000	80,000
Belfast Town	4 to 5	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Armagh	3 to 1	1	None	None	Unknown	.	{ Very great majority, chiefly Presbyterians. }	Protestant	180,000	90,000	90,000
Carlow	10 to 1	1	1	4	Nearly all Protestant	5 to 8	Few Dissenters	Catholic	44,000	39,600	4,400
Cavan	5 to 1	1	1	None	Ditto	About half	{ Very great majority of Presbyterian Dissenters. }	Protestant	81,570	65,856	16,514
Clare	Nearly all Catholics, 80 to 1	None	3	1	Nearly 50 Protestants, Non-Commissioned Officers and Privates	{	Few Dissenters	Catholic	96,000	94,800	1,900
Cork County	13 to 1	1-10th of property	3	1	Unknown	7 to 8	Unknown	Balanced	416,000	381,700	34,900
Cork City	4 to 1	Unknown	3 or 4	3	Unknown	7 to 8	Unknown	Balanced	--	--	--
Donegal	6 to 1	1	None	--	--	--	Unknown	Balanced	140,000	116,667	23,533
Down	One half	1	None	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	{ Almost all Presbyterians. }	Protestant	901,500	100,750	100,750
Dublin County	6 to 1	Unknown	4	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Ditto	Balanced	54,000	45,000	9,000
Dublin City	6 to 1	Unknown	Uncertain	None	None	Unknown	Unknown	Balanced	144,000	180,000	24,000
Fermanagh	3 to 1	None	None	None	None	1 to 6 1/2	Few Dissenters	Protestant	71,900	47,867	23,933
Galway	40 to 1	1-3d of property	10	Unknown	Unknown	350 to 70	Ditto	Catholic	148,000	138,450	3,550
Kerry	Nearly all Catholics, 80 to 1	1-4th of property	5 or 6	4	One-half	5 to 1	Ditto	Catholic	107,000	105,663	1,337
Kilkenny	23 to 1	5 or 6	5	3	34	525 to 75	{ Several Methodists. }	Catholic	98,000	90,870	4,180
Kildare	30 to 1	4	4 or 5	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Few Dissenters	Catholic	56,000	54,134	1,866
King's County	8 to 1	4	4	Unknown	Minority	6 to 1	Ditto	Protestant	74,500	65,188	9,512
Leitrim	30 to 1	Unknown	3	4	Great minority	3 to 1	Unknown	Unknown	50,000	46,354	1,666
Limerick County	Nearly all Catholics, 80 to 1	3	3	11	Unknown	790 to 50	Few Dissenters	Catholic	170,000	167,875	2,125
Limerick City	15 to 1	Unknown	Unknown	{ Many Catholics }	{ Many Catholics }	695 to 7	Unknown	Protestant	--	--	--
Longford	8 to 1	3	1	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Few Dissenters	Balanced	80,100	44,818	5,882

TABLE OF RELIGIOUS SECTS.

COUNTIES AND CITIES—continued.	Conjectural proportion of Catholics to Protestants.	Number of considerable Catholic Landed Proprietors.	Number of Catholics called on Grand Jury.	Catholic Commissioned Officers in the Militia	Catholic Non-commissioned Officers in the Militia.	Proportion of Catholics to Protestant Privates in Militia.	Proportion of Protestant Dissenters to Members of the Established Church.	Prevailing Sect in Political Influence.	Total Population of Ireland in 1792, according to Dr. Beaufort's Memoir.*	Number of Catholics calculated on the Population of 1792.	Number of Protestants calculated on the Population of 1792.
Londonderry	2 to 1	None	None	None	None	One-half	{ Great majority of Presbyterians }	Protestant	125,000	83,334	41,666
Londonderry City	4 to 7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Louth	15 to 1	4 or 5	2	1	Unknown	5 to 4	Few Dissenters	Protestant	57,750	53,900	3,850
Mayo	Nearly all Catholic	3 or 4	3 or 4	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Few Dissenters	Catholic	140,000	138,250	1,750
Meath	80 to 1	4 or 5	3 or 4	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	{ Few Dissenters - Nearly all Presbyterians }	Catholic	112,400	109,590	2,810
Monaghan	40 to 1	None	None	None	Unknown	3 to 4	{ Many Methodists }	Protestant	118,000	94,400	23,600
Queen's County	5 to 1	2	1	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	-	Catholic	82,000	75,167	6,833
Roscommon	12 to 1	5 or 6	5 or 6	None	None	671 to 94	Few Dissenters	Catholic	86,000	84,925	1,075
Sligo	Nearly all Catholics	None	5 or 6	None	None	One-half	Few Dissenters	Protestant	60,000	58,000	2,000
Tipperary	80 to 1	5 or 6	Uncertain	Unknown	Unknown	950 to 50	{ Few Dissenters - Nearly all Presbyterians }	Catholic	169,000	154,917	14,083
Tyrone	12 to 1	1	1	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	-	Unknown	157,700	131,417	26,283
Waterford County	6 to 1	4 or 5	3 or 3	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Some Dissenters	Catholic	110,000	108,625	1,375
Waterford City	Nearly all Catholics	3 or 3	None	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Catholic	-	-	-
Westmeath	80 to 1	Unknown	None	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Catholic	69,000	66,700	2,300
Wexford	10 to 1	3	3	2	1 to 2	8 to 1	Few Dissenters	Protestant	115,000	103,300	11,700
Wexford Town	10 to 1	4 or 5	Uncertain	None	None	549 to 244	Some Dissenters	Catholic	-	-	-
Wicklow	83 to 1	1	None	None	Very few	Unknown	Some Dissenters	Protestant	58,000	52,306	5,694
	10 to 1	1	None	None	-	-	-	-	3,733,330	3,811,297	523,023
											6.15 to 1

AVERAGE Proportion of Catholics to Protestants, calculated on the Population of 1792

The average Proportion of Catholics to Protestants, calculated from the population given by Dr. Beaufort for 1792, appears by the foregoing Table to be, as 6.15 to 1.—In this ascertaining the population of these places at the period of 1792, to which the calculation applies; but, with the exception of Londonderry, where the Protestants are to the Catholics as seven to four; and Cork, where the former are to the latter as four and a half to one, the proportion in the rest of these places of Catholics to Protestants exceeds the above average; and upon the whole, it may safely be admitted, that the Catholics are to the Protestants, throughout Ireland, as six to one. It is to be observed also, that in those counties where the proportion of Catholics to Protestants is stated to be as eighty to one; the population was so completely Catholic, that the uniform return to every inquiry made was, that no proportion could be struck between them, and however large the proportion of Catholics in this Table may appear, it is in many cases really below the truth. The other proportions were founded on the most accurate information which could be obtained on the spot from intelligent and well informed persons.

The foregoing Table includes only the great Catholic landed proprietors, for in many of the counties there are many of that persuasion who possess small estates. though in many cases, from its magnitude, the political interest of a country is determined by it, and not by the possession of the fee.

\* The calculations have been made from Dr. Beaufort's account of the population in 1792, because the accuracy of that gentleman is well known; besides, it is the latest in which the proportion of the Catholics to the Protestants is detailed, and all the estimates of the population of Ireland since that period are founded rather on conjecture than on facts. If the present rate of population of 1792 or 1811, for the result would give only the same average, as the increase of population since the former of those periods may be presumed not to have been materially greater in one county than another.

In the preceding Table, however, the Roman catholic influence has not been so fully described as it ought. Armagh, Louth, and Tyrone, are marked as protestant. In the first-mentioned county, Lord Charlemont has an immense estate, and in the last parliament his brother, who represented it, voted for the catholic question. In Louth, Lord Southwell, Sir Edward Bellew, and other Roman catholic gentlemen, are residents, and would have great weight any where else ; but Louth is the smallest county in the kingdom, and is commanded by the large estates of Lord Roden and Mr. Foster. Tyrone lately adopted resolutions in favour of the catholics. King's County has also been designated as protestant, in consequence of the great extent of the estates belonging to four noblemen, Lord Charleville, Lord Ross,\* Lord Ashtown, and Lord Digby. The two former are determined opposers of the catholic claims. Lord Ashtown's interest goes to his kinsman, Earl Charleville, and grants no leases by which freeholders are made. On this account, therefore, it is difficult to call a grand jury.

Having so frequently alluded to leasehold property among the catholics, it may be necessary to explain the nature of it, and the best method of doing this, will be to select a few instances : It has been stated, that Lord Kenmare possesses £8,000 a year in Kerry. I know the extent of that estate, and if it were now let, its value would be £40,000. per annum ; so that the leasehold property is worth £32,000. per annum. The Marquis of Lansdown receives from Ireland, as I am informed, £22,000. per annum. Some part of this income is only the head rent of an immense estate in Meath, which, according to Mr. Thompson, Author of the Survey of that county, consists of 60,000 acres, worth now £150,000. a year. The leasehold interest of this property, therefore, is immense.

Innumerable instances of estates under similar circumstances might be adduced. If it be recollected, that all that part of Ireland, which pays the greatest rent, namely, Meath, Limerick, Roscommon, Clare, and Tipperary, is held under capital leases, the shortest terms of which is a lease of lives, and stocked with catholic property ; this will account for an assertion, which I am disposed to credit, that the majority of the personal property in Ireland, belongs to Roman catholics. No certain estimate of the extent of catholic landed property in Ireland can be made from the number of catholics admitted on the respective grand juries ; but taking into consideration the great proportion of the rental of the country which belongs to them by leasehold tenures, I do not think that either their property or their number are represented in parliament.

In my account of some counties, I have stated the proportion of the professors of each religion in the regiments of militia. The men are raised by bounty, and frequently enlist from other counties ; as many of these volunteer into the line, whose places

\* This nobleman was Sir Lawrence Parsons, Bart., and when member for the University of Dublin, in the Irish House of Commons, a violent supporter of the catholic claims. See *Hardy's Life of Earl Charlemont*.

are filled up by recruits, the state of the regiments is continually fluctuating, so that they can afford no criterion, whereby to judge of the number of each persuasion in the several counties.

I differ completely from those who assert, that the great majority of our navy and army is composed of Irish Roman catholics. Sir John Cox Hippisley has offered some documents in corroboration of this assertion; but being desirous of examining the subject more minutely, I obtained from the proper office, through the favour of Mr. Pole, an account of the number of men who had volunteered into the line from each regiment of militia; and I was proceeding to discover the proportion of catholics in each regiment, which would have enabled me to ascertain the exact number of those who annually enter into the British army; but the inquiries made by a friend respecting a northern regiment having excited much alarm in the weak minds of some who like to enjoy a fancied security originating in ignorance, and whose suspicions are always alive, an alarming account was spread of improper interference: this subject I immediately explained to Mr. Pole by letter, and having no intention to excite uneasiness, my inquiries from that moment ceased. This will account for my not stating, as I much wished, the proportion of catholics and protestants in the northern regiments of militia, as I was impressed with the idea that no statistical account of Ireland can be complete without it.

That the inquiries made at my request, should have occasioned uneasiness, or given offence to any nobleman or gentleman in the northern counties, I very much regret; but, they ought to have recollected the conduct of Scipio to the Carthaginian spies, and that of William the Conqueror to those of Harold:\* and as the inquiries were conceived to have been made by some disaffected catholic, the best answer would have been to have shewn him at once the protestant strength in the Antrim regiment of militia. Little did those who considered this matter in so serious a light, know that Mr. Pole, the minister of Ireland, had furnished me with the account already mentioned, and that two of the lords of His Majesty's treasury, had favoured me with similar returns to those I was endeavouring to obtain.

The militia is an institution of recent date in Ireland, and in many instances, when the regiments were first raised, none but protestants were admitted. Even at present, they are recruited only in the more protestant counties: the catholics are ready to enlist where they are not under the control of their priests; but the colonels of most regiments prefer protestants, and for these reasons—they are better educated than catholics; and having been accustomed to orderly habits, are neater and cleaner in their persons, and more easily formed into good soldiers. Yet, notwithstanding these unfavourable circumstances, I have no doubt, were an accurate account obtained, it would appear, that the number of catholics to protestants

\* Henry's Hist. of England, vol. iv. p. 382.

in the Irish militia regiments increases every year; another proof that the catholic religion is gaining ground in Ireland.

Under the head National Defence, will be found, a paper supplied by the Right Hon. W. Wellesley Pole, which exhibits the numbers who have enlisted in the kingdom since 1800. I regret not having been able to obtain a correct statement of the deserters, by which I am prevented from forming an accurate estimate of the proportion which the catholics bear in the British army; but calculating from the documents that I could procure, the result is very low in point of numbers, considering the population of Ireland, and agrees with the opinion of many with whom I have conversed on the subject, that the catholics in that country, are not enlisted in great numbers.

Home, in his History of the Rebellion in 1745, gives an account of a proposition made by the lord president, Forbes, for inducing the highlanders of Scotland to enlist in the British service.\* The plan was rejected by the cabinet, although approved and supported by Sir Robert Walpole, the minister. It was afterwards adopted by the Earl of Chatham, although the Highlanders were then more disaffected than the Irish catholics are at present. Were a similar method adopted towards the Roman catholics, an immense and powerful army might be raised in Ireland. The country is not tenable at this time without a large military force. The discontents of the people must be suppressed by the sight of the sword; but were an army raised on the above plan, discontent would be changed to contentment and affection, and twenty thousand troops at least set at liberty for the protection of the state.

Every Englishman ought to peruse the work lately published by Captain Pasley, on Military Policy. The reader must be struck with his allusions to the state of ancient Rome, and he cannot fail to apply it to the state of catholic society in Ireland, which, instead of affording an invaluable addition to the British army, requires a military force to keep it in subjection. Did we but pursue the Roman maxim, to unite rather than to divide, what immense numbers would be obtained. I am as great an advocate for peace as any man, but it is a blessing not to be immediately expected; as long as Europe continues in its present situation, we must, however lamentable the circumstance, look forward still to war; and to offensive war, as the cheapest, and most likely to lead to peace. In this we may hope for success; but England might be more confident of this result were the Irish catholics encouraged to enlist as rapidly as they would do, if a different system were adopted. When the numbers wasted by war are considered, it must ever be a cause of infinite regret; but

\* Page 21.

† Mr. Malthus, in his Essay on Population, p. 288, exposes the fallacy of the doctrine held by Sir Francis D'Invernois, in his Tableau des Portes, &c.

if the resources of the empire be consulted, the loss thus sustained, will not appear numerically formidable, nor of such a nature as to excite much uneasiness or alarm.

In size and population, Ireland is not less than one-third of the British empire; the disposable force which she should yield, ought to be very considerable; yet it is obvious, from the documents which I have given, that the proportion which she actually does supply, is very small. Feeling the justice of the observation, that "armies have increased with increased civilization,"\* it strongly points out the necessity, were it only for this single reason, of raising the condition of the catholics of Ireland; an object which cannot be accomplished by the government, without the co-operation of the aristocracy of the country. It is not the government which can substitute machinery for manual labour; nor introduce the plough instead of the spade: it cannot change the mode of paying the labourer from conveniences to money. Were this disgraceful and pernicious custom changed, thousands would be set free to fill the ranks of our armies, and to man our ships of war. Although this be not in the power of government, much good might be effected by giving liberty to our defenders to worship the Deity according to the dictates of their conscience, or the usage of their forefathers. Convince the priest at home, that those who enter into the army will not be lost to his church, and while he believes that he holds them in spiritual bondage, he will have no objection to your keeping them in military subjection. By paying the priest, the legislature will take from him the motive which induces him to retain a large population about him for the increase of his fees. Confidence has long been placed in the physical strength of the Irish catholics, they are admitted as freely as they choose to enter into the army and navy, but I do not think that they are so numerous there, as is generally believed. If they be supposed to be formidable to the government when disaffected, would they not be equally powerful against the enemies of their country, when thoroughly reconciled? They are emancipated in the mass, were their numbers might be formidable, whilst their aristocracy are excluded, whom no one doubts.

\* A writer in the Quarterly Review, number x. p. 406, says, "But the power of producing and maintaining armies, results so little from mere population, that previous to the time of Francis I., it is well known no standing army was, or could be maintained in Europe, and from that time armies have only increased with increasing civilization. The cause of this is not obscure. Millions of persons may subsist in a rude state, and consume the produce of the soil, without acquiring a particle of that kind of power which contributes to the maintenance of an army, or to any other national object. In the feudal times, imperfect agriculture, and the want of roads, scarcely permitted the cultivators to dispose of a surplus sufficient to permit money contributions for the support of the regal and baronial courts. The progress of civilization taught a more economical and effectual application of human labour, and an increasing number of persons could be fed besides those who cultivated the land. To procure their share, these superfluous lookers on, became manufacturers; whence arose in the natural order of gradation, trade, money, and facility of taxation; and it is in reality from the degree in which scientific or skilful labour exists in a country, that the permanent maintenance of armies is to be calculated. In a ruder state of things, nothing can be furnished beyond the raw material untutored man."

Dr. Price, who was one of the most powerful opponents of Lord North's administration, remarks, "that English valour being thought insufficient to subdue the colonies, the LAWS and RELIGION of France were established in Canada on purpose to obtain the power of bringing upon them from thence, an army of French papists."\* Although this was stated for the purpose of condemning the measure, it still serves to shew, that where the exertions of a whole people, are become necessary, governments yield to expediency and relax in their severity against dissenters in religion; or to speak plainly, a knowledge of their weakness induces them to court assistance, by making those concessions, and yielding those natural rights which they withheld in violation of the principles of justice. When the present situation of the United Empire is considered, it will be admitted, that the active co-operation of the Irish catholics would add greatly to its strength, and lessen in no small degree, the danger with which it is threatened. To attain this co-operation so desirable in every point of view, nothing more is necessary than to afford them a participation in the blessings of the constitution. Let them have enjoyments which may be worthy of being defended, and you will see their attachment and their disinterested valour. No change in our own establishments, laws, or religion, is required. They ask only the same privileges which we claim for ourselves; they do not wish to be our superiors, but our equals; and he who can lay his hand upon his heart, and say that their claim is unreasonable, must have his judgment strangely perverted.

Some assert that the physical powers of the catholics are inferior to those of the protestants, and that they are incapable of receiving benefit from education. Such assertions are really too ridiculous to require refutation; yet I have frequently heard them from superficial observers, whose opinions were formed merely from the external appearance of a class of people degraded through many generations: the peculiarities of the sects is striking in Ireland, but this very distinction marks the necessity of raising those who are now degraded to the situation of those more elevated in society. A writer, in a respectable journal, speaking of the Feroe Islands, says, "in these isles there are no oppressions, no sore grievances and sore vexations, to deaden the hopes, check the industry, and prevent the improvement of the people."† Had the writer been acquainted with the real situation of his Roman catholic fellow-subjects in Ireland, he would have contrasted it with that of these islanders, whose happy lot he so much extols. This comparison would readily shew the causes which have retarded the improvement of the Irish catholics, and converted them into an inferior race, when compared with their more fortunate neighbours who have never experienced similar difficulties, nor laboured under the same restraints. No difference can exist between persons living on the same soil,

\* Observations on Civil Liberty, 6th edit. p. 93.

† Quarterly Review, No. VII. p. 342.

but what arises from education and habits, and the bias communicated by the government. Religion has nothing to do with the natural powers of the mind. Some of the greatest men this country ever produced, were members of the church of Rome; and no one will deny that every catholic country in Europe has produced eminent writers in all the departments of literature and science.

Those who adduce arguments of this kind, seem to have forgotten the history of their own country. Popery here was the established religion, and a majority of the inhabitants of Europe, ever since the introduction of Christianity, have been, and still are, Roman catholics. Laws were established, and literature and the sciences cultivated under catholic governments; and we are indebted to the professors of that religion for many discoveries and useful inventions, which reflect the highest honour on mankind. Is it not known that the proud base, on which is founded the charter of British liberty, was laid by catholics; and that although the pope released the sovereign who granted it from the obligation into which he had entered, we still possess its advantages and exult in its peculiar blessings?

Another reflection against the catholics is, that there is something in their religion which prevents its professors from being loyal subjects under a protestant government. This assertion has obtained more credit than the preceding; but after the most mature examination, I am inclined to think that the arguments in its support, are rather more specious than solid. Prussia is a protestant government, and a considerable part of the population are catholics; yet I believe no complaints have ever been made of their being bad subjects. In that country toleration is established in its fullest extent; and the different sects, enjoying equal rights, feel the same attachment to their governors; as there exist no degrading distinctions, the people live together in harmony and peace. See France an ally of Saxony, a protestant electorate; Germany portioned at the command of the French emperor; Denmark and Sweden, protestant states, awed by a catholic emperor; Holland, a protestant state, incorporated with France, in itself a Roman catholic empire; and Russia, an anti-catholic state, to use Mr. Canning's expression, "struggling in his toils;" and when these instances are considered, who shall say that a difference in religious opinions should create a political incapacity? I know enough of the catholic faith, to be convinced that its professors are more disposed than those of any other religion, to humble themselves, and to place confidence in their superiors. This I observed to be a prevailing sentiment through all ranks; and it is that submissive spirit that would attach them to any government in which they are admitted to participate. Instead of inducing them to overturn established authorities, it would incline them to place a too implicit confidence in those who governed the country; and, I am afraid, they would not possess enough of that jealousy and distrust which are necessary in the people to secure freedom and maintain their rights. The Irish catholics are unacquainted with the spirit of British freedom; having never been

accustomed to look up to the law for protection, they have acquired a habit of cringing to their superiors, which would render them the ready tools of those who flattered their prejudices. Were they to assume more confidence, and shake off that slavish dependence on the opinions of others, which leaves them no will of their own, the cause of their country would be materially served. That they have mental endowments to qualify them for office cannot be doubted, and of their fidelity when so employed we have sufficient testimony. Many are to be found in conspicuous stations in the army, others have been admitted into many of the minor departments of government; and, it appears, that they have all so conducted themselves, that their religion has remained unknown, until it has been mentioned as a proof that it contains no doctrines to prevent a man from conscientiously discharging his duty to his country. Of this we have a strong instance in Lieutenant-colonel Keating, who was second in command at the taking of the Isle of France: who would have inferred that he was an Irish catholic, had it not been made known by the exultations at his success of the professors of that religion? But he seems not to have been a gainer by the discovery, for I am told that it has proved an effectual bar to his promotion, and prevented him from receiving that reward which his merits so justly deserves. That the country should be deprived of the services of able and experienced officers for such a cause, is greatly to be regretted. Give the catholics an opportunity of exerting themselves to their own honour and the honour of the country, and expectation will not be disappointed. Ample testimony has been given in their favour on account of their services, in the army and navy. That of Captain Parker is highly honourable to them, and deserves to be recorded: "The Roman catholics are not merely men, but seamen; they know their duty, and I never found them in the least degree injured by going to chapel."\* After such testimony in their favour, what is to be said to those who describe them as a race of people not worthy to be trusted? But were it even so, who are to blame? Your laws have kept them in ignorance, excluded them from a fair competition on the theatre of life, and degraded them in public opinion. These men are born with the same powers, both physical and moral, as those who profess any other creed: they are as easily educated, and by instruction, may be rendered as valuable members of society. Allowing for their ignorance and poverty, neither of which are to be ascribed to themselves, they have every social virtue in as high a degree as the protestants. I mixed much among them while in Ireland, and never concealed from them that I was an Englishman and a protestant. Yet I every where experienced the utmost hospitality and kindness. They were always anxiously attentive to anticipate my wants, and upon all occasions evinced the utmost goodness of heart. I trust, therefore, that my countrymen, such of them, at least, as are capable

\* Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates, vol. xvii. p. 265.

of judging for themselves, will no longer listen to calumnies industriously circulated, to inspire them with ungenerous and uncharitable prejudices against the Roman catholics—representing them as monsters without honour, or humanity, who would immolate the protestants and their families, if they were placed within their power. Numerous are the instances in which they have proved our protectors. Instead of being led away by such illiberal and unfounded reports, let us judge of the body of the catholics by the conduct of those who have already been admitted to a share in the constitution. It would then be manifest that, although confined chiefly to obscure situations, they are as deserving of public favour, as the gallant soldier to whom I have already alluded.\*

The intolerance of the catholic religion has been urged as a reason for excluding its votaries from power. That such a spirit did once exist, is too well attested by the page of history; but it is equally certain, that it has long since yielded to sentiments more congenial to the true principles of christianity. The same character will not apply to any sect of the present day, from their conduct in the dark ages of ignorance and superstition. The name of heretic, which was once sufficient to expose a man to the operation of fire and faggot, is not now much to be feared; nor do we learn, that even in catholic countries, any of those religious persecutions, by which they were formerly disgraced, are now in use. In Ireland, if any species of intolerance exist, it is confined to the ignorant classes, for the educated entertain no such prejudices. In liberality of sentiment, I believe the catholics are on an equality with their protestant brethren. And even if some remnant of the old leaven should be left, is it surprising, while our own barbarous prejudices are in such full activity against them, and while we suffer our statute books to threaten them with the punishments of the days of bigotry and persecution. To one of these only I shall direct my reader; it is the writ *de Heretico comburendo*, passed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and is to be seen in Hale's Pleas of the Crown.

Catholics take the oath of allegiance, and solemnly declare, that there is nothing in their religion inimical to the established government. It is impossible that they can offer a more unequivocal testimony of their sincerity; when they enter into a deliberate engagement in the presence of the Almighty, who alone knows the secrets of the heart, what more is necessary? and yet there are men base enough to insinuate, that this oath is considered by them as a mere formality, which they can observe or break as suits their convenience. On this subject I shall quote the words of a catholic nobleman, whose character was intimately known to me. It is to Lord Petre that I allude; for a considerable period I resided in his neighbourhood, and if ever a man were exemplary as an indulgent and affectionate father, a firm and per-

\* Of catholic loyalty, the Earl of Liverpool gave a very forcible instance in the conduct of the Roman catholics of Canada, who are the subjects of a protestant king. *Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates*, vol. iv. p. 675.

severing friend, a liberal and enlightened member of society, this was the man. From these circumstances, I am inclined to pay great deference to an opinion which he has left behind in print, on a subject of great importance to his family connexions and fellow Roman catholics, and which speaks no less powerfully to their persecutors and the public:

“If to attain admission,” says he, “we were under the necessity of using mean dissimulations, I agree with your lordship, that as men of honour, we would and should exclude ourselves rather than submit to them. But abrogate the aforesaid oaths, my lord, and we shall be under no such necessity; as long as they lie in our way we do not cheerfully exclude ourselves from our places in the legislative council, but are cruelly excluded, because we will not dissemble or perjure ourselves, though by so doing, all the laws against us would vanish, and all disabilities be removed; for I assure your lordship, that we are altogether unacquainted with those pretended subterfuges, which you say the casuistry of our church has provided for the relief of our consciences.”\*

Lord Petre was at the head of the English catholics, and no one ever doubted his attachment to his country, and respect for the British constitution. But considering the subject generally, political power is no longer the object of the see of Rome; the world has become too enlightened to acknowledge its usurped authority, or submit to its pretended jurisdiction. History clearly demonstrates, that a part of the temporal authority of the popes was acquired by political intrigue, and had little or no connexion with the principles of the catholic religion.

“In the ecclesiastical monarchy,” says a celebrated writer, “if we except holiness, which does not increase, and respect which is lessened from time to time, every thing is daily augmented, but in particular, authority. The cause of this increase is nothing but a secret policy, by means of which the popes have, by dexterous management, intrigued in secular affairs.”†

But it cannot be necessary to enlarge farther on this subject. The temporal authority of the pope, as must be the case in every establishment where justice and reason are the foundation, has passed away, and as is here shewn, it was never acknowledged by the well-informed part of the catholics: the writer already quoted, alluding particularly to Ireland, says that he can see no reason why the kings of England should not have assumed the title of kings of Ireland, even if it had not been conferred upon them by Paul IV.; thus plainly intimating, that his holiness made free with a title which he had no right to bestow.‡

It appears from hence, that the idea of the pope having power to absolve catholics from their oath of allegiance, is absurd, and that those who are for requiring security from the See of Rome, before the catholic claims be granted, only betray

\* Lord Petre's Letter to the Bishop of St. Davids, p. 14.

† Droit des Souverains contre les excommunications et les Interdits des Papes, par Fra Paolo, a la Haïge, 1721. vol. I. p. 223.

‡ Droit des Souverains, vol. i. p. 441.

their ignorance. An application to the pope for any such security, would be a protestant acknowledgment of that power; for if he have the power of absolving, he must of course have the authority to withdraw that absolution when he may be so inclined. But it may be asked: Are the poorer classes of the Irish catholics sufficiently acquainted with the nature of the papal power, to be satisfied, that the dominion of the church extends only to things spiritual, and to those which relate to the internal administration of religious establishments? To this question I answer in the negative: they are directed on these subjects by their superiors, who are too enlightened to entertain ideas originating in ignorance, or to encourage prejudices amongst a people whom it is their duty and interest to enlighten. This is apparent from the declaration of the catholic universities already mentioned; while they admit only the spiritual authority of the see of Rome as head of their church, they deny its right to interfere in civil affairs, or to incite the subjects of any state to resist the established government.

Here we have a solemn denial, from the best authority, of the power of the church of Rome, to absolve men from their oath of allegiance. If the Irish catholics take this oath, from what do we presume that they will not conscientiously adhere to it, as loyal subjects and good members of society? The moral doctrine of the catholic religion is derived from the same source as that of our own; their minds are human, and subject to the same impressions as our own, and all moral obligations must produce on them the same effect. But if doubts be entertained of the sincerity of the catholics, the tie may be easily strengthened; admit them to civil distinction, and you will have the best security for their good conduct. I assert that the catholic is to be believed, when he gives the security of an oath for his allegiance; and were he released from all degrading disabilities, he would find himself connected with his country and its government by the bond of interest, which is the foundation of the social compact and the magic influence that holds together all its parts.

How often has interest induced nations, of the most opposite religious sentiments, to enter into treaties of alliance for their mutual defence! From the same cause, the protestant government of Great Britain has, on many occasions, formed the most intimate connexion with catholic states, and supported them by subsidies as well as by its fleets and armies: it has even received from and given succours to the pope himself.\* The crown of Corsica was granted to the King of England, on condition of maintaining the catholic religion; Malta, where the inhabitants are all catholics, is at present a part of the British empire. Canada is catholic and a British colony; and the best blood of Britons is now shed in the defence of Portugal, and for the preservation of its throne to a catholic monarch. A catholic army raised in that

\* See Documents published in the Appendix to Sir John Cox Hippisley's Speech, p. 98.

country, and maintained in British pay, has never yet disappointed the hopes of those gallant English, Scotch, and Irish officers, by whom it is commanded, and who have so often led it to victory. It has merited the applause of one of the greatest generals Great Britain ever produced, and has been honoured with the high compliment of being worthy to fight by the side of Englishmen.

Earl Macartney, His Majesty's ambassador to the court of Peking, had Roman catholic priests to assist him as interpreters; and other instances might be given, where catholics have been employed, when their services were likely to be useful. Two important points are proved by these facts, that England can confide in catholics, and that catholics will be true to their engagements, and even fight against a people who profess the same religion as themselves, and under the command of protestant officers.

The dread, that the catholics would usurp all the power of the state were concessions made to them, is a phantom. No such danger exists. An increase of their power is much more to be apprehended from a continuance of their restraints. Their accumulation of numbers alone must in time render them formidable; but before that period arrives, the voice of wisdom will be heard, and we shall then see in what consists our danger. How often was it repeated in the House of Commons, during the discussions on the slave trade, that the suppression of that detestable traffic would sign the death-warrant of the few white inhabitants in our West Indian islands! Events have falsified the prediction. And are not the negro slaves as tractable and obedient as before that memorable act, which has shewn them that the British legislature is alive to humanity and justice? If the prophecies of interested men, respecting the West Indian negroes, have been falsified by events, is there not the same reason to believe, that the pretended dread, that the Roman catholics, if admitted to a full enjoyment of their rights, would seek an undue superiority over the protestants, and in their turn become the oppressors, is entirely void of foundation?

Such conduct would amount to rebellion, and must be met, should it ever occur, like all other rebellions. But the opposers of catholic emancipation, may ask: Would you have a king of one religion, a people of another, and ministers, probably, of a third, or, perhaps, of none at all? I answer with Paley, that religious differences ought not to interfere. I judge by experience, which in matters of state policy is a much safer guide than theory. The example of a Sully, a Turenne, and a Necker, all protestant ministers to catholic kings, have been frequently instanced, and are striking facts in favour of my opinion. Bishop Adran, the powerful minister of a pagan king, and a pagan people, and Le Forte, the friend and adviser of the great Peter, were not of the religion of their princes. But facts still stronger may be adduced. Our own Sovereign has in his dominions two distinct churches, those of England and Scotland; with different rituals and forms of worship, yet from the professors of both these religions, men are indiscriminately selected as their

talents bring them into notice, to fill the various departments in government: Hence it happens, that few administrations are formed, in which there are not members of the kirk of Scotland as well as of the church of England, sects whose religious tenets are diametrically opposite. A presbyterian has been even high chancellor of England; and men of that persuasion, provided they take the sacrament according to the form of the English church, are allowed to command fleets and armies. In Ireland, the case is now the same, many of the nobility and some of the members of parliament are presbyterians. In Ireland a presbyterian may hold any situation for which he is fitted by ability and education; and did the Earls of Londonderry and Longford reside in England, I see no reason why they should not be appointed to the magistracy without the formality of taking the sacrament. Under our present laws they could not take out a commission of the peace, and their religion prevents them from holding the place even of an exciseman. Is the catholic religion so destitute of morality, with principles so subversive of society, that its professors cannot be admitted to enjoy the same privileges as the presbyterians? Are public situations to be conferred upon men of all religions, and even upon some professing no religion, and to be denied to the catholic, whatever be his talents, knowledge, or character? Are the Irish catholics less worthy of being trusted than the natives of those countries whose church, with its property and superstitious relics, you are now endeavouring to protect? And can you, under any pretence, withhold from the Irish catholic soldier, privileges which you allow to foreigners of the same class, whom you have taken into your service?

I have already alluded to protestant countries in Europe, in which catholicism exists without any restraint; but in Canada, a part of the British dominions, the catholic is the established church. I cannot, however, find traces of any attempts that have ever been made by them to overturn the religion or the government to which they have sworn allegiance. An intelligent traveller, alluding to this subject, says:

“Every religion is tolerated, in the fullest extent of the word, and no disqualifications are imposed on any persons, on account of their religious opinions. The Roman catholic religion is that of the great majority of the inhabitants, and by the Quebec bill of 1774, the ecclesiastics of that persuasion are empowered by law to recover all the dues which, previous to that period, they were accustomed to receive, as well as tithes, that is, from the Roman catholic inhabitants; but they cannot exact any dues or tithes from protestants, or off lands held by protestants, although formerly such lands might have been subjected to dues and tithes, for the support of the Roman catholic church. The dues and tithes from off these lands are still, however, to be paid; but they are to be paid to persons appointed by the governor, and the amount of them is to be received in the hands of His Majesty’s receiver-general, for the support of the protestant clergy actually residing in the province.”\*

Such is the favourable manner in which England treats the catholics of Canada, who are her subjects by conquest; while those of the same religion in Ireland, are

\* Weld’s Travels in America, 4th edit. 1807, vol. i. p. 371.

subjected to galling restraints, like a people recently subdued, and scarcely yet reconciled to the government.

Ignorance, for the most part, is the parent of prejudice; and one great prejudice derived from this source against the catholics, is, that their religion contains principles which render its professors objects of hatred and detestation. That much superstition has been introduced into the catholic religion and worship, I will not deny; but external forms are of little importance. It is the doctrines which we are to examine, those moral precepts of the catholic church, which serve as a guide and rule to its members in their conduct through life. The difference, between the church of Rome and that of England, is not so great as is commonly supposed. "Before we differ," says the eloquent champion of the catholic claims, "it is necessary to examine how far we agree. We acknowledge the same God, the same Redeemer, the same consequences of redemption, the same bible, and the same testament. Agreeing in this, we cannot, as far as respects religion, quarrel about the remainder; because their merits, as christians, must, in our opinion, outweigh their demerits, and reduce our religious distinctions to a difference about the antichrist, and mass, and the Virgin Mary, matters which may form a difference of opinion, but not a division of interests."\* A late traveller in Spain observes, "when the points of difference between the protestants and papists shall be fairly and distinctly treated, the subject of dispute will vanish."†

It has been urged as an objection to the claims of the catholics, that, should they be admitted to a greater share of political power, they might attempt to regain possession of their forfeited estates. The persons in Ireland, if there be any, who entertain such ideas, would be inconsiderable in number. As far as I could observe, I do not believe that there is an individual among the catholics, who, in the present struggle for obtaining their rights, is actuated by any such motive. Any man of common sense must know, that the forfeited estates have been too long secured to their present owners by actual possession, and the sanction of the law, to be recovered by the descendants of those to whom they originally belonged, in any other manner than by honourable purchase. Some catholics are already the purchasers of the fee of forfeited estates; but they are few in number, and the catholic leaseholders have an interest in the title of the present owners of the soil, so great, and so necessary to their existence, that they would strenuously oppose any change.‡

Yet the catholics have been described as a compact united body, having still in their possession the titles and maps of their forfeited estates, and looking forward with anxious hope to their recovery. But so far is this from being the case, that I never knew a body of men divided by so many and so various interests, and agreeing

\* Cobbett's Parl. Debates, vol. iv. p. 926.

† Travels in Spain, vol. i. p. 267.

‡ See Leland on Catholic Claims, vol. iii. p. 87.

on no one subject but their execrations of the persecutions under which they labour. "The persecuted and proscribed form a compact body, distinct from their oppressors, and the union which common misery produces is firm and lasting."\* The rational method of loosening this compact would be to attend to their claims, when the impossibility of settling them would soon appear, as every descendant would state himself the eldest. Of this we have a striking instance, in the conduct of Mr. Roger O'Connor, who is a younger son; his language is that of the true heir of his family; Mr. O'Connor is a protestant, which proves that there might be protestant as well as catholic claimants.

Besides, on this subject, we have the experience of the past to enable us to judge of what might arise in future. Before the battle of the Boyne the catholics were the ruling party in Ireland, and yet they did not reverse the act of settlement, by which the numerous forfeitures in the time of Cromwel were confirmed to their possessors. Even when a proposal was made for bringing forward the subject, the catholics, who supported the king's interest, opposed the scheme, and prevented a parliament being called to discuss it. Why then should it be supposed, that after such a lapse of time, the catholics of the present day would act from other motives? But allowing, for a moment, that they were so powerful as to carry this measure, many of them are now so connected by marriage with the owners of the forfeited estates, or have become so interested by leases, in continuing proprietors under their tenures, that I am convinced the general wish would be, that the titles should remain unaltered. In answer to the assertion that they retain maps of the lands of their ancestors, I can only say that I never knew an instance of it; and were such relics numerous, it is unlikely that they should have so entirely escaped my researches. Mr. Townsend, in his Survey of Cork, says:

"It has been supposed that a strong motive for rebellion exists, in the hope these still retain of recovering the possessions of their ancestors, and that maps of the old divisions of property are carefully preserved. That there are such maps, I am not prepared to deny; but I cannot think that much danger is to be apprehended from either. Besides that most of the present catholic proprietors derive under titles to which such claims would be very injurious, the difficulty, or rather the impossibility, of adjusting these claims, forbid us to harbour any serious apprehension on that account. The Danes, at no very remote period, are reported to have had similar maps, and in every marriage contract to have settled an Irish portion on their children: after so many changes, and such length of possession, the pretences of both seem to be equally futile."†

However it may be considered as premature, to enter into any speculations on the nature and extent of the power which the catholics would be likely to acquire were their claims admitted, I shall offer a few observations on the subject, as it is very little understood, and, consequently, has excited much jealousy and alarm.

\* Thoughts on Protestant Ascendency, p. 76.

† Page 78.

The Earl of Fingal, Mr. Malachy Donnelly, Sir Edward Bellew, and a few others, are considered by the catholics as their chief patrons, and the leading men to whom their interests are intrusted. These, of course, were the catholics admitted to an equality of political rights would be the persons most likely to become objects of ministerial favour; and they are as firm friends to the established government, and to the British constitution, as any subjects in the empire. Had Lord Fingal a seat in the House of Peers, and were his son a representative for the county in the Commons, their political power would be hardly felt when blended with that of the other peers and commoners of Great Britain. Lord Fingal alone, the leader and adviser of four millions of his countrymen, possesses a power unknown to any peer of parliament in the kingdom.

Supposing for a moment, that popery on one side, and protestantism on the other, were no longer to be the watch-words of party, and that the professors of the two religions enjoyed equal privileges and equal rights, the very high character, the steady conduct, and the mild unoffending manners, of the Earl of Fingal, might, in all likelihood, be the means of elevating him to the representative peerage of Ireland; and I may assert, that every thing which promoted his election would be a pledge of his support to the constitution.

The respectable character and property of the Earl of Kenmare would entitle him also to the rank of a representative peer.\*

The other Roman catholic peers can form no expectation of being exalted to the same honourable station; but they might become English members of the House of Commons. The unthinking may be alarmed at this idea; but a catholic nobleman of high rank, ancient family, and large property, would be as useful in that assembly as some commercial adventurers who find their way there.

Let us next consider the political influence that the catholics might possess in the House of Commons. The county of Meath, would, probably, return Lord Killeen, the eldest son of the Earl of Fingal; Lord Castleross, the eldest son of the Earl of Kenmare, would be returned for Kerry; the son of Sir Thomas Burke, bart., uncle to the young Earl of Clanrickarde, who, by permission of government, raised a regiment for its service, would most likely be elected for the county of Galway; and the catholic freeholders of the county of Tipperary, did they exert their strength,

\* Many arguments might be adduced why his lordship should be chosen; but I will rest his claim on the character given of him by Judge Day, in his charge to the grand jury, at the spring Kerry assizes, March, 1811. After complaining of the conduct of the gentry to their tenants, his lordship took occasion to bestow a happy and appropriate eulogium on the hereditary virtues of the noble family of Kenmare, "whose generous and fostering attention, throughout the vast range of its protection and property, resembled the delightful and restoring influence of the wide sheltering oak. These he would exhibit to the petty monarchs or landlords of the county, as an object for their emulation, and he would gladly say to each of them, 'Go, and do thou likewise.'" Ought not such a man to be a representative peer?

might succeed in choosing for their representative some gentleman of their own persuasion.

Of what seats, which might be purchased in England, by Roman catholic gentlemen, no opinion can be formed. But if seats are to be bought and sold, why may not catholics have the liberty of disgracing themselves by such traffic as well as the protestants? Why make a monopoly of guilt? The parliamentary influence, therefore, which the catholics would at first acquire, can be considered as no serious objection to their claims.

In the other departments of the state, their elevation to power would depend on the will of the sovereign and his ministers. A man might rise in the army or navy, as far as the rules of seniority and the regular routine of promotion extended; but he could not assume the command of an army or a fleet, unless by the appointment of the government. I cannot conceive why a catholic general or admiral should not be as zealous, in the cause of his King and country, as a protestant; there are no complaints against inferior officers or privates of the catholic persuasion, who are now serving in our armies, either for want of loyalty or courage; and if men who have less reputation at stake conduct themselves in so honourable a manner, it cannot be supposed that officers of high rank, and in a conspicuous station, would not be equally zealous and attentive to their duty.

In the department of the law, the appointment of King's council, judges, &c. belong to the King; government and ministers, were they disposed to employ catholics, would be cautious in examining the characters of those whom they appointed to any of these important situations. In conclusion, it appears that the political influence, which the catholics would acquire in the state by emancipation, could occasion no danger to the country, in any point of view; yet this pretence of apprehension is made a stalking-horse for refusing them the justice which they so temperately claim.

It is said, however, if these gifts be so small, their possession would be attended with little advantage. The demands of the catholics I admit are not of great magnitude, but that is the best reason why they should be granted, and however small, they are sufficient to create a political distinction, and that distinction is their civil degradation before the world; this is the incalculably important point of view in which to contemplate this subject. I admit that the immediate effect would scarcely be felt, but the remote one would be highly valuable, as it would be extended, not to a few individuals, but to a great body of people; to at least four-fifths of the population, whose condition, becoming improved by it, would not only increase the happiness of the country, but add to the strength of the empire. The catholics have a right to demand it—the nation requires it—and it is expedient for both that it should be accomplished.

Those who consider this question, do not always reflect on the singular situation

of Ireland, which presents an anomaly in the political history of governments: \*—a people, nearly all catholic, subject to a protestant King, and ruled by laws imposed on them by protestant legislators, in the framing of which they have had no participation! Yet, strange as it may appear, that country has been saved—not by the wisdom of its government; not by the energy of its protestant ministers; not by the liberality of its loyal protestants, who have long managed its finances, and enriched themselves at the public expense;—but by the constitutional support, the wealth, and the liberality of these degraded and oppressed catholics. As a proof of this, I need only refer to the following passage in the speech of a lord lieutenant; which, I think, cannot be read without a blush, by those who so obstinately persist in opposing the just claims of so numerous a body of their countrymen:

“The person at the head of the catholics, who so nobly came forward to the relief and salvation of the Irish government, was a person, dead long since, but whose memory should not be forgotten; he meant Mr. George Gould, an eminent merchant at that time. Did the catholics shrink from their allegiance, or act a suspicious part, he would not hesitate to state it. On the contrary, if they chose to strike a dreadful blow, and one fatal to Great Britain, they might have done it. But what was their conduct?—It was contained in this answer: ‘Twenty-six years ago, Ireland had been not only threatened with invasion, but the French fleet had been actually off the Irish coast, for the purpose of accomplishing that object. It would be granted, that such a state of things was of itself highly alarming; but the danger was increased ten fold, aye, an hundred fold: and why? Because the government and the bank of that country were both actually bankrupt at that critical moment. He stated it as an undeniable fact, that there was not a single guinea in the treasury to pay the regular force, which, by the bye, was very small, not more than four thousand. Their lordships would acknowledge, that this was a trying situation; and, God knows, he felt it so under the difficulties of the time; but he was soon relieved from his pecuniary distress, by the liberal and generous contribution of the catholics of Cork, who made up the sum which government wanted. Having heard of our embarrassment, they volunteered not only their lives, but actually lent government the money, which they could not get by any other means, or from any other quarter; they prevented the regular troops from mutinying, and went themselves into the ranks to oppose the enemy. The catholics of Ireland immediately swelled the ranks of all the volunteer corps; and in a few weeks, he should be more correct in saying, in a few days, they formed an army, not only willing to fight, but able to conquer.’ †

Can a stronger proof be demanded, that the excluded aristocracy of the Irish catholics are not inimical to the government? Nay, does it not prove that they at all times have been ready to support the state in the hour of danger, and that they actually did come forward upon an occasion of the most urgent necessity, and save it from the ruin with which it was threatened? Yet these are the men proscribed by the British

\* It is the exclusion of the majority of the people of Ireland from their civil rights, which renders the restrictions imposed upon them more odious than those of the English catholics, who are not, in point of numbers, on a footing with the Irish catholics.

† Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates, vol. xi. p. 986.

laws as unworthy of trust ; whose character is reviled ; whose loyalty is suspected ; whose sincerity is doubted ; and whose religion is trumpeted forth by the barbarous and the bigoted as an object of popular detestation. What in time must be the consequence, should the laws and the religion of the great body of the people continue to be so much at variance ? You have endeavoured to alter the religion, and your attempt has failed ; now alter the law, and unloose the fetters.

It will, perhaps, be remarked, that, in the chapter on Customs and Habits, I have described the Roman catholics of Ulster as ignorant and degraded in the utmost degree, less bigoted in their religious principles, and less formidable to the government. This may be true, but it cannot be an argument for reducing a whole people to a state of debasement. In general, the state of society in Ireland is sufficiently humble ; were it in all places similar to that of the catholics in Ulster, it would be a reproach to the country. These are a miserable people, without an aristocracy to whom they can fly, either for example or protection ; and who drag out a wretched existence, in penury, and attended by most of the evils with which human nature can be afflicted. They are from the nature of their situation, robbed of their physical strength ; it is to be recollected, that if they be on that account the less to be feared they are the less valuable subjects. Were the mountains of Ulster, cleared of those inhabitants by which they are now tenanted, Ireland would be a richer country, and a more valuable portion of the British empire. No argument can be deduced from the degradation of these people for debasing the condition of mankind. The statesman who could entertain so detestable a policy, would betray, not mere political imbecility, but would evince a malicious disposition disgraceful even to a savage. The people of Rome, indeed, were brought to this state, because their rulers found that they could be more easily managed. A Roman satirist says : that “ provided the populace were supplied with bread, and allowed public amusements, they seemed to have no other wants :” but Rome, at that time, was verging to decline, and it was such policy which plunged her into ruin, and at length accomplished her downfall.

As the Indian said to the missionaries, you give us plenty of good words, but no beads : and may not the Roman catholics of Ireland say as much ? At the meeting of their protestant convention at Dungannon, in February 1782, it was resolved almost unanimously, “ that they held the right of private judgment, in matters of religion, to be equally sacred in others as themselves ; therefore, as christians and protestants, they rejoiced in the relaxation of the penal laws against their Roman catholic fellow-subjects, and conceived the measure to be fraught with the happiest consequences to the union and prosperity of Ireland.” These were the good words of the protestants, and excellent words they were. Much of the penal code has been repealed, but there is yet more to be done ; the bead of the Indian is still

withheld, confidence must be created, and the liberal idea that a Roman catholic is as worthy a member of society as a protestant.\*

The persons who met at Dunganon met afterwards in convention in Dublin, and, in my opinion, in an illegal manner; but that has no bearing on the question. They assembled for the purpose of discussing a political subject; and on this occasion, the liberal-minded, well educated, and benevolent Lord Charlemont, who had first proposed the infringement of the penal code, took the lead in rejecting the consideration of admitting catholics within the pale of the constitution. The life of this nobleman, by Mr. Hardy, is important in one point of view; it shews that his lordship's prejudices were so rooted, that, notwithstanding the warm interest which he seemed to take in favour of the liberties of his countrymen, his exertions were confined to such as were of the protestant faith. If these were the sentiments of so great and so good a man, what can be expected from the common people? Even so late as the 4th of February 1792, the general committee of the Roman catholics, among other resolutions, adopted the following:

"That we, therefore, deem it necessary to declare that the whole of our late applications, whether to His Majesty's ministers, to men in power, or to private members of the legislature, as well as our intended petition, neither did, nor does contain any thing, or extend farther, either in substance or in principle, than to the four following objects:

1st. To admission to the profession and practice of the law.

2d. Capacity to serve as country magistrates.

3d. A right of voting in counties only for protestant members of parliament; in such a manner, however, as that a Roman catholic freeholder should not vote, unless he either rented and cultivated a farm of £20. per annum, in addition to his forty shillings' freehold, or else possessed a freehold to the amount of £20. a year."

Any class of people must be degraded below the rest of the community, when they are even contented to limit, in their own resolutions, the civil privileges which they solicit. This is the greatest proof of humiliation; and yet there are people with understandings so weak, as to censure the catholics, because they now extend their demands, and require those rights which ought to be common to all, ignorant that

" ————— as the slave departs, the man returns."

*Campbell's Pleasures of Hope.*

Is this the manner you would conduct yourself to a child, to whom you offered instruction? If he requested to be taught the first rudiments of learning, would

\* Where men enjoy peace, they owe it either to their mutual regards and affections, or to the restraints of law. Those are the happiest states which procure peace to their members by the first of these methods. *Ferguson on Civil Society*, part iii. sec. 6. p. 260.

you not afterwards rejoice if he craved further instruction? The eyes of a parent, would overflow with tears of joy at the discovery; and are not the Roman catholics, the children of the state, whose happiness and improvement ought to excite similar feelings? Since 1792, their condition has been considerably ameliorated; but the unnatural mark of persecution is yet upon them, from the hands of their countrymen.

After what I have seen of Ireland, and Irish Roman catholics, I am surprised at the cheerful and extensive support given by them to government. But I confess, when I hear so much of their unshaken loyalty, and such ostentatious display of their attachment to the constitution in the resolutions of their public meetings, I cannot help wishing that there were fewer professions; for it is difficult to confide in declarations which every man who has attended to the history of the last century, must know they have had very little encouragement to make. This opinion appears to have been adopted by Lord Holland, when he observed that "one reason why the people of this country made great sacrifices with cheerfulness was, that they loved the constitution in which they shared; but could it be expected that the Irish catholics, deprived of that share, should love the constitution so well as to be anxious to sacrifice every thing in its defence?" †

But there are facts which speak more clearly than even the resolutions of Irish catholics, our ministerial speeches, or the eloquence of the ablest advocates of this great cause. The levy *en masse* was considered as the best and safest bulwark of England; yet this measure was not extended to Ireland. The supplementary militia, an immense force, easily raised, and considered by every Englishman as an inexhaustible source of public defence, was confined to England; no minister has ever yet been hardy enough to propose its adoption in Ireland. The truth is, the government dare not put arms into the hands of the majority of the people, as they have done in England. The reader, by referring to the speeches of His Majesty's ministers in 1807, will perceive, that they lost their situations in consequence of bringing in a bill for allaying the disturbances which had broken out in the western part of Ireland. From what I heard in Ireland the following year, I am doubtful whether these disturbances were the effects of catholic discontent; but if the ministers were correct, what evidence have we of their willingness to rely upon catholic loyalty? If they were mistaken, and the movements alluded to were only risings of the same description, as those which I saw afterwards in Roscommon, Kerry,

\* Ensor, in his *Essay on National Education*, p. 260, says, "He who believes that he was created vicious, and he who is disgraced irretrievably by public conviction, are alike consigned to meanness and misery." Is not the Irish Roman catholic in his present situation, irretrievably disgraced by public conviction? at least, public conviction has created the laws and custom of his country.

† Gobbett's *Parliamentary Debates*, vol. iv. p. 702.

Limerick, Tipperary, and Waterford, and which, I am certain, had no connexion whatever with catholic grievances, still I can discover no way of allaying the spirit by which they were created, but by enlisting the superabundant population; and this cannot be effected without catholic leaders, and the assistance of the catholic clergy. That the people are discontented must be admitted; but this uneasiness originates in poverty, ignorance, and idleness.

Although I may have doubts of the ardent loyalty of the catholics, I would not have it believed that I do not consider them as very fairly attached to the government; but this attachment arises from the subjection of interest, and not of affection. Their fidelity is more to the soil than to their rulers. This attachment, is most to be perceived among the higher ranks; with the poorer orders, who have neither property to protect, nor privileges to defend, its traces are very faint.

Want of property, however, does not always render men discontented and dissatisfied with a government. The peasantry in England are an instance, and the supplementary militia afford a striking proof of the confidence which the government reposes in the people; while the republican presbyterians of Ireland demonstrate that the possession of wealth does not always produce loyalty, or make men well affected to the state. There are ties which will be a substitute for the want of property, but few of these are possessed by the common people of Ireland; and it would appear that their disaffection is owing, in a great measure, to their exclusion from political power.

Were I asked whether I conceive that granting to the catholics what is called "emancipation," would restore confidence to the whole country? my reply would be in the negative. For I am well aware, that even the most unlimited concession would not, *at first*, produce any sensible effect. The admission of catholic peers to the right of voting, or of becoming themselves representative peers; a few of the aristocracy in the House of Commons; a few brave veterans appointed to the rank of generals; or silk gowns obtained by counsellors of that persuasion, might be gratifying to their families, their friends, and connexions, and to their national pride; but the great body of the people would receive little immediate benefit, and it is only when their condition shall be improved, that an alteration can be expected in their sentiments or dispositions. If a minister should bring this measure of emancipation forward, for no other object than that of allaying a spirit of discontent, he will find himself greatly disappointed.

But although this might be the case, the opponents of the measure would be even more mistaken in their predictions of the mischief likely to arise from it. The benefits which are to result would be slow and gradual; and would only be the beginning of a new and more beneficial system.

The desire of distinction is deeply implanted in the human breast; we find it strong and powerful in the highest, and we trace it in the very lowest ranks of life

in all countries. Those who prevent government from availing itself of this powerful stimulus, act as if the people of Ireland were destitute of the feelings common to their nature. Without doubt, this ambition is a most conspicuous part of the Irish character. It is in some degree this love of distinction, which excites the nightly marauders of Tipperary, Kerry, and Limerick to deeds of rapine, and makes them seek fame, by a dangerous opposition to the laws. This love of distinction was one great support of the rebellion in 1798; for I was assured by many with whom I conversed on the subject, that they entered into it, merely because they were promised commissions, which under the established government they could never hope to obtain. Many of those persons are still called in a jocular manner by their neighbours and friends, general, colonel, and captain; and with these titles their vanity is gratified. Love of distinction originates in those meetings of the Irish catholics, where they can murmur their complaints against that government, which precludes them from gratifying this desire so natural to the heart of man. Weak indeed, must be the intellect that cannot perceive this temperament of the mind. Let us then take advantage of it, to strengthen the connexion between the Irish catholics and Great Britain. I would not leave them a future victory to contemplate; I would not allow them to enjoy, by anticipation, the triumph of intimidating government when resistance will be no longer decent or expedient. Mr. Grattan has declared, that there is a French party in Ireland, of which, however, I could perceive no trace; but, it is well known, that there is an Irish party in France, anxious to avail itself of the first symptom of discontent, and increase the feeling by every means in its power. The French government, which has always effected more by intrigue, than by open war, knows how beneficial it is to follow the Roman maxim of dividing; that it has long had an eye turned towards Ireland, and receives those with complacency who give it hopes of subdividing that country.\* Its only prospect of success in this scheme of dismemberment, is a continuance of the dissatisfaction of the Roman catholics; were that grievance allayed by lenient and just measures, no foreign nation would entertain the idea of disuniting Ireland from England. The Irish catholics have a strong propensity to be unhappy, a slight injury affords them an opportunity of being uneasy; a prudent government, would deprive them of this source of unaccountable gratification, which rouses the attention, and redoubles the activity of our enemies. No opportunity should be afforded to the noisy and artful demagogues to inflame the passions of the people, whose ignorance leaves them a prey to the exaggerated and distorted representations of the artful and designing.

It will, perhaps, be said, that I am stating evils which I have already admitted would not be immediately or entirely cured, even by "emancipation." This I allow;

\* Mais sur tout, leur maxime constante fut de diviser. *Montesquieu Grandeur et Decadence des Romains, ch. vi. Œuvres, vol. vi. p. 71.*

but until the legislature commence their work of improvement by withdrawing those restrictions which have been imposed upon the catholics, that full confidence between themselves and their fellow citizens, which is necessary to ensure their prosperity, will not be established, nor will public opinion be so far changed in their favour, as to animate them to successful exertion. I wish to see not only the causes of catholic degradation removed, but even the very remembrance of them obliterated. My views are to raise, if possible, what Malthus calls the "spring of public prosperity,"\* inspiring the great mass of the catholics of Ireland with a desire to better their condition. The first proceeding towards the accomplishment of this desirable object, must be to restore them by parliamentary favour to the rank of free citizens; the next, that the executive government should receive them with the confidence that such a situation demands, by dispensing its favours impartially according to talent and merit. Until this system be adopted, the relative check to catholic population cannot exist; and without it the improvement of Ireland will be retarded, and the protestant establishment must fall into the vortex of catholic numbers.

During the last century, severe and impolitic laws banished catholic wealth and talents from their native country, to those, where they found more enjoyment from riches, and greater encouragement to talent. In Ireland now the catholic who accumulates wealth is permitted to invest it at home, and by becoming the proprietor of the land, he feels an interest in the safety and prosperity of the state; but if he seek its honours, the law reminds him that he is a catholic.

Yet still the catholics are reproached with poverty; a circumstance which is not to be imputed to them, but to those who in their folly thought it good policy to drive their wealthy brethren into exile, and to impose on those who remained those cruel restrictions which deprived them of every incitement to industry, and destroyed the hopes of power or promotion. Notwithstanding all that has been done, they are yet debarred the attainment of high situations, the only effectual inducement to the acquisition of knowledge and improvement. This remark I do not apply entirely to the learning obtained in schools. Until the year 1792, a catholic merchant or trader was limited in the number of his apprentices. It is political power which is to give to the catholic that value in the community which will strengthen and invigorate the whole: this power in every state, ought to accompany talents and wealth; whatever be the religion of a people, if it contain nothing hostile to the government, or good morals, it is the duty as well as the interest of their rulers, to allow it to possess its due share of political influence. If Ireland be to be saved, it can only be accomplished by measures of internal economy, and laws formed upon a knowledge of its real state, and the true disposition and feeling of its inhabitants;

\* Malthus on Population, p. 356.

but neither can be successfully pursued or adopted, until the fear of intrusting catholic judges, or catholic generals no longer exists: Many reasons might be adduced, why a large body of persons excluded from power should endeavour to rise above that government by which they are degraded; but I can perceive none to warrant the supposition that those who had the same rights as the rest of their fellow citizens, should have such a propensity.

The same observation will apply to another assertion, that Ireland will never be quiet until the catholic question is set for ever at rest. How can this be brought about, except by allowing all sects to be participators in the blessings of the constitution? It is of some importance to observe, because it is not generally known in England, that the Irish laws equally protect all religious persuasions, the catholic excepted. Theirs is the unfortunate sect, which is selected as the object of fear and suspicion. These people are nevertheless called upon for their full share of the public burdens. In the army and navy, we have had experience of their usefulness and their valour: they have proved in the most public and convincing manner, the injustice of their slanderers, and shewn themselves good citizens and brave soldiers. The obstacle to their emancipation, arising from the demand of security for their future good behaviour, is the suggestion of trading politicians, who are bargaining for allegiance like higglers in a fair.

One class of the opposers of the catholic claims are desirous not only for a continuation of the system which has existed for nearly a century, but would even go considerably farther. The true plan, according to their sectarian ideas, is, the establishment of charter-schools, protestant churches, and resident clergymen, that the catholics may be converted and brought under the holy shelter of the church. These persons are the advocates of protestant ascendancy, whose real object is that the majority of the inhabitants of Ireland should be governed by the minority. Their plan has, however, been tried, and failed; these parasite plants have only exposed their evil properties. This was first recommended by archbishop Boulter, and its present supporters have adopted the same language. Were the scheme untried it might be less liable to objection; the fact of its failure is apparent in the increase of catholicism.

No one can speak favourably of the established church in Ireland; it has effected nothing, and, notwithstanding the enormous sums with which it has been supported, the number of its members is declining.

How different is the result of the labours of the clergy in Scotland, to the exertions of either the church establishment ministers or the catholic clergy of Ireland. Were I to trace the character of this useful and respectable body, I could find no better language than that of a recent journalist, who is well acquainted with his subject.\* "But

\* Quarterly Review, number x. p. 334.

no interest, and no exertion could produce twenty-one such volumes as those which contain the statistical account of Scotland, among our own clergy. They are a monument of that purity of intellect among a venerable body of men which originates in the genius of a republican, that is, a presbyterian establishment; among these statements, if few rise to excellence, fewer still are found to sink beneath mediocrity. To account for so much information in men who have no superfluities of income to expend in procuring it, and with respect to tracts in some instances, equal to some English counties; we are to consider not only the great blessing of that establishment, universal residence in their ministers, but also the necessity which lies upon the clergy, to traverse their widely extended parishes, in the discharge of their private duties." Now what are the leading features in this account? "no superfluities of income;" "universal residence;" to which I may add, that the income though small, is certain. The preparation also, as I am informed, is six or seven years' study at some university, during which time, and afterwards, before they are licensed, they must pass through severe examinations; the pastors who are necessary for Ireland, are those who would so conduct themselves. The catholic priests are supported by eleemosynary contributions from their parishioners, while the protestant clergy are deriving incomes chiefly drawn from the manual labour of the people.\* If the dependent condition of the catholic clergy were changed, it would not be difficult to raise such a ministry as is to be met with in Scotland; and nothing but reducing the incomes, and attending more to the education of the clergy of the established church, can make them equally useful.

The Scotch clergy have done more than barely bringing numbers to their standard, an object in which the clergy of the established church in Ireland have entirely failed. They have instructed their people, taught them the principles of morality, and induced them by precept and example, to become good christians, and useful members of society. This is the effect so much wanted in Ireland; but under the present system, it will never be produced by the established clergy. Nor will the catholic clergy, while their incomes are so paltry and precarious, be able to achieve it; so that until a radical change takes place, the people must remain a prey to ignorance and its consequences.

The documents printed in the course of this chapter demonstrate, that every measure hitherto pursued, to oppose the catholic religion in Ireland, has tended only to increase it.† If protestant prelates, instead of £12,000 per annum, had

\* Barrow, speaking of the clergy at the Cape of Good Hope, says, "the body of the clergy are in no part of the world more suitably provided for, or more generally respected, than in this country, in consequence of their being supported entirely by government, and not by any tax or tithe laid upon the public."

† Paley, judiciously remarks, "if popery for instance, and protestantism were permitted to dwell quietly together, papists might not become protestants, for the name is commonly the last thing which is changed, but

twice that sum, their efforts would be still more languid and inefficient; where one church is now built, if two were erected, the augmentation of number would only give the catholics greater reason to rejoice; for churches, without congregations, is a greater sign of falling off, than congregations without chapels. That which is necessary for Ireland is parish clergymen, better adapted to its present situation than either the degraded catholic priest, whose poverty obliges him to flatter the prejudices of his flock, or the wealthy and over-paid incumbent of the established church, whose sense of duty is lost in indolence and indulgence. It is a fact, that the church believers are decreasing, while sectaries of every kind, presbyterians, methodists, and quakers, are daily becoming more numerous. The conscientious followers of the established faith, are the smallest religious body in the country. I could here state the expense of the church establishment for the last century, but it might appear invidious. The ease and luxury of the clergy have destroyed their utility; were a proof of this wanting, I might refer once more to the pamphlet of Dr. Stock, bishop of Waterford:\* "after the losses he had sustained, his circumstances stood in the way of an expensive journey." Mr. Bellew, in his *Thoughts towards improving the condition of the Irish Peasantry*, remarks: "but even 988 churches well filled! yes, if well filled, or even progressive to that point, something may be said; but the fact is notoriously otherwise, for except in some parts of Ulster, great towns, and some places, particularly circumstanced, the churches are absolutely deserted."† This observation is perfectly correct; when I was in Ireland, I generally went to church, and very seldom found the congregation to consist of more than ten persons; in many instances there were not so many. I could enumerate from memory, the places where the people who attended exceeded that number.

To suggest innovation on the established church, is heresy with a certain description of persons; but it is satisfactory to reflect, that the opinions which I have advanced are no new doctrines, but are sanctioned by writers of the first eminence, and even by members of the established church. A dignified clergyman, whose enlightened mind has given him more consequence than even his situation, says: "The authority, therefore, of a church establishment, is founded on its utility; and whenever, upon this principle, we deliberate, concerning the form, propriety, or comparative excellency of different establishments, the single view under which we ought to consider any one of them is, that of a scheme of instruction." "The single end we ought to propose by them, is the preservation and communication of religious knowledge." It is by this test that the Irish church establishment should be tried. The same philosophical writer lays it down as a rule, that, "if the dis-

but they would become more enlightened and informed; they would, by little and little, incorporate into their creed, many many of the tenets of protestantism, as well as imbibe a portion of its spirit and moderation." *Moral and Political Philosophy*, second edit. p. 580.

\* Page 160.

† Edit. 1808, p. 50.

senters from the establishment become a majority of the people, the establishment itself ought to be altered or qualified.”\*

Upon these principles, I would modify the payment of £500,000. per annum to the clergy of the present establishment ; it is an enormous burden to the state, and requires revision. Dr. Woodward, the late bishop of Cloyne, has justly observed, that the payment of the national clergy is a state payment. From the account which he gives, it is evident, “ that they are not paid by their parishioners, but by the public ; consequently, that the complaint made by some of the dissenters, or rather by others for them, that they pay two clergymen, is ill founded. The tithe of the land is not, in any sort, their property, nor are they either necessitated or entitled to consider it as such ; it is merely a burden to which their property is liable, like the crown or quit-rent, or hearth money.”†

I agree with the observations of this prelate ; and, if the position be just, the state has a right to regulate the manner in which its property should be managed. But let me not be misunderstood ; I do not mean that incumbents in possession should be affected ; their title is sacred and irrevocable. In Ireland, the presentation to livings, is most commonly, either directly from the crown, or indirectly through the bishops ; so that a revision by government, of the present system, would be attended with little difficulty. And if any farther authority were wanting for the right of revision, I should refer to a late act of the legislature, introduced by the Right Hon. Spencer Perceval, who, on the 15th of July, 1807, gave notice, “ that it was the intention of His Majesty’s ministers, to submit to the consideration of the House, a measure for reducing the opulent livings, and out of their abundance making an allowance for the poorer curates.”‡ This is exactly the system which I wish to see adopted and acted upon ; “ a reduction of the opulent livings.” The application of the surplus is a subsequent consideration ; but I must observe, that I differ from the author of this measure, respecting the interference with incumbents in possession. The legislature has a right to determine for their successors, but, they ought not to interfere with present enjoyment. It is to prospective regulations my view is directed ; and I should not hesitate to recommend a general settlement of the tithes and glebes, above a certain size, of all livings, as they fall in, upon a fixed and immutable foundation. Those which belong directly or indirectly to the crown, should revert to the public ; while those which are the property of individuals should remain. Of the sacred nature of individual property I have the highest opinion ; but there are instances in which even these bonds must be broken for the general good ; as in the case of the sovereignty of the Isle of Man, and the jurisdic-

\* Paley’s Moral and Political Philosophy, second edit. p. 555.

† The Present State of the Church of Ireland, by Richard, lord bishop of Cloyne, seventh edit. Lond. 1787, p. 22.

‡ Cobbett’s Parl. Debates, vol. ix. p. 825.

tion of the County Palatine of Chester. Similar compulsory measures are resorted to, when canals and other works of national usefulness are constructed on private property, the owners of which are obliged to accept the indemnification of parliament, and with this they are generally "satisfied, and always silenced."\*

Having effected a gradual sale of livings, as they fell in, I would make the most liberal provision for the payment of resident clergymen of the established church.† Agreeably to my system, the same should be done respecting the clergy of the catholic church;‡ for I agree with Barrow, that "there is not, perhaps, any class of men, who are better entitled to a remuneration for their services, than those whose time is occupied in keeping alive the duties of religion."§ The objection on account of the depreciation of money, might be easily remedied, by establishing such regulations, that the salary should rise or fall according to its value. I am informed that something like this is the practice in Scotland; if it be so, it is an argument in favour of the plan which I have proposed.

I have not suggested any thing which has not been sanctioned by public authority. In the year 1412, parliament recommended a similar measure, and again in 1414; when it was proposed, that, instead of the existing establishment, 15,000 parish priests, with moderate salaries, should be appointed.

Were catholic emancipation granted, the church would not be in the least endangered; on the contrary, it has more to apprehend from a continuance of catholic restraints, which places the whole empire in a most perilous situation; and those advocates of the church, who so blindly persist in their opposition to the catholic claims, do not reflect, that the favourite object of their zeal would be involved in the common ruin. A wise man, if compelled to accept of two evils, would certainly submit to the least. Were I even convinced, that the church would be endangered, I should boldly say, that the lesser evil ought to be encountered. The church must be left to its fate, for the preservation of the country.

\* See Ensor on the Origin of Tithe, who has ably descanted on this subject, vol. ii. p. 329.

† In Holland, when a clergyman grew old, and could not attend to his duty, he was styled "Emeritus," and received a pension from the state. The widows of clergymen were also pensioned; and this should form a part of every plan for the support of parochial clergy.

‡ Mr. Bentham, whose work on legislation deserves to be much better known, speaking on this subject, says: "Mais s'il y avoit dans un pays une grande diversité de cultes et de religions, et que le législateur ne fût par gêné par un établissement antérieur, ou des considérations particulières, il seroit plus conforme à la liberté et à l'égalité d'appliquer à l'entretien de chaque église, les contributions de chaque communauté religieuse. On pourroit craindre, il est vrai, dans cet arrangement le zèle du prosélytisme de la part du clergé: mais il seroit aussi probable que de leurs efforts réciproques résulteroit une émulation utile, et qu'en balançant leur influence, ils établiroit un espèce d'équilibre dans ce fluide d'opinions sujet à de si dangereuses tempêtes." *Traité de Législation Civile et Pénale*, par M. Jérémie Bentham, publiés en François, par Et. Dumont, de Genève, Paris, 1802, vol. ii. p. 70.

§ Barrow's Voyage to Cochin China, p. 339.

I attach no importance to a *veto*, and safeguards, and securities,—those phantoms which are so often talked of, and so little understood. Instead of looking after difficulties, it would have been wise policy, to have conciliated the catholics by a liberal and generous conduct. Were the clergy made dependent on the existence of the state, which would render their interest and its safety one object, it would be of little consequence by whom they are appointed. Did the pope possess the power of sending over foreign prelates,\* an interdict on the part of the crown might be necessary; but as the catholic prelates are all natives of Ireland, a *veto* is of little importance, especially as a better security might be obtained, were the whole body of the catholics, laity as well as clergy, attached to the government by the all-powerful tie of interest.

The anti-catholics have the enjoyment of power; in their hands are all places, emoluments, and honours; and their vetos, safeguards, and bulwarks, is to retain what they possess. Such motives do not exalt the character of a member of the established church; its tendency is to alienate the affections of the people of Ireland, and deprive them of those rights to which they are by nature so justly entitled: The circumstances of the times are such, as to require a consolidation of the energies of the country. When I contemplate the disastrous consequences which may finally terminate this system of error and selfishness, I am forced to condemn the wickedness of those individuals, who, rioting in luxury, would retain their superfluous enjoyments at the expense of the dearest interests of the country.† Not satisfied with these exclusive benefits, they even exult over the wounded feelings of the proscribed; and assuming the right of regulating their appetites, insolently tell them, that the advantages they claim would add little to their comforts or happiness. This is not language to be used to the subjects of a free state; it is calculated for the slave, who must receive with cheerfulness whatever his master chooses to allow him.

In considering the state of Ireland, the conduct of England towards Scotland always occurs to my thoughts. With respect to Scotland, a liberal and enlightened

\* Dr. Walsh, in his letter, shews that the pope has not the power of naming Irish prelates on the recommendation of foreigners abroad, a practice which has been discontinued since 1785.

† “On pourroit imaginer un cas bien malheureux, celui d'un peuple à qui le législateur défendrait le public de sa religion, en lui imposant en même tems l'obligation de salarier une religion qu'il regarderoit comme l'ennemie de la sienne. Ce seroit une double violation de la sûreté. On verroit se former dans ce peuple un sentiment habituel de haïe contre son gouvernement, un désir de nouveauté, un courage féroce, un secret profond. Le peuple privé de tous les avantages d'une religion publique, de guides connus, de prêtres avoués, seroit livré à des chefs ignorans et fanatiques; et comme le maintien de ce culte seroit une école de conspiration, la foi du serment, au lieu d'être la sauvegarde de l'état, en deviendroit la terreur: au lieu de lier les citoyens au gouvernement, il les uniroit contre lui. Ensorte que ce peuple deviendroit aussi redoutable par ses vertus que par ses vices.” *Traité de Législation Civile et Pénale*, par M. Jérémie Bentham, publiés en François, par Et. Dumont de Geneve, à Paris, 1802, vol. ii. p. 71.

policy was pursued;\* she was allowed to retain her civil rights and religion, and tranquillity and increasing prosperity have, ever since, attended her. Religious persecution and political disabilities have led the children of Ireland through a long period of personal misery and disaffection. This can excite no astonishment, while the discussions continue in the Imperial parliament, on the expediency of granting to the Irish catholics a release from those evils.

In a debate in the House of Lords, on the 18th of June, 1811, Earl Longford declared, that "he understood, that among the catholics themselves, strong doubts were entertained of the utility or expediency of the measure." Lord Redesdale said, "he was persuaded that the majority of the catholics were not anxious that the question should be agitated." I cannot conceive on what grounds the noble lords adopted this opinion. Were the petitions on the tables of the two houses no proof of anxiety? Were the numerous meetings of distinct bodies and of counties, at which resolutions in favour of emancipation were unanimously passed, mere formalities? Was the delegation of gentlemen to London to press their claims before both houses of parliament, many of whom at the time his lordship was speaking were below the bar, listening to his speech, no proof? Was there a single petition to the contrary? Could the noble lords shew no authority from any of the catholics of Ireland for their opinion? Had not the protestants of Mayo and Tipperary met, to unite their voice with that of their Roman catholic brethren in favour of their claims; and if the latter had not been anxious for the agitation of the question, would they not have thanked their protestant friends for their good intentions, and requested them to forego all interference in their behalf?

During two years, I was in the habit of mixing with the Irish catholics in every part of the country; I associated with their clergy and laity, and lived on terms of friendship with some of the most respectable among them; and I can assert, that "emancipation," a term which few properly understood, was their first and general topic, and was always dwelt upon with a warmth of feeling which evinced its importance in their estimation. Interrogate any of the common orders, who have not the idea of the extent of their exclusion, and who would derive no immediate advantage from the success of the measure, and their reply is, "O sure, I am for my own people." This seemed to be the sole object to which their hopes were directed, and these hopes are sanguine; they are full of the impression that they will be realized at no very distant period. That the catholics are not anxious for the agitation of the question, is an extravagant and absurd idea, and a strong proof of the dilemma to which their opponents are reduced. It shews also the aversion that some men have to inno-

\* I think every impartial observer must be satisfied that it was the intention of Mr. Pitt to pursue a similar conduct towards Ireland at the time of the union, and it cannot be too much regretted that his intentions were thwarted.

vation, however salutary to their country. A long continuance in error renders them either deaf to the voice of reason, or ashamed to acknowledge their folly, and make atonement, by friendly conduct; would they allow reason to operate, they would perceive that the measures of restraint hitherto adopted, have produced a contrary effect to that which was intended. In 1787, the then bishop of Cloyne\* estimated the protestants to be one-fourth of the population of Ireland, and the members of the established church only one-eighth. By comparing this statement with my details of each county, the reader will form an idea of the proportional numbers in 1811; and it will be seen, how much the members of the church have decreased, notwithstanding the increase in the incomes of the clergy, and the churches that have been erected, or of the old ones that have been beautified and repaired.

Dr. Woodward stated, that the obstacle to the increase of protestantism was the want of churches and of glebes, and the universal use of the English tongue; throughout his whole work, he complains of the scanty incomes of the clergy. But every one who has examined what Ireland was in 1787, when he wrote, and what it is at present, must know that these obstacles have in a great measure been removed. Churches have been built by the Board of First-fruits; glebes have been purchased, and glebe houses erected, in consequence of the act procured by primate Robinson; the people have of themselves improved in the knowledge of the English tongue; and tillage has been so much extended, that the clergy now receive four times their former income. Yet with all these advantages, the members of the church cannot be estimated at more than one-twentieth of the whole population. We may, therefore, call upon the church clergy, to shew that their congregations are not diminished,† and if they be, to state the causes which have produced that effect.

So far am I from agreeing with Dr. Woodward, and those who deprecate the narrow stipends of the established church, that I ascribe to the great liberality of their support this decline of the protestant cause in Ireland. The bad effect of suffering too much wealth to be distributed among the clergy, has been pointed out as a political evil, by writers of the first eminence, and particularly by Adam Smith, whose theory I found practically confirmed in Ireland.‡ It is not a magnificent edifice or an elegant glebe house that draws a number of communicants to church, but the ex-

\* State of the Church in Ireland, 7th edit. London, 1787, p. 69.

† The conduct of the clergy in Iceland, as described by Sir George Mackenzie, bart. p. 143 of his Travels in that Island, has struck me as worthy of imitation in Great Britain. By referring to that work the reader will find the copy of an Icelandic register, composed from returns by every clergyman in the island, which contains, under distinct heads, the name and place of abode of every inhabitant; the number of persons in each family, their age, situation and employment; whether they have been confirmed and partaken of the sacrament, whether able to read, together with an account of conduct, abilities, &c.

‡ "It may be laid down as a certain maxim, that all other things being supposed equal, the richer the church, the poorer must necessarily be either the sovereign on the one hand or the people on the other, and in all cases the less able must the state be to defend itself." *Smith's Wealth of Nations*, vol. ii. p. 235.

emplary lives of the clergy ; and while this body retain their present enormous provision, little good can be expected from them in Ireland.

That sects, which have contemplated each other so long with jealousy and distrust, as the protestants and catholics of Ireland, should rush at once from the extremes of hatred and contempt, to cordiality and friendship, is not to be expected. It will require the fostering care of government and the effects of time, to wear away those deep impressions which have been made by persecution and distrust. The longer this attempt is delayed, the more difficult it will be to conclude it with success. Convince the people of Ireland, not by doubtful language or empty promises, that you no longer consider their country as a colony of England, whose industry, property, and numerical strength is to be at the will of its minority, and to be employed for their benefit and advantage ; allow them to participate freely in the rights, and protection of the British constitution, and the great work is achieved. So long as there is a difference, however slight the shade, so long there is degradation. In the House of Commons, on the 3rd of February, 1812, the Right Hon. George Canning is reported to have said : “ Does my right honourable and learned friend only think that these wise and salutary regulations, though abolished, ought not to be forgotten ; that though we have partially, perhaps, improvidently, removed the weight of the chain from the limbs of the catholic, we ought to leave a *link* or *two* behind, to remind him that he was once in fetters ?” Assuredly not: he must be eased of every link, and the wounds healed which these chains have made, the marks of which, under the most skilful practitioner, it will be difficult to obliterate ; let the legislature, to effect it, bear in mind the treaty of Arau, which completely settled the long and virulent disputes, quarrels, and warfare between the protestants and catholics of Switzerland. The first article of this memorable treaty states : “ That in all the provinces which are subject to cantons of different religion, there shall be a perfect equality between the two sects, and that they shall both enjoy the same privileges : to which is added an express prohibition to each party not to use any terms of railery or contempt, in speaking of their respective worships.”\*

\* Coxe's Travels in Switzerland, 2nd edit. vol. i. p. 67.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

## POPULATION.

**I**T has always been considered an object of great national importance, to ascertain as nearly as possible the population of a country; for unless the number of inhabitants be known, and compared with the extent of agriculture, as well as with the number at former periods, it will be impossible to form a correct idea of its strength and resources, or to determine whether it be in a state of improvement or decline. Sir William Davenant says, "that as the wealth of all nations arises from the labour and industry of the people; a right knowledge of the numbers is necessary to those who will judge of a country's power and strength; and this is so far from being a matter of mere speculation, as some think, that many conclusions may be drawn from thence, useful and reducible to practice."\* A later writer observes also, "that if the various states of Europe kept and published annually an exact account of their population, noting carefully in a second column the exact age at which the children die; this second column would shew the relative merit of the governments, and the comparative happiness of their subjects. A simple arithmetical statement would then, perhaps, be more conclusive, than all the arguments that could be adduced."†

The practice of numbering the people appears to have been of great antiquity. We read in the Scriptures, that David, desirous to estimate the strength of his kingdom, rather from the number of its inhabitants, than from the divine favour, caused an enumeration to be made of the people of Israel, who were found to amount to "800,000 valiant men that drew the sword, besides 500,000 men of Judah."‡ This prince, however, was punished for his presumption and pride by a famine, which in the course of a little time swept away 70,000 persons.

After the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity, the city of Jerusalem, being almost depopulated, Nehemiah numbered the people, and found that they amounted only to 50,000 men, women, and children. This shews that a dreadful decrease of population had taken place, either through the consequences of war, or by the effects of captivity; for the two tribes, of which the small number who returned was a remnant, had formerly mustered 180,000 armed men.§

The Romans were accustomed to have frequent returns of the number of the people, by means of a census; a regulation first introduced by Tullus Hostilius,

\* Davenant's Works, by Whitworth, vol. i. p. 138.

† Sir Francis D'Ivernois' Survey of the Losses of the French Nation, 1799. p. 15.

‡ II Book of Samuel, chap. xxiv. v. 9.

§ Nehemiah, chap. vii.

who obliged the inhabitants of Rome to give in upon oath, an exact statement of their property. He then divided them into six classes, and one hundred and thirty centuries, placing those who were most opulent in the first centuries, and the rest in gradation, according to their property and rank. This institution was afterwards made permanent; all the citizens in the different classes being bound to give in, not only their own names, but those of their wives, children, freed-men, and slaves, together with their ages, the names of the places where they resided, and an estimate of their property.

The office of enumerating the people belonged at first to the kings; after their expulsion it devolved on the consuls, but as these magistrates, in consequence of being engaged in military expeditions, were not able to attend particularly to this part of their duty, officers were appointed, under the name of censors to take these accounts. The census was in general taken every five years, and it seems to have been attended with two advantages. The number of men fit to bear arms was ascertained, and the government at the same time became acquainted with the state of private property, and the sum which could be raised to defray the expenses of any protracted war.\*

This method of numbering the people was at first confined to Rome and some parts of Italy, but was afterwards extended to the provinces. A census of the people was taken by Augustus throughout the whole Roman empire, in consequence of a plan which he had formed of abolishing the old taxes, and imposing in their stead, a general poll tax, and a tax upon land.† This measure, however, occasioned an insurrection among the Jews, many of whom considered it criminal to acknowledge any other ruler than the Almighty, and gave rise to the question proposed to our Saviour by the Pharisees, "whether it was lawful to pay tribute to Cæsar or not?"

Peter the Great, whose active and comprehensive mind was employed on every object which was likely in any way to aid his plans of national improvement, seems to have been aware of the great advantage which might arise from ascertaining the population in his empire. So early as the year 1722, he issued an order, published in an Appendix to the New Church regulations, that the clergy should in future keep registers of all births and deaths, which were to be transmitted annually to the keepers of the public records: and that every four months they should deliver in similar lists to the bishop, for the purpose of being laid before the senate.

In 1724, an order was issued by the senate, to all the keepers of records, to send in these tables, which it appears had not been done; and at the same time, instruc-

\* Sigonius de antiquo Jure Civium Romanorum, Hanoviz. 1611. fol. p. 50, 51. Onuphrii Panuvini Fastorum Libri quinque, Venetiis. 1558. fol. p. 165. Lipsii Opera, 4 vols. 8vo. Vesaliz, 1675. vol. iii. p. 1480.

† St. Luke, chap. ii. v. 1.

tions were given how the registers should be kept by the clergy, and in what manner extracts were to be made from them and arranged into tables, for the use of the different eparchies.

By an ukase on the 24th of January 1726, the senate was ordered to desire the clergy to keep exact lists of the number of males who died annually, noting the age at the time of their death, and also of the number of births. Of these lists two copies were to be made, one of which was to be transmitted to the senate, and the other to the college of war; and in each of these departments a general table was to be prepared to be laid before his majesty. In consequence of this ukase, the senate, on the 31st of March, the same year, gave orders to the different keepers of the records to send in their tables as before, only adding a column, to exhibit the age of the males who died.

In 1737 the senate commanded the keepers of the records to make out regular *rosписи*, (that is to say, lists of the members of each community, with an account of their condition and age, and of the nature of their habitations. This order was accompanied also with instructions how the lists were to be kept, and in what manner tables were to be made from them for each eparchy, and annually transmitted to the senate.

Towards the end of the year 1769, the celebrated Busching, at that time pastor of Peter's church at Petersburg, began to collect lists of the deaths and births which took place among the Lutheran, Reformed, and Catholic congregations in that city.

About the same time an ukase was issued at the instigation of Taubert, counsellor of state and professor Schlötzer, enjoining all the congregations in Petersburg to keep exact lists of births, deaths, and marriages, which were to be arranged into tables and transmitted to the academy of sciences.

In 1767, an order was issued from the chancery of the government of Viborg, to the consistories of that province, to enjoin the clergy to keep regular lists of births and deaths, and to send in tables of them at the end of every year. From these the consistories were to make out general tables to be laid before the government.

In the year 1768, the governor of Novgorod, Lieutenant-General Siebers, began to cause lists to be made out of the births, deaths, and marriages, in his government, which he transmitted to the directing senate. This plan was so much approved by the senate, that letters were sent by Prince Wäsemkoi to all the other governors, desiring them to make out similar lists, and to transmit them annually to the senate.

Hence it appears, that considerable pains have been taken in Russia to improve this branch of political arithmetic, and to obtain correct lists of the births, deaths, and marriages, in that extensive empire. One circumstance worthy of notice is, that three copies of these lists were made out, one of which was transmitted to the senate, another to the college of war, and another to the academy of sciences; by which

means opportunities were afforded for examining them, and for deducing useful results. Mr. Herman, a member of the academy, in a work published in 1787,\* has given a variety of these tables, from which he draws many important inferences respecting the duration of life, mortality, &c. in Russia.

According to Storch, an enumeration of the people, or as it is called in Russia, a *revision*, was made in 1724, by order of Peter the Great, and afterwards repeated every twenty years. It was instituted in consequence of the establishment of a poll-tax, and extended only to certain classes; the nobility, clergy, military, servants of the crown, all persons employed in education, and most of the nomadic tribes, as well as females, were exempted. By the first revision it appeared that the number of persons in Russia, liable to pay the tax, was 5,794,928; by the second in 1743, the number was 6,643,335; by the third in 1763, it was 7,363,348, from which Storch infers, that the whole population was twenty millions. More accurate enumerations, however, were made in 1783 and 1796; from the last of which it appeared, that the whole number of people in the Russian empire amounted at that time to about thirty-six millions.†

Of late years the Russian government has paid particular attention to the subject of population, and the lists in that empire are, perhaps, as correct as those of any other country in Europe. By a general table formed from the bills transmitted to the directing senate, from all the eparchies in the kingdom, the number of births and deaths, in the years 1801 and 1802, were as follows:‡

Born	1801	1802	Died	1801	1802
Males . . .	697,418	690,985	Males . . .	382,157	353,223
Females . . .	553,058	613,486	Females . . .	344,114	335,151
Total	<u>1,179,476</u>	<u>1,304,471</u>	Total	<u>726,271</u>	<u>688,374</u>

	1801	1802
The number of the births, therefore, exceeded that of the deaths by	453,205	616,097
The number of marriages was	298,158	299,037.

\* *Beiträge zur Physik, Oeconomie, Technologie, Chemie und zur Statistik besonders der russischen und angrenzenden Länder*, von B. F. Hermann, Berlin und Stettin, 1787, vol. ii. p. 3—36. More on the population of Russia will be found in *Essai sur les Tables des Mariages, &c. de St. Petersbourg, depuis 1764—1780*, par M. Kraff. *NOVA ACTA ACAD. PETROP.* 1783, Part. i. *Mémoire ii. depuis 1781—1785.* *NOVA ACTA. tom. iv. Mémoire iii. depuis 1786—1790.* *NOVA ACTA. tom. viii. Mémoire sur les Naissances, mariages et Mortis dans quelques Provinces et Villes de la Russie*, par M. Hermann. *NOVA ACTA. tom. iv.*

† *Hist. Stat. Gemälde des Russischen Reichs* von Storch. vol. i. p. 310—330.

‡ *Russland unter Alexander dem Ersten*, von H. Storch, April 1804. Siebente Lieferung, p. 162.—It is to be observed, that this table comprehended those only belonging to the Greek church.

Among those who died, the following instances of longevity were found :

Between 90 and 95 years	.	1,401	2,089	Between 115 and 120 years	.	15	13
95 100	.	971	1,168	120 125	.	6	7
100 105	.	132	360	125 130	.	6	4
105 110	.	46	66	About 140 years of age	.	.	1
110 115	.	17	28				

In a table of casualties between September 1802, and September 1803, the following among other cases occur : \*

Frozen to death	.	.	369	Died in consequence of hurt by fire	.	273
Died of intoxication	.	.	1,123	Torn by wild beasts	.	19
Killed by lightning	.	.	156			

The celebrated Marshal Vauban, who died in the year 1707, in a small work, entitled *Projet d'une Dixme Royale*, in which he proposed to substitute, in the room of the different taxes levied in France, a general tithe of all the fruits of the earth, has several curious remarks on the population of that country, and the means to be employed for enumerating the people. In a table, which contains the result of the returns from the different provinces by the intendants, he states the whole number of inhabitants to have been, about the beginning of the last century, 19,094,146, which, he says, gives 636 persons to each French square league.†

\* Russland unter Alexander dem Ersten, Jan. 1805, table xii.

† *Projet D'une Dixme Royale*, par Mons. le Maréchal De Vauban, 8me. edit. 1708. p. 180.

The Marshal proposes the following method for making an enumeration of the people in France: " Pour cet effet, il me paroît que le meilleur qu'on puisse mettre en usage, est celui de diviser tout le Peuple par décuries comme les Chinois, ou par compagnies comme nos régimens; et de créer des capitaines de paroisses pourvûs du Roy qui auront sous eux autant de lieutenans qu'il y aura de fois cinquante maisons ou environ; lesquels seront pareillement sous-ordonnez au commandant des lieux où il y en aura. Je m'explique: si un paroisse est de cent feux, un peu plus ou moins, ou y pouroit mettre un capitaine et deux lieutenans, qui auront inspection sur cinquante familles: la visite desquelles ils seront obligé de faire quatre fois l'année, de maison en maison, pour se faire représenter toutes les familles, hommes, femmes, et enfans; les voir, et s'informer des changemens et nouveautés qui y arrivent, et en charger leur registre, qu'ils renouvelleront tous les ans. Et parce que la principale fonction de ces gens-là doit être d'asser bien connoître ces cinquante familles, et tout le monde y contenu, grands et petits, pour en pouvoir fournir le denombrement toutes et quantes fois qu'ils en seront requis; ils auront soin de les observer, et d'en tenir compte, même des gens qui meurent et qui naissent et seront toujours prêts à fournir le denombrement. Ils pourront encore être chargé d'appaiser les querelles qui arriveront dans ces cinquantes maisons et ménages, et les empêcher de se plaider les uns les autres. Si par les suites le Roy juge à propos de leur donner plus d'autorité on le pourra faire; mais je croy qu'on fera bien de s'en tenir là, jusqu'à decouverte de plus grands besoins.

" On pourra donner ses charges de capitaines aux principaux seigneurs des paroisses et les lieutenans aux autres gentilshommes des lieux s'il y en a, comme seigneurs ou non, sinon aux meilleurs bourgeois. Et parce que cela, ne laissera pas de leur donner des soins qui les détourneront de leurs affaires pour quelque temps,

Deparcieux, in his *Essai sur les Probabilités de la Durée de la Vie*, has a number of curious observations on births and deaths in various parts of France, and calculates tables from them for tontines and annuities.

From the inquiries directed to be made by the National Assembly in 1790, which Mr. Young supposes were executed with great accuracy, the population of France, including Corsica, appeared to be 26,000,000.

In the year 1742, Kerseboom, who had been secretary to the plenipotentiaries of the United Provinces at Soissons, published, in the Dutch language, a work on this subject, which contains a great many interesting observations and curious calculations respecting the population of that republic. This author, who is often quoted by late writers, estimates, from observations made during a century in the province of Holland, that the inhabitants of all ages, and of both sexes, amounted in his time to 980,000, and that there were born annually, 28,000 children, male and female, which gives a proportion of 35 to 1; that is to say, that the population is equal to 35 times the births. He found also, that of every 35 children, which were born, 18 were males, and 17 females; consequently, that there were in Holland, 504,000 men, and 476,000 women; and that the proportion of the different classes of the people in that country, might, probably, be as follows:

Men and women living in a state of marriage	338,000
Widowers	14,700
Widows	44,100
Unmarried persons and children	141,000
Servants	102,900
Travellers, foreigners, &c.	39,300
Total	980,000

temps, on posurra au lieu de gages ou appointemens, leur faire donner une poule tous les ans par ménage, ou six sols au choix du payeur; les poules se pourront partager entr'eux avec la même proportion qui s'observe dans les troupes; c'est-à-dire que le capitaine en prendroit la moitié, et les lieutenans l'autre, s'ils sont deux, qu'ils partageront par egale portion; s'il y a trois lieutenans, le capitain prendra deux parts, et chacun des lieutenans une, ce qui fera cinque parts egales du tout.

“ Il faudroit aussi joindre quelques honneurs à ces emplois, comme la qualité de *Monsieur*, et le chapeau à la main quand les gens de leur cinquantaines leur parleront; un bane distingué à l'église, et le rang à la procession et à l'offerte, après les seigneurs et gentilshommes des lieux. Cela un fois établi, quand il plaira au Roy de faire le dénombrement de son peuple il n'y aura qu'à adresser ses ordres aux intendans, qui en enverront des copies imprimées aux presidens des elections, et les leur en consequence; et ceux-cy aux capitaines de paroisses, qui en deux foix vingt-quatre heures y auront satisfait, si les officiers font leur devoir.

“ A l'égard du formulaire des ces dénombrement, je n'en ai point trouvé de plus commode, que de les faire par tables divisées en colonnes; la premiere desquels contiendra *les maisons* sur pied; la seconde, *les hommes*; la troisième *les femmes*; la quatrième, *les grands garçons*; la cinquième *les grandes filles*; la sixième *les petits garçons*; la septième *les petites filles*; la huitième *les valets*; la neuvième *les servantes*, et la dixième, *le total des familles.*” *Dixme Royale*, p. 219.

This calculation is founded on observations made by the author himself, compared with those of King, who estimates, that in 100,000 in England, there are—

Men and women living in a state of marriage	. . . . .	34,500
Widowers	. . . . .	1,500
Widows	. . . . .	4,500
Unmarried persons and children	. . . . .	45,000
Servants	. . . . .	10,000
Travellers, foreigners, &c.	. . . . .	4,000
	Total	<u>100,000</u>

Kerseboom, farther estimates, that in thirteen marriages, there are two productive in a year; consequently, 338,000 men and women, living in the state of wedlock, make 169,000 wedded pairs, which at the proportion of 2 to 13, would give	26,000 births
To this number he adds the twins estimated at the proportion of 2 in 80 births, which in 26,000 would give	325
Also bastards in the proportion of 65 in 1,000	1,675
Total of births	<u>28,000*</u>

Some authors, however, do not admit the proportion of births to the number of inhabitants, to be as 1 to 35, but reduce the latter number to 34, 33, 32, 31, and even 30.

Other political calculators, instead of estimating the population of a country from the proportion of births, deduce it from that of the deaths, by means of the following data, namely, that in large cities, of 28 inhabitants, 1 dies every year; that in towns this proportion is 1 death in 34, and in the country 1 in 38.†

These proportions, admitting the number who reside in the country to be to those who live in towns, as  $3\frac{1}{2}$  to 1, will give, for the proportion of the whole population to the deaths in common years, when no great devastation is occasioned by war, or epidemic diseases, as  $36\frac{2}{3}$  to 1; consequently, if the number of deaths taken from the bills of mortality, be multiplied by  $36\frac{2}{3}$ , the result will be the number of inhabitants.‡

\* Eerste Verhandeling tot een proeve om te veeten de probable meenigte des Volks in de Provincie van Hollandt en Westvrieslands, en specialyk tot aanleidinge van verder onderzock, in de Steeden Haarlem, Amsterdam en Gouda, als meede in's Gravenhage. Waarby gevoegd is een Tafel van de waardye van Lyfrente in proportie van Losrente, op alle gevallen van ouderdom by vyfjaaren door malkander, s'Gravenhage, 1742.

† Graunt says, that in the country places of England, one dies in 50, but in London one in 32; according to Struyk, one in 24 dies every year in Holland. Halley makes the proportion in Breslaw, to be one in 28 or 29. Sussmilch thinks, that in the electorate of Brandenburg, one dies in 40. In Sweden, the proportion has varied in different years, and in different places, being sometimes as 1 to 36, 28 or 30; 43, or 47,

About the same period, J. P. Süssmilch, a member of the Academy of Sciences at Berlin, composed, on the subject of population, a work entitled, *The Order observed by God in the Changes of the Human Race, demonstrated by the Birth, Death, and Propagation of Man*; an improved edition of which, in three octavo volumes, was published at Berlin, in 1775.\* In this work, the author first treats of the multiplication of man in general, and shews, that the number of births is almost always greater than that of the deaths; he then enumerates the obstacles to the increase of mankind; examines how many persons live on the earth, and how many it could contain; treats on the difference and causes of fecundity; the propagation of the two sexes, and the proportion of the one to the other; of the proportion of those who die at different ages; of diseases, and their proportion; of the use made of bills of mortality to determine the number of the living, and of the best method of keeping registers; the whole illustrated with copious lists of births, deaths, and marriages, in the states of the king of Prussia, the cities of London, Vienna, Breslaw, Paris, and Berlin, in different years.

Mr. Chalmers, from a document in the British Museum, has estimated the population of Spain, at the period of the Armada, at about 5,000,000.† Ustariz makes it in the time of Philip V., to have been 7,500,000;‡ and *La Industria Popular*, a work published in 1777, states the number of people in Spain, and the adjacent islands, at 11,000,000.

By an accurate enumeration, however, in 1787, it appears that the whole population was only 10,409,879.§

Professor Crome, of Gießen, in a small work published in 1793, has given a comparative statement of the extent and population of the different countries of Europe, accompanied with many curious remarks. In a short introduction he says:

Of all the causes and excitements by which the general civilization of nations is promoted and effected, the most important undoubtedly is, an increasing population.¶ The energy and powers of

35, 40, 48. By an average of three years in Stockholm, it was 1 in 24. See a paper by Mr. Wargentín, in *Kongl. Svenska Vetenskaps Academiens Handlingar*. För år 1755, vol. xvi. p. 13-15.

Several curious papers on this part of Political Arithmetic may be seen in *Kong. Vetenskaps acad. Handlingar*, vol. xv. p. 163, 241; vol. xvi. p. 1, 81, 161, 241.

\* Die Göttliche Oereung in den Veränderungen des menschlichen Geschlechts aus der Geburt, dem Tode und der Fortplanzung desselben, erwiesen von I. P. Süssmilch, vierte verbesserte ausgabe, genau durchgesehen und naher berichtigt von G. I. Baumann-Prediger zu Lebus. Berlin, 1775.

† Estimate, Dedication, p. 5.

‡ *Theorica y Practica de Comercio y de Marina*, tercera impresion. En Madrid, 1757, fol. p. 17.

§ Sir F. Morton Eden's *Estimate of the number of inhabitants in Great Britain and Ireland*, p. 90.

¶ It does not appear that this cause has been attended with a striking effect in Ireland. The population of that country has made a rapid increase, while civilization has not kept pace with it, but remained rather stationary.

man are roused into action by his wants, and are modified and determined in their application by situation, circumstances, climate, and soil. With the augmentation of the numbers that have to subsist on a given space their demands will become greater and more various, and, consequently, industry must be increased. Situation and circumstances have here no other effect, than as they facilitate the supply of the necessaries of life. A proof of this assertion may be found in the history of every country. As long as men remain at the lowest stage of civilization, or that of a savage life, subsisting merely by hunting and fishing, their wants are simple, and easily supplied, and their population is in the inverse ratio of the land which they occupy. Their ideas are few; their powers are little cultivated; their language is poor, and their enjoyments are as circumscribed as their taste. But if their numbers increase in a given space, the bow and arrow are no longer sufficient to provide subsistence; and if the propensity to social life be awakened, they gradually leave their solitary haunts in the forests and learn to convert the soil and to domesticate and facilitate the propagation of useful animals. With their herds they roam over the fertile plains and through the vallies, leading a romantic life, and scattered about in hordes of various numbers. The mutual intercourse of a people so divided, and having frequent intercourse, must naturally enlarge their ideas, their language, and their enjoyments, until the increasing population, and the want of sufficient pastures, fixes them at length to one spot. Under such circumstances, in addition to their skill in feeding cattle and flocks, they will acquire a knowledge of agriculture. This experience is the foundation of that rapid civilization, from which every branch of improvement is afterwards carried to the highest degree of perfection. Agriculture not only requires a variety of implements and apparatus which call into activity the latent genius of man, but practice is attended with this favourable result, that it must reside in one place, congregating in huts or forming villages, and thus increase their knowledge, and preserve whatever stores they may have provided to assist each other in their domestic necessities or agricultural improvements. Such was the state of Germany in the time of Charlemagne; and it is known that many tribes in the Russian empire, as well as in some districts of Sweden, Poland, and the European part of Turkey, where there are no other occupation than the tending of cattle and a kind of erratic agriculture have not yet emerged beyond this degree of civilization.

As population increases, it is found that food, clothing, and habitations can be readily obtained, and the supernumerary hands must then endeavour, by a varied preparation of the productions of nature, and by changing and improving them for the comforts of life, to procure a subsistence from the owner and cultivator of the soil. Hence arise mechanics and artisans of every description, who, afterwards, that they may prosecute their trades with more convenience, fix their residence in towns. This is an evident advancement towards more extended civilization, the number of towns, and their greater or less population, being certain signs of the industry and general improvement of a people. In the Russian empire, according to the latest enumeration, the population on a square mile, of the European part, is to that of the Asiatic, as thirteen to one: and this proportion agrees with the number of towns; a striking proof, of the first and most remarkable circumstances attending the civilization of a people in proportion to their population. For thirteen towns in the European part of Russia, one only is returned in the Asiatic. If the two large capitals, Petersburg and Moscow, be excepted, the other towns in European Russia are, in general, little superior to those in that portion of the empire which is in Asia. But it is observed, that the latter are to be found only in the southern and middle parts of Asiatic Russia, while the northern is entirely without towns, and in a complete state of wildness and barbarity. Here then we have a very clear view of the different degrees of culture and population.

In such an altered state of civilization and industry, of the occupations and well-being of a people, as is effected by agriculture, and the arts carried on in towns, a trade for raw materials by means of barter, must be attended with too much difficulty. The necessity of exchanging those superabundant productions, whether natural or artificial, which each individual has it in his power to provide for the wants of others, gives birth to commerce, and calls for some medium of immutable value, to represent the worth of every article that is purchased or sold. This medium, by common consent, is acknowledged to be gold, without the adoption of which there could be no trade nor any payment for personal service, without great inconvenience. The various interests, which, as people increase, actuate the great mass of society, call forth fresh talents and ingenuity, and give birth to new inventions, to improvements in arts and sciences, which display more prominently the virtues and vices of our nature. Through a principle of interest, but of a much nobler kind than that arising from trade and commerce, men of letters, artists, statesmen, and philosophers, make their appearance, and by precept and example impel mankind to the improvement of the higher powers of his mind and to the attainment of moral perfection; bringing into action the principle of subordination and good government, and confirming on man all the blessings of society. Then it is that the rich divide their superfluities with the poor for their services, and the man of letters and the artist labour for the pleasure and instruction of all classes, whose support they require. The civilization of a country is then arrived at this point when luxury is said to exist; but luxury is, when properly examined, nothing more than the multiplication of the conveniences, comforts, and enjoyments of life.

“ The foregoing is a picture, on a small scale of the progress of civilization, from the lowest to the highest degree, and hence it incontrovertibly follows, that the population of a country always keeps pace with its improvement and cultivation; that the increase of life is produced by the means of providing for its support; that they have a mutual action and reaction; and that the extended population of a country is the surest criterion of its improvement.”\*

This branch of political arithmetic has not been neglected in Sweden. The first person who seems to have turned his attention to it in that country was an Italian, named Nicholas Belli, who resided there some time under the reign of John III., and composed, in the Italian language, an extensive work on the European States, which was translated into Latin, and published at Frankfort in 1615, under the title of *Politicarum Dissertationum de Statu Imperiorum, Regnorum, Principatum et Rerum Publicarum, Tom. IV.* This work contains two dissertations on Sweden, and the author estimates the inhabitants at that period, including Finland, to have been

\* Some learned men have considered a greater or less degree of refinement in the language of a people, as a proof of their civilization. But although it be true that the language of a people improves with the extension of their ideas, it is equally certain that it depends more on the improvement of the higher powers of the mind, than on the general culture, to which I here allude. Thus, for example, we find a very high degree of civilization in Holland, and yet the Dutch language is less refined than the German or French. Besides, this test would be more uncertain, as well as more difficult in its application, than the population of a country. Adelung, in several of his works on the German language, has proved that the formation of a language is always a consequence of increasing population. It is not the cause of the culture of a nation, but one of its numerous effects; the number and nature of which are too great and undefined to admit of any one of them as a criterion of general improvement.

three millions.\* Afterwards the subject appears to have been almost forgotten, until the year 1749, when an office was established at Stockholm, called the General Office of Land Measuring. Correct maps of the different provinces were constructed, and accurate enumerations were made of the people in each district.† The bishops and clergy were also enjoined to keep exact lists, in their dioceses and parishes, of all the births, deaths, and other events connected with population. Respecting these lists, Mr. Wargentin, perpetual secretary to the Academy of Sciences, who was at the head of this office, made many curious researches, the result of which was published either in separate dissertations, or in the Transactions of the Swedish Academy of Sciences. Mr. Borchalso, Professor of Economy at Upsal, was the author of a treatise on Political Arithmetic, printed at Stockholm in 1746; in which he collected all the observations of his predecessors, whether Swedes or foreigners. Lagerbring relates a circumstance, which shews the utility of such inquiries. At the death of Charles XII., there were in Sweden only 500,000 persons above the age of fifteen; so that the whole population must have been less than a million, without comprehending the military, and the inhabitants of Stockholm, Gottenburgh, and Carlsrona, not here included. By the tables of 1769, it appears, that there were in Sweden and Finland, 2,571,325 persons; and the author thence infers that the number of the people had been doubled in the course of fifty years.‡

In Denmark, an enumeration of the people was made in the year 1769, the result of which was, that in the whole kingdom including Iceland, the Feroe islands and the duchies, the population amounted to 2,017,027. This enumeration, however, is not considered as having been very correct. The population in 1796 is stated at 2,444,335.§

In the Prussian states, an account of the people was taken every year. In some of the cantons of Switzerland, this was done occasionally, as in that of Zurich in 1764. At that period there were found to be 28,000 males, from the age of one year to sixteen; 46,000 between sixteen and forty; and 15,000 of the age of sixty-four and above; making altogether 89,000. Of females there were 25,000 from the age of one, to sixteen: 44,000 from sixteen to sixty; 17,000 of sixty-four and upwards, making in the whole 86,000; so that the total number of inhabitants amounted to 175,000.

\* Sammen drag af Swea Rikes Historia af Swen Lagerbring. Stockholm, 1796. Förste Delen, p. 35.

† Bielefeld Institutions Politiques, vol. ii. p. 440. Lagerbring Sammen drag, ut supra. The latter thinks it probable that some superstitious notion originating in the scriptural account of the punishment inflicted on David, may have prevented enumerations in Sweden of the people before the above period.

‡ Swea Rikes Historia. Förste Delen, p. 36.

§ Einleitung in die Allgemeine und besondere Europäische Staatskunde, von M. E. Töze Schwerin und Wismar, 1799, p. 77, 78.

It is stated, that from 1651 to 1700, the proportion of births to deaths in that canton had been as 15 to 10. There were two very important results from this enumeration, one of which is very uncommon, namely, that the number of the men exceeded that of the women by three thousand. The other, which is almost every where acknowledged, is, that the women live longer than the men. Among the males, there were 15,000 old men; the number of old women was 17,000.\*

The first writer who seems to have attended to this subject in England, was Captain John Graunt, who in 1667, published his *Natural and Political Observations on the Bills of Mortality*. In this work, the author points out the necessity of keeping exact registers of deaths and baptisms in all parishes; and by calculation, he deduces from those of London, and some other cities, very ingenious results on the number of inhabitants in the capital, and in several provinces of England; the increase and decrease of population; the different diseases which reduce the number of mankind; the salubrity of the air; the police, commerce, and other topics, connected with the prosperity of states. These researches are curious; but, as the subject was then new, and the lists of births and deaths had not before that time been regularly or accurately kept, the author often founds his calculations on false data, which has led him into considerable errors.

In his observations on the bills of mortality, he computes that there were 39,000 square miles of land in England, or 25 millions of acres in England and Wales, and 4,600,000 persons, making about five acres and a half to each person. He estimates also, that the people of London were 640,000, and he states the several numbers of persons living at the different ages.

This work was followed some years after by the *Political Arithmetic* of Sir William Petty, published in 1691, which is divided into nine chapters. In these the author endeavours to prove, that a small country, containing few inhabitants, may, by its situation, commerce, and industry, be rendered equal in prosperity and strength, to one more populous, and possessing a much larger extent of territory; that taxes, and public contributions, instead of lessening the wealth or happiness of the people, have rather a tendency to increase them; that France, by natural and perpetual obstacles, cannot become more formidable by sea than the English or the Dutch; that the states and subjects of the king of England are almost equal in riches and strength to those of France; that the obstacles which seem to oppose the greatness of England, are merely accidental, and may be removed; that the riches and power of England had increased during the preceding forty years; that a tenth part of the whole expenditure of the subjects of England was sufficient to maintain 100,000 infantry, 30,000 cavalry, and 40,000 seamen, and to defray all the expenses, both ordinary and extraordinary, of the government, provided the taxes were pro-

\* Durand *Statistique élémentaire de la Suisse*, vol. i. p. 245.

perly imposed and levied ; that a sufficient number of hands would be left among the subjects of England to gain two millions per annum more than they did at that time ; that there was money enough to carry on the trade of the nation ; and that the subjects of England had capital, industry, and commodities, to enable them to conduct the business of the whole commercial world.

Among other subjects he states, that in his time, the people of England were about six millions, and their annual expense about £7. each ; that the rent of the lands was about eight millions, and the interests and profits of the personal estates nearly as much ; that the rents of the houses in England were four millions, and the profits of the labour of all the people twenty-six millions yearly ; that the corn used in England at 5s. the bushel for wheat, and 2s. 6d. for barley, amounted to ten millions per annum ; that the navy of England required 36,000 men, and the trade and other shipping about 48,000 ; that the whole people in England, Scotland, and Ireland, were about nine millions and a half ; those in France about thirteen millions and a half ; and the inhabitants of the whole world about 350 millions. Also that the whole cash in England in current money was then about six millions sterling.\*

All these points are illustrated by the author with considerable ability, and supported by calculations founded on facts and data applicable not only to England, but to other countries. This writer, therefore, is considered as the first who applied political arithmetic to commerce and the revenues of a state, and his method has been followed by some of his successors.

Several of his principles, however, were controverted by succeeding writers, the most distinguished of whom was Sir William Davenant, who gives some good reasons for presuming that some of Sir William Petty's numbers are not to be entirely depended on, and advances others of his own, founded on the observations of Mr Gregory King. He states also, that the land of England is thirty-nine millions of acres ; that the number of people in London in his time was about 530,000, and in all England, five millions and a half, increasing 9,000 annually, or about the six hundredth part ; that the yearly rent of the lands was ten millions, and the produce of all kinds of grain nine millions.†

Derham, in his *Physico-Theology*, has introduced some curious observations on political arithmetic, and particularly on the age of man at different periods, and in different countries, and the proportion which marriages bear to births, and births to burials, in various parts of Europe.

"It appears, from our best accounts," says this ingenious writer, "that in our European parts, and, I believe, the same is throughout the world, that there is a certain rate and proportion in the propagation of mankind ; such a number marry, so many are born, such a number die, in proportion to the num-

\* See his *Political Arithmetic*, p. 74.

† Davenant's *Essay on the Probable Methods, &c.* in his works, vol. vi.

ber of persons in every nation, county, or parish. And as to births, two things are very considerable; one is the proportion of males and females, not in a wide proportion, not in an uncertain accidental number at all adventures, but nearly equal; another thing is, that a few more are born than appear to die in any certain place, which is an admirable provision for extraordinary emergencies and occasions of the world; to supply unhealthful places, where death out-runs life; to make up the ravages of great plagues and diseases, and the depredations of war, and the seas, and to afford a sufficient number for colonies in the unpeopled parts of the earth. Or, on the other hand, we may say, that, sometimes, those extraordinary expenses of mankind may be not only a just punishment of the sins of men, but also a wise means to keep the balance of mankind even; as one would be ready to conclude, by considering the Asiatic and other the more fertile countries, where prodigious multitudes are yearly swept away with great plagues, and sometimes war; and yet those countries are so far from being wasted, that they remain full of people.\*

Nieuwentyt, a Dutch clergyman, touches also upon the subject of population, in his Religious Philosopher, but merely for the sake of proving, by the proportion between the males and females, that the world is not governed by chance. With this view, he gives a table of the number of males and females christened yearly in London in 82 years, and observes, that in the course of that time, the number of males had exceeded that of the females in every year; that the difference always lay between two terms, not far distant from each other; that the proportion of births in the year was in favour of males, but not in such a degree as to render that proportion greatly unequal. He then gives the result of an elaborate calculation, by his friend Gravesande, to shew that what happened in London in the above 82 years, as far as respected births, would not have happened had the birth of males and females been merely the effect of chance.†

Dr. Brackenbridge, in the Philosophical Transactions, has given an estimate of the number of people in England, founded on the number of houses, and also from the quantity of bread consumed. Upon the former principle, he finds the houses in England and Wales to be about 900,000, and allowing six persons to each house, the people will amount to nearly five millions and a half. Upon the latter principle, estimating the quantity of corn consumed at two millions of quarters, and three persons to every quarter, he calculates the number of people to be six millions.‡

Whether there were more inhabitants on the earth in the time of the Romans, is a question which has been discussed with much ingenuity by various eminent men. The celebrated Montesquieu asserts, that in the days of Julius Cæsar, there were fifty times as many people on the globe as at the period when he wrote; and Dr. Wallace, although he considers this as too high a calculation, endeavours, in his Dis-

\* Physico-Theology, new edit. 2 vol. London, 1798, vol. i. p. 264.

† Religious Philosopher, vol. i. p. 352, 363.

‡ Philos. Transact. vol. xlix, art. 45 and 113.

sertation on the Numbers of Men in ancient and modern times, to prove the greater populousness of the former, which he ascribes to the following causes: difference of religion, and of religious or moral institutions; different customs with respect to servants, and the maintenance of the poor; different rules of succession to estates, and the right of primogeniture; the little encouragement given to marriage in modern times; the great number of soldiers in the standing armies of Europe; too extensive trade; neglect of agriculture; the different extent of ancient and modern governments; the ruin of the ancient states by the greater monarchies, especially by the Roman empire; and last of all, the loss of that ancient simplicity which had long prevailed.\* The opinion of this writer, however, was combated, with much ability, by Mr. Hume, who very justly remarks, that,

“The question, with regard to comparative populousness of ages or kingdoms, implies important consequences, and commonly determines, concerning the preference of their whole police, their manners, and the constitution of their government. For as there is, in all men, both male and female, a desire and power of generation, more active than is ever universally exerted, the restraints which they lie under must proceed from some difficulties in their situation, which it belongs to a wise legislature carefully to observe and remove. Almost every man who thinks he can maintain a family will have one; and the human species, at this rate of propagation, would more than double every generation. How fast do mankind multiply in every colony or new settlement, where it is an easy matter to provide for a family; and where men are nowise straightened or confined, as in long established governments! History tells us frequently of plagues, which have swept away the third or fourth part of a people; yet in a generation or two, the destruction was not perceived, and the society had again acquired their former number. The lands were again cultivated; the houses built, the commodities raised, the riches acquired enabled the people who escaped immediately to marry and to rear families, which supplied the place of those who had perished. And for the like reason, every wise, and just, and mild government, by rendering the condition of its subjects easy and secure, will always abound most in people, as well as in commodities and riches.”†

I shall not enter farther into this question, than to observe, that although some particular countries may have formerly been uncommonly populous, it does not follow, that the case was every where the same throughout the earth. If there were a superabundance of people in one district, there might be a scarcity in another; what one country loses, another sometimes gains; for the state of society is continually fluctuating, and subject to change, either by emigrations or from some other causes.

It appears, by the journals of the House of Commons, that an attempt to number the people of Great Britain was made in the year 1753. A bill was at that time brought into the house by Mr. Potter, son of the archbishop of Canterbury, for taking and registering an annual account of the whole population, and of the total number of marriages, births, and deaths; and also of the total number of persons

\* *Dissertation on the Numbers of Mankind*, Edinburgh, 1753, p. 83.

† *Hume's Essays*, vol. i. p. 341.

receiving alms in every parish and extra parochial place in the kingdom. Some of the clauses of the bill are said to have been very objectionable. It was strongly opposed by Mr. Thornton, the member for York, as subversive of the last remains of English liberty, and on the second reading, in the House of Lords, it was rejected.

Bills of mortality, for the several parishes of London, have been kept from the year 1592, with very little interruption;\* and an ample account of them, down to the year 1759, was published by Dr. Birch, in a large quarto volume, which is, perhaps, the most comprehensive work of the kind extant, as it contains, besides the bills of mortality, with the diseases and casualties, several valuable tracts relating to them, and to political arithmetic, by Capt. John Graunt, F. R. S. Sir William Petty, F. R. S. Corbyn Morris, Esq. F. R. S. and J. P. Esq. F. R. S.: the whole forming a valuable repository of materials on this subject; and it would be well if a continuation of them to the present time were published, and hereafter continued periodically.

In the year 1779, Dr. Price, in an *Essay on the Population of England and Wales*, in which he seems to have taken a very gloomy view of the subject, asserted, that it was a clear and indubitable fact, that the number of our inhabitants had been long decreasing; that they were then nearly a quarter less than they were at the revolution; that for the preceding twenty years, in particular, this decline had been uncommonly rapid; and the causes of it still continued to operate with additional force. The causes of this depopulation, according to the author, were the increase of our army and navy, and the constant supply of men necessary to keep them up; a devouring capital, which was too large for the body that supported it; the three long and destructive continental wars in which we had been involved during the century; the migrations to our settlements abroad, and particularly to the East and West Indies; the engrossing of farms; the enclosing of commons and waste grounds; the high price of provisions; but, above all, the increase of luxury, and of our public taxes and debts.

The doctor rested the proofs of this strange assertion on the decreased number of houses, in the returns of the surveyors of the windows; the decreased number of burials in the London bills of mortality; and the decreased produce of the hereditary and temporary excise. The Rev. John Howlet, in a sensible and well-written answer, shewed clearly, from a variety of documents, that these proofs, however specious, did not rest on a solid foundation: but on the contrary, that there were

\* The first of the continued weekly bills of mortality extant at the Parish Clerk's Hall, begins with the 29th, of December, 1608, "being the first year of King James his reign, since when a weekly account hath been kept there of burials and christenings. It is true, there were bills before, viz. for the years 1592, 93, 94, but so interrupted since, that I could not depend upon the sufficiency of them. I believe that the rise of keeping these accounts was taken from the plague." *Graunt's Observations on the Bills of Mortality*, Oxford, 1665, p. 6.

the fairest grounds, according to every mode of investigation, and the most moderate estimate, to conclude, that the inhabitants of this kingdom had increased one-third since the revolution; about one-sixth during the preceding twenty years; and that the amount, at the time he wrote, could not be less than between eight and nine millions.

Mr. Malthus, in his late Essay on Population, has collected much valuable information, on various important points connected with this subject, not only from bills of mortality, and registers kept in different countries of Europe, but also from books of travels, and other works, ancient and modern.

His system, which he has discussed at great length, and with much ingenuity, is briefly as follows: He commences with the supposition, that a considerable portion of the vice and misery which is prevalent in the world is occasioned by the constant tendency, in all animal life, to increase beyond the nourishment prepared for it. Plants and animals are impelled, by a powerful instinct, to propagate their species; and this instinct is interrupted by no doubts or reasoning about providing for their offspring. Wherever, there is liberty, the power of increase is exerted, and the superabundance is afterwards repressed; by want of room and nourishment, a circumstance which is common to plants and animals; amongst animals by their becoming the prey of each other.

The effects of this check on man are more complicated. Impelled to the increase of his species by an equally powerful instinct, reason retards his career, and asks whether he may not be about to bring into the world, beings whom he cannot support. If he attend to this natural suggestion, the restriction too frequently produces vice; if he hear it not, the human race will be constantly impelled to an increase beyond the means of subsistence. But, as by that necessity of our nature, which makes food indispensable to the support of man, population can never actually increase beyond the smallest quantity of nourishment capable of maintaining it, a strong check must be constantly in operation. This difficulty must fall somewhere; and be severely felt in some one or other of the various forms of misery, or the fear of misery, by a large portion of mankind.

Mr. Malthus then assumes as a principle, that population, when unchecked, goes on doubling itself every twenty-five years, or increases in a geometrical ratio. He takes it for granted also, that considering the present average state of the population of the earth, the means of subsistence, under circumstances the most favourable to human industry, could not possibly be increased more rapidly than in our arithmetical ratio. To illustrate the effects of these two different ratios, he calls the population of this island eleven millions, and supposes the present produce equal to the easy support of such a number. In the first twenty-five years, the population would be twenty-two millions, and food being also doubled, the means of subsistence would be equal to this increase. In the next twenty-five years, the population would be forty-

four millions, and the means of subsistence equal to thirty-three millions. In the next period, the population would be eighty-eight millions, and the means of subsistence just equal to the support of half that number; and at the conclusion of the first century, the population would be a hundred and seventy-six millions, and the means of support only equal to fifty-five millions; leaving a population of one hundred and twenty-one millions totally unprovided for.

Taking the whole earth instead of this island, emigration being thereby excluded; and supposing the present population equal to a thousand millions in two centuries, it would be to the means of subsistence as 256 to 9; in three centuries as 4,096 to 13, and in two thousand years, the difference would be almost incalculable.\*

The checks to population which are constantly operating with more or less force in every society, and which keep down the number to the level of the means of subsistence, are classed by the author under two general heads, which he calls the *preventive* and the *positive* checks. The preventive check is peculiar to man, and arises from that superiority in his reasoning faculties, which enables him to calculate remote consequences. Plants and animals have apparently no doubts about the future support of their offspring; the checks to their indefinite increase, therefore, are all positive.†

“The positive checks to population are extremely various, and include every cause, whether arising from vice or misery, which in any degree contributes to shorten the natural duration of human life. Under this head, therefore, may be enumerated all unwholesome occupations, severe labour, and exposure to the seasons, extreme poverty, bad nursing of children, great towns, excesses of all kinds, the whole train of common diseases and epidemics, wars, pestilence, plague and famine.”‡

Mr. Malthus says, “the obstacles to the increase of population, which he has classed under the heads of preventive and positive checks, are all resolvable into moral restraint, vice and misery.

“Of the preventive checks, that which is not followed by irregular gratifications may properly be termed moral restraint.

“Promiscuous intercourse, unnatural passions, violations of the marriage bed, and improper arts to conceal the consequences of irregular connexions come under the head of vice.

“Of the positive checks, those which appear to arise unavoidably from the laws of nature, may be called exclusively misery; and those which we obviously bring upon ourselves, such as wars, excesses, and many others, which it would be in our power to avoid, are of a mixed nature: they are brought upon us by vice, and their consequences are misery.”§

\* Essay on Population, edit. 1803, 4to, p. 8.

† Essay on Population, p. 9.

‡ Ibid. p. 10.

§ Ibid. p. 11.

Since the first edition of this book was published, Mr. Abbot brought forward a bill for numbering the people of England, a measure which was afterwards carried into execution. Lately, another bill has been introduced for the same purpose, but this new census is extended to Scotland, and whatever thanks may be due to Mr. Abbot, or Mr. Rose, for their active exertions in bringing the business before parliament; the merit of exciting the public attention to so useful a measure, undoubtedly, belongs to Mr. Malthus.

If any circumstance can point out the importance of this subject more forcibly than another, it is the consideration, that improved agriculture and extended tillage, when pursued in such a manner as to increase people in a greater ratio than the productions of their industry is capable of supporting, may become the means of weakening rather than of strengthening a state. Barrow gives a striking instance of the truth of this observation, when he contrasts the excessive fertility of China, and the amazing extension of agriculture, with the thousands who often perish there by want.\* We have a still stronger illustration of it in Otaheite, where climate, and the natural fertility of the soil, combine to produce food without the labour of man. So great is the produce of this island, that it exceeds the luxuriance even of those countries which produce three crops in the year;† and yet we read of the almost total annihilation of its inhabitants, the population, in 1774,‡ amounted to 204,000 persons, and in 1800, was reduced to 5,000. An intelligent traveller, who visited the kingdom of Nepal, a country very little known to Europeans, and who, although he was permitted to remain there only a very short time, collected much useful information, does not speak of its being exposed to the destructive scourge of famine; but I am inclined to believe, that this is sometimes the case, as he remarks, that "the use of the plough is scarcely known,"§ and that the ground is tilled by a kind of spade.|| It is also added, that the subjects of the Rajah of Jumlah, have been once so numerous, that the passage of his army over twenty-two buffaloes hides, piled one upon another, was sufficient to tread them into one mass.¶ Bruce particularly alludes to the poverty of the inhabitants of Adowa; but like Coxe, who compares the fertility of the soil in the Valteline\*\* with the wretchedness of the inhabitants, he ascribes this evil to the badness of the government,†† an opinion in which I cannot agree, unless it were corroborated by some proof. I do not, however, object to the account of the fertility of the soil; it is with the application of this fertility, that I am at issue.‡‡ Barrow observes, in speaking of China, that the inhabitants

\* Barrow's Travels in China, p. 31.

† Kirkpatrick's account of the kingdom of Nepal, p. 292. Adown and Tchagagia Lee, Bruce's Travels, vol. iii. ch. 7.

‡ Cook's Second Voyage, vol. i. p. 149.

§ Turnbull's Voyage, vol. iii. p. 76.

|| Kirkpatrick's Nepal, p. 100.

¶ Ibid. p. 292.

\*\* Coxe's Travels in Switzerland, Letter 75.

†† Bruce's Travels, vol. iii. ch. v.

‡‡ It is in this difference I imagine, that Mr. Ensor's error consists, when he argues in favour of potatoes. See his Treatise on National Government, vol. i. p. 202.

“raise no surplus quantity.”\* This remark, with reference to the state of China, affords a most useful lesson to statesmen; namely, that fertile fields and abundant crops, while the great body of the people live in misery and wretchedness, do not constitute national wealth. The extension of human happiness is an object of greater importance than the increase of human food, which depends upon inspiring the people with sentiments of religion and morality, and which may be effected by proper education:† it ought, therefore, to be the great object of the statesman to pursue such measures, as shall cause the instruction of the people to outstrip the course of agricultural improvement; while this is the case, there can be no dread of an excessive population. Every means also should be employed to increase what may be termed the raw materials of man, that is, his food. The knowledge, which enables him to provide for his future subsistence, constitutes the great difference between him and the beasts of the fields; and from this knowledge, arises all those affections which give so much dignity to human nature.

Although in Ireland this subject has been entirely neglected by government, it has fortunately engaged the attention of some individuals, who have employed both talents and industry in collecting such documents, as in some degree may serve as a basis for calculating the number of the inhabitants. Many important regulations, which would have rendered more accuracy attainable, are yet wanting; for the practice of registering marriages, births, and deaths, has been introduced only of late years, and is not yet become general. Even in those parishes, in which it is adopted, it embraces only the protestant population.

Mr. Malthus says, “the rapidity of the increase of population depends upon the number of children born to each marriage, and the proportion of that number which lives to form a fresh union. The measure of this rapidity is the proportion which the excess of the births above the deaths bears to the whole population.”‡ These observations, however, are applicable only to a country where regular registers have been kept; because the whole calculation will depend on accurate lists of these different events. As this is not the case in Ireland, in estimating the population of that

\* Barrow's Travels in China, p. 397.

† A late traveller, speaking of the people of Iceland, says, “With the exception of those who inhabit the coast in the vicinity of great fishing stations, it is a rare thing to meet with an Icelander who is unable to read or write, or who does not possess considerable intelligence on all subjects to which his situation allows him access. The instruction of his children forms one of his stated occupations; and while the little earthen hut which he inhabits is almost buried by the snow of winter, and darkness and desolation are spread universally around, the light of an oil lamp illumines the page from which he reads to his family the lessons of knowledge, religion and virtue. The importance of these domestic habits has been well understood by the Icelanders themselves. In the ecclesiastical code of the country, an article is extant, singular, perhaps, in its nature, but admirable in its design, which gives to the bishop, or even the inferior clergy, the power of preventing any marriage where the female is unable to read this law.

‡ Essay on Population, 236.

country, recourse must be had to other documents, of which the following appear to be the most important.

Sir William Petty, without mentioning the data from which his estimate was made, says,\* that in 1652 the number of people was 850,000

He then calculates from increase and new settlers, that it was in 1672 . . . . . 1,100,000  
 According to Mr. South, the computation 1695† . . . . . 1,034,100  
 By a poll tax, return in 1731‡ . . . . . 2,010,221

Anderson, in his Commercial Dictionary,§ states from the papers of Dr. Maule, bishop of Dromore, that the number was in 1733 . . . . . 2,000,000  
 Of these, 400,000 were Roman catholics, and 600,000 protestants. The author adds, that “ about the same time, there came out a printed list of the total of both religions in every county in Ireland; but for brevity’s sake, we shall content ourselves with the four great divisions called provinces, viz.—

	Protestant Families.	Popish Families.
“ In Ulster . . . . .	62,620 . . . . .	38,459 . . . . .
Leinster . . . . .	25,238 . . . . .	92,424 . . . . .
Munster . . . . .	13,337 . . . . .	106,407 . . . . .
Connaught . . . . .	4,299 . . . . .	44,133 . . . . .
	105,494	281,423

“ Which at five to each family in the country, and ten for Dublin, and seven for Cork city, makes 2,015,229 souls, very nearly corresponding with Bishop Maule’s account.

“ The printed account states the protestant families of Dublin to be . . . . .	8,823
Popish ones . . . . .	4,119
	12,942

“ Which at 10 to each family, makes the people of Dublin amount to . . . . . 129,420

Protestant Families in the City of Cork . . . . .	2599
Popish . . . . .	5,398
	7,997

Which allowing 7 to each family, gives for the number of the people of Cork — 55,976.”

This statement is most likely the result of the return made to the House of Lords

\* Tracts relating to Ireland, Dublin edit. p. 312.

† Abridgment of the Phil. Transactions, vol. iii. p. 665.

‡ Imposed by the seventh William iii. ch. 15.—Great doubt, however, is entertained of the accuracy of this return.

§ Vol. 1. p. 98.

in 1731 ; and although I was not able to find a complete copy of it, there are parts of it extant which are sufficient to shew that the above data are authentic.

According to a return made by the collectors of hearth money, the number of houses in the years specified, were as follows :

1754	- - -	395,439
1767	- - -	424,646
*1777	- - -	448,426
+1785	- - -	474,322
‡1788	- - -	621,484.

The papers in the transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, from which these numbers are extracted, were written by Mr. Bushe, First Commissioner of the Revenue, who has subjoined to his table a great many curious remarks which are worthy of attention. The houses of which he caused the population to be taken, gave  $6\frac{1}{2}$  souls each ; now if omitting the fraction, we allow only 6 to a house, the number of inhabitants, according to this mode of computation, must have amounted to 3,728,904.

By a similar return, obtained in 1791, under the direction of Mr. Wray, inspector of hearth money, it appears that the number of houses was 701,102 ;§ and reckoning 6 to a house as a medium, we shall have, for the whole number of inhabitants, 4,206,612.

Dr. Beaufort, in the Memoir of a Map of Ireland, published in 1792, gives the number of inhabitants to each county ; and comparing it with the number of acres, computes the density of population to be as expressed in the following table, which I have drawn up from the Doctor's results, but in a different form.

\* Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. 3. p. 144.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

§ Irish Journals.

## POPULATION.

Province.	County.	Baron.	Parish.	Acres.	Square Miles.	Houses.	Inhabitants.	Acres to a House.	Souls to a Sqr. Mile.
ULSTER.	Antrim	8	77	387,200	605	29,122	160,000	13. 3.	48.
	Armagh	5	20	181,450	283	21,983	120,000	8. and $\frac{1}{2}$	78.
	Cavan	7	30	301,000	470	16,314	81,570	18. 4.	34. 71.
	Donegal	5	42	679,550	1,061	23,521	140,000	28. 8.	22. 17.
	Down	8	60	348,550	544	36,636	204,500	9. 4.	67. 34.
	Fermanagh	8	18	283,450	448	11,969	71,800	19. 9.	32. 43.
	Londonderry	4	31	318,500	479	25,007	125,000	12. 7.	50. 3.
	Monaghan	5	19	179,600	280	21,523	118,000	8. 3.	76. 86.
	Tyrone	4	35	463,700	724	28,704	157,700	16. 1.	39. 64.
		54	332	3,143,100	4,894	214,779	1,175,570		

There are 214,800\* houses returned in this province, which is at the rate of 14.9. acres to a house, or 4.3. houses to a square mile.

LEINSTER	Carlow	5	50	137,050	214	8,763	44,000	15. 6.	40. 94.
	Dublin	6	87	1 42, 05	221	10,560	54,000	12. 91.	49. 86.†
	— City	—	20	—	—	14,327	144,000	—	—
	Kildare	10	113	236,750	369	11,205	56,000	21.	30. 36.
	Kilkenny	9	127	300,350	469	17,569	95,000	17.	37. 46.
	King's County	11	52	292,200	440	13,536	74,500	20. 8.	30. 76.
	Longford	6	23	134,150	209	10,026	50,100	13. 4.	47. 97.
	Louth	4	61	110,750	173	11,545	57,750	9. 6.	66. 73.
	Meath	12	147	327,900	512	22,468	112,400	14. 6.	43. 88.
	Queen's Count.	8	50	235,300	367	15,048	82,000	15. 6.	41.
	Wexford	8	142	342,900	535	21,040	115,000	16. 2.	39. 32.
	Westmeath	12	62	290,550	361	13,698	69,000	17.	37. 98.
	Wicklow	6	58	311,600	486	11,546	58,000	26. 9.	23. 75.
			97	992	2,792,550	4,356	181,526	1,011,750	

This province † comprises 181,948‡ houses, which is at the rate of 15.3. acres to a house, or 41.7. houses to a square mile.

CONNAUGHT.	Galway	16	116	989,950	1,546	28,212	142,000	35	18. 24.
	Leitrim	5	17	255,950	400	10,026	50,000	23. 2.	27. 48.
	Mayo	9	68	790,600	1,235	27,970	140,000	28. 2.	22. 64.
	Roscommon	6	56	346,650	541	17,137	86,000	20. 1.	31. 68.
	Sligo	6	39	247,150	386	11,509	60,000	21. 5.	29. 81.
		42	296	2,630,300	4,108	94,854	478,000		

This Province contains 95,821 houses, which is 27.4 acres to a house, and only 23.31 houses in a square mile.‡

MUNSTER.	Clare	9	79	476,200	744	17,396	96,000	27. 3.	23. 38.
	Cork	16	269	108,100	1638	76,739	416,000	43. 65.	46. 85.
	Kerry	8	83	647,650	1012	19,395	107,000	33. 4.	19. 16.
	Limerick	9	125	386,750	604	28,745	170,000	43. 4.	47. 59.
	Tipperary	10	186	554,950	867	30,703	169,000	18. 07.	35. 51.
	Waterford	7	74	262,800	410	18,796	110,000	13. 98.	45. 84.
		59	816	3,377,150	5,275	197,777	1,068,000		

This Province contains 184,546 houses, which numbers are 18.3. acres to a house, and 34.97 houses to a square mile.†

The four Provinces, added together, appear as follow :

ULSTER - - -	9	54	332	3,143,100	4,894	214,779	1,175,570	14. 9.	43.
LEINSTER - -	13	97	992	2,792,550	4,356	181,526	1,011,750	15. 3.	41. 7.
CONNAUGHT -	5	42	296	2,630,300	4,108	94,854	478,000	27. 4.	23. 31.
MUNSTER - -	6	59	816	3,377,150	5,275	191,777	1,068,000	18. 3.	34. 97.
	33	252	2436	11,943,100	18,633	682,936	3,733,320		

\* Beaufort's Memoir, p. 17.

† This is without including the City.

‡ Beaufort's Memoir, p. 390.

§ The difference between this addition and the one above it, arises from Dr. Beaufort's calculation in the houses in the county and city of Dublin: vide p. 44, of the Memoir.

|| Beaufort's Memoir, p. 67.

As Dr. Beaufort has omitted to enumerate the inhabitants of Tyrone, it is impossible to estimate the total number of inhabitants of the kingdom at the time he wrote. The sources of information from which he formed his data are unknown to me; but it appears, that his statement does not agree with the results given by Mr. Bushe, whose paper is founded on the official survey books of 1788, and was printed in July 1790. Mr. Wray did not make his return to the Irish House of Commons, until the 22d of March, 1792, and Dr. Beaufort's numbers differ also from those given in this document. The Doctor published his work in the same year, and it was, probably, in the press before the above return was made out; so that I have ventured to fill up the blank in Dr. Beaufort's numbers, from the last mentioned authority.

Dr. Beaufort says in a note, "by the last returns of the officers employed in collecting the hearth-money to the end of 1790, the number of houses in the several counties of Ireland, amounted to 677,094; but I am informed by Mr. Bushe, one of the commissioners of the revenue, who has paid particular attention to this subject, and who obligingly supplied me with these returns, that notwithstanding the successful exertions of the Board for some years past, in improving this branch of the revenue, by the suppression of false and incorrect returns; the deficiencies which yet remain, cannot be computed at less than 23,000."\*

I apprehend, therefore, that Dr. Beaufort's calculations were founded on a return of the year 1790, never officially printed; and this affords a strong testimony in favour of the general accuracy of Mr. Bushe's return in 1788, and of Mr. Wray's in 1792, since it was drawn up from an intermediate enumeration.

In 1805, Mr. Newenham published a *Statistical and Historical Inquiry into the Progress and Magnitude of the Population of Ireland*; a work worthy the attention of those desirous of examining this subject; but all his data bearing on the present state of it, are founded on Mr. Wray's paper, and he makes no mention of the ingenious calculations of Dr. Beaufort.

In the Appendix† to Mr. Newenham's second work, there are many valuable documents on population, but they relate only to that of the Roman catholic class of inhabitants, and are not accompanied with any statement of acres, which is important when considering this subject.

\* *Memoir of a Map of Ireland*, p. 14.

† Page 20 and 21.

RETURN of the HOUSES in IRELAND in the Year 1791, presented by THOMAS WRAY, Esq. Inspector-General of Hearth-money, 22d March, 1792.

Counties.	Houses paying for										Total.			
	One Hearth.	Two Hearths.	Three Hearths.	Four Hearths.	Five Hearths.	Six Hearths.	Seven Hearths.	Eight Hearths.	Nine Hearths.	Ten Hearths.		More than 10, and less than 44.	Taken from Abstract.	Exempted as
Ulster.	Antrim	22,353	1,959	592	292	166	114	58	55	25	20	2	New Paupers 895	30,314
	Armagh	18,794	784	217	105	75	31	28	21	15	8	33	3,746	22,900
	Cavan	13,928	571	122	68	34	36	15	13	7	6	19	2,268	18,139
	Donegal	15,395	1,225	282	97	55	24	14	7	5	6	30	2,763	24,976
	Down	31,147	1,974	462	235	148	89	42	34	13	25	67	1,118	38,351
	Fermanagh	8,713	415	76	53	28	35	5	4	2	2	30	2,388	11,983
	Londonderry	8,638	659	148	45	79	65	32	17	9	9	30	3,609	22,836
	Monaghan	16,742	599	175	70	39	26	22	16	3	3	15	471	21,666
	Tyrone	23,246	1,459	351	148	72	61	26	9	12	8	23	876	31,814
														5,422
Leinster.	Carlow	5,503	484	128	69	50	31	15	8	7	3	9	268	8,294
	Dublin	7,693	2,016	1,993	1,571	1,252	1,980	2,123	1,930	1,225	834	6	673	25,108
	Kildare	6,645	662	147	191	86	58	28	25	21	17	3	457	10,605
	Kilkenny	13,212	833	228	126	56	61	29	24	17	10	22	288	17,719
	King's County	10,445	897	225	133	101	56	41	26	14	18	34	599	14,961
	Longford	6,662	349	78	40	38	19	12	7	5	5	13	327	10,348
	Louth	9,239	487	165	105	83	65	56	15	15	20	36	461	12,827
	Meath	17,215	1,064	238	132	104	68	44	37	16	22	77	987	23,133
	Queen's County	11,161	824	215	115	74	52	25	20	10	16	32	482	15,685
	Westmeath	10,068	633	161	103	57	37	32	33	13	10	51	322	13,951
Wexford	14,828	1,331	307	192	95	32	63	35	22	22	38	560	21,011	
Wicklow	7,518	725	173	105	55	32	22	14	8	11	36	378	11,507	
													2,429	185,232 Leinster.
Munster.	Clare	12,502	508	116	99	48	50	22	17	14	14	30	621	18,060
	Cork	56,422	3,896	1,225	1,225	811	625	381	280	107	68	117	2,344	76,739
	Kerry	15,051	650	97	97	53	41	13	8	2	8	1	614	20,213
	Limerick	21,489	1,177	223	223	155	123	87	65	43	26	49	1,139	28,932
	Tipperary	23,554	1,579	243	243	143	98	62	52	20	14	46	789	30,793
Waterford	13,590	942	214	214	137	146	107	59	33	33	58	466	16,796	
													2,690	193,525 Munster.
Connaught.	Galway	11,725	725	274	122	76	60	37	26	13	12	36	967	24,268
	Leitrim	8,093	257	51	31	24	8	5	3	2	4	5	851	13,278
	Mayo	19,187	656	143	75	47	31	13	19	8	10	19	1,121	29,683
	Roscommon	12,126	329	129	91	43	36	24	10	7	6	19	618	18,157
	Sligo	11,006	558	139	69	52	26	15	7	6	4	5	666	14,962
													4,744	99,448 Connaught.
														701,102 Houses.

AN ACCOUNT of the Number of Houses paying Hearth-money, and the Number of Houses exempted in 1791.

ESTIMATE of the Value of the Holdings of Persons paying Duty for the Hearth only, grounded on various Returns of Holdings, situated in the several Counties of Ireland. By THOMAS WRAY, Esq. Inspector-General of Hearth-money.

Houses.	Number of Hearths.	Duty thereon.
		£. s. d.
483,990	1	48,399 0 0
31,433	2	6,826 12 0
9,466	3	2,839 12 0
6,401	4	2,560 8 0
4,355	5	2,177 10 0
4,235	6	2,541 0 0
3,498	7	2,448 12 0
2,867	8	2,293 12 0
1,738	9	1,564 4 0
1,265	10	1,265 0 0
628	11	960 16 0
443	12	531 12 0
265	13	344 10 0
226	14	316 8 0
160	15	240 0 0
136	16	217 12 0
88	17	149 12 0
68	18	122 8 0
37	19	70 6 0
58	20	116 0 0
36	21	75 12 0
43	22	94 12 0
22	23	50 12 0
28	24	67 4 0
28	25	70 0 0
16	26	46 16 0
9	27	24 6 0
15	28	42 0 0
4	29	11 12 0
18	30	48 0 0
3	31	9 6 0
5	32	16 0 0
12	33	39 12 0
4	34	13 12 0
4	35	14 0 0
3	36	10 16 0
4	37	13 16 0
2	38	7 12 0
4	39	15 12 0
9	40	36 0 0
2	42	8 4 0
3	42	12 12 0
2	43	8 12 0
2	44	8 16 0
2	45	9 0 0
1	47	4 14 0
2	48	9 12 0
2	50	10 0 0
2	52	10 8 0
1	53	5 6 0
2	54	10 16 0
1	55	5 10 0
1	56	5 12 0
1	62	6 4 0
1	63	6 6 0
1	67	6 14 0
1	71	7 2 0
2	114	22 16 0

Value of Holdings.	Number of Hearths.
£.	
1 and under	7,061
2 do.	50,723
3 do.	62,885
4 do.	59,995
5 do.	58,568
6 do.	46,485
7 do.	25,817
8 do.	27,530
9 do.	10,815
10 do.	41,115
20 do.	62,502
30 do.	14,029
40 do.	7,585
50 do.	3,859
Upwards of £50.	5,010
	483,990

Commons' Journals, 1793. Appendix, p. 333.

A Division of the Householders of Ireland, residing in single hearth-houses; copied from No. 1. of the Papers presented by Mr. Wray to the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of the Duties of Hearth-money.

FIRST CLASS—Farmers holding from 40 acres of arable ground and upwards, and feeders and rearers of cattle, holding large tracts of rough ground or mountain, &c. in circumstances with respect to self-comfort and independence, equal to any man.

SECOND CLASS—Farmers holding from 10 to 40 acres of ground, mostly in tillage, many of them manufacturers; also dairy-keepers, who have no permanent holdings, but as convenience best suits, take a residence, and the milk of 10, 15, 20, 30 or more cows. This class all in comfortable circumstances.

THIRD CLASS—Labouring farmers, 5, 10, 20, or upwards, in partnership, holding in common from 40 acres of ground up to hundreds, mostly under tillage, generally articulated to give a portion of labour to their landlords; when that and the labour of their farms will permit, they are carriers of flour, butter, merchant goods, &c.; also manufacturers, tradesmen, and dealers; also stewards and tradesmen, bound to gentlemen. The holdings of this class may be rated at a yearly value of from 6l. to 10l. or upwards, and are all able to bear the tax of 2s. annually.

FOURTH CLASS—Tradesmen, small dealers, and unbound labourers. Their holdings in town from 1l. 10s. to 4l. value: in the country, where they have as much land as may give them an adequate supply of potatoes, from 4l. to 6l.

FIFTH CLASS—Cotters, tradesmen, or bound labourers, holding their houses and gardens at will, with an acre of ground for potatoes, the whole of the value of about 4l. or 4 guineas a year. Many of this class are exempted from the tax under the present regulations.

SIXTH CLASS—Persons disabled by accident, sickness, debility of limbs, old age, &c. from earning subsistence; also widows old and without help, or with a young and burdensome family. This class are totally exempt from the tax, as it is now collected.

Extract from the Declaration of Mr. Wray:—"I was appointed to the office of Inspector-general of Hearth-money, in the year 1787; and, under the direction of Mr. Commissioner Bushe, visited every walk in every part of the kingdom. I had it in direct and positive charge from Mr. Bushe, to make it a particular object in the pursuit of my duty to attain a knowledge of the situation of the poorer orders inhabiting single hearth-houses." Conn. Journ. Vol. XV. App. p. 337, &c.

Mr. Wray declared to Mr. Newenham, in the year 1804, that there was no truth of which he was more convinced, than that not more than one-half of the exempted houses were returned.

15,052 taken from abstract.  
21,866 exempted as new.  
112,556 exempted as paupers.  
Total 701,102.

The above returns, which were made nearly twenty years ago, are the only official documents from which any data can be obtained for calculating the present population of Ireland. Notwithstanding this deficiency of correct information, it is the received opinion, that during the above period, the number of people has increased; and this important fact is confirmed by all my memorandums, amounting to not less than two hundred; from this remark the town of Ennis in Clare must however be excepted.

It is generally believed, that the leaders of the rebellion had returns of this nature, and that they formed from them some calculations on the right of election, which were to serve as the ground-work for the establishment of a future government. It even appears that they proceeded so far as to set down the places which were to be represented, and the number of members to be elected for each, a list of which, as a curiosity, I shall here subjoin, and which was taken from their own manifesto, in the 28th section of which it is said:

“The number of representatives being arbitrary, the provisional government have adopted that of the late House of Commons (three hundred), and, according to the best return of the population of the cities and counties, the following numbers are to be returned for each:”

Antrim . . . . .	13	Dublin city . . . . .	14	Mayo . . . . .	12
Armagh . . . . .	9	Fermanagh . . . . .	5	Meath . . . . .	9
Belfast . . . . .	1	Galway . . . . .	10	Monaghan . . . . .	9
Carlow . . . . .	3	Kerry . . . . .	9	Queen's County . . . . .	6
Cavan . . . . .	7	Kildare . . . . .	4	Roscommon . . . . .	8
Clare . . . . .	8	Kilkenny . . . . .	7	Sligo . . . . .	6
Cork County, North . . . . .	14	King's County . . . . .	6	Tipperary . . . . .	13
Cork County, South . . . . .	14	Leitrim . . . . .	6	Tyrone . . . . .	14
Cork City . . . . .	6	Limerick . . . . .	10	Waterford . . . . .	6
Donegal . . . . .	10	Limerick City . . . . .	3	Waterford City . . . . .	2
Down . . . . .	16	Londonderry . . . . .	9	Westmeath . . . . .	5
Drogheda . . . . .	1	Longford . . . . .	4	Wexford . . . . .	9
Dublin County . . . . .	4	Louth . . . . .	4	Wicklow . . . . .	5

300

Among the causes which have produced increased population in Ireland, the minute division of land, for the purpose of making freeholders ought to be dwelt upon. Potatoes form the principal food of the people, which in consequence of their being raised at a small nominal expense encourage marriage, as the people consider a family secure of subsistence. The Roman catholic clergy also, being dependent on their parishioners, are anxious to increase population as the best means of enlarging their incomes, and for this reason promote an early union of the sexes. The middle and common classes are accustomed to make use of what they themselves produce, and to be contented with clothing of their own manufacture, seldom carrying the produce of their labour to market. People in this situation of life have a very erroneous idea of their duties as parents, when they set a value upon the labour of

their offspring from the earliest periods of infancy. Thus implanting in their tender minds, in place of independent and honourable industry, the low and grovelling passions of the slave, who, when he in turn becomes a parent, will delight in laying the like burden upon his own innocent children which he has been himself obliged to bear ; and to escape from which both sexes embrace the first opportunity of marrying, in order to free themselves from parental authority.

The linen manufacture of Ulster, according to the system on which it is at present carried on, is covering the whole country with a population who are supported by this branch of trade. This species of industry affords indeed a ready market for the labour of the people, but it augments their numbers, by promoting early marriages, and an increase of population, but an increase unattended with those circumstances which contribute to the prosperity of the state. M. Say says :

Whatever limits may be set to the multiplication of mankind, by the foresight of the laws and of individuals, the attraction which unites the sexes is so powerful, that the production of children always outstrips the means which every country affords of supplying their wants. It is a melancholy fact, but nevertheless true, that in all nations, and particularly in those which are populous, a part of the people perish every year for want.—*Traité d'Economie Politique, par J. B. Say. Paris, 1803, vol. i. p. 389.*

The Romans made regulations without end, to repair the loss of men occasioned by their continual and distant wars. The censors recommended marriages, and fecundity was rewarded by honours, This plan, however, was attended with little benefit. The difficulty is not how to produce children, but how to maintain them.—*Ibid. p. 392.*

It may, perhaps, be asked, Would you not people those parts of the country which can maintain population and which are at present uninhabited?—I answer, No.—This effect will be brought about with sufficient rapidity in the natural course of things, without any adventitious assistance. It is more desirable to see the land producing food of a superior kind, and the people well clothed and residing in commodious habitations, than that their number should be increased, without a proportional augmentation of those comforts which raise man from poverty and degradation. The statesman, who attentively considers the population of Ireland and the condition of its people, must be convinced, that they are already sufficiently numerous, and that his principal object should be the amelioration of their wretched existence. Malthus, in his *Essay on the Principles of Population*, and Lord Selkirk, in his *Account of Highland Emigration*, have rendered an essential service to humanity, by controverting the false ideas hitherto entertained of the value of numbers in a country; to which the writings of Dr. Wallace, notwithstanding the able and satisfactory reply of Mr. Hume, has helped to give currency.

The foregoing are the accounts of such returns as I have been able to procure, of the general population of Ireland; I shall proceed to lay before the reader the information I collected on the same subject, from communications by my friends, or from the county surveys, and other works, published either towards the end of the last or the beginning of the present century. Of the surveys, that of Kilkenny, by Mr. Tighe, appears on this head to be copious and correct. Those of Derry

and Down, by the Rev. Messrs. Sampson and Dubourdieu, furnish also some materials; but the other gentlemen who published surveys, either copy Dr. Beaufort's statements, or omit population altogether. This is a very great defect; and, I trust, that, should their works come to a second edition, they will not neglect to pay attention to a subject of so much importance. In the chapter on Religious Sects, I have given many facts connected with population, and inserted various returns as to the number of catholics in different parts of the country, which it is unnecessary again to repeat.

**ANTRIM.**—As the returns of persons liable to serve in the militia may, in the absence of better data, afford some help towards estimating the number of people in a particular district, I subjoin the following list of those liable in this county, which is of more importance, as it alludes to so late a period as the month of February, 1810. But to render it more useful, it will be necessary to state, that the exemptions are: "Such as labour under any infirmity likely to incapacitate them from serving as militia-men; peers of the realm, commissioned officers, officers or private men, who have already served four years in the militia; any member of a troop or company of yeomanry; members of the university, clergymen, licensed teachers of separate congregations, justices of the peace, constables or peace officers, articed clerks, apprentices, seamen or seafaring men, or any person doing duty in His Majesty's ordnance, or any poor man not worth £10. in goods and chattels, or who does not pay £5. yearly rent, and who has more than three children born in wedlock, living and under the age of fourteen years, or any person having served personally or by substitute in the militia."

Return of Men within the County of Antrim between the ages of 16 and 45 years, fit to serve in the Militia.

Baronies.	Number fit to serve.	Men required.	Observations.
Upper Belfast . . . . .	4,132	39	The true proportion being $38\frac{66}{107}$ one more was added by lot.
Lower ditto . . . . .	3,275	30	
Upper Massarene . . . . .	2,423	22	
Lower ditto . . . . .	700	7	
Upper Antrim . . . . .	1,267	12	
Lower ditto . . . . .	1,529	14	
Upper Toome . . . . .	1,990	18	
Lower ditto . . . . .	1,553	15	
Upper Glenarm . . . . .	724	7	
Lower ditto . . . . .	1,080	10	
Upper Dunluce . . . . .	1,474	14	
Lower ditto . . . . .	1,099	10	
Kilconay . . . . .	1,526	14	
Carey . . . . .	1,653	16	
Total . . . . .	24,435	228	Same remark as at Upper Belfast.

It is to be observed, that the first column contains only the number of names which stood on the lists *after* the appeals were heard, and when those who made legal objections had been heard and struck out.

The first column is to the second as 107 to 1. The exempted made  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the whole.

**BELFAST** is the principal town in Ulster, and it appears, by a return communicated to me, that the number of its inhabitants liable to serve in the militia amounts to 3,071, which is only one-eighth of the population of the town,\* as will be shewn hereafter. This, however, is a smaller proportion than is generally calculated, but it must be recollected that a great number of the inhabitants of this place belong to a yeomanry corps,† and that, being a sea-port, it contains many families of seafaring people, none of whom are included in the returns.‡

Upper Belfast Returns, in February 1810, of those liable to serve in the Militia.

Constablewicks.	Persons liable to serve.	Number after exemptions.	Men required.	
North Street North . . . . .	668	586	5	These five Constablewicks comprehend the whole Town of Belfast.
North Street South . . . . .	635	590	6	
Mills Street . . . . .	876	801	7	
Old Quay . . . . .	351	319	3	
Church Lane . . . . .	541	476	4	
Castle Norton . . . . .	349	343	3	Temple Patriek.
Lower Cave . . . . .	98	90	1	United to make the Ballot more equal.
Upper Falls . . . . .	128	124	3	
Lower Falls . . . . .	156	146		
Upper Malone . . . . .	105	37	2	
Lower Malone . . . . .	214	140		
Dunmurry . . . . .	99	84	2	Ditto.
Derryvalgu . . . . .	118	110		
Lambeg . . . . .	17	15		
Glen and Long Causeway . . . . .	287	271	3	
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>4,642</b>	<b>4,132</b>	<b>39</b>	
Returns of the Town of Belfast separated from the rest . . . . .	3,071	2,772	25	

By a hearth-money return in 1757, the number of inhabitants in Belfast was 8,549; since that period, there appears to have been a very great increase. For 25 years after, that is, in 1782, the number amounted to 13,105, and in 1791 to 18,320, as will be seen by the following list.

\* The Editor of Horneman's Travels remarks, p. 143, "That Mr. Morton Pitt, M. P. found by enumeration, in a parish in Dorsetshire, that one-fourth part of the community were capable of bearing arms."

Malthus, p. 146, says, "The proportion which the number of men of a military age bears to the whole population of any country, is generally estimated as 1 to 4."

Price, in his Observations on Civil Liberty, 5th edit. p. 95, remarks that "a quarter of the inhabitants of every country are fighting men."

† "In the upper half Barony of Belfast, in 1810, there were in 643; in the lower 263."

‡ "The number of vessels belonging to Belfast is 58, of which 28 are armed. The registered tonnage is 8,335 tons, and the number of seamen, according to information procured from the owners and masters of the vessels is 742.

"The number of small craft employed in the harbour is 21, and the number of men 44. Besides these, there are 25 men employed by the corporation for preserving and improving the port and harbour, for the purpose of supplying the shipping with ballast, and cleaning the harbour; also 17 pilots, who have licenses from, and are regulated by, the corporation.

Belfast Office, May 21, 1810.

WILLIAM GHICHESTER MACKENZIE, Deputy Ballast Master."

POPULATION IN ANTRIM.

POPULATION of BELFAST.

In 1782.

Number of Inhabitants, &c. in the town and suburbs of Belfast, as taken 1st January, 1782, by Mr. Robert Hyndman, then High Constable.

2,026 Houses, containing { 6,133 Males,  
6,972 Females.

In all, 13,105

There are also in town, 388 looms, mostly employed in the cambrick, lawn, and cotton branches; 13 stocking looms, 1 hair loom, 4 carding machines, and 25 spinning jennies for cotton, the number of the latter daily increasing: Out of the above, there are the following number of each trade, &c. viz.

Butchers	87
Bakers	40
Barbers	28
Coopers	163
Carpenters	68
Cabinet-makers	22
Chandlers	27
Hatters	18
Hosiers	7
Masons	48
Nailors	27
Painters	9
Ropers	20
Reedmakers	6
Shoemakers, two of them females	224
Sadlers	14
Sawyers	26
Smiths	78
Staymakers	6
Tailors	65
Tanners and Curriers	33
Weavers, one of them a female	389
Watchmakers	14
Wheelwrights	9
Sundry other trades	166

Tobacco Spinners, (giving employment to 152 children of both sexes) } 38

Publicans under license for spirits and strong beer, being one to every 16th house } 119

By the above it appears the town and suburbs are increased since 1st. January 1757, being 25 years, nearly one-half; the following being the then state of the same:

1779 Houses, containing { 7,993 Protestants,  
556 Roman Catholics.

8,549

There were at that period, 399 looms, and 1,800 people able to bear arms.

Increase in houses is . . . 247  
Ditto in Inhabitants . . . 4,556

1802 Mr. Murdock, Hearth-Money collector, returned 3,197 Houses 19,001 Inhabitants.  
1806 Mr. Arthur Thompson 3,514 22,095

In 1791.

Number of Inhabitants, &c. in the Town and Suburbs of Belfast, taken at Midsummer, 1791, by the same Person. 2,909 houses occupied.

198 ditto untenanted, chiefly new houses.

3,107 Containing 8,932 males,  
9,888 females.

In all . . . 18,320

There are 522 looms employed at cotton.  
129 ditto at cambric and linen.  
28 ditto at sail cloth.  
16 ditto at stockings.

695 looms in all.

There are 229 spinning jennies, from 25 to 100 threads, which draw 15,273 threads, or nearly 67 threads each, on an average.

Out of the above there is the following number of each trade, &c. viz.

Butchers	39
Bakers	67
Barbers	30
Coopers	115
Carpenters	169
Cabinet-makers	40
Chandlers	29
Hatters	38
Hosiers	16
Masons	68
Nailors (one female)	41
Painters	17
Ropers	35
Reedmakers	6
Shoemakers (two females)	312
Sadlers	22
Sawyers	37
Smiths	69
Staymakers	15
Tailors (one female)	100
Tanners and Curriers	45
Weavers (six females)	679
Watchmakers	22
Wheelwrights	6
Sundry other trades	220

Tobacco Spinners, giving employment to 20 children of both sexes, (decrease in 9 1/2 years, including children employed, 165; the consequence of impolitic revenue laws) } 5

Publicans under license for spirits and strong beer, being one to every 17th house: a great number of them persons who have trades } 167

By the above it appears, the town and suburbs are increased in less than ten years,

Houses . . . 1,081  
Inhabitants . . . 5,215

As BALLIMACARRET is only separated from the town of Belfast by the Long Bridge, the following view of its progressive improvement is given:

In 1781.		In 1791.	
Houses	96	Houses	279
Males	195	Males	596
Females	224	Females	612
	419		1,208

The foregoing document I consider of very great importance, as it shews a considerable increase in numbers, and affords a proof that the people are rapidly improving. There are not so many butchers and coopers, but tradesmen of almost every other description, which proves that the habits of the people are changed, and that they now consume that meat which before they used to export.

I shall now give Mr. Thompson's enumeration, and request the reader to compare it with that of Kilkenny; but for greater accuracy, it is necessary that I should describe the boundaries of the town. These extend to the third arch of the Long-bridge, on the county of Antrim side; to the Milewater-bridge on the Carrick-fergus road; to the porter's lodge on the road leading to the Old Park, and around by the pathway to the-back of the poor house, to Mussenden's hole on the lodge road; to Crawen's bridge on the Shank-hill road, to Reid and Cavart's cotton factory on the Fall's road; to George Bradbury's house on the Pound-fields road; to the Saltwater bridge on the Malone road, and to the houses on the bank at the north end of Cromac wooden bridge.

The houses inhabited within these limits are:

Houses, one story high . . . . .	808
— two ditto . . . . .	1,801
— three ditto . . . . .	869
— four ditto . . . . .	36
<b>Total of Houses inhabited . . . . .</b>	<b>3,515</b>

There are also 18 inhabited places called Cellars.—The Inhabitants in these Houses and Cellars are:

Males ten years old and upwards . . . . .	7,213
Females . . . . .	9,227
Male inhabitants under ten years of age . . . . .	3,011
Females . . . . .	2,644
<b>Total of inhabitants . . . . .</b>	<b>22,095</b>

New houses finished, and all, except sixteen, ready for tenants.

One story high . . . . .	2
Two ditto . . . . .	92
Three ditto . . . . .	69
Four ditto . . . . .	3
Five ditto . . . . .	3

Houses formerly inhabited but now untenanted.

One story high . . . . .	29
Two ditto . . . . .	97
Three ditto . . . . .	27
Four ditto . . . . .	10

198

Houses inhabited as above . . . . .	3,514
— finished . . . . .	134
— uninhabited . . . . .	198
<b>Total number of houses . . . . .</b>	<b>3,846</b>

## POPULATION IN ANTRIM.

The total number of looms for weaving linen, sail cloth, and sacking, are as follows :

Linen looms . . . . .	629
Sail canvass . . . . .	4
Sacking . . . . .	35
In a new manufacture called Windsor woollen, under the direction of Mr. H. Barclay . . . . .	5
Total of the looms employed . . . . .	673
Looms unemployed . . . . .	45

Taking the number employed on the above looms, the cotton trade furnishes occupation to 2,100 inhabitants of this town; it is worthy of remark, that forty-five years ago the whole of the looms employed here were in the linen manufacture, except a few that wrought blue and white check handkerchiefs, and four diaper looms in the employment of the late William Hawes, esq. of Belfast.

Thirty-five of these looms are wrought by females who seem to be perfectly at their ease, and drive the fly shuttle with great dexterity.

In 1809, Mr. Cascey, supervisor of hearth money, reported that there were in Belfast 5,000 houses and 30,000 inhabitants; but it is evident that this is merely conjecture, and, therefore, is entitled to less confidence than the results founded on the authentic documents which I have given.

Dr. M'Donnel, in 1810, stated to me in a letter, that the inhabitants had increased between 1806 and 1810 from 22,095 to 22,500; that the number was daily increasing, and that there was great inconvenience for want of dwelling houses of almost every description.

*Lisburn*, in the year 1776, contained 4,378 inhabitants, and I have been informed, that at present there are in the town 5,000, and about the same number in the country parts of the parish.

In 1808, the Rev. Edward Cupples took the number of the people in the parish of Glenary, and found 2,547 males and 2,642 females, making a total of 5,189. The number of acres in the parish is 15,300, which gives 5½ to a house.

Dr. M'Donnel has furnished me with the return of a parish called the "Island of Magee," situated eleven miles north of Belfast, on the road to Larne; but it is necessary to observe, that the tenures being leasehold, its population has not been increased by making freeholders.

The number of acres in the parish is . . . . .	3,033
———— tenants (lessees) . . . . .	225
———— families . . . . .	200
Tenants and families included . . . . .	1,055

Servants, 69. Cotters, 145. Acres to each family 15½, about ¼ of population, 1,269.

This parish contains no heath, and has very little extent of pasturage, but it is exceedingly fertile in corn: it is held on a terminable lease by Lord Dungannon under the Marquis of Donegal, to whom he pays for it £200. per annum. The lease is for 99 years from the year 1769. There is no map of it. A tradition exists of a very extraordinary massacre committed here, in which the whole Roman

catholic people were exterminated, by throwing them into the sea over a frightful precipice 400 or 500 feet perpendicular height. This account is supported by the fact that there is no person of the name of Magee on the island; that there is no Roman Catholic in it; and that until of late no person of that persuasion was allowed there to become a servant. In the deed by which Mr. Ker holds his estate, contiguous to this island, there is a clause, that he shall not let any farm to a Roman catholic tenant. This clause must be illegal, yet it shews the unrelenting temper of the oppressor towards those he injured.

*Mullabrack* parish contains 21,000 acres and 14,000 inhabitants. The population here is increasing.

*Ballinderry* parish contains 9,100 and between 4,000 and 5,000 inhabitants.

*Ballintoy* parish in the diocese of Connor, county of Antrim.—I have been favoured with an account, which I shall subjoin, of the population of this parish, taken at three different periods, together with a few particulars respecting the condition and employment of the people. To some readers this document may appear uninteresting; but as it relates to an extensive parish, containing 7,664 Irish acres, situated in the heart of the linen manufacture, I consider it of importance to those who turn their attention to such subjects. It was drawn up by the Rev. Mr. Trail.

Years.	Heads of Families.	Children.	Servants.	Total.	Acres.
1793	976	1,481	56	2,513	
1802	1,392	1,992		3,384	
1803	1,508	2,085		3,593	7,664

The proportion of children to the heads of families is very small. It is extraordinary that Mr. Trail should have omitted the number of houses. The following lists, taken in 1803, will give some idea of the condition and habits of the people :

S T O C K, &c.			
Bee-hives - - 31	Sheep - - - 1,211	Crow-irons - 61	Reels - - - 664
Calves - - - 493	Swine - - - 495	Fir-hatchets - 34	Sledges - - - 31
Cows - - - 1,412	Turkeys - - 96	Harrows - - - 397	Spinking wheels 1,182
Dogs - - - 367	Boats - - - 31	Lime-kilns - 40	Warping stakes 23
Foals - - - 8	Cars - - - 426	Barrels of Lime,	Warping mills 1
Geese - - - 300	Clocks - - 14	3 bus. to bar. 1,334	Watches - - 91
Goats - - - 5	Corn-kilns - 43	Looms - - - 166	
Horses - - - 622	Bushels of Corn 1,306	Ploughs - - 198	

TRADES, OCCUPATIONS, &c.			
Barber - - - - 1	Gardeners - - - 2	Rabbit catchers - 5	Truggers - - - 9
Blasters of stone - 5	Glaziers - - - 1	Reed-makers - - - 2	Thatchers - - - 5
Boat-builders - - 2	Hucksters - - - 17	Sailors - - - - 8	Weavers - - - - 288
Breeches-makers - 2	Letters of blood - 3	Salmon-fishers - 21	Wheel-wrights - 7
Butchers - - - - 6	Licensed to sell spirits 3	Schoolmasters - - 8	Yarn-buyers - - 3
Carpenters - - - 11	Mantuamakers - - 2	Sellers of linen - 1	Yeomen - - - - 118
Coopers - - - - 5	Masons - - - - 13	Servants, male - - 32	Bastards - - - - 49
Fiddlers or pipers - 4	Midwives - - - - 2	Ditto, female - - 60	Blind - - - - 10
Fish carriers - - 10	Mill-wrights - - 1	Shoemakers - - - 25	Dumb - - - - 3
Fishers - - - - 82	Millers - - - - 5	Slaters - - - - 1	Insane - - - - 9
Flax-dressers - - 3	Mowers - - - - 7	Smiths - - - - 17	Poor - - - - 33
Flax-scutchers - - 7	Quacks - - - - 2	Tailors - - - - 20	

CAVAN.—I was informed by Colonel Barry, that an account had been taken in 1797, of the houses in this county, and that they then amounted to 18,056. Also, that it appeared by the last return in 1803, made to Lord Farnham, the governor, that the number of persons liable to be balloted for the militia was 20,808.

CARLOW.—The following return of the town of the same name, was communicated to me by Mr. Jackson of Grainge, a village on the Queen's County side of the Barrow :

*Grainge.*

Slated houses in 1787	-	-	-	-	7
Slated chapel	-	-	-	-	1
Thatched houses	-	-	-	-	233

Population, including six protestant families, and estimating four to a house - 960

“ 1800. Being a year of scarcity, the poor of Grainge and Carlow were relieved by a subscription.

“ The inhabitants at that time consisted of 673 families, comprehending 2,439 persons, which give  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per house. The proportion of the poor of Grainge to those of Carlow, was 1 to  $4\frac{1}{2}$ .

Slated houses in 1806	-	-	-	-	68
Slated chapel	-	-	-	-	1
Thatched houses	-	-	-	-	242

Population, including 17 protestant families, and reckoning 4 to a house - 1,240

*1806, Carlow.*

Horse barrack	-	-	-	-	1
Barrack for three companies of infantry	-	-	-	-	1
Slated houses	-	-	-	-	540
Thatched ditto	-	-	-	-	527

Population, containing five to a house, exclusive of military - 5,335

“ The houses in Grainge are mostly small ones, and those inhabited by the persons relieved in 1800 were cabins, the average population of which was  $3\frac{1}{2}$  to a house.

“ The houses in Carlow being much larger and roomy, and having lodgers and servants, ought to

be rated considerably higher; but as all the small houses and cabins are included in this statement, I consider five to a house as a fair average." This account is dated June 22, 1809.

Carlow, inhabitants	-	-	-	-	5,335
Grainge, ditto	-	-	-	-	1,240
					Total - 6,575

**CORK.**—This county contains the second city in Ireland, but it is built in so straggling a manner that it would be difficult to estimate the quantity of ground which it covers. I have been frequently told that the trade of this city was declining; but I saw new houses building, and observed few of the old ones empty.

Mr. Newenham, in his view of Ireland,\* gives the following account of the population as a part of it in 1807 :

Houses 2,794	}	Roman catholics . . .	18,755
		Protestants . . .	5,169
		Total . . .	23,924, which averages $7\frac{6}{7}$ to house.

The population of the subjoined parishes is taken from the same authority.†

The *Union of Duruss and Kilcrochane*. Two-thirds of the land are arable and pasture, and the remaining third is waste. The births here are to the deaths as four to one.

The *Union of Owens* contains:

Houses inhabited by protestants	-	-	-	15
Ditto by Roman catholics	-	-	-	656
				Total - 671

*Union of Bandon* contains 25,640 acres:

Houses inhabited by protestants	-	-	-	511
Ditto by Roman catholics	-	-	-	2,305
				Total - 2,816

The *Parish of Cahiragh* contains 12,000 acres:

Houses occupied by protestants	-	-	-	6
Ditto by Roman catholics	-	-	-	650
				Total - 656

*Bantry* contains 2,300 acres:

Roman catholics	-	-	-	-	1,407
Protestants	-	-	-	-	112
					Total - 2,519

I was favoured by Mr. Newenham with some statements in regard to the Roman catholic population in this county, which will be found in the chapter on Religious Sects.

*Kinsale*, according to an actual survey made in 1807, contained 1,160 houses inhabited by 8,150 persons, which gives  $7\frac{1}{4}$  to a house.

**DUBLIN.**—Sir William Petty draws a comparison between the bills of mortality

\* Appendix, p. 22. No. 18.

† Ibid. p. 27. No. 19.

in Dublin and London, from the years 1668 to 1680,\* and makes the following remarks:

“ It is said that there are 84,000 houses or families in London, which is 81 times more than in Dublin, and yet the births and burials of London are but twelve times those of Dublin, which shews that the inhabitants of Dublin are more crowded and straightened in their houseing than those of London.”†

This writer makes the houses of Dublin in the two following years, to have been,

1671	-	-	-	3,890
1682	-	-	-	6,025

And he estimates the number of the people at	-	-	58,045
Dr. Ruty states them to have been in 1755	-	-	128,570.

Dr. Beaufort remarks, in 1792, that

“ In stating the population we must discriminate between the city and the country, taken together at the end of 1790; they comprehended 25,510 houses which gives an average of 5·5 acres to a house, and 11,542 houses to every square mile; but if we suppose the city to cover about five square miles, or 3,200 acres, and to avoid fractions, deduct 3,050 acres from the gross content of the county, and if we reckon 10,760 houses in the county, the number of houses in the county of Dublin, exclusive of the city in 1778, was 10,759, and in the city 14,327; and notwithstanding the prodigious increase of building in the last three years, it may be thought too great an augmentation to state them now at 16,000 inhabited houses, which at nine to a house, will contain 144,000 souls, which may contain about 54,000 souls; the average will be 12,91 acres to a house, and 49·86 houses to a square mile, a population which is rather thin for the district that surrounds the capital, being inferior to five of the more northern counties.”‡

When Dr. Beaufort confines himself to calculations on the data furnished by Mr. Wray's return, he will be found to be correct; but the ablest men, when they indulge in conjecture upon such subjects are liable to error, and this is the case with the Doctor when he supposes the city of Dublin to cover “ 3,200 acres.”

In 1792, the indefatigable Whitelaw published what I conceive to be a correct statement of the population of Dublin, accompanied with remarks, which in my opinion are highly worthy the notice of all those who interest themselves about Ireland. His general table I have subjoined, but for the observations I must refer the reader to the work itself.

\* Petty's Tracts on Ireland, p. 139.

† Ibid. p. 127.

‡ Memoir of a Map of Ireland.

POPULATION of DUBLIN in 1798, as divided into its Nineteen Parishes and Two Deaneries.

Index to Tables.	NAMES of PARISHES.	Upper and Middle Classes.			Servants of Ditto.			Lower Class.			Total Males.	Total Females.	Grand Total.	Number of Houses.		Average to a House.
		Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.				Inhabited.	Waste.	
I.	Parish of St. James	342	367	709	97	201	298	2,432	2,665	5,097	2,871	3,233	6,104	638	32	11.34
II.	St. Catherine	991	846	1,837	378	660	1,038	7,608	9,693	17,301	8,977	11,199	20,176	1,481	140	13.62
III.	St. Luke	150	148	298	32	75	107	2,846	3,990	6,836	3,028	4,213	7,241	454	41	15.95
IV.	St. Nicholas without the Walls	347	317	664	50	169	219	4,361	6,532	11,893	5,258	7,048	12,306	950	55	19.95
V.	St. Nicholas within the Walls	163	153	316	45	92	137	306	362	668	514	607	1,121	107	10	10.48
VI.	St. Andrew	585	513	1,098	156	302	458	1,612	2,043	2,699	2,353	2,836	5,191	415	53	18.5
VII.	St. Michael	194	108	302	10	50	60	1,064	1,243	2,307	1,198	1,401	2,599	163	20	15.94
VIII.	St. John	316	383	699	46	118	164	1,877	1,752	3,629	1,939	2,503	4,442	295	31	14.08
IX.	St. Werburgh	609	551	1,160	98	253	351	941	1,177	2,118	1,648	1,981	3,629	305	33	11.9
X.	Deanery of Christ-church	25	10	35	3	4	7	80	111	191	108	125	233	23	3	10.1
XI.	Parish of St. Bridget or St. Bride	1,287	1,445	2,732	195	580	775	2,054	2,448	4,502	3,536	4,473	8,009	744	27	10.76
XII.	St. Peter	2,283	3,017	5,300	1,217	2,048	3,265	3,990	4,108	7,498	6,890	9,173	15,063	1,513	116	10.61
XIII.	St. Anne	1,486	1,737	3,223	715	1,286	2,001	870	1,134	2,004	3,071	4,157	7,228	711	56	10.17
XIV.	St. Andrew	1,489	1,573	3,062	389	661	950	1,738	2,133	3,870	3,516	4,166	7,682	709	63	10.83
XV.	St. Mark	599	684	1,283	121	354	475	3,127	3,797	6,924	3,647	4,845	8,492	645	61	13.45
	Total Population on the South of the River Liffey	10,872	11,695	22,567	3,466	6,883	10,349	35,336	44,232	79,570	49,676	62,821	112,497	9,215	731	19.2
XVI.	Parish of St. Paul	781	1,002	1,783	186	444	630	3,321	4,170	7,491	4,288	5,616	9,904	1,050	116	9.43
XVII.	Parish of St. Michan	1,312	1,409	2,721	374	772	1,146	6,375	7,850	14,225	8,061	10,031	18,092	1,590	141	12.56
XVIII.	Parish of St. Mary	2,432	3,014	5,446	979	1,771	2,750	3,859	4,879	8,435	7,290	9,364	16,654	1,590	43	10.47
XIX.	Parish of St. Thomas	1,316	1,634	2,950	630	1,087	1,737	1,787	2,098	3,885	3,733	4,809	8,542	892	83	9.6
XX.	Parish of St. George	817	1,011	1,828	706	997	1,703	688	877	1,565	2,811	2,885	5,096	587	89	8.68
	Total Population on the North side of the Liffey	6,678	8,060	14,738	2,895	5,071	7,966	16,080	19,574	35,604	25,603	32,705	58,308	5,639	471	
	Spring Garden a Suburb beyond the circular Road, omitted in the Parishes of St. Thomas and St. George, taken from the Return of the Conservators in 1804												1,286	345	-	
	Total Population North of the Liffey												59,594	5,984	471	
	Total Population of Dublin in 1798												172,091	15,199	1,202	

## POPULATION IN DUBLIN.

In the year 1804, a new enumeration of the people of Dublin was made by the order of government, the results of which are given also by Mr. Whitelaw, together with the following remarks :\*

“ The district of Harolds-cross, with that of Sandymount and Black Rock, cannot with any propriety be considered as parts of Dublin. If, therefore, we deduct their population, the comparative statement of the surveys in 1798 and 1804 will stand thus :

	Houses.	Inhabitants.
Population, according to my Survey in 1798 - -	16,023	170,361
Ormond market not returned by me, taken from the Conservator's Survey 33		444
Spring Garden not returned by me, as lying beyond the circular road, but properly a part of Dublin, taken from ditto - -	345	1,286
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total population of 1798 - -	16,401	172,091
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Population, according to the Conservators, in 1804, supplying deficiencies as above - - - - -	16,234	172,042
Population of the district of Harolds-cross, with that of Sandymount and Black Rock, deducted as not being parts of Dublin -	589	4,143
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total population in 1804 - -	15,645	167,899
	<hr/>	<hr/>
The return of 1798, therefore, exceeds that of 1804 by -	756	4,192

“ Of the 16,023 houses returned by me in 1798, 14,821 were inhabited, and 1,202 waste, the exact position of every one of which is distinctly marked in the survey.

“ If to 16,400 houses which I state as existing in 1798, we add 401 houses, which appear from the returns in 1804, to have been built in the intermediate period in the parishes of St. Thomas and St. George, only the Conservators must have omitted 1,157 houses at least, which was probably waste.

“ In consequence of this increase of new houses it was unable, that the return of the Conservators for the districts on the north side of the Liffey, should exceed mine by 1,455 souls. A greater increase of population might, indeed, have been expected; but many of these 401 houses were probably untenanted in 1804, as they appear to have added only 2,474 souls to the parishes of St. Thomas and St. George, which gives an average of only 6·1 to a house.”

The space which this population covers will be seen in the following tables :

\* Whitelaw's Essay, p. 25.

DENSITY of POPULATION in DUBLIN, A. D. 1798.

NAMES of PARISHES, &c.	Number of Inhabitants	Area in English Acres.	Number of Inhabitants on an Acre.	HOUSES.		Average to an Inhabited House.
				Inhabitants.	Waste.	
St. Paul's - - - - -	9,904	A. R. P. 88 0 37	112.2	1,050	116	9.43
St. Michan's, including Ormond Market - - - - -	18,092	99 0 13	182.6	1,520	141	12.56
St. Mary's - - - - -	16,654	115 0 33	144.5	1,590	43	10.47
St. Thomas's - - - - -	8,562	98 0 37	87.1	892	82	9.6
St. George's - - - - -	5,096	53 3 21	96.4	587	89	8.68
Total occupied by building North of the Liffey }	58,308	457 2 21	128.5	5,639	471	10.35
<b>WASTE GROUND.</b>						
Oxmantown-Green, in St. Paul's Parish -		12 0 20		The Blue-Coat Hospital is on this Ground. The Lying-in-Hospital is on this Ground. The Area of Mountjoy and Rutland Squares are taken within the Railing.		
Rutland-Square, in St. Mary's - - -		9 0 0				
Mountjoy's-Square, in St. George's - - -		3 0 11				
Total Waste Ground North of the Liffey		24 0 31		The Suburb of Spring-Garden is not included, as I am ignorant of its Area.		
Total Area of Dublin North of the Liffey		478 3 12				

DENSITY of POPULATION in DUBLIN, A. D. 1798

NAMES of PARISHES, &c.	Number of Inhabitants	Area in English Acres.	Number of Inhabitants on an Acre.	HOUSES.		Average to an Inhabited House.
				Inhabited.	Waste.	
St. James's - - - - -	6,104	A. R. P. 59 1 36	102.5	538	32	11.34
St. Catherine's - - - - -	20,176	112 1 28	179.4	1,481	140	13.62
St. Luke's - - - - -	7,241	31 0 21	232.6	454	41	15.95
St. Nicholas, without the Walls	12,306	47 0 25	261.0	950	55	12.95
St. Nicholas Within - - - - -	1,121	5 0 32	215.0	107	10	10.48
St. Audeon's - - - - -	5,191	24 2 29	210.0	415	53	12.5
St. John's - - - - -	41,42	11 2 32	355.0	291	31	14.08
St. Werburgh's - - - - -	3,629	10 3 35	331.0	305	33	11.9
St. Bridget's or St. Bride's - - -	8,009	36 3 8	217.6	744	27	10.76
St. Peter's - - - - -	16,063	141 0 21	114.0	1,512	116	10.61
St. Anne's - - - - -	7,228	63 0 27	144.0	711	36	10.17
St. Andrew's - - - - -	7,682	42 2 30	179.8	709	63	10.83
St. Mark's - - - - -	8,692	59 0 31	146.6	446	61	13.45
Deanery of Christ Church - - - - -	233	1 1 2	184.4	23	2	10.1
St. Patrick - - - - -	2,081	9 3 35	208.7	162	11	12.84
Total occupied by buildings South of the River Liffey }	112,497	662 3 19	169.7	9,215	731	12.2

WASTE GROUND SOUTH of the RIVER LIFFEY.	Area in English Acres.		
	A.	R.	P.
Waste Ground in St. Audeon's Parish	3	0	19
In St. Catherine's—Canal Harbour, Stones, &c.	23	2	4
Tenter Fields	12	2	39
In St. Werburgh's Parish—St. Stephen's Green, within the wall, 17 a. Or. 2 p. Irish acres, including gravel walk	27	0	24
Ditto within the Ditch pasturable, 13 a. 1 r. 20 p.			
Merion-Square, within the railing,	12	2	21
In St. Mark's Parish—College-Park, Bowling-Green, &c.	25	1	33
In St. Anne's Parish, Leinster—House-Offices and Lawn,	7	3	36
In St. John's Parish—Old Custom-House and Quay	0	3	25
<b>Total Waste Ground south of the River Liffey</b>	<b>122</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>Total Area of Dublin south of the River Liffey</b>	<b>755</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>24</b>
<b>Total Area of Dublin occupied by Buildings</b>	<b>1,190</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Total Waste Ground in Dublin</b>	<b>146</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>36</b>
<b>Area of the Liffey, included in Dublin</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>36</b>
<b>Total Area of Dublin, including its waste ground and Liffey</b>	<b>1,264</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>36</b>

DOWN.—According to Mr. Dubourdieu the population of this county was, in 1751 and 1791, as follows:

In 1751	-	-	-	-	19,270 houses
In 1791, by a return of government	-				38,351 ditto

And allowing as this author does  $5\frac{1}{2}$  persons to each house, we shall have for the number of inhabitants in the former year 101,167; and in the latter 201,552.

The number returned as liable to be balloted for the militia was 33,382.

In one parish, that of *Annahill*, on enumerating the houses and people, he found on an average  $5\frac{1}{2}$  to a house. The number of the houses he does not mention, but he states that the latter amounted to 2,100, of whom 318 were liable to serve in the militia, being a proportion of  $6\frac{1}{2}$ ; and at this rate he estimates the population of the whole county at 220,447.\* It is to be regretted that Mr. Dubourdieu, when he stated this account of the parishioners of Annahill, did not at the same time give the number of houses and acres, without which it is impossible to form any idea of the proportion which the population of a country bears to its extent; an object, in my opinion, of the utmost importance, in considering national improvement.

*Bangor* parish. I was favoured with an account of the population of this parish by the Rev. Mr. Woods, a dissenting clergyman, who added to it the following remarks:

"In the returns of the *live* and *dead* stock of the county of Down, made in the year 1803-4, a great degree of accuracy, particularly of the dead stock, cannot be expected; for a report had been

\* Survey of Down, p. 243.

circulated among the people, that the survey was made for the purpose of taxation, and as each must be taxed in proportion to the chattel property he possesses, much of this property was, no doubt, concealed.

“ The subjoined estimate of the extent in acres, and of the population of the parish of Bangor, is the best I have been able to make ; and the density of population in this district may be taken as a pretty fair average of that of the county.

Bangor parish contains in acres	-	-	-	7,000
Inhabitants	-	-	-	6,530
Births annually	-	-	-	360

“ Of the annual deaths I am not able at present to give any accurate statement ; but an estimate may be formed of it from the proportion which death bears to births in other healthy districts.

“ Since these returns were made, the country has been rapidly improving in agriculture, and consequently the *dead stock* must now be greatly increased ; besides, I see no notice taken of flour-mills, ovens, &c.

“ It is generally believed, that many of the children of the lowest order of the people die for want of care, and this *may* hold good in *other* parts of the kingdom ; but with us the necessity of cleanliness, &c. in preserving health, is every day better known and better attended to ; indeed, we see no children more healthy and vigorous than those who are *least pampered*.”\*

The following Table, in regard to the small town of Portaferry, was drawn up by the Rev. Mr. Monewood. Each column contains a family, and it is curious, as it exhibits the age of every member ; a point of some importance in considering the rate of life.

\* Mr. Wood's remarks allude to some returns printed in this work.



**KERRY.**—The Dingle mountains in this county being dry and healthy, are very populous; but the district between Killarney and Bantry, although covered with mountains, is very thinly peopled.

Tralee and Killarney are the only large towns; the former contains 7,000, and the other 5,000 inhabitants.

**KILKENNY.**—In 1800, the houses here amounted to 17,212, and the people to 100,191.\*

The following information, respecting the population of this city was communicated to me by Mr. J. Robertson.

“The city of Kilkenny, including St. Canute, or Irish town, extends from north to south as far as there is any continuation of houses, about 1,500 yards from east to west; by John’s Bridge about 1,470 yards, and by Green’s Bridge 1,000, including between these extremities an irregular square space of about 1,852,500 square yards, or 235 acres one rood, plantation measure, of which about two-thirds are cultivated ground.

“It contains 2,870 inhabited houses, which may be divided into the following classes:

Three stories high and upwards	-	404,	at 8 persons to a house,	-	3,232
Two stories high	-	431	at 6 ditto	-	2,586
Cabins	-	2,035	at 4½ ditto	-	9,157
					14,975
Inhabitants	-				14,975

“Of these houses St. Canute contains:

Three stories high	-	-	-	26
Two ditto	-	-	-	80
Cabins	-	-	-	909

“In 1799, the houses in Kilkenny which paid hearth-money, were 404; in St. Canute 50.

“In 1800, in Kilkenny 368; in St. Canute 51.

“In the same year 355 paid window-tax in the former; and 46 in the latter.

“The population of the cabins was estimated from the number of persons in 306, taken in different quarters of the city, which were found to contain 1,409, or about 4½ each. Houses of two stories, with the allowance of one servant to each, and lodgers to some, are supposed to contain 6 persons each; those three stories high and upwards to have each 8 inhabitants.

“The number of houses was counted very accurately, as far as there was any continuation of them from the body of the town.

“The number of houses in 1788 was 2,689; since that time they have increased 181.

“In 1689 Kilkenny is said to have contained only 507 houses, but, perhaps, the return was not accurate, as it was made for the purpose of taxation, and in 1777 the number was 2274.”

**LEITRIM.**—Dr. M’Parlan, speaking of the population of this county, says, “I have been as accurate as possible, having taken the number of families in each

\* Survey of Kilkenny, p. 461, 462.

parish from the books of each individual parish clergyman, and multiplied each family by five, which gives as the total of the inhabitants 76,630.\*\*

LONGFORD.—Edgeworthstown, Oct. 4, 1808. There are four parishes in the barony of Granard, the population of which is as follows:

	Protestants.	Roman Catholics.
Granard parish contains	790	6,821
Abbeylaragh	194	1,919
Ambooryney	699	3,000
Cullumhill	146	5,004
Total	1,829	16,744

This gives the average number of  $5\frac{1}{4}$  to a house.

LONDONDERRY.—“ The city of Londonderry, according to Mr. Bushe’s report in 1788, contained 1642 houses, at the rate of  $6\frac{1}{4}$  to each, making 10,262 inhabitants. According to Dr. Beaufort, it contains 10,000 souls.

“ In 1800, according to the returns which included all the houses that paid the window tax, and all that were excepted, it appeared that the whole amount was 1154; the window tax amounted to £1,200. According to the information of Dr. Patterson, the city, with its suburbs on each bank of the river, contains 1,458 houses; at the rate of  $7\frac{1}{4}$  persons to each house; the inhabitants, therefore, would amount to 10,935. This estimate the Doctor thinks accurate, without including the pupils boarded at various schools, the paupers in the poor-house, or the military. Reckoning these at 2,700, the whole number of people inhabiting the city and suburbs when garrisoned, would be 13,635. My friend John Mackay, Esq. of Prospect, in the parish of Ballyaghan on the sea-coast, took the pains to furnish me with an accurate statement of the population of that parish, and I am sorry to remark that it is too faithful a picture. ‘ There are,’ says Mr. Mackay, ‘ 1238 beings living, or rather existing, in dirt and filth, with bad fires, ragged clothes, and poor food. They are crowded upon each other in what are called towns, composed of miserable huts, which, with dwellings of every other kind in the parish, amount to 241, giving at the rate of nearly  $5\frac{1}{4}$  to each dwelling.’ †

*Aghanloo* parish contains 323 houses, and 1702 people.

*Londonderry*, Sept. 12, 1808. There was lately a great emigration from this county to America, but it has now ceased, and the mountains are much better peopled than formerly. New cabins are erecting, and the inhabitants are in a progressive state of increase.

*Coleraine* contains from 4,000 to 5,000 inhabitants.

*Londonderry*, Sept. 13, 1808. The bishop says, that the population of this city

\* Survey of Leitrim, p. 61, Dr. M’Parlan’s Surveys are found great fault with in Ireland; but he is the only author of a Survey, Mr. Tighe excepted, who has given a general result.

† Sampson’s Survey of Londonderry, p. 292.

POPULATION IN LOUTH, SLIGO, TYRONE, AND WATERFORD. 709

amounts to 11,000 persons, 1,600 of whom are protestants, 3,500 catholics, and the rest dissenters.

**LOUTH.**—The parish of Collon contains between 5,000 and 6,000 acres, 400 houses, and upwards of 2,000 inhabitants.

*Drogheda.* The Rev. Mr. Beaufort states the population of this town at 15,000, giving  $6\frac{1}{2}$  to a house.

The population of Drogheda; when the names of the inhabitants, during the rebellion, were affixed to the door-posts of every house, there appeared in the town an average of  $8\frac{1}{2}$ , and in the suburbs of  $5\frac{1}{2}$  persons to each house.

**SLIGO.**—In the town of this name, there are 1,150 houses, which cover 68 acres of ground. From these data I am led to estimate the population at 7,000.

**TYRONE.**—Mr. M'Evoy, in his Survey of this county,\* gives the population at 172,224, reckoning 6 to a house. From many surveys which he had taken in different parishes, he found that the average of persons to each house, exceeded six. It is singular that this gentleman, who was employed and paid by a public board, did not insert the names of the parishes, an enumeration of the houses, together with the number of the people, and the acres of land.

*Dungannon, Sept. 23, 1808.* Lord Northland says the inhabitants here amount to 4,000, and that the population is increasing.

**WATERFORD.**—In the year 1788, the city of this name contained 4,097 houses, and, according to Mr. Bushe's paper, averaged nine to a house. When I was there in 1808 and 1809, the computed population was 40,000; and if Mr. Bushe were correct, of which there can be little doubt, the number I have here stated must be rather below the truth.

At the last ballot for the city militia, the persons liable to serve was 3199, which is a very small proportion of a population of 40,000 persons.

Dr. Smith estimated the number of houses in 1745, to be 11,323.†

The following is the population of the Barony of Gualtier in this county, taken by Cornelius Bolton, Esq. in 1804:

Males above 60 years of age	-	-	120
Males between 15 and 60	-	-	1,846
Males under 15	-	-	1,264
			<hr/>
Total of Males	-		3,230
Females	-		3,417
			<hr/>

Whole population - 6,647 upon 15,093 plantation acres.

Parish of Faithleg, in 1804, contained 805 inhabitants; in 1811, 891, occupying 149 houses.

\* Page 142.

† Ancient and Present State of Waterford. Dublin, 2nd. edit. 1774, p. 14.

## POPULATION IN WEXFORD.

Of these there were :

Roman Catholics	-	-	-	6,282
Protestants	-	-	-	342
Quakers	-	-	-	28

The population of Waterford seems to be confined to the edges of the rivers Blackwater and Suir, and to the sea-coast, a little to the west of Tramore. Thence to Youghal, the town of Dungarvon, and the vale of rich land beyond it, are the only exceptions to a tract of uncultivated country, which contains very few inhabitants.

WEXFORD.—According to Mr. Fraser,\* the population of the city is as follows :

Parishes.	Houses.	Inhabitants.
Westward	126	1,134
Eastward	138	1,242
Northward	140	1,260
Southward	254	2,286
Total	658	5,922 within the walls.

" The parishes forming the suburbs are also as follows; the number of acres being taken from the lists of the barony constables, and the number of houses from the hearth-money collectors returned to government in the year 1800. The Rev. Mr. Elgee assured us, that the rate in these parishes might be taken at the same as those within the walls: viz. nine persons to each house. But that we might not exceed, we have taken the population at the same rate as country parishes; in order to determine which, we obtained an accurate enumeration of one parish, consisting of 89 families inhabiting 89 houses, which we found to amount to 269 males, and 291 females, or 560 persons, or 6-3 to a house. We have, however, taken it only at six to a house. Mr. Bushe takes the whole county of Wexford at the same rate of six to a house.

" Parishes in the suburbs of Wexford :

Parishes.	Houses.	Number of Acres.
St. John's	348	320
St. Michael's	404	160
St. Peter's	191	1,200
Total	943	1,680

\* Survey of Wexford, p. 73.

**POPULATION IN WEXFORD.**

**“ Country Parishes in the Barony of Forth :**

Parishes.	Houses.	Number of Acres.
Sharnkeen	25	480
Carnoe	89	910
Inland	83	1,100
Rosslare	59	1,000
Brennan and Killinic	39	740
	54	
Killscoran	87	1,295
Maghas	96	1,820
Kelrane	74	1,595
Jaccumption	51	1720
Rathmanee	75	960
Drinagh	128	1,980
Rathaspeck	67	1,205
Kildavan	75	1,220
Ballymore	53	1,860
	<u>1,005</u>	<u>17,395</u>
Parishes in the suburbs of Wexford	943	1,680
<b>Total</b>	<u>1,948</u>	<u>1,907½</u>

**“ Barony of Bargie :**

Parishes.	Houses.	Number of Acres.
Tomkaggard and Kelturk	67	2,200
	73	
Kilmore	140	1900
Mulrankin and Kilkoan	86	2,300
	53	
Bannow and Killag	131	3,740
	29	
Duncormick and Carrig	133	3,900
	70	
Ballyconnick and Kilmanan	72	2,850
	90	
Ambrosetown and Kilcavan	109	3,300
	89	
	<u>11,42</u>	<u>20,200</u>

“ From the above, it appears that the baronies of Forth and Bargie, exclusive of the town of Wexford within the walls, contain 89,875 acres, and 13,090 houses, which, at six to a house, will give 8,540 inhabitants; to which, if we add the population of Wexford within the walls, it will give 24,462 inhabitants in the two baronies, of which, 1740 families are wholly employed in the cultivation of the soil in such a manner, as not only to support themselves in great ease and comfort, but to produce a surplus forming a very considerable addition to the wealth and revenue of the kingdom.”

## GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON POPULATION.

Having shewn, from authentic documents, that the population of Ireland, in 1791, was, according to the most moderate calculation, 4,200,000, I shall not hazard a conjecture respecting its present number, although I am of opinion, that when the returns ordered by the act of this session (1811-1812) are printed, it will be found that a great increase has taken place.

Mr. Newenham lays considerable stress on the emigrations from Ireland to America, and gives a statement of the number who quitted the country in the years 1771, 1772, and 1773, making a total of 28,600, or an annual average of 9,533.\* That considerable emigrations may have taken place in some years, I do not mean to controvert, but they were not annual to such an amount; and from all the accounts I was able to collect, they have now almost ceased, as would appear from the following list. It must be noted that many go on board after the inspection of the custom-house officers, who, of course are not included in this return.

Passengers from Ireland to the United States of America, between the 5th of March, 1806, and the 1st of June, 1811, inclusive.

				Passengers.	
1806.	March	5th.	By the William Penn, for	New York,	20
	Ditto	19th.	George	New Bedford,	23
	April	14th.	Atlas	Wilmington,	43
	May	10th.	Sianey	New York,	36
	Ditto	15th.	Justian	Ditto,	39
	July	3d.	Charles Carter	Norfolk,	31
1807.	Feb.	5th.	Charles	New York	37
	April	17th.	William	Ditto	37
	Ditto	27th.	Two Marys	Perth Amboy	59
	May	22d.	Martha	Philadelphia	84
	Oct.	14th.	Union	Newport	8
	May	10th.	Elizabeth	Perth Amboy	79
1808.	Mar.	4th.	Hepsey		41
	April	12th.	Liverpool	Newberryport:	72
1809.	Sept.	10th.	John	New York	82
	Oct.	3d.	Edward and Charles	Ditto	44
1810.	June	8th.	Troy	Ditto	32
	July	24th.	Catherine	Baltimore	13
1811.	April	5th.	Mary Augusta	New York	66
	Ditto	8th.	Æolus	Ditto	89
	Ditto	26th.	Agmorla	Baltimore	43
	Ditto	29th.	Patty	Philadelphia	37
	May	18th.	Hepsa	New York	71
	Ditto	21st.	President	Ditto	89
	Ditto	10th.	Rising States	Philadelphia	69
	Ditto	21st.	Medford	Ditto	75
	June	1st.	Robert	New York	80

Iris, now taking in.

\* Inquiry into the Progress of Population in Ireland, p. 59.

As a proof that the general population of the country has not been reduced by emigration, I must notice, that Belfast, the capital of the county which has parted with more of its inhabitants than any other district of Ireland in this way, is the most flourishing town in the island. Great emigrations took place some years ago from the western highlands of Scotland, and so much alarm was thereby occasioned, that a society was formed in Glasgow, at the head of which was the late Mr. David Dale, to prevent the depopulation of the country;\* but Lord Selkirk, in his ingenious Essay, has demonstrated, that these emigrations were not attended with such bad consequences as is generally believed. Ustariz, in his work on the commerce and navigation of Spain, makes a similar remark relating to that country. An opinion having prevailed, that the depopulation and poverty of some of the provinces were occasioned by emigrations to South America, the author endeavours to shew that this has not been the case, and that these effects are to be ascribed to other causes. "Cantabria, Navarra, Asturias, the mountains of Burgos, and Galicia," says he, "are the districts from which the greatest numbers emigrate, and it is well known, that many more recruits are obtained in Galicia for the army, than in any other part of the kingdom; yet these places are, and continue to be, the most populous in Spain." But the provinces of Toledo, La Mancha, Guadalaxara, Cuenca, Soria, Segovia, Valladolid, and Salamanca, and some parts of the Castiles, were districts from which few people went to India, and yet they were the least populous in all Spain; a circumstance which Ustaritz ascribes to poverty, occasioned by the decline of manufactures and trade.† He remarks, also, that many of those who emigrated to South America, were younger sons, and persons who possessed no property, nor had they the means, were they inclined to marry, of maintaining their families in a decent manner; they would, consequently, have remained single; or if they had been so imprudent as to change their situation, they might have exposed their wives and offspring to the danger of perishing by want.‡

It has been said, that Ireland is the great *officina militum*, not only for England, but for other countries. The cheap rate at which children are reared there, has, I think, created a redundant population, and, under proper management, it might be rendered capable of producing an almost indefinite number of defenders to the empire; but I do not conceive, that the addition which it furnishes at present to

\* Sir John Sinclair's Stat. Account of Scotland, vol. x. p. 444.

† Theorica y Practica de Comercio y de Marina, in diferentes Discursos, y calificados Exemplos, que con especificas Providencias se procuran adaptar a la Monarchia Espanola para su prompter Restauracion, por Don Geronimo Ustariz, Cavallero del Order de Santiago. Madrid, 1757, fol. p. 21, 22.

‡ Se ha de advertir tambien, que los mismos que pasaron a Indias, siendo los mas de ellos segundos, y otros sin hacienda, ni modo decente de vivir, y destituidos de mantener familias, quizá no se huvieran casado en estos Reynos, aunque se huviesen quedado in ellos; y si lo huviesen hecho, se exponian a perecer de miseria con sus mugeres é hijos, p. 21.

§ Edinburgh Review, No. xxiv. p. 342.

the navy and army is so considerable as some have represented; and those who make a contrary assertion must produce well founded proofs before I shall change my opinion.

Lagerbring remarks, as already noticed, that Sweden, in the course of fifty years after the death of Charles XII., doubled the number of its inhabitants; and Mr. Newsham, from a combination of various returns, states, that we shall not exceed the truth, in taking 46 years, as the period in which the population of Ireland doubles.\* Some, therefore, are inclined to conclude, if no uncommon devastation takes place, that this country, before the close of the present century, will contain twenty millions of people. It is to be observed, however, that much will depend upon the quantity of food which it is capable of producing. That its produce can be greatly increased by proper cultivation, there can be no doubt; but I have no idea of an increase of numbers to such an amount, without diminishing the quantity of food required by each individual; by which much of the advantages of numbers would be lost in strength. But, although the possibility of such a population may be contemplated, I agree with a writer in the respectable journal before quoted, "that such a change would not be favourable to the happiness of mankind."†

Almost every family raises potatoes, their only food; and no price table which I could form would exhibit their real cost to the consumers. In England the value of articles of the first necessity were for a number of years considered as very useful data in examining various points in political economy; but this has never been the case in Ireland. Did the inhabitants purchase their potatoes, the prices would be of importance; but as this is not the case, to state their real cost is impossible.

A writer in the journal above quoted, says, the quantity of wheaten bread consumed by a family in seven days, is, on a moderate calculation, 8lb. 11 oz. each person, but a young and healthy labourer, will eat double that quantity. I have found, in other animals besides man, that the quantity of food consumed depends upon the manual labour performed; a thresher invariably eats more than when he is at any other work. All agricultural labourers know it. A working bullock consumes three times the weight of victuals which a fat one will. Among gentlemen's horses, you frequently hear of "a bad feeder:" ask an innkeeper, if he possesses such an animal.

The average daily consumption of each member of a potatoe-eating family, according to my notes, is 5½lbs. I am aware that much depends upon the season of the year, the soil in which the potatoes grew, and the manner in which they are dressed; but my

\* Inquiry into the Population of Ireland, p. 109.

† Edinburgh Review, ut supra, p. 844. I must beg such of my readers as are interested in the prosperity of Ireland, to consult this number of the above work, where the subject is ably discussed, by a writer who seems no stranger to the state of the country.

average, perhaps, may include these casualties, as it is founded on the answers to queries given by many persons, during nearly a two years' tour in most parts of Ireland.

Although my table of prices exhibits the most accurate account of the rate of labour ever yet collected, it will be readily perceived (where it is stated as applied to agriculture), how different a picture it presents to that which would be found in such a document, formed in a country where families purchase whatever they consume.

It has often been remarked, by writers on political economy, that no country can be powerful which is not populous; but it is equally certain, that no country can be powerful which is liable to the frequent recurrence of famine, or even to be weakened by years of scarcity.\* To promote population is an important object; but to promote the means of supporting that population, is of still higher moment. England has become, not only one of the most populous, but one of the most powerful nations of the earth, and this is owing to what may be called the luxurious habits of its people. The empire of China has acquired numbers, but it has failed in gaining a correspondent strength. The only means of rendering a country powerful, is to extend consumption; and this may be done by different methods. Where the inhabitants use a considerable quantity of animal food, there is a consumption which produces strength: but if the people were to consume the food which fattens the animal, their number, although it might increase, would be national weakness. In England we have not the experience of years of absolute famine, because when such a circumstance is likely to occur, mankind encroach upon the food generally consumed by other animals, but did the people rely on the food appropriated to cattle, they would, in years of scarcity, absolutely perish. Hence it happens, that the potato-eating people of Ireland are much weaker than the English; and yet their condition, as far as respects food, is superior to that of the people in some of the northern countries of Europe. Fabricius says, that the inhabitants of Norway are sometimes reduced to such distress, in consequence of the natural barrenness of their country and bad crops, that for food they are obliged to have recourse to the inner bark of the fir-tree, which they grind, and bake into bread, either alone or mixed with meal. It has a sweetish and astringent taste; is very unwholesome, and assists to shorten life.†

It is remarked by an ingenious medical writer, that there is no nation or people whatever, who live entirely upon either animal or vegetable food, but all use in some measure a mixture of both. The East-Indian brachmans, who are said to live on a vegetable diet, use milk, which is partly of an animal nature.‡ This observation is, no doubt, just; but a people who live on potatoes and milk, as in some parts of Ire-

\* Notwithstanding the advantage of numbers, and superior resources in war, the strength of a nation is derived from the character, not from the wealth and the multitude of the people. *Bergson on Civil Society*, part i. sect. ix. p. 101.

† Reise nach Norwegen. Hamburg, 1779. Vorrede, p. xxiii.

‡ Falconer's Remarks on the Influence of Climate, &c. London, 1784. 4to. p. 391.

land, and on oatmeal and milk, as in many parts of Scotland, receive very little of that which is of the nature of animal food.

Animal diet is more nutritious than vegetable, not only on account of its containing a greater quantity of the substance best calculated for the support of life, but that substance is more easily extracted. From those qualities it communicates greater strength to the body; and as from strength arises confidence, courage and resolution are naturally produced. Dr. Falconer, who makes this remark, states, as a proof of his assertion, that the people of cold climates are more courageous than those of warm, and this difference is owing, he says, in no inconsiderable degree, to the greater quantity of animal food they make use of.\* But it is to be observed that the Scots Highlanders seldom taste animal food, except in milk, and that the case is the same with many of the people in Ireland; yet, neither the Highland or Irish regiments have ever shewn themselves inferior in courage to their more southern neighbours, who feed upon beef and mutton. Strength and courage seem less to depend on each other than is generally supposed, for we often find the most extraordinary instances of bravery, in persons of a most delicate frame and weakly constitution.

Vegetable food, being less nutritive, is, consequently, less invigorating, and occasions a spare habit of body. This, perhaps, arises not only from its containing a smaller quantity of nourishment, but from the acidity, prevalent in all vegetable substances, having a tendency to check the disposition of the body to increase; vegetables, to produce the same effect as animal food, require to be taken in a greater proportion; and it is necessary that some stimulus should be added to them. Hence it appears, that a due mixture of both is best suited to the nature of man; and, indeed, that he was intended for a mixed diet, must be obvious to those who have considered his frame and constitution.

How far the potato, which is the principal food of the poorer classes in Ireland, conduces to health, might, perhaps, admit of some discussion. In Scotland, instances have occurred to excite doubts on this subject, but they are not sufficiently numerous to warrant us in deducing from them any certain conclusions.

The author of the Statistical account of the Parish of Keith, in the county of Banff, states, that "acidities in the stomach, flatulency in the bowels, and other symptoms of dyspepsia, were frequent complaints, and seemed to have increased among the lower orders who used no pepper, after potatoes had become such a common article of food."

In the parish of Contin, county of Ross, the people are distressed with fluxes, "occasioned by their feeding chiefly on potatoes: they are most subject to them in the latter end of spring, and beginning of summer, when the potatoes have a tendency to grow, and when the people have neither milk, meal, nor onion, to eat with them."†

\* Falconer's Remarks on the Influence of Climate, &c. p. 234.

† Sir John Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 161.

The minister of Craignish parish, in the county of Argyle, says, "some instances of a dropsy in the belly occur; and it is affirmed by the aged, upon whose experience and observation in this case we must rest, that this complaint is much more prevalent through the whole country, than it was fifty or sixty years ago, and that it is becoming more general. Supposing this to be a fact, it is not easy to account for it. The cause, however, which is commonly assigned, and which seems most obvious and plausible; is the immoderate use of the potato root. What quantity of wholesome nourishment this plant is naturally qualified to impart to the human frame, cannot be determined; but it is well known from experience, to need the assistance of animal food, or some other nourishing substance, in order to support the frame in any kind of vigour; and if without this it can be supposed to have any tendency to contaminate the animal juices, the above reason will appear more probable, because the poor live almost wholly on this root. Beef they cannot afford to eat, and they are almost equally strangers to mutton. Nay, for a considerable part of the year, while the potatoes abound, many of them do not taste bread."\*

This statement seems in part to be corroborated by the Rev. John Macfarlane, in his Statistical account of the Parishes of Killbrandon, and Killchattan, in the same county. "Dropsies," he says, "are likewise observed of late to be more frequent, particularly since potatoes have become the principal food of the lower classes of the people. And certainly, though this useful and wholesome root, contains no hurtful quality, yet change of diet must gradually affect and change the constitution. While many, therefore, whose food was more solid in the early period of life, and to whom this root was scarcely known, but now live by it three-fourths of the year, no wonder, though disorders should prevail, which were formerly less common. But the danger, if there be any, I apprehend, proceeds from the dressing and imprudent management, rather than from the quality; as the common productions of nature, evidently intended for food, are always the most wholesome, as well as the most useful."†

The minister of Forgan, in the county of Fife, remarks, "that the inhabitants have good crops of potatoes from the light and dry soil, which yield a salutary support, when they do not use them to excess. To this, however, they are strongly tempted, when the meal is high priced; on such occasions they feed on them *thrice a day*, by which their health is sometimes hurt."‡

An infectious fever prevailed in the parish of Banff about the year 1782, and unwholesome food, particularly an immoderate use of potatoes, which that year were of a bad kind, were among the secondary causes to which this disease was ascribed."§

In the parish of Alford, county of Aberdeen, "potatoes are not much used,

\* Sir J. Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 437.

† Ibid. vol. xiv. p. 160. ‡ Ibid. vol. vi. p. 92. § Ibid. vol. xx. p. 437.

though every person who rents land, plants a small quantity. The common people are not very fond of them, and they think them unwholesome; nor will farm servants make a meal of them, or even eat them without milk or butter so readily as in other parts of Scotland.”\*

The potato is, I believe, both wholesome and nutritive when used as part of our food, but this is not the question; the general assertion is, that it is so when the people live upon it entirely, and the only mode of ascertaining this, is to state a case by way of example—for instance; were ten men who live upon potatoes, to work against ten men fed upon beef, wheaten bread, and porter, what would be the result of such an experiment? The circumstance which has induced an erroneous opinion on this subject among the Irish gentry is evident; it is the activity of the poor, but this is no proof of the substantial nature of their food, or of their ability to perform hard labour. Mr. Wallace, an Irish writer, ascribes the idleness of the people entirely to habit. Has this gentleman never seen, that cattle, although they may have abundance of soft food, and may be very active, and apparently in high condition, are altogether unfit for that labour which requires continued exertion; can it be said that there is no analogy between these cattle and the Irish labourer, who has no other food than potatoes?

The French, who live much on vegetable diet, are an active and lively people; yet, it is well known, that they cannot go through the same hard labour as the English. By recurring to what I have said on labour, under the head of Agriculture, the reader will not find an instance of the work performed by an Irish labourer being in reality so cheap, as the same would have been done by an English one, at, perhaps, three times the wages. In my opinion this is a conclusive answer to the question. But then, says Mr. Young, “the Irish get a belly-full invariably,”† and this expression has been understood as if the author alluded comparatively to England. I am, however, inclined to think, that it is Mr. Young’s opinion, that the English labourers live much more comfortably than the same class of men in most other countries; for he says, “when you are engaged in this political tour, finish it by seeing England; and I will shew you a set of peasants well clothed, well nourished, tolerably drunken from superfluity, well lodged, and at their ease; and yet amongst them not one in a thousand has either land or cattle.—When you have reviewed all this, go back to your tribune, and preach if you please in favour of a minute division of landed property.”‡ The population of Ireland, and the division of land, have so much increased since Mr. Young was there, in the year 1779, that I am convinced he would now change his statement of that invariable “belly-full,” of which he then spoke.

There is a passage in his Tour in France,§ which is so applicable to the present state

\* Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 458. † Irish Tour. ‡ Tour in France, vol. i. p. 448.  
§ Tour in France, vol. i. p. 413.

of a great part of Ireland, that it deserves the most particular attention. The strong truths it conveys, appear to me to be highly important, and to illustrate, in no small degree, the principles of population as laid down by Mr. Malthus. I have seen the system to which it alludes practised in Ireland, where estates had been divided, and subdivided, until the countenances of their inhabitants exhibited a most complete picture of famine.

Still, however, many persons, not destitute of judgment, are advocates for an extended cultivation of the potato. If the principles on which they found their opinion be correct, why not boldly avow themselves friends to a system similar to that which now exists in China? But is that country in an enviable state of prosperity? It is, indeed, populous, and possesses riches; but considered in a political view, it is weak, and of very little importance. If it have remained free from foreign invasion, it is indebted for this advantage more to its situation, being surrounded on one side by the sea, and on the other by impassable deserts, than to the strength or energy of its people. Rice, the grain cultivated in China, being, like the potato, subject to great uncertainty in its produce, famine frequently takes place, and dangerous insurrections arise.\* The miserable condition of the inhabitants of that country has become almost proverbial. The mere existence of the people is not the object which the statesman ought to contemplate; but the maintenance of life, capable of laborious exertion: if I have taken the two extremes, the labourer nourished entirely with animal food, and him who lives entirely on potatoes; let it be remembered, that although the difference in the produce of labour would be most visible, when the cases are at the greatest points of distance, yet it would be perceptible in every degree of their approximation.

One of the principal causes of the miserable state of society in Ireland, arises from the manner in which the country is peopled. In the interior, there are no cities or large towns to give employment to the surplus hands. In England, one-eleventh part of the population is collected in the city of London; and if we take twenty of the largest towns in the kingdom, it will be found, that they contain an immense portion of the people, who, in consequence of their labour, consume the surplus produce of those who are occupied in the cultivation of the soil. There is, doubtless, great wretchedness among the poor, in crowded and manufacturing towns; but, however, these people may be situated, or of whatever quality their food, it

\* Du Halde says, that the mobs are very dangerous in China, especially when excited to mischief by famine; on one occasion they compelled the emperor to hang himself. *Du Halde's Hist. of China*, vol. i. p. 89, and 401.

According to Ammianus Marcellinus, a bad crop formerly in Egypt, was apt to produce revolutions in the government. Speaking of the Burgundians, he says, "Apud hos generali nomine rex appellatur Hendinos, et ritu veteri potestate deposita removetur, si sub eo fortuna titubaverit belli, vel segetum copiam negaverit terra: ut solent Egyptii casus quumodi suis assignare rectoribus." lib. xxviii. cap. 5. Bipont edit. vol. ii. p. 162.

is obtained by the produce of labour fairly brought to market: were this population divided, and distributed throughout the country in the same manner as the poorer orders in Ireland, no greater quantity of food would be created; and the whole industry of this part of the community, which was actively employed in the towns, would be lost in a general cessation from labour. The diligence of those originally occupied in the country, in raising a surplus to supply these citizens with food, would be checked, as they would no longer find a profitable market. I shall, perhaps, be told, that America is a country increasing in wealth and prosperity, by a general distribution of agricultural labours. There, as in Ireland, children cost little to bring them up, and when arrived at maturity, they are valuable; a widow, with a large family, is considered to bring a fortune with her rather than to throw a burden on her husband. The two countries, are not proper objects of comparison; the infantile state of the one, with its thinness of population, abundance of land, and few hands to till it, render it very different from Ireland, which has more than a sufficient number of people, and which, although under improved cultivation, is still capable of maintaining a much greater number; yet, upon many estates, the people are compressed within limits so narrow, that they must either move to some other place, or be absolutely starved. From what I have seen, I can entertain no doubt, that if two-thirds of the inhabitants of the country parts of Ireland were attracted to towns by a market for their labour; this change would be attended with the most beneficial consequences. Their labour would soon be accumulated into capital, which would speedily circulate throughout every part of Ireland, and serve as a stimulus to the industry of those left behind, who might continue to till the earth, and render it still more productive. Such a state of society would create more happiness to the inhabitants, and make them more valuable to the commonwealth. Were mankind, as in the days of Sir William Petty, to be taken as an item in the catalogue of the property of a country, the total amount would on this account be highly increased. In short, the difference between the two states of society, that which I have supposed, and that which really exists, appears to be so great, and the former so much preferable, that no friend to mankind can refrain from expressing a wish, that a speedy alteration may take place.

Mr. Harris says, "the leading principle of man is capable of infinite directions; is convertible to all sorts of purposes; equal to all sorts of subjects; neglected, remains ignorant and void of every perfection; cultivated, becomes adorned with sciences; and arts can raise us to excel, not only brutes, but our kind."\* This principle, however, which is susceptible of so much improvement, will be lost, when a people is widely distributed over a whole country, and the division of labour is

\* Treatise on Happiness, part i.

scarcely known. This is the system among all ranks in Ireland, from the most opulent squire to the cotter tenant; and its pernicious effects are manifest in the degraded state of society, and the want of encouragement to every species of ingenuity. Its nature is to approximate man to the state of the savage, where the insulated being is obliged to supply himself by his own labour, with every thing that his situation may require: yet, I have been told, "these people are happy, they have every thing within themselves." They may enjoy the bliss of insensibility, but they are many degrees removed from that exalted happiness which gives man his proper dignity, and which always prevails in a country where the arts and moral improvement keep an equal pace; with these also will be found, the more delicate and refined pleasures of the heart, and all those well directed feelings which heighten enjoyment, and render social intercourse the charm of existence. Sir James Steuart very justly says, "in a small family, well composed, and where every one is properly employed, both master and servants are much happier than in others vastly more numerous, where the same order and regularity is not kept up; and a small number of well disciplined soldiers is more formidable, and really stronger than the numerous populace of a large city. The use of inhabitants is to be mutually serviceable one to another, and to the society in general; consequently, every state should in good policy, first apply itself to make the inhabitants they have answer that purpose, before they carry their views towards augmenting their numbers. I think it is absurd to wish for new inhabitants, without first knowing how to employ the old; and it is ignorance of the real effects of population, to imagine that an increase of numbers, will infallibly remove inconveniencies which proceed from the abuses of that already existing."\*

Where the people have scarcely any market for the produce of their labour, or where they can supply themselves with the necessaries and comforts of life, each family will raise its own food, produce its own clothing, and satisfied with supplying its bare wants, will be careless of creating a desire for superfluity, or even of seeking those comforts that may be nearly within their reach. This it is, which degrades society in Ireland, for, "it is evident, that however urged by a sense of necessity, and a desire of convenience, or favoured by any advantages of situation and policy, a people can make no great progress in cultivating the arts of life, until they have separated and committed to different persons, the several tasks which require a peculiar skill and attention. The savage, or the barbarian, who must build and plant, and fabricate for himself, prefers in the interval of great alarms and fatigues, the enjoyment of sloth to the improvement of his fortune: he is, perhaps, by the

\* Inquiry into the Principles of Polit. Economy, Book i. chap. ii. vol. 1. edit. 4to. p. 60. The tenth chapter of this book which treats on separating the people with regard to their dwelling is well worth attention.

diversity of his wants, discouraged from industry ; or by his divided attention, prevented from acquiring skill in the management of any particular subject.”\*

Land, in the highlands of Scotland, but from a different cause, is portioned out in almost innumerable small pieces, which produces nearly the same consequences. Lord Selkirk, who was at much pains to inquire minutely into the situation of his native country, found the cotters in some places so crowded, that they were obliged, though too poor to provide themselves with any comforts for their voyage, to leave their country. In his interesting work on Highland Emigration, his lordship has shewn, in a very striking manner, the expense with which this kind of culture is attended.†

The idle consumers in the higher ranks of life in Ireland, are sufficiently numerous ; in some instances, they pay for the articles they require, in others, they are settled for by deductions. A large quantity of land, badly tilled, and reserved for the maintenance of a household of lazy domestics, is a bad application of resources, and the produce is wastefully consumed. But these persons are not at present the objects of my censure ; I allude most to the idle consumers among the manufacturing and agricultural peasants ; I have often seen four men with four miserable half-starved ponies, scratching, for it could not be called ploughing, a rood of land throughout a whole day. I mention this fact, because it is one of many similar, which every man who has travelled in Ireland must have observed. The valuable work of Mr. Malthus, who has illustrated the doctrine of Dr. Franklin, Sir James Steuart, and Mr. Arthur Young, but in particular the latter, in his English Tour of 1769, and his Political Arithmetic, it might be supposed, would have set this question for ever at rest. But as applied to Ireland, this has not been the case ; a gentleman of distinguished talents and superior information, who is exceeded by few in a general knowledge of Europe, has differed with Mr. Malthus on this subject. I allude to Mr. Ensor, in his work upon National Government ; and I have paid more attention to this circumstance, as I know Mr. Ensor's benevolence of heart, and that by his residence in the north of Ireland, he must be well acquainted with the habits of the people. No man I am persuaded, can be more anxiously desirous to relieve these families, from their miserable condition ; but as this would be an enterprise far beyond the power of the higher classes, did they all possess the same generous feelings as this gentleman, it becomes the more necessary to offer some reply to his observations. The error, it appears, lies in the principle, and, therefore, the evil can be removed neither by legislative provision, nor by the interference of the aristocracy of the country. Mr. Ensor, however, has discussed the subject with much acuteness and ingenuity ; his great aim is rather to defend the potatoe cultivated as

\* Ferguson's Essay on Civil Society, part iv. sect. 1. p. 301.

† Appendix, page 23. See also the same work, p. 59.

food, than the minute division of property: I ascribe, in a great measure, the extent to which this has been carried, to the exclusive attention paid to the cultivation of this root. In different countries the same effects may be produced by different causes; Lord Selkirk, has shewn, that this evil has arisen in the Highlands of Scotland from the remains of the feudal system; and although I will not venture to assert, that the general use of potatoes, as food, is in Ireland the only cause of these minute divisions of property, it has had no small share in producing them. However anxious a land-owner may be to create freeholders, potatoes supply food to the freeholder when he is made, and as Dr. Adam Smith foresaw, provide the rent for the landlord. Mr. Ensor denies that the Irish acquire their food in an easy manner, and he gives as a proof, the very high rent of their potato grounds. This is certainly the case, as an acreable rent, but when I admit this, it is comparatively; if the land be considered as the only means of sustaining a family, the rent, as it affects them, is low. It is, however, dear to the state, as the whole time of all the members of the family, is afterwards required to cultivate it in the way Mr. Ensor describes, that is, "by the spade,"\* and in this consists a great part of the evil attending minute divisions. In most instances these portions of land are too small to enable the cultivator to keep a plough, much less to procure the other implements necessary for tilling the earth to advantage; recourse is had to manual labour, and the very consumption of this potatoe-eating family, is produced by the most tedious and expensive means.

It is in the north only, that oatmeal, which is held in bins, called *arks*, is employed by the people as food. Mr. Ensor, in alluding to this article of food, applies a local custom to a general habit. Had he been with me in some parts of Munster and Connaught, he would have smelt the food of the peasantry in the potatoe kept in their cabins beyond the season. What then is their dernier resort? The husband goes to Leinster, or, perhaps, to England, to procure harvest-work, and the wife and children wander about for some weeks begging, until the new potatoe is fit for use.

There are those, I believe, who do not yet admit the correctness of one principle of Mr. Malthus respecting population; namely, that which he calls, the positive check, or in plainer language, when mankind have so far increased as to consume the whole produce of that portion of the earth to which they are confined, as life will not remain without sustenance, they must perish. I do not, make this remark as referring to Mr. Ensor, who does not find fault with this plain position, but only with the observation which Mr. Malthus has made as applicable to Ireland.

To those who are so ignorant as to be incapable of understanding a fact as certain as that the earth turns round on its own axis, it is needless to waste paper in an attempt to convince them; but there are many who, although they admit the position, yet speak of a relative check, in which number, I include Mr. Andrew Knight,

\* London edition, 1810, vol. i. from page 220, to 223.

† Vol. i. p. 214.

who has acquired a very just celebrity. The opinion of such a man, must always demand attention. In a conversation with him last spring at the board of agriculture, I found him an advocate for the potatoe. But to determine what this relative check may be, would require a tedious discussion. In Ireland there are places where the positive check has so nearly commenced, that the people must remove in order to preserve their existence. When at Londonderry, the bishop of that diocese pointed out to me, that emigration must be the consequence of the custom of sub-dividing small farms in Ireland. The families of the farmers, who are all co-partners, increase, intermarriages take place, each new family builds a cabin, the father divides his land, and the same system goes on until the numbers exceed the produce, when the active and enterprising part of these wretched people emigrate to America.

Mr. Newenham, in the Appendix to his View of Ireland,\* gives the following observation on the authority of the Rev. Dr. William O'Brien, parish priest of Cloghnakilty, in the county of Cork: "The population of this district is rapidly increasing, particularly in those parts which are most remote from the sea-coast. Within a few miles from the shore, cultivation has already reached that point of perfection, which appears to set improvement at defiance. The surplus of the growing population is disposed of either by emigration to England, the last resource of the wretched peasant, or by removal into the interior parts of the country." Here then we have two gentlemen of different religions, residing at opposite ends of the island, coinciding in the same opinion. Mr. Newenham says, "in some parts of Ireland, owing to the density of population, and to certain local practices, and other circumstances, which I need not stop to explain, the supernumerary labourers, or those whose services are only occasionally required by different persons, have, especially of late, found it extremely difficult to obtain, even at an exorbitant rent, a sufficient quantity of land for raising the requisite supply of potatoes for their families."†

In England, the *relative check* is the neat cottage, perhaps, the well-furnished one, the use of shoes and stockings, and superior clothing among the peasantry. Fortunately, the relative check forms the happiness of the people; were it otherwise, it would lose its quality; it would no longer retain its power of checking population. Mr. Ensor seems to think, that this relative check is produced by the cotter paying what the landlord considers an exorbitant rent; but it is plain, from the division and subdivision which daily take place around Mr. Ensor's residence, that this relative check has, in that neighbourhood, no effect, and that the evil there is likely to increase, and to become the positive one, by the failure of some future crop of potatoes. Of the probability of such an event, Mr. Ensor is aware; and it is from this probability, that I consider the present system to be pregnant with danger.

\* Page 31.

† Inquiry into the Population of Ireland, p. 15.

So lately as in 1807, there was a great failure in the crop; and in 1745, according to Dr. Smith, a similar deficiency occurred, by which the people, although they did not die in multitudes, were reduced to a state of distress almost beyond description; and deeply afflicting to the higher classes who beheld it.\*

This minute division of the soil, which were some other general article of food substituted for the potatoe, could not take place, habituates the people to rely upon a small patch of land for their subsistence; a partial failure of the crop produces a local famine; and by this circumstance, many intelligent men have been induced to form erroneous opinions on the subject. A failure of the crop took place in the Western Highlands of Scotland, as well as in the west of Ireland, in the year 1807; and in 1808, that Committee of the House of Commons, to which I have alluded in the Introduction to this work, proposed that the distilleries should be prevented from using corn. Considering it an axiom in political economy, that demand is always the parent of production, and being convinced that to increase corn at home is a desirable object, I stated to the committee the importance of not interfering with this market. I was not a little surprised to find that gentleman connected with the landed interest opposed this opinion, because the failure of the crops in Scotland and Ireland had only been partial. The Right Hon. Dennis Browne and Mr. James Daly, member for Galway town, stated that the people would starve for want of provisions. Mr. William Smith, member for Norwich, one of the ablest men in the House of Commons, and who is much connected with Scotland, expressed the same opinion. But Mark Lane is the best criterion of the cheapness or dearness of corn; when the price of transit is paid, it will be found to be the same in Scotland as in Ireland. When I examined the case more minutely, and saw letters from that part of Scotland, I found that the people were not only destitute of corn, but had no money to enable them to procure it from other places; and some benevolent clergymen had proposed to borrow money to purchase a few cargoes of corn. Being in Connaught soon after, and having inquired what had been the situation of that part of Ireland, I learned that the crop of potatoes had entirely failed, and that the people were obliged to remove in order to save themselves from perishing by want. They had no money to buy food; and, therefore, sought labour in distant parts, where they could earn a sufficiency for their support. These gentlemen, whose talents and good intentions cannot be questioned, were led into error by this partial evil which originated in a minute division of land; by considering it as a general scarcity, they were induced to support a bill for preventing distilleries from using the grain. But when the act passed, let us examine the result: did it produce the desired effect? Can it be believed that if an act of parliament could have reduced the price of wheat from 80s. to 40s. it would have done

\* Page 218 in a note.

any good? To relieve the people, it would have been necessary to send either corn, or money to buy it, to the west of Scotland and Ireland, and I consider this circumstance as affording a practical instance of the benefit of gaining money by labour, to purchase the means of subsistence. Even if we suppose that the scarcity was general, the high price to which provisions would have risen, must have created economy, the only safe-guard in the case of real famine.

Another material objection to which the whole potatoe system is, that the crop, as might naturally be expected, being exhausted in the year in which it is produced, there is no possibility that the deficiency of one year will be supplied by the superfluity of another. With corn the case is different; some of the preceding years' crop is always left, and on an approaching dearth, it is sparingly dealt out, before the allowance of the ensuing year is touched. Besides, where wheat is the general food, as it is sown in autumn, a deficiency may, in many cases, be foreseen, and thus an opportunity is afforded of applying a timely remedy, and making provision against the approaching evil, by planting potatoes in the spring. Hence, those who subsist upon wheat have a double resource, while those who live upon potatoes, risk every thing, as it were, on the success of a single crop.

The statements of those who favour the potatoe system, are deduced from calculating the comparative number of people who can be maintained by one acre of wheat, and one of potatoes; but this is, by no means, a just criterion for determining the question. The object of consideration is, not the number of people, but the surplus of people, after creating what they consume, together with labour expended in raising the potatoes. They are a crop which consumes the whole manure of the farm; and this is not the case with any kind of grain. Now, to place the comparison in a fair point of view, how many persons could be maintained by an acre of old ploughed land not manured and planted with potatoes, after feeding those necessary to cultivate and collect them? And how many could be nourished by wheat produced from the same quantity of land in a similar state? The determination of this question may be compared to that of trying the capability of two men to perform a given quantity of labour, the criterion of which is to be weight. Were lead put into the pocket of one, it would, in the scale, give him an apparent advantage; but in pursuing his labour, it would be an encumbrance. No one can deny, that the cultivation of potatoe land, although it does as much as the same extent sown with wheat, that is, feed the producers; yet if we look to numbers, which are like the weight in the case of the two labourers, the one sort of crop employs and maintains more people than the other.

One great drawback on potatoes, as food for the inhabitants of a country, is, that in no crop is there a greater difference, in good and bad years, as to the quantity produced. Two or three good years will create people, the redundancy of which population will be repressed by subsequent years of failure. But the evil is seldom

traced to its real origin; the check, for the moment, shews itself in disease, arising from bad nourishment, and the loss occasioned is ascribed to the disease, rather than to the cause by which it is produced. Every one who knows Ireland, is convinced that years of scarcity in that country are very frequent; and in the linen districts, I have often heard this assigned for the low price of that article—"The people must work this year, for provisions are dear," is a common observation among all classes;\* and these are the periods which put an end to the false part of the population, if I may be allowed the expression, raised by years of plenty. Were the seasons alternately good and bad, no evil of this sort, to a great extent, could occur; but these are circumstances over which man has no control; and the state of a country like Ireland, where the people rely for food on an article, subject in the crop to such variations as potatoes, requires the most serious consideration.

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## CHAPTER XXIX.

### CUSTOMS, MANNERS, AND HABITS—GENERAL STATE OF THE PEOPLE.

IN Ireland, could a scheme of society be exhibited, in the same manner as that of a lottery, the blanks, or places assigned to the poorer orders, would be more numerous than those of almost any lottery ever yet proposed.† The following docu-

\* This is contrary to the theory of Dr. Adam Smith, vol. i. p. 126, and of M. Messance, receiver of the taillies in the election of St. Etienne, "who endeavours to shew that the poor do more work in cheap than in dear years." *Smith's Wealth of Nations*, vol. i. p. 128.

Barrow, in his *Travels in China*, speaking of Ireland, calls the potatoe crop "a never-failing one," p. 156. In this remark he is contradicted by Mr. Ensor, a resident Irish gentleman, who derives his authority from actual observations. See *Ensor on National Government*, vol. i. p. 213.

Potatoes averaging for some years, at 2d. per stone, rising in scarce years to 1s. 6d. Wheat is subject to no such varieties. *Dubourdieu's Survey of Down*, p. 262. Potatoes have fluctuated in price seven times over in the course of six months.

† Mr. Gregory King exhibited such a scheme of society for England above a century ago, and in 1806 a similar one was published by Mr. Colquhoun. I might also draw up a scheme of the same kind for Ireland; but having no certain data to serve as a foundation, it would be as little to be depended upon as the prognostications of the weather in Moore's almanack. Mr. Colquhoun has filled up his table with the number of gentlemen, lawyers, merchants, farmers, &c., and placed against each class the exact amount of their incomes, and, in some cases, the capitals employed. From the tax office, no doubt, he procured the amount of tax derived from the aggregate incomes in England, and these several items make up the general result; but I must assert, that no one ought to publish such an account, without exhibiting in detail the information upon which it rests, that others may be enabled to judge of its accuracy. As it is, the work holds out a false light, which must deceive those who are not in the habit of close investigation. Mr. Colquhoun's works, in many respects, have been useful; but their utility is counterbalanced by the inaccuracy of the statements, although given as facts in authoritative language. But that I may not make so serious a charge without proofs, I shall instance two cases. In

ment will shew the houses in each district, subject to the window tax; and as they are classed according to the number of windows, much information may be collected from it, but it contains no account of houses of the commonest kind, on which no window tax is collected.

page 18, in the *Treatise on Indigence*, the author, in a note, says: "In Essex, Kent, Sussex, and some other counties, the rates advanced to 20s., 30s., and even in some cases to 40s. in the pound, on the rack rent, during the scarcity in 1801."—Every person who reads this would be induced to consider it as being the case throughout these counties; but I must inform Mr. Colquhoun, that although in about two manufacturing parishes, Bocking and Braintree, the rates might amount to 30s. in the pound, yet on the side of Essex, in which I lived, I am convinced, that within twenty miles of my house at Burnham, the rate in no one parish, exceeded 6s.; and by turning to the official return printed by the House of Commons, I find the average of Essex to be 5s. 11½d.; Kent, 5s. 2½d.; Sussex, 8s. 7½d. Again, p. 29, he states the produce of the woollen manufacture at £25,560,000., upon the authority of a Mr. M'Arthur, a gentleman, I believe, who resides in New Holland, and who was, at that time in England soliciting from government a grant of land for the purpose of breeding Merino sheep, and whose scheme was to supply England with fine wools from her own colonies. Such a petitioner was very likely to exaggerate the consumption of wool; but it appears to me worse than childish in any writer to adopt such a statement, and employ it as any authority in estimating the amount of this manufacture. He should have shewn the source from which Mr. M'Arthur derived his information. In the same page he says, "the cotton manufacture has advanced with the most rapid strides, and may now be supposed to approach nearly to £14,000,000."

The official value of exports of woollen manufactures in 1811, was -	£5,773,214
Of Cotton	19,116,820.

Although there are no returns of the real value of the produce of either, in 1806, these are data sufficient to excite doubts, on Mr. Colquhoun's statement, of woollen having been 25 and cotton 14 millions in that year. This gentleman's observations on the police, which are the result of facts of which he had himself the cognisance, in his official capacity, are excellent, and afford many useful hints.

CUSTOMS, MANNERS, AND HABITS.

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AN ACCOUNT of the Number of HOUSES in each and every District in Ireland, which was subject to the Payment of Duty on WINDOWS or LIGHTS.\*

For any Number under 10; and also, for 10 Windows, and under 20; for 20, and under 30; for 30, and under 40; and for 40, and from thence to 50; for 50, and from thence to 60; from 60 to 70; for 70, and from thence to 80; and also those of 80 Windows and Upwards:—as they were returned in the Year ending March 1810; in their respective Classes.

Year 1810.	Under 10.	Of 10.	Under 20.	Of 20.	Under 30.	Of 30.	Under 40.	Of 40.	Under 50.	Of 50.	Under 60.	Of 60.	Under 70.	Of 70.	Under 80.	Of 80.	Upwards of 80.
Dublin Excise - County	1,355 727	529 171	4,811 1,033	477 72	2,291 376	181 41	582 236	26 24	92 60	7 12	35 28	1 4	9 10	2 -	3 6	1 -	12 15
Magh Blone	605 678	149 93	524 447	14 24	79 106	6 5	36 42	2 3	13 11	- -	8 11	1 -	- 2	- -	- 4	1 -	6 6
Timore	141	17	118	6	25	3	15	-	1	-	5	-	1	-	-	-	-
San - Cemel Eraine k Excise	817 475 360 980	158 80 64 272	608 297 222 1,718	27 22 10 116	74 72 45 581	7 6 2 29	30 26 12 126	2 2 1 7	11 17 9 41	1 1 - 6	5 6 1 11	- - - 1	2 4 1 7	- - 1 -	1 2 1 1	1 1 - -	5 3 2 4
Gheda	1,114	189	722	37	154	27	52	7	30	3	25	2	7	-	7	-	15
is	171	30	187	14	34	6	18	-	7	-	6	-	2	-	1	-	1
ford	308	34	157	14	39	2	10	1	8	1	2	-	4	-	1	-	2
way	145	32	176	52	5	13	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-
enny ale	831 319	95 49	467 289	53 16	123 74	18 3	46 23	6 1	18 5	1 1	13 2	3 -	4 3	1 1	1 1	2 1	9 2
erick rne onderry hrea	228 2,021 533 220	44 378 85 50	470 1,262 356 158	40 105 26 11	214 241 88 55	12 26 12 6	33 105 29 17	2 10 5 1	4 26 18 10	1 2 2 3	3 19 5 2	1 2 - 1	1 10 - 1	1 1 - -	1 6 1 5	- 1 - -	3 10 3 3
ow 'boro'	603 951	50 190	193 453	29 39	102 157	18 9	64 56	2 4	23 21	3 4	11 9	1 -	1 4	8 -	- 5	- -	6 4
y	754 561	72 111	516 482	54 19	148 98	9 5	55 32	16 1	24 13	6 -	5 2	10 -	4 3	3 -	9 -	3 -	18 2
ane	435 739	85 126	287 351	22 20	63 45	7 3	24 16	1 5	2 18	2 -	2 5	1 -	1 1	- -	1 -	- -	7 4
e	264	48	263	17	54	4	13	2	7	1	3	-	2	-	1	-	2
ford ord ow	544 995 429	84 103 62	608 496 233	37 31 10	189 95 58	7 7 8	48 20 28	2 2 3	21 16 8	- 2 1	11 4 7	- - -	8 4 1	- -	3 -	- 1	1 4 6
ial	575	61	260	24	73	2	31	2	9	3	9	1	6	-	2	-	2

April, 1811.

JOCELYN WALLER,  
Exam. of Hearth Money.

\* What is the distinction between a window and a light?

PL. II.

5 A

When we have ascertained the reason of this great disproportion in the state and condition of the people, we shall have made some progress towards the application of a remedy ; this is an object which has hitherto been much neglected, although it is so important to the happiness and security of the empire.

Among the natives of Ireland a great dissimilarity of character prevails, as is always the case where colonists have at different times been introduced among the original inhabitants. Diversity of religion, also, contributes to produce the same effect ; and, therefore, in discussing this subject, I shall be obliged to advert to the peculiarities of some religious tenets, notwithstanding I wished to confine my remarks on this subject to another chapter.

In the four northern counties, Antrim, Londonderry, Armagh, and Down, the upper ranks, under which term I comprehend not merely the nobleman and country gentleman, but the merchant, the manufacturer, the agent, the weaver, the middleman, and the would-be squire, are in general of Scotch extraction, and principally dissenters. Most of the country gentlemen in Donegal, and many in Tyrone, are also descended from Scotch families, which settled in Ireland in the last two centuries, as is proved by the frequency of particular surnames, such as Hamilton, Montgomery, Creighton, Stewart, Nesbit, and Leslie.

The people whose condition appears to be the hardest, are the Roman catholics, who reside in the mountainous districts. These are descended from the original inhabitants who retired for shelter to remote places, when the fertile parts fell into the hands of their powerful invaders. The situation of these people often reminded me of the natives of Jamaica, who were driven to the northern and eastern mountains of that island, when it was taken from the Spaniards in 1655.\* Living as a separate people, whose intercourse with their neighbours is exceedingly limited, they have acquired peculiar habits and customs, and are inferior to the other inhabitants in education and industry. They retain the ancient Irish language, and to them it is chiefly confined.

The traveller who pursues the high roads throughout the province of Ulster, will find the people, in general, more industrious, better clothed, and living in a more comfortable manner, than the same class in many other parts of Ireland. Those who wish to become acquainted with the real state of the country, will lament to see human nature degraded to the lowest state of misery ; but for this purpose they must extend their journeys to the mountains, where they will meet with a barbarous language, intelligible only to those by whom it is spoken, and a race, whose wretched condition almost exceeds description. It will, perhaps, be hardly credited, that it is a common practice among these unfortunate beings, frequently to bleed their cattle in the course of the summer, and to preserve the blood, as a part of their winter food.

\* Dallas's Hist. of the Maroons, vol. i. p. 22.

So ignorant are many of the real state of society, that I have heard some residing within five miles of the spot where this custom prevails, exclaim, "Is it possible that such a thing can be true?" The circumstance was related to me by many of the poor themselves, as well as by Mr. Richardson, the owner of a large estate in the county of Derry. And if there be any who doubt either my veracity or the correctness of my information, let them consult the Survey of that county, by their countryman, the Rev. Mr. Sampson, who says: "The Scythian custom of feeding on blood has something like a revival in the mountains of this county: I actually surprised the wretched inmates of a poor herdsman's house, in one of my rambles through unfrequented parts; five children, with the father and mother, were eating blood thickened by boiling it, with no other addition."\*

The ceremonial observed at weddings, in these mountainous districts, is different from that in other parts of the country. "However suitable the match," says Mr. Sampson, "it is but a lame exploit if the bridegroom does not first run away with the bride. After a few days' carousal among the bridegroom's friends, the weddingers move towards the bride's country, on which occasion not only every relative, but even the poor fellow who aspires to be the well-wisher of either party, brings with him to the rendezvous a bottle of whiskey, or the price of a bottle. After this second edition of matrimonial felicity, the bride and bridegroom proceed quietly to their designed home, and forgetting all at once their romantic frolic, sit quietly down to the ordinary occupations of life."†

The clothing of the people, if rags which scarcely cover their nakedness can be so called, consists of woollen cloth, or frieze, manufactured at home, and almost every other article of their dress is made by themselves. Whether proceeding from long established custom, or want of money, or relish for the pleasure, these mountaineers are not constant frequenters of the races and fairs, like the inhabitants of Ireland in general. Placed at a distance from the busy scenes of life, their passions and their wants are restrained. They evince little inclination to participate either in the pleasures or pursuits of the country, nor do they appear to entertain the same rancorous hatred to Great Britain, or the government of the castle. We find among

\* Survey of Derry, edit. 1802. Home, in his History of the Rebellion, p. 6, says, in a note, "The first thing the highlanders did when they went to the hills was to bleed all their black cattle, and boiling the blood in kettles with a great quantity of salt, as soon as the mass became cold and solid, they cut it in pieces, and laid it up for food." It appears, from various accounts, that this custom was common in the northern parts of the island. "It was till very lately, a practice throughout the highlands, to bleed their cattle now and then, for the sake of their blood, which, having boiled with a little oatmeal, they ate, to save their other provisions. This, though little short of Abyssinian savageness, is certain beyond all doubt, nor is the practice, in some parts of the Hebrides, Caithness, and Ross-shire, to this day, wholly laid aside." *Travels in Scotland*, by the Rev. James Hall, London, 1807, vol. ii. p. 425.

† Sampson's Survey of Derry, p. 457.

them less religious bigotry and superstition than with many of the Roman catholic peasantry in other parts of the country.

In these four counties, to which I may add Monaghan and Fermanagh, I am unacquainted with any persons of the Roman catholic religion, except one gentleman in the county of Tyrone, who are called on the grand jury.

Throughout the populous parts of Monaghan, and some districts in Armagh, hunting is a favourite amusement with the weavers. The hounds are not kept in packs, but distributed over the country, one being generally seen at each cabin door. On the day appointed for the chase, the hunters assemble with four, five, ten, or more couple of hounds, as circumstances may require; and on these occasions every loom is abandoned for the sports of the field. In a country where the land is parcelled out in such small divisions, it would be impossible for the gentry to pursue this diversion on horseback; and, therefore, the game is relinquished to these pedestrian sportsmen, who, by this exercise, counteract in some degree the bad effects occasioned by their sedentary life. After inhaling fresh air, and acquiring new vigour by traversing the mountains and valleys, they return to their shuttle with renovated spirits. Their dog is a dwarf fox-hound, which has no similarity either to the English beagle or the southern slow hound, still used in the hilly districts of Sussex and Kent.

One trait too striking to be omitted in the character of the farmers of Ulster, and particularly of those in the counties of Armagh and Monaghan is, to speak technically, their love of horse-flesh, or fondness for jockeying, a propensity which they carry to a most extravagant height. In this art they have acquired great dexterity, by study and habit, and to over-reach a novice in the sale of a horse, or make a faulty animal pass for a sound one, is considered as an amusement, which affords them the highest gratification. In such feats these farmers are as expert as are the Spitalfields weavers in training pigeons and singing birds; and they can supply a new set of teeth to a horse, with as much ease, as the first dentist in London can accommodate an antiquated gentleman or lady of quality with these useful and ornamental parts of the mouth. I have seen some of these operators return in triumph from a fair, highly elated with success in having made an old horse pass for a young one.

All over Monaghan and Cavan, the old custom of women riding on pillions is still very common. On fair days, companies of twenty men may be seen on horseback, each with a female behind him. The prevalence of this practice is owing to the unevenness of the roads, which are not convenient for carriages; the numerous small farm holdings which enable each family to keep a horse, and the domestic disposition of the people, induce every man going to a fair to take along with him his wife, sister, or cousin; but, in general, it is the wife, who rides in this manner; for here the young men are mostly married.

In the north, the dissenters from the church compose a motley body, comprehending people of almost every religious persuasion; members of the kirk, or church of Scotland, professors of the evangelical doctrine, methodists, Wesleyites, and quakers. The real churchmen of Ireland are very few, except in the county of Down.

In this place there is a smaller number of resident country gentlemen than in any other part of Ireland, for the whole of the counties of Derry and Antrim are the property of absentees.\* Large districts in Donegal, Tyrone, and Monaghan, are in the same situation;† but they have a flourishing manufacture of linen and cotton, in addition, at Belfast, to a considerable West India trade, and one to America at Derry, which has created an opulent class, who, although not possessing the fee, have extensive leasehold property.

In Donegal, Londonderry, Antrim, and Sligo, there is no resident nobleman, but Lord O'Neil. The Marquis of Donegal, resides in Belfast. In the county of Tyrone Lord Northland resides near Dungannon, and Lord Montjoy is an occasional inhabitant of the opposite extremity of that extensive county. Notwithstanding these districts have few families of distinction, they abound with that which is of more importance, a respectable order of people in the middle ranks of life, who create a general activity throughout the country, and compose the most useful body of the community; it is not from the titled great, but from a population of this description, that the greatest amount of revenue is collected. These observations, although they may appear irrelevant to the subject, are intimately connected with it. It is from the state of society that we can form a just opinion of the character of its people. The tone is given from the higher classes to those in the humbler situations of life; for it is justly observed by an ingenious writer, that "the human mind is of a very imitative nature; nor is it possible for any set of men to converse often together without acquiring a similitude of manners, and communicating to each other their vices as well as virtues."‡ The advantage of an industrious class of men in a state, is, therefore, evident; and although in Ulster, wretchedness and poverty are too prevalent, there is a greater number of the middling class than in any other part of the island.

Among the presbyterians of the north there is a description of men called linen buyers, who in rank are considered to be one step below merchants. The men

\* Twelve sixteenths of Londonderry county were granted to the London companies by James I., for the purpose of colonizing it with Londoners. These companies still retain the fee, and eight sixteenths are held under determinable leases. The Marquis of Hertford and the Antrim family possess the fee of the major part of the county of Antrim.

† The Marquises of Abercorn and Bath, Mr. Murray of Broughton, Sir Thomas Leonard, Lord Cremorne, &c. have large property in these counties.

‡ Home's Essays, vol. i. p. 180.

employed at the bleach-fields are a degree higher than the weaver, and they even *look down* on the Roman catholic mountaineers as an inferior order of beings.

Belfast is the capital of the north of Ireland, and has of course a considerable influence on the manners and habits of the people in the adjacent country. It contains many opulent merchants, engaged in extensive trade, and being the residence of the Marquis of Donegal, acquires a more lively and cheerful appearance. The surrounding district, from Larne to Lisburn, Lurgan, and Armagh, is inhabited by a class of people highly respectable, who afford a most striking example how much manufacturing and commercial wealth have been diffused throughout this part of Ireland. Almost every habitation displays most of the comforts and many of the elegancies of life; the people are well clothed, clean in their persons, and their manners polished and refined. The whole sea coast of this province exhibits the same agreeable change as was observable in Connaught and many other places. The poor of this district have made a greater progress towards civilization than they have done in the interior; this remark will apply to many other countries. I observed with regret, that the distinctions arising by the difference of wealth and diversity of religion create a violent party spirit, which interrupts social intercourse, and fomented jealousy and dissension; the northern presbyterian, as he advances towards manhood, hears the history of his origin, and imbibes the feelings and prejudices of his ancestors, which are kept alive by toasts after dinner at the domestic board. Many of these people are republicans; and although they are sensible that their wealth, and connexion with England are synonymous, there have been times when their notions of freedom induced them to fan the flames of civil discord, and to pursue measures which threatened to destroy the best interests of Ireland. But I trust, for the peace and happiness of the inhabitants, that this spirit will never be again revived. The quakers here are all republicans, and in this respect entertain opposite sentiments to those of their brethren in the south; but as the maintenance of peace is one of the first duties enjoined by their doctrine, there is less danger to be apprehended from their political principles. At any rate, whatever way their wishes may tend, they would not take an active part in any changes that might be attempted.

Few of the inhabitants of Ulster visit Dublin in the spring, to participate at that season in the pleasures and amusements which render large towns so attractive. The idle and the rich, who are at a loss how to spend their time or their money; the profligate and voluptuous, who want new objects of gratification; and the vain and ambitious, who are hunting for honours or preferment, all flock thither at certain periods: but however the drawing-room and levees at the castle may be crowded, it is seldom by the gentry of the north. There is more literature and better establishments for education in this part of the country than in any other. The school at Armagh is the Westminster or Eton of Ireland. A literary society has been insti-

tuted at Belfast, which publishes a journal, containing philosophical observations, and essays on various subjects, and particularly those which belong to Ireland. By the system of education pursued in the north of Ireland more solid advantages are attained than if the youths were sent to Trinity-college, Dublin. In other parts of the kingdom, young men are frequently brought up at this college, even when their fortunes will not afterwards enable them to maintain the rank of gentlemen. Considering the opulence of the north, a smaller proportion of its youth are sent to the university of Dublin, than those of any other part; this may be accounted for by the people being in general dissenters, and to their vicinity to Scotland, where education is to be obtained at a moderate expense. From this circumstance the northern gentry have fewer children in the church than any other division of Ireland.

The people retain that natural shrewdness and strength of mind which is so conspicuous in their Scottish neighbours, and they exhibit the same national character of industry and enterprise, which urges them to emigration, and in a great degree they use the same dialect. Mr. Sampson says, it is a common expression, if you praise your neighbour's cow, "she is in danger of the blink of an ill eye." Miss Hamilton, in her admirable description of the Scottish peasantry, in the Cottages of Glenburnie, makes one of them say, "Twa or three hairs are better than the blink o' an ill ee." The affinity of these expressions is evident, and many more of the same kind might be collected.

It is observable that the population of Ulster exceeds that of any other district of the same dimensions in Ireland, and except those parts which are occupied by the higher classes of manufacturers and merchants, and which compose a great breadth of country from Larne to Lisburn, the occupancies are remarkably small. The mountain tracts are often let by the *side*, and, according to every appearance, afford but wretched support to a famished and half naked population. This I in particular remarked in the course of a tour which I made through the mountains in Donegal. The condition of the people was miserable in the extreme; they were dirty, superstitious, and it was evident that they existed on scanty and bad food. Their habitations presented, if possible, a still more disgusting sight. A description of them could not be attempted without offending the ears of those who have never seen any but the cottage of the English peasant. Their habits are such as might be expected among human beings in the lowest state of civilization; and yet, if the accounts given by some travellers of savage life be to be credited, these people live in a state of comparative luxury. I was informed by Captain Richardson, lessee of the merchant tailors' proportion of the land in Derry, that these mountaineers speak the Irish language, are all Roman catholics, and never employ themselves in weaving, or emigrate from the country. Having very little manure, they

\* Survey of Derry, p. 466.

† Page 260, 2nd edit. Edinburgh, 1800.

raise a bad sort of potato, but in such small quantities that they are scarcely sufficient to last them throughout the season. They bleed their cattle frequently in the summer, and preserve the coagulated blood in cakes, for food in the winter; for, as they follow no trades by which they can earn money, they are too poor to purchase oatmeal.

In the Fews mountains, I found the condition of the people somewhat better, but their manners and habits were exactly similar to those already described.

Mr. Christy gave me the same description of the Roman catholics of Down, who are confined to Rathfryland and the Mourne mountains. They are numerous, but singularly dirty both in their persons and habitations; and are unaccustomed to what the weavers consider the necessaries of life; but he said they did not feel the want of these luxuries.

No country affords a more striking proof of the superiority which education and wealth has over numbers. Were an enumeration made, the Roman catholic population would, I believe, preponderate; yet these people are depressed beyond all conception, and what may appear astonishing, they bear their degradation without murmuring or complaint. Familiarized with misery, they have acquired an habitual apathy, and have become indifferent to those objects in which the inhabitants of a free country are always interested: they seem neither to know or to feel the extent of their misery. Insensible to and seemingly careless of the great events that are passing in the world, they are never heard to express an opinion on any political subject. Their whole ambition is centered in an unnoticed and unknown existence. They do not weave, but are remarkably expert at knitting; and it is observed that they are less industrious than the people in other parts of the country. The debasement and self-extinction into which they have fallen pervades their whole habits, and has become more strongly marked in their demeanour and appearance since the general arming of the protestants in 1798.

The southern shore of Belfast Lough is divided into larger occupancies, or farms, than most of the fertile parts of the province. This arises from the people being more employed in the cotton manufacture, which is carried on according to the English method,\* and will at length transfer the population to the towns. Spinning mills, for cotton and linen yarn, are also fast increasing, and must produce a considerable effect in bettering the condition of society. Mr. Young,† Dr. Crump,‡ and Dr. Adam Smith§ condemn the principle of combining manufactures and agriculture: Mr. Malthus also seems to support the same throughout his whole work; but it is to be observed, that when manufacturers are crowded together in towns, the un-

\* There are two extensive cotton mills at Bangor, and others in the neighbourhood which I did not see.

† Young's Irish Tour, quarto edit. London, 1780, part ii. p. 119.

‡ Crump's Essay on Manufactures, Dublin edit. p. 248.

§ Smith's Inquiry into the Wealth of Nations, book i. chap. 1.

healthiness of such situation occasions a greater loss of young lives than where the manufacture is carried on as it is in the north of Ireland and the west riding of Yorkshire. Mr. Malthus has clearly proved the great cost to the state, by the premature death of those who have attained to a certain age, and who are thus prevented from repaying the expense of their own rearing.\* The employment of children in some of the manufactories, has given rise to what are termed night schools, which are common in the north, and which I never heard of any where else, except in Wexford.

There is a district, comprehending Donegal, the interior of the county of Derry, and the western side of Tyrone, which is emphatically called by the people "the Black North," an expression not meant, as I conceive, to mark its greater exposure to the westerly winds, but rather its dreary aspect. The higher classes, having no establishments here, they are represented by agents, whose character is strongly marked by fawning obsequiousness to their employers, whose confidence they abuse, and unrelenting severity to the tenants whom they unceasingly oppress. There are immense tracts in this part of the country which their owners never deigned to gladden by their presence; and many of the grand juries in these northern counties are composed of the men I have here described.

Although the linen manufacture is spread over this part of the country, its beneficial effects is not to be observed in the appearance or habits of the people. In the neighbourhood of Belfast, where commerce, and the cotton and linen manufacture, have stimulated industry, the improved state of the inhabitants is conspicuous: but here the resident gentry are so few, that their number and names can be readily repeated by the common people, which could not be done were there any thing like a proportion of inhabitants belonging to the higher ranks. The northern estates are uncommonly large, and consist of wide tracts of country, the extent of which would astonish a landed proprietor in England.

On the coast of Donegal, I met with a peasantry, who appeared to be native Irish, and who were very different from the people in the inland parts. Most of them speak the original language; many do not know a word of English, which they call Scotch. The men wear shoes and stockings, but the women generally go bare-footed, and employ themselves in knitting. It is to be observed that these people are cleaner in their persons, and reside in better habitations, which are constructed of stone and thatched with straw; but the straw is not laid on so thick as to leave room for weeds and grass to take root, as is commonly the case with the roof of an Irish cabin.

The custom of going bare-footed prevails throughout Ulster; but, in many instances, arises rather from habit than poverty.

\* I beg the reader to consult a paper by Jeremy Bentham, Esq. in the *Annals of Agriculture*, vol. xxix. p. 400. where this principle is exemplified.

## 200 GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON CUSTOMS AND HABITS IN ULSTER.

Hospitality is an universal trait in the character of the Irish, and exists in the north as well as in the south; on the mountain and in the dale; and is equally conspicuous in the weaver, the fisherman, and the farmer. "You are kindly welcome," is the expression of the poor, and the rich feel hurt if the traveller pass without paying them a visit.

Having described the northern Irish as consisting of two classes, to give a just delineation of their character, it will be necessary to advert to other distinctions besides those arising from difference of religion: Of these may be mentioned those connected with origin and extraction. Considered in this point of view, they may be divided into four classes: 1st. The old native Irish, who, as already mentioned, speak their primitive language; 2nd. The Scotch Hibernians, whose ancestors settled in Ulster in the time of James I.; 3rd. A mixed race between the old Irish and Scotch Highlander; 4th. A class sprung from English progenitors, whose descent may be traced in their features, language and names. These last delight in the recreations of the country which gave birth to their forefathers, and in this they are joined by the descendants of the Scotch: Horse-racing, cock-fighting, and bull-baiting, therefore, are their favourite amusements. They play also at long bullets, a game much practised by the weavers. When they intend amusing themselves they assemble in great numbers, and select for the scene of action the most level roads. The ball is of lead, and it weighs about six pounds; he who hurls it to the greatest distance in the fewest throws, making it roll along the ground, is declared victor. The amusements of the native Irish, and of the mixed race of half Irish and half Scotch, consist in a game called in the north of Ireland *cannon* or *shinne*, in the south *hurling*, and in England *hokey*; this play requires not only dexterity but great muscular exertion. It is a common pastime at fairs, weddings, christenings, and even at funerals, when it is customary for large numbers to assemble; and where these scenes of tumult of riot and fighting occur, which may be expected among a rude people addicted to the use of spirituous liquors. They are fond of shewing their dexterity at cudgels, their agility in leaping, and their strength and vigour in throwing the shoulder-stone; a strong propensity to indulge in coarse jests, ribaldry, and noisy mirth is common to them beyond any other class of people in the country. They delight in dancing, music, singing, and listening to old romantic stories, which some still continue to relate. Many of the lowest and most ignorant poor who can neither read or write play at cards, but this is confined to the men; and although they cannot speak English, they have acquired the English names of the cards, which shews that they adopted this taste from the English settlers.

In former times, the favourite amusement was listening to the melodious strains of the harp, and the songs of the harpers, composed in honour of departed heroes, whose genealogies they recounted; but this practice has now almost ceased. An attempt to revive it has been made by the dissenters of Belfast in the establishment of

## GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON CUSTOMS AND HABITS IN ULSTER. 109

a school for teaching that instrument. It is a curious circumstance, and worthy of particular remark, that while this institution is supported by the middle classes, it is almost discountenanced by the rich.

The women in the weaving districts are much accustomed to visiting each other, and these visits are called *keating*. A young female with her spinning-wheel on her head travels a considerable distance, to the house of an acquaintance, where others are assembled, who spin, sing, and converse during the whole evening; after which they cheerfully return to their own homes, without participating in any refreshment excepting potatoes and milk.

Notwithstanding the wealth and superior education, which raise the inhabitants of the north above the level of those in many other parts of the country, instances sometimes occur of conduct, which would disgrace any civilized society. So late as the year 1808, a magistrate residing near the Giants Causeway, was exposed\* at the assizes for the county of Antrim, and removed from his office, in consequence of a memorial to the late Lord Chancellor Ponsonby, by the county members, and Lord O'Neil. Acts of brutality and ignorance were detailed, which could not have been expected from a magistrate in Siberia. The humbler orders have a strong propensity to riotous meetings, and to regulate their conduct by rules of their own making, as is exemplified on many occasions, when they set law, good order, and decency at defiance. Thus it happens, that they frequently attempt to redress private wrongs, or revenge family insults in their own summary way, without having recourse to a magistrate, or submitting to the tedious process of legal investigation.

The love of horse-racing pervades all ranks. The higher are gratified by displaying on this occasion their fine equipages; the middling classes have an opportunity of gambling, in which they indulge to a very great excess; and the common people, happy to obtain a holiday, are delighted with the sport. Some there are, whose creed, as it respects the poor, is, "working and weeping." They consider them as born to toil, and to have been created by Providence to administer alone to the happiness of their superiors. But those who entertain such sentiments should reflect that their own lot might have been cast among those workers and weepers; and when they have got so far advanced towards human feeling, let them ask themselves, how they would have felt under such hardships and such degradations; whether their spirits would have borne up with fortitude and resignation against such accumulated evils; and whether their delicate bodies could have gone through the labour these people are capable of enduring, with heroic firmness. Think not, ye children of luxury, that true greatness consists only in enjoyment. Were the poor denied this privilege, life would be a waste, indeed; and I envy not that man who could wish them to be denied such pleasures. There is nothing from which a benevolent mind can derive more satisfaction than from seeing the multitude happy. I make not these observations

\* The exposure arose from an action of damages brought by the ci-devant magistrate against the county members, for having presented the memorial. The Rt. Hon. George Ponsonby was a witness at the trial.

in favour of the system of keeping holidays, so universal in Ireland. Yet the northern presbyterian takes as much time in this way, as the Roman catholic with his saints' days and journeys to holy wells; but although it may be attended with some ill effects, I should be sorry to see the poor debarred from a recreation, that is absolutely necessary to preserve their health and spirits. I shall take this opportunity of remarking, that although the superstition of visiting holy wells, places of penance, and other revered haunts, does not prevail among the Presbyterians, they are subject to a superstition of another kind, which is displayed in a repugnance to judicial oaths, the use of medicine during illness, and other prejudices, the offspring of a peculiarly narrow and contracted way of thinking.

The distinction between those engaged in manufactures and the other classes, is in nothing so conspicuous as in their dress. Among the women, cotton and muslin are in common use: these habiliments give a gay appearance to a country, and are a sure indication of industry. Although the sedentary employment of mechanical labour may restrain in some degree the athletic power of man, it preserves the peculiar softness of the female form, and renders it more delicate than in that of females who, are constantly exposed to the sun and weather, who, therefore, acquire coarse features and a masculine figure.

The superiority of the weaver is produced by the united labour of every member of the family, all of whom contribute to the general support. The master himself is not particularly distinguished for his industry;\* but as he supplies work to every one under his roof, he is enabled by their earnings to consume oatmeal instead of potatoes, and to allow his wife and daughters to wear cotton or linen gowns.

The weavers may be divided into a number of classes, according to the property which they possess. Some are poor, but others live in comparative affluence. It is common for a manufacturing farmer who occupies not more than ten acres of land, to let a part of his "take" to a sub-tenant at will, who erects thereon a wretched cabin, and employs one or more looms for the benefit of his landlord. The condition of this sub-tenant is not calculated to inspire a high idea of his domestic comfort; but however mean his living, there is a class still lower, that of the person who occupies what is called a "dry cot," or, a habitation without any land. The owner of such a dwelling purchases corn acres, and raises some oats and potatoes. Another description of persons employed in the linen business, and who may be considered as moving in a sphere even one degree lower, are the mere manufacturers of yarn. Of these people there is an upper class who cultivate their own flax, and in general have incomes which enable them to participate in some of the luxuries of life. The chief consumption of meat and wheaten bread is confined, in this part of Ireland, to yet another class; these are the bleachers and linen merchants, who occupy very little land, but are in the practice of killing a bullock, or even more,

\* When at Moyallan I was informed by Mr. Thomas Wakefield, that the weavers are remarkably idle.

early in the winter, and salting it to supply their family with food, throughout the year. This is a custom peculiar to the north, and is, I understand, prevalent in Scotland, where an animal fed for this purpose, which is generally a cow, is called a *mart*. When at Hazlewood, in August, 1809, I was informed by Mr. Wynne, that the small mountain cattle, bred there, were fattened in the low lands and sold to the northern manufacturers.

Mutton, except in the towns, is little used as food. It is customary for gentlemen to buy sheep, at the age of three or four years, from the distant mountainous districts, and to fatten them for their own tables; a flock of sheep is never to be seen in any of the northern counties. Sometimes the small land-holders keep a few tethered together in couples; but there are parishes in which there are no sheep; and the people, excepting those who live in the mountains, when they want wool for domestic uses, are obliged to send to Dublin for it, either in a manufactured or raw state. The consumers seldom manufacture it themselves as is the case in other parts of Ireland.

Oatmeal-cakes is the bread commonly used in the north. Wheaten bread is never seen, except in the houses of the more opulent inhabitants, and even in these, it is of modern introduction. According to every information I was able to collect, its use is daily becoming more general, and this circumstance affords a pleasing proof that the state of society is progressively rising in the scale of improvement. *Stir-about*, in Scotland called pottage, which is oatmeal boiled with water, and eaten with milk, is a common dish in the north, and many of the children have no other food.

The custom so prevalent among the petty farmers here of dividing their "take," as it is called, is a great inducement to early marriages. Weddings are not celebrated in the same manner as among the mountaineers, and are called "Scotch weddings." "The bridegroom and his party vie with the other youngsters who shall gallop first to the house of the bride; nor is this feat of gallantry always without danger, for in every village through which they are expected, they are received with shots of pistols and guns. These discharges, intended to honour the parties, sometimes promote their disgrace, if to be tumbled in the dirt on such an occasion, can be called a dishonour. At the bride's house is prepared a bowl of broth, to be the reward of the victor in the race, which race is, therefore, called running for the brose."\*

Every cabin is provided with a dog, and some have two or three, which, in general, are ill-tempered animals, constantly running out and barking with fury at the passengers, and particularly those on horseback, to their great annoyance. These animals are a great nuisance in Ireland, for although there is a law, which imposes a penalty on the owner, who does not put a clog on his canine companion, it is sel-

\* Sampson's Survey of Derry, p. 457.

dom carried into execution. I have been followed for miles by half a dozen of these curs, which are as ferocious as wolves, yelping at my horse's heels; and I have known many dreadful accidents from their savage attacks. This attachment to dogs are not peculiar to the Irish; it is remarked in Scotland, and among the poor is sometimes carried to an extraordinary height. The author of the Statistical Survey of the united parishes of Kilcalmonnell and Kilberry in the county of Argyle, says:

"The most unaccountable part of the conduct of the lower classes in this and other parishes, and that which can be least easily reconciled to the hardships of their situation, is their fondness for dogs. Almost every family has one; and in some families there are two or three. Even paupers were found to have so unwarrantable an attachment to these animals, that threats to strike them off the poor's roll, were obliged to be used before they could be prevailed on to part with them. From the statistical table, it appears there were 400 dogs in the parish. The food devoured by these animals would feed 400 pigs, which, when a year old, would sell at £400. Deduct £40. for prime cost, and the balance of £360. would be the annual saving to this parish alone by such a substitution, besides the prevention of danger from canine madness, as well as the loss of sheep, of which no less than 140 were a few years ago destroyed by dogs in the range of eight miles in the course of a few weeks."<sup>\*</sup>

Complaints of this kind are made of other parishes, where a great number of useless dogs are a nuisance to every passenger; and, therefore, it is suggested, that the imposition of a tax on these animals might not be an improper measure.<sup>†</sup>

The plan of the houses on the Antrim side of the Bann, is so remarkable as to deserve notice. The fire-place projects some feet from the gable-wall, admitting the persons of the family to sit nearly round it; a circumstance which points out a difference in the time when the colonisation of the two countries took place. Mr. Sampson says,<sup>‡</sup> "I did not perceive any inconvenience as to smoke, in the plan of these last-mentioned houses, at least, not so great as in the common chimneys on the Derry side. Very many of these are without any brace; and, consequently, the hovel is generally in such a state, that the eye is galled, and the look and appearance of the inhabitants greatly sullied. Besides, every article of food, especially butter, is noxious, except to those who, from long habit, have their palates habituated to such a flavour." But whatever difference there may be in the construction of these habitations, they are on both sides of the river equally dirty, exposed to smoke, and abounding in filth. In general, the pig, the fowls, and the cow are permitted to shelter along with them under the same roof. Separate apartments are not thought necessary; and such inmates are found in the houses of farmers who rent twenty or thirty acres of land, and who are not better accommodated in this respect than the cotters, having only a second room without any fire-place. The following description of these houses in the county of Down, by the Rev. Mr. Dubourdieu, must recall to the remembrance of those who have read the "Cottagers of Glen-

\* Sir John Sinclair's Statistical Survey of Scotland, vol. x. p. 58.

† Ibid. vol. vii. p. 278.

‡ Survey of Derry, p. 298.

burnie," the picture given in that popular work of the habitations of the Scottish peasantry. From the size of the farms, the habitations, as may well be supposed, are neither large nor convenient.

"They consist mostly of a low cottage, the dwelling-house, which contains a kitchen and two or three rooms on the ground-floor, opening into one another without any apartments over head. Had parliament made every house that had two fire-places, pay for one at the usual rate, little loss would have accrued to the revenue, as very few would, in that case, have built up the second; but the additional 2s. 8d $\frac{1}{2}$ . on one side, paid for two hearths, and the temptation of not paying any thing by having but one, has operated both against the revenue and the comforts of the people; who, for so trifling a consideration, would have deprived themselves of the satisfaction of a second fire, and, consequently, no longer possess the advantage of ventilation, which, from an open chimney they formerly possessed in their bed rooms, in which a circulation of air is not at present known, the vent which produced it in concert with the casual opening of the door being now closed. Besides, the windows are seldom made to open, and where they have been made with that intention, they are so often out of order, or have so many things laid upon the inner sash, that being a work of time to accomplish, it is seldom attempted. It must be in a great measure owing to the closeness of these apartments, to the total extinction of fresh air, that fevers, when once got into a family, seldom leave it until they have attacked every individual."<sup>\*</sup>

Mr. Dubourdieu's remark on the necessity of ventilation, and Miss Hamilton's practical lesson respecting a fire-place, and the fever which ensued from the want of it,<sup>†</sup> afford hints well worthy the attention of any minister, who, in the imposition of taxes, may have a desire to consider the comforts of the people. The Chinese appear to be as uncleanly, and to live in as miserable hovels as the Irish; but Barrow observes, that as the windows are open, or filled up only with thin paper, and as they have no other door but a matted screen, the ventilation kept up in them counteracts all their bad effects.<sup>‡</sup> The cottages on the coast of Donegal are still different, but this arises in a great measure from the rockiness of the whole county.

Men in civilized society depend upon each other, being connected by interest; which binds the whole community; but this legitimate connexion holds not in Ireland; one of a contrary nature may be traced throughout its whole extent, gradually rising till the whole reaches the capital, where it terminates at the seat of government in the castle. In the north the people seem to be more slightly held by this connexion, and to depend more on their own individual exertion, which may be owing, in some measure, to the inhabitants of these northern districts, having little or nothing to do with the return of members of parliament. Those for the counties of Donegal, Londonderry, Antrim, and Down, may be said to be returned by great landed proprietors, and these persons enjoy all the usual advantages and emoluments for rendering such essential service to their country. Where the minds of men in the middle rank of society

\* Dubourdieu's Survey of Down. Dublin, 1802, p. 33.

† Cottage of Glenburnie. Edinburgh edit. 1808, p. 142 to 246.

‡ Barrow's Travels in China, p. 349.

are elated with the hope of getting at public money through the making of freeholders, and have their thoughts distracted by visionary schemes of aggrandizement, those below them, whose assistance they require, partake in their feelings, and, instead of trusting to their own exertions, sacrifice their independence for a shadow. Industry is destroyed, idleness is encouraged, and a general spirit of venality is diffused throughout the country. I do not, however, mean to assert, that the system of "making freeholders," has not been pursued in the north as well as in other parts of Ireland. There, as every where else, some great man is always on the alert, to oppose his neighbour, if he possess the returning power; and, on that account, estates are much divided. Even the rich, populous, and industrious county of Down, contains one immense property, the Downshire estate, which is divided and subdivided until it is filled with a swarm of tenants, whose number has been augmented for the purpose of commanding parliamentary interest.

The county of Fermanagh contains a few persons of high rank, such as Lord Enniskillen, Lord Belmore, Colonel Archdall, Mr. Brooke, and others, who are all members of the established church; the titles to their estates are derived, I believe, from grants of Queen Elizabeth, or Cromwel. A class of yeomanry is met with here, who characterize themselves by the expression, "just as good protestants as any in all Ireland;" which does not imply that they are more religious than others, but that they are not exceeded by any in rooted aversion and inveterate enmity to their Roman catholic neighbours. These are farmers who hold lands of considerable extent, and I have been told that they were established here when the right of voting was exclusively confined to persons of the protestant persuasion. The catholic tenants, at that period, were frequently turned out of their farms, and sent farther up the mountains, to make room for the protestants who were privileged by their faith, to vote at elections. In this county, I have seen estates advertised to be sold, with this recommendation, "that they were more valuable, because tenanted by protestants."

There are opulent farmers, who have beef on their tables, and drink port wine on a market-day, at Enniskillen, where a toast to the glorious memory of King William is *filled to the brim, the glass lifted to the mouth with the right hand, and swallowed without a sip.*

Between this class and the most opulent, there exists a petty squire, equally "a good protestant," to whom, on account of his dependent freeholders some great man's door is ever open, and who endeavours to make his company agreeable to his patron by dull attempts at wit. Men of this description might be better employed in planning out work for the encouraging of industry, and endeavouring to increase the produce of the soil, than, as is their frequent employment, in galloping over the small enclosures of the cotter tenantry after the hounds of their wealthy neighbour, and crowning the feats of the day, by drinking his claret till midnight.

Enniskillen is celebrated, and, not without reason, as a convenient place for obtaining recruits. A military turn has long prevailed among the inhabitants of this county, and there are few families who have not one or more sons in the army. Young men who intend to enlist, travel from very distant parts to Enniskillen, where there are always recruiting parties, belonging to some favourite regiment ready to receive them.

The protestants in this country are a fine race of people, much superior in appearance, to those of any of the northern districts. This pre-eminence arises, in all probability, from their mode of life, which, as there is less of the linen manufacture, is more favourable to the natural expansion of the body. These people are tall, well made, and robust, and have a look and carriage quite different from that of the manufacturing peasants in Ulster, or the Roman catholic inhabitants who live on salt fish, and ride on horseback with a pad of straw and a halter of the same material. These protestants are the athletic children of agriculture, inured to toil, and made hardy by exposure to the weather: their countenances display the bloom of health, and they possess that uninterrupted flow of spirits, which is the constant attendant on regular living and industry. Elated by the superior condition to which protestantism has raised them, they hold their catholic countrymen in contempt.

The protestant country gentlemen in the north, in estimating the character of the Roman catholics, are frequently disposed to form a general opinion from the habits and manners of the wealthier class in Ulster, whose occupations seldom rise higher than that of a grocer or retailer of spirits: opinions so formed are erroneous when applied to the whole body, and are both illiberal and unjust. At present this is very natural, for such is the state of society in Ireland that there is little intercourse between the protestants and the catholic aristocracy, which confines the communications to the common forms of civility, and the courtesy of a salute at a castle levee.

In Fermanagh, whether it arises from habit, or a natural propensity to indolence, the people do not rise until a late hour in the morning, and the cows are not milked till noon. There being but a poor market for the produce of the earth, little encouragement is afforded to industry: they, therefore, seldom think of turning their time to the best advantage. The inhabitants are poor, and their cabins are wretched huts, with a wattled door lined with a straw mat in the inside.

Throughout Tyrone, Fermanagh, Antrim, Down, and Armagh, the remembrance of original titles to estates is nearly lost, but in other parts of Ireland it is still kept alive; and, in some cases, supports a delusive hope, which, at this distance of time, and after so many changes never can be realized. I only recollect being informed of one instance of this kind; it occurred on the coast of Donegal, where the property of the M'Swine's, who, according to tradition, were tributary to the O'Donnel's

of Donegal, was claimed by a blacksmith, who worked for Mr. Stewart of the Ards. It was however a disputed point, for many besides this humble son of Vulcan made pretension to the honour of the same descent.

The people believe that the country, not longer than a century ago, was divided among a number of clans, all of whom were distinguished by Scotch names; but they assert, that the times were then much worse than they are at present; for they describe the chieftains or leaders of these clans, and particularly M'Swine, as petty tyrants, restrained in their acts of oppression neither by the fear of the law, nor a sense of justice; and who in their rapacity seized upon the horses, cattle, and property of their tenants, as their evil propensities dictated. These traditionary tales seem not to be void of foundation; but this state of things existed at a much earlier period than that assigned to it by these ignorant peasants.\*

General Hart is owner of the M'Swine's castle, which is still in an entire state; and so impressed was the blacksmith with the idea of the legitimacy of his title, that he conceived, if he could raise money sufficient to see lawyers in Dublin, he would recover the estate.

In the north-western part of Ireland there are evident traces of its once having been possessed by a people of highland extraction. That there was such a chieftain as M'Swine, and a clan of the same title, is unquestionable. They seem to have occupied a considerable extent of the coast, where various circumstances have a reference to this leader. Many of this name are still to be found; and the people speak of the O'Donnel's, and M'Swine's, not as of two private families, but as two tribes, distinguished by their numbers and peculiar habits and manners. Similar instances of the remains of ancient septship are to be found in most parts of Ireland.

Illicit intercourse is more prevalent among the uneducated order of females in the north, than among the Roman catholic women of the same rank in any other part of the kingdom. Various causes might be assigned for this difference. Here they

\* In a work entitled "The State of Ireland," 3d edition, London, at the Peacock, St. Paul's, 1692, p. 85, sect. viii. it is said, "Whoever will be at the pains to look back on the state of Ireland before it was conquered by the English, will find, that the heads of Septs were absolute over their tenants: their wills passed for laws, and their proceedings were merely arbitrary and despotic. This was the ancient constitution of Ireland, and the English who came over at first had, by their conversation with the Irish, learnt much of their manners; they made their tenants their vassals, and as much as the Irish had been to their chiefs, except in the English pale, which was a scope of ground which reached about twenty miles from Dublin, and even in some places there, the tenure of the country farmers was exactly that which the law of England calls "villendage," the tenant having nothing he can properly call his own. Whatever the landlord had occasion for, he went to the tenant's house, and caused it to be brought to him, without consideration or allowance; or if he pleased, he went to the tenant's house, with his retinue, and there staid as long as he thought fit, eating and drinking, and using every thing the tenant had as his own. This practice was called "coshering," and several laws have been made against it." This account is very much confirmed by the traditionary tales prevalent among the peasantry of Donegal.

are not obliged to go to confession, which, in some places, is a powerful restraint on immorality; and they have no religious scruple against consigning to the Foundling Hospital the fruit of their amours. Much, also, is owing to the licentiousness and profligate habits of the men, who are neither checked by a sense of duty, nor a dread of the consequences, from destroying the morals of the young women who fall in their way; here, and throughout all Ireland, a woman being with child by her seducer, is considered as no tie upon him to repair, by marriage the injury he has done her. The Scotch custom of irregular marriages\* is not common except in cases where a young girl of protestant parents, possessed of some property, conceives an attachment for a Roman catholic; but an alliance of this kind is always strenuously opposed by her parents and relations, unless the intimacy of the parties has been carried so far as to render their union absolutely necessary for the honour of the family.

In reviewing the general character of the Irish, a very striking difference is perceived, after passing the south-western shore of Lough Erne. The traveller then enters the mountainous districts of Leitrim, which, stretching across Sligo into Mayo, are fully peopled, but possess no resident proprietors who are distinguished either by family consequence or property. I twice crossed this tract of country, and some years ago spent a week at Dromahair, yet I know less of it than of any other part of Ireland. Here the most prominent characters in society are middlemen, and the agents of absentee landlords. The grand jury is composed of gentlemen who reside in other parts of the country. The poor all speak Irish, but within these few years, schools have been established throughout the country, and education is making rapid progress among them. They have a singular custom, when they use bleeding, of opening a vein in each arm, in order, as they think, to make the blood run even. All dance, and are fond of displaying their agility and skill in this enlivening exercise. They are dirty, have scarcely any clothing but rags, and in general wear neither shoes or stockings. The females also go without a bonnet: among crowds whom I saw returning from a neighbouring fair, I did not observe one without a cap, and very few had cotton gowns. They were dressed, for the most part, in frieze cloaks, some of which were scarlet and others undyed.

These people have many superstitious practices, similar to those which prevailed in the days of ignorance and darkness, and which still partially exist, where the mind has not been freed from its thralldom by education. On St. John's eve they light fires, in the middle of the roads; and imagine, if they drive their cattle through them, they will be secured from accidents and prosper. They also swing their children over them for the like good end. This custom is supposed to be of very ancient origin, and to have been derived from the idolatrous sacrifices to Baal.†

\* See Dr. Currie's Life of Burns, London, 6th edit. of his works, vol. i. p. 21, where they are described,

† The author of the Statistical Account of the Parish of Callandar, in the County of Perth, gives the following

Of the nature of government, and the necessity of maintaining the laws, their ideas are very superficial. When robbed, they never prosecute the offender; and if a sheep be stolen, they readily compound for the theft. Such crimes, according to their ideas, do not stand high in the scale of moral turpitude; and when interrogated, why they do not prosecute those who steal from their flocks, they always reply; "Plaze your honour, would you have us hang a man for stealing a bit of mutton?"

They have no confidence in physicians. If they ever send for one, they consider themselves as having signed their death-warrant; an aversion is, therefore, entertained to the whole medical tribe, and, although they would not lay out a sixpence for any medicine, they will lay by considerable sums to spend at a wake. The wretch, who, perhaps, did not possess a whole coat, is sometimes honoured

lowing account of a custom still prevalent in that part of Scotland, which may throw some light on this superstitious practice. "Upon the first day of May, which is called *Bel-tan*, or *Bal-tein* day, all the boys in a township or hamlet meet in the moors. They cut a table in the green sod, of a round figure, by casting a trench in the ground, of such circumference as to hold the whole company. They kindle a fire, and dress a repast of eggs and milk in the consistence of a custard. They knead a cake of oatmeal, which is toasted at the embers, against a stone. After the custard is eaten up, they divide the cake into so many portions, as similar as possible to one another in size and shape, as there are persons in the company. They daub one of these portions all over with charcoal until it be perfectly black. They put all the bits of the cake into a bonnet. Every one blindfolded draws out a portion. He who holds the bonnet is entitled to the last bit. Whoever draws the black bit, is the *devoted* person, who is to be sacrificed to *Baal*, whose favour they mean to implore in rendering the year productive of the sustenance of man and beast. There is little doubt of these inhuman sacrifices having been once offered in this country, as well as in the east; although they now pass from the act of sacrificing, and only compel the *devoted* person to leap three times through the flames, with which the ceremonies of this festival are closed." The writer of this account says, in a note, "*Bal-tein* signifies the fire of *Baal*. *Baal* or *Ball*, is the only word in Gaelic for a globe. This festival was probably in honour of the sun, whose return, in his apparent annual course, they celebrated, on account of his having such a visible influence, by his genial warmth, on the productions of the earth. That the Caledonians paid a superstitious respect to the sun, as was the practice among other nations, is evident, not only by the sacrifice of *Baltein*, but upon many other occasions. When a highlander goes to bathe, or to drink water out of a consecrated fountain, he must always approach by going round the place from east to west, on the north side, in imitation of the apparent diurnal motion of the sun. When the dead are laid in the earth, the grave is approached by going round in the same manner. The bride is conducted to her future spouse in the presence of the minister, and the glass goes round a company, in the course of the sun. This is called, in Gaelic, going round the right or the *lucky way*; the opposite course is the wrong, or the *unlucky way*. And if a person's meat or drink were to affect the windpipe, or come against his breath, they instantly cry out *dishal!* which is an ejaculation praying that it may go the right way." *Sir John Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. xi. p. 620, 621.

"On the 1st of May our heathen ancestors, by kindling fires, and offering sacrifices, on eminences or the tops of mountains, held their great anniversary festival in honour of the sun, whose benign influence on all nature began to be strongly felt at this time, and men wished more and more to feel, as the summer advanced. The name *Baltein*-day continued, and gave designation to the *Baltein* fair of Peebles, long after the religion of the country and the festivals of the season were changed." *Stat. Account of Scotland*, vol. xii. p. 14, 15.

with a funeral which costs three or four pounds. The custom of waking the body of the deceased, prevails universally among the catholics of all ranks and conditions ; but the protestants are beginning to discourage it. Among the aristocracy, natural children, however well educated, are never treated with the same respect as those born in wedlock ; and a man who should place a kept woman at the head of his table, would be considered as an open violator of decorum ; yet married men may purchase the daughters of their tenantry for money, and keep them with impunity provided they can reconcile themselves to the disgrace entailed on their offspring.

Most of the herdsmen here are able to give their daughters, when married, twenty guineas, and a feather-bed, although the cabins in which they reside are apparently wretched, and seem to contain nothing but dirt, lumber, and rags. It is customary among the poor to dance for a cake made of oatmeal and sugar, and the man who wins it, presents it to that female among the company present who is his favourite.

The women in this part of the country are easy and unreserved in their manners. When the English regiments were here, after the rebellion, the officers found them exceedingly fond of every social amusement ; but, being unacquainted with Irish manners, they conceived that the squeeze of the hand while leading down the merry dance on the green, or the half-reluctant kiss in a corner, were indications of further favours. In this, however, they found themselves egregiously mistaken. In Ireland, a female, as in Scotland and in every country where the heart is uncorrupted, will converse freely, and sometimes indulge in *double entendre*, which would call a blush to the cheeks of our town-bred ladies ; yet, their hearts are pure, and their virtue so well guarded as to be in no danger.

In Sligo, many of the first families are of Welsh extraction, as is shewn by their names of Wynne, Jones, &c. ; they enjoy their estates in consequence of grants from the Protector. This country is fortunate in having one resident, Mr. Wynne, whose presence and example, must have a beneficial influence on the people. Good order, regularity, neatness, and propriety, prevail throughout his whole establishment, and in the course of time, these qualities will be communicated to the population of the neighbourhood. This gentleman mixes too little with the buckeens to be popular ; but he enjoys what is more valuable, the approbation of his own mind, and possesses the confidence of the poor, who look up to him as their friend and benefactor. Being in the habit of conversing with people whom I met on the road, I was told by many, that when they sustained any injury, they always applied to Mr. Wynne for redress, and on inquiring the reason, was told, " because his justice was good." This remark I have heard sometimes twenty miles from Hazelwood, a distance which the peasantry often travel, to lay their complaints before the man of their heart, who never misleads them by his advice, or offends them by his decisions.

That he may be better able to attend to the calls of humanity, he sets apart certain days for the administration of justice, and Lady Sarah makes the same arrangement for listening to the complaints of her poor female neighbours. On these occasions, the domain gates are thrown open to all. The litigants, many of whom come from the mountains, and cannot speak a word of English, make known their case, which is often some trifling quarrel, through the medium of an interpreter. In general, Mr. Wynne obliges them to present a written narrative, which they employ some schoolmaster to draw up. So numerous are the suitors sometimes, and so eager to be heard, that it is difficult to preserve order, and make them attend to their turn. Were it not established as an invariable rule, that no more than one shall speak at a time, so unaccustomed are these uncivilized mountaineers to regularity or decorum, that the accuser and the accused, with the whole train of witnesses, would be haranguing together, in their wild and uncouth jargon, intelligible to none but themselves and their interpreter.

Mr. Wynne finds it necessary to make the applicants stand at a distance from his person; they would else crowd around him in such a manner, as to do him serious injury. Those who are to speak, exert all their eloquence, and often with considerable emotion. Some of the complaints are curious, and a collection of them might serve to illustrate the character and habits of these people, who seem but just emerging from barbarity.

Mr. Wynne finds, that by setting a part a day of the week for hearing their complaints, and taxing their quarrels with the expense of a written statement of facts, many disputes are adjusted, and much wrangling, and, perhaps, bloodshed prevented. These people enter into a previous agreement to abide by his determination, although he explains to them, that his authority as a magistrate does not extend so far as to make a lawful and final decision. When at Hazelwood, I was much amused with the complaint of a woman, who through an interpreter, claimed a fortune from her father: on the case being explained, it appeared that her father had promised her ten guineas, six of which he had paid; and when Mr. Wynne, after some trouble, convinced him that he ought to keep his word, he cheerfully agreed to pay the remainder.

Among these people, the character of a spy or informer is held in greater detestation than that of a thief. When they address themselves to Mr. Wynne, they always prefix the word Mr. to his surname, because they know that he is not of Irish extraction. Mr. O'Hara, the member for the county, they term simply O'Hara. As some of the old gentry do not act as magistrates, their agents are generally put into the commission of the peace; if the people be dissatisfied with their determinations, they appeal to O'Hara, or whoever may be owner of the estate. I have heard this done by an interpreter, who exerted his eloquence in both languages, addressing the gentleman in English, and his clients in Irish, and taking great pains to make each comprehend the nature of the decision, and that it was just.

I was present at Nymphsfield in the month of Sept. 1809, when the inhabitants of a whole townland came thither in great numbers along with the collector of hearth-money, to adjust some disputes which had arisen between them. The tax was 1s. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in the pound, on holdings of forty shillings per annum; 2s. on those from seven to ten pounds; and 3s. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. on those above ten pounds without any house. They were accompanied by a person to explain the nature of their complaints to Mr. O'Hara in English, and communicate his answer to his companions in Irish. I was amused with the ingenuity of these illiterate peasants, who seemed as well acquainted with quirks and quibbles, as the most dexterous cross-examiner at the Old Bailey. Every possible subterfuge was resorted to, and every objection started, in order to strengthen their own case and weaken that of their adversary; sometimes the excuse was, that "they had no leases;" at another, that "they had not paid any tax to the preceding collector." The truth was, I believe, that some were unable to pay, and others had no inclination. The collector, however, urged his right to enforce the law, and the parley was continued with equal vehemence on both sides for nearly two hours. This was not the first time they had applied to Mr. O'Hara on the same business, for I found that they had before refused payment under the pretext that they had received receipts for the tax, but on their being produced, it appeared that they were two years old. The collector said, that he had sworn them to their rents half a dozen of times; and from this I conjecture, that they had all wasted not less than ten days in endeavouring to evade the payment. They found themselves, however, disappointed, and left the house muttering something in Irish, which, as the collector informed Mr. O'Hara, was their determination not to pay, although their interpreter acknowledged that he was now convinced the tax was due.

The poor throughout Connaught live in a state of great wretchedness; oatmeal is a luxury which they seldom taste. The clothing of the men consists of frieze, that of the women of linsey, both manufactured by themselves, and dyed a dark snuff colour, with oak sawdust, which has a most gloomy appearance.

The Leitrim mountains which I crossed in the month of August, 1809, appear to be tolerably well peopled, but are badly stocked with cattle. In every direction, cultivation was creeping upwards; I saw the women employed in milking the cows until noon, and it gave me no small satisfaction to find, that the children, instead of being left to saunter about in idle groups, were universally sent to school. The cabin doors were of wattle work, covered in the inside with a straw mat, as in Fermanagh. The harness of the horses was very rude, and bespoke the lowest degree of civilization; it was merely a hay or straw rope or band. The people were busily employed in their hay-harvest, tossing the hay about with their hands; and had no idea that this operation could be better performed with a fork. Irish is the common language of the district. Meat is no part of the food of

these people, whatever animals they rear and fatten, "they sell," according to their own expression, "to the northerns."

In my ride, I met a company who were going to celebrate a wedding. The men rode on horseback, and each, the bridegroom excepted, had a woman on a pillion behind him: the bride was mounted behind a young man selected on that occasion, on account of his respectability, and the bridegroom rode a single horse. On inquiry I found that they were all protestants.

When a man is seen riding in this part of Ireland on a piebald horse, it is considered as a sign of his being a doctor.

Although quarrels are here very frequent, fighting single-handed is unknown. No one ever resolves to rely on his own personal courage or strength; when a man sustains an injury, or conceives himself affronted, he calls in to his aid, not only his immediate relations and friends, but his neighbours and fellow parishioners, and sometimes the inhabitants of a barony. Whole districts thus become interested in individual disputes; the combatants marshal themselves under leaders distinguished for their prowess; *shillelas* are their weapons, and when a general engagement takes place, many are wounded on both sides. Bruised limbs and broken heads are the usual consequences of such rencounters, but on some occasions they are attended with the loss of lives: when such an affray happens near the boundary of two counties, the people on both sides are active in the contest, giving support to the party belonging to the county in which they reside.

The bag pipes are very common in this part of the country, and in some families, a blind piper or fidler is maintained as a necessary part of the establishment.

The country round the Arigna iron works, is inhabited by a people who, according to every appearance, are in a most wretched condition. They are badly clothed, and reside in dirty mud cabins, continually filled with smoke. They have as little morality as taste for personal neatness or domestic convenience. I was informed by Mr. Williams, the resident agent at the iron works, that they are the greatest thieves in the world, are quarrelsome, and addicted to fighting at patterns or fairs, by families or clans; and as three counties, Leitrim, Cavan, and Sligo, unite here, large parties often assemble from each to decide *vi et armis*, like the Scotch clans of old, a quarrel which they conceive cannot be otherwise adjusted. He said, an engagement had a little before that time taken place at Dromahair, where there were one thousand on each side, in which a great many were killed.

They here bleed in both arms, as in many other parts of Ireland; all dance, and schools within these few years have become very general.

In the neighbourhood of Nymphsfield, I met an old man, who repeated a long history in Irish, which he called the *Poems of Osheen*, meaning, as I suppose, the Poems of Ossian. Having found a person to act as an interpreter, I spent two hours in writing down what he rehearsed. It seemed to have none of the requisites of a

poem, but appeared to be a confused legend which the man had learned by heart; for when I interrupted him, he could not proceed without beginning again.

It is to be remarked, that it was into Connaught, on the western side of the Shannon, that the native Irish were driven on the termination of every war between them and the English. This district does not exhibit so dense a population as the average of the kingdom, and the inhabitants seem to be composed of several classes, distinguished from each other, by peculiar shades of character more or less striking.

Mr. Young, Dr. Grump, and Miss Edgeworth, have remarked, that the upper ranks are alike, to a certain degree, in both England and Ireland. The natural differences which exist between mankind, arising from colour, or bodily conformation, are not readily effaced; remains of them may be traced throughout many generations, but those which depend upon habit and moral causes, may be obliterated in a very short time. Education, in this respect, can bring about the most astonishing changes; and, therefore, it needs excite no surprise, that the Irish gentry brought up at our public schools, who have been introduced into parliament, and associated with the first persons in the empire, should participate in our national character. Still, however, a very perceptible difference is observed in the habits, manners, and language of those Irish gentlemen who have travelled, and those who have never visited England, or any part of the continent.

The poorer orders have very vague notions of property, or the nature of the moral obligation. They shew little desire to increase their wealth by habits of industry, nor do they set much value on the laws, and the regular administration of justice which protects property when acquired; all they look to is the benefits of the moment; their own advantage, whatever it may be at the time; and the same principle forms the grand spring of action in a greater or less degree throughout all ranks. It actuates the country squire who cringes before the lord-lieutenant's secretary at the Castle, and the half-starved cotter, who sits two or three hours in the morning in the court-yard of some great proprietor, to catch his honour before he mounts his horse; and who wastes day after day, seeking an opportunity to tell him that he is the cousin, removed in the tenth or twelfth degree, to some of "his honour's" old tenants, who has been dead, perhaps, thirty years. "And what if you are his kinsman?" "I have a bit of a favour to beg of your honour." "And what do you want, man?"—This short dialogue is followed by a complaint against some neighbour, or he expresses a desire of taking a piece of land. This is the common mode of address employed by the Irish when soliciting for any favour. They begin with many preliminary phrases, and keep the main object in reserve until they discover how the great man is affected towards them, or conceive that they have insinuated themselves into his good graces. When I was at Coolure, in the month of August, 1808, a man was brought before Admiral Pakenham, on a charge of stealing timber: on entering the room, his first address was, "I heard, plaze your honour, that

your honour wanted some stores\* for the lord-lieutenant."—"And what if I do?" replied the Admiral, "what is that to you?" "I was only thinking, please your honour, that I would have got them for your honour." The fellow imagined, that by this piece of dexterity, the Admiral would suffer him to escape; but he found himself mistaken, for he was committed to Mullingar jail.

Among a people brought up in such habits, and possessing so little education as those in Connaught, a resident landed proprietor, if a man of good character and sound understanding, is a valuable acquisition. By adopting the English mode of farming, which is now coming into use, and spending his income in improvements, the labouring classes in the neighbourhood are excited to industry; and as they find that their comforts increase with their diligence, they are encouraged to persevere, until a salutary change is gradually effected among them. In Connaught, the gentry understand Irish, which facilitates their intercourse with the peasantry; therefore, they are, consequently, enabled to become acquainted with their wants, to assist them with advice, and restrain them by admonition.

Galway is particularly distinguished for the great number of its resident proprietors, there being little absentee property in the county. Thirteen families, including the names of French, Daly, Trench, Blake, and others, are mentioned as having been originally its entire possessors. Mr. Malachy Donally, a Roman catholic gentleman of the first respectability, resides on a large estate here, which has belonged to his progenitors ever since the year 1413. The three ancient protestant families are Eyre of Eyrecourt, Trench Lord Clancarty, and that of Oxboro, near Gort. Less influenced by that hostility to the Roman catholics, which throws so great a gloom over society in many parts of Ireland, they discourage by their example, the invidious distinction on account of difference in religious opinions.

The class next in importance to the landed proprietors are the graziers, who rank, or affect to rank, with those who are properly called the gentry of the country. These men are ambitious to assume the dress and imitate the manners of their superiors. They expect also to be called on the grand jury. To give themselves the consequence derived from high birth, if their names have the least resemblance to the native Irish, they prefix an O; and their children and dependants never fail to inform a stranger, that they are the immediate descendants of some old family, and, consequently, the true heir to an immense estate, of which his ancestors were deprived, when the country was in anarchy and disorder. Some are weak enough to credit these tales; but when related to those who are acquainted with the vanity of the Irish, they excite laughter. This class, however, is far from being numerous, because grazing farms in general are of very great extent; but it is not confined to Connaught; they are to be met with in Clare, Limerick, Tipperary, and the fertile parts of Cork. A traveller who knows both countries, and is in the habit of con-

\* Store-fish.

trasting the condition of men, will be led to compare this class in Ireland, with those who follow the same occupation in England, where an Ellman, a Westcar, a Reeves, and many others no less distinguished, have done honour to England by their public spirit, and the success which has attended their exertions. Comparisons of this kind have their use. In England, such men are regarded with gratitude and admiration: their industry creates wealth, their example excites a spirit of enterprise, the influence of which extends to all ranks; and the means they have of acquiring superior skill and information, in every thing connected with their profession, enables them to take the lead in all plans for improving the condition of society. They are the real friends to the poor, and constitute one of the strongest and most valuable links in the chain by which the various parts of the community are connected. In Ireland, the company of such men is a burden upon their superiors; in England, it is courted by the first nobleman in the land. In Ireland, if they attain to the middle rank in life, which is not always the case, they labour under all the disadvantages which arise from the want of a liberal education, without compensating for that defect by diligence and regular habits. Their ideas are as grovelling as their manners are vulgar; what time they can spare from business, is devoted to frivolous amusements or licentious pleasures; they will be found either galloping after a few famished hounds through ragwort and thistles, which during the summer have grown as high as their horses' backs; or ranging the country in search of unfortunate females, whose poor parents sacrifice their daughters for a little money, and who are soon either abandoned, or turned over to some wretches, who consent to marry them, on condition of being made "*freeholders*" by a life lease of a few acres of potatoe ground, at an exorbitant rent. Fond of society, they may be seen nightly, drinking half a dozen together, and lying with their clothes on, in a *barrack-room*, which is a parlour into which some beds have been thrown as "a shake down." Yet these people, in whose character is a strange mixture of meanness and pride, attempt to imitate their superiors; they dine at as late an hour as any nobleman; have a dirty fellow with his hair tied, and without powder, waiting at table by way of butler out of livery, and maintain an affected and ridiculous state. Their houses, except one or two rooms that are fitted up for shew, are almost without furniture; their clothes are generally kept in an old trunk, and the kitchen, like Noah's ark, is a receptacle for animals of every kind, clean and unclean. It is enlivened by the grunting pig,\* and it is frequented with little ceremony by the cackling fowls, which make it their common place of resort. Think not, courteous reader, that this is mere caricature; Dr. Crump, one of the most intelligent Irishmen who ever wrote upon his country, gives a similar picture:

"The general characteristics," says he, "of the class of society I speak of, are dissipation, idle-

\* It is not uncommon for an Irishman in some parts of the country, when a stranger pays him a visit, to call out to his wife or children, "Turn the pigs out, and let the gentleman in."

ness, and equity; every man with a few acres of land, and a moderate revenue, is dignified, as a matter of course, with the title of Esquire; and be his family ever so numerous, or the encumbrances on his little patrimony ever so great, he must support a pack of hounds, entertain with claret, or if not able, with whiskey, keep a chaise and livery servants, and in short, ape his superiors in every respect. Meanwhile his debts are increasing, his creditors growing clamorous, and every industrious occupation which might relieve his distresses, neglected as utterly beneath the dignity of a gentleman. The numerous instances of this which occur, cannot fail to have a very serious and powerful influence in the obstruction of national industry and employment. The bad debts of men of business are more numerous in Ireland, than can well be imagined; such must considerably injure and obstruct the industrious; those sums which should be saved for the younger children of the family, and laid out in the establishment of some industrious occupation that would enable them to afford employment to thousands of their countrymen, are either squandered in idle extravagance, or if collected from the fortune which the hopeful heir apparent may obtain in matrimony, are employed by those on whom they are bestowed in pursuing the laudable example they have been accustomed to from infancy; but the influence of such example is still more extensive, its ruinous contagion extends to the most inferior ranks. The labouring hind quits his spade to pursue his landlord's pack of beagles on foot, and at night intoxicates himself with whiskey, while the master enjoys a similar pleasure with liquors more refined and palatable. To the one source are we to trace those nuisances to every rank of society, denominated *bucks* and *buckeens*. Such in general are either the eldest sons of gentlemen of small property we have described, or the younger children of those possessed of larger, who have received their scanty pittance, of which the augmentation by industrious means is never once attempted, and the final dissipation, one would imagine, deemed impossible. To stand behind a counter, superintend a farm, or calculate in a counting-house, would be beneath the dignity of such exalted beings, and disgrace the memory of their *gentlemen* ancestors; but would not such pursuits be finally beneficial to their country, and more grateful to their own feelings, than a mode of life which dissipates the funds which should be employed in industry, and corrupts the manners of the people, ruins the health, and annihilates the fortunes of the individuals in general, and, at last, finally leads them to subsist as mendicants on the charity of some more opulent relation? It is disgusting to see such beings gambling at a hazard table, bustling at a horse race, quarrelling over their claret, or hallooing after a fox, perhaps, in an equipage they have neither inclination nor ability to pay for. Let us turn from the picture; the only satisfaction attendant on its examination is, that the species are daily diminishing.\*

In Galway a man of large property is termed a "statesman," but one who possesses only a few acres is called a "patchman." I have heard one of the latter gentlemen abused by a fellow at Ballinasloe, and reproached in the following words, which are considered as highly degrading: "You Gallican, you're only a patchman." The younger brother of a patchman is looked upon with great contempt.

I have already alluded to the sale of women in Ireland, a practice which seems to be viewed with as much indifference there as it is in Turkey. These females are of the lowest people, and are scrupulously chaste as to "boys" of their own rank, but being exceedingly ignorant, fall an easy prey to their superiors. Yet they are more to be pitied than blamed, for they are betrayed into the paths of vice by those in whom they naturally place the greatest confidence, and who ought to be their

\* Essay on providing Employment for the People, p. 170.

protectors. The bargain for the virtue of the young female is generally made with the mother, or some elderly relation of her own sex, who by her age and experience acquired an influence over the mind of the girl, and whose poverty tempts her to become the negotiator in this infamous traffic. That young women, unacquainted with the world, and without any education, should fall easy victims to such diabolical arts, is not surprising; nor will it excite astonishment, that they should be cruelly abandoned when the appetite of their destroyer is cloyed; but it may be a little extraordinary, that the offspring of such connexions should be deserted by their inhuman parents, and consigned to misery among the meanest class of society. I have met with numerous instances of the natural sons, daughters, brothers or sisters, of a great landed proprietor, residing on the outside of the domain wall, as wretched cotter tenants on his estate, although he was daily reproached by the sight of his unfortunate relations. It is universally remarked in Ireland, that the illegitimate children of persons holding a very high rank in society are always badly educated, and never looked upon with respect. The case is the same even when they have had the advantages of education; prejudice operates to their injury and consigns them to neglect. The accomplished daughter of the late popular and generous Lord Ross, is a melancholy instance of the truth of this observation. An Irish gentleman of family would never connect himself with a lady, be her qualifications what they may, born out of wedlock, nor would parents allow a daughter to marry a man who had been so brought into the world.

The manner in which wealth is acquired in Ireland, indicates sometimes the difference of character by which certain classes in society are distinguished. That of the Roman catholic grazier has been the result of a rise in prices. A lease taken fifty years ago, even had the lessee made no exertions whatever, must have produced a fortune. A presbyterian merchant, however, has accumulated his money by rigid economy, and unceasing exertion. One is the creature of idleness, the other of industry.

The poor who hold farms in partnership rank no higher than the herd of the grazier, who has frequently two or three acres of land, keeps a few cows or sheep, and very often receives no other wages than the maintenance of these animals. These people send their sons to school, but complain that they cannot afford the same advantage to their daughters. This may account for the women in many districts not understanding a word of English; and it is, therefore, probable that the Irish language will continue through another generation. They portion the girls according to their circumstances; and whatever is given is generally paid in guineas.

The mountain tenants, although a still poorer class, educate their children, and notwithstanding the great inferiority of their means, seem to be more anxious to discharge this duty than those whom heaven has blessed with riches. The people reside in the most wretched huts, and are the "*spalpeens*," who, in summer, travel into Leinster in search of work, while the wife and children wander about begging.

and soliciting charity "for the honour of God." Groups of these poor creatures may be seen during the summer months, from one shore to the other, perambulating the country in want and misery. One of the children carries a tin kettle; others, if stout enough, have a bundle of bed clothes on their backs, and the mother is frequently loaded with an infant, that peeps over her shoulders out of a blanket in which it is suspended. Their clothes are filthy rags: and although the roads are rugged and hard, none of them have stockings or shoes.\* Notwithstanding the abundance of linen in Ireland, the use of this article is a luxury with which they are unacquainted; indeed, the poorer classes throughout the south and west of Ireland in general lie without sheets; they find a shelter in every cottage, the inhabitants of which call such travellers "a God send."

In my way from the north of Roscommon to Woodlawn, in the month of September 1809, I was obliged to shelter in a cabin during a heavy storm of rain. On entering it, I found a young man dressed in a long trusty, sitting on a low stool by the fire. He addressed me with the usual salutation, saying I was welcome; invited me to come to the fire, and called out to a female whom I did not see, to bring me a seat. Looking round, I observed a young girl, apparently about eighteen, jump up perfectly naked, from a sort of a dirty bed in a dark corner of the hut; she immediately huddled on some clothes, and handed me a stool. I observed to the man that he was a lucky fellow to have so fine a girl for his wife. "She is not my wife," said he, "plaze your honour, she is my *shister*." When at Nymphsfield, I was told by Major O'Hara, that in searching for arms in the county of Tipperary, during the time of the rebellion, the military, to prevent them from being carried away, always broke into the cabins in the night-time, and that the people were invariably found naked in their beds.

In the course of a ride into the mountains in the Queen's County, with Mr. Green, in June 1809, I learned that the people always slept naked in bed, in order,

\* The author of the Statistical Account of the parish of Inch, in the county of Wigton, complains of its being infested with Irish beggars, so that it appears they do not confine themselves to their own country. "This parish," says the author, "is both willing and able to provide for its own poor, but the people are greatly oppressed by inundations of poor vagrants from Ireland. The great road from Portpatrick to Dumfries passes through this parish, and is constantly swarming with Irish beggars. They turn aside into the country, and either by entreaties or by threats, extort alms from the inhabitants. They often go in crowds together, accompanied generally with a number of young children. They may be divided into two classes. The first are those whose only object is to beg their bread. The second are those called *troggers*, who carry on a species of traffic, unknown, I am persuaded, in most places. They bring linen from Ireland, which they barter for the old woollen clothes of Scotland, and these they prefer to gold or silver. Bending under burdens of these clothes, they return to their own kingdom." *Sir John Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 139.

The parish of Mochrum, in the same county, is "continually infested with foreign beggars, and especially the Irish, who come over here in great numbers, as they say, 'to visit their friends,' a duty to which it must be allowed they are exceedingly attentive." *Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. xvii. p. 571.

as they said, that their linen might not be worn out. Sheets were never used; blankets even were uncommon; and I am convinced that many sleep on straw in the clothes which they wear in the day time.

In my way from Killaloe to Dromoland in the month of September, in the same year, I observed that the cabins in general had chimneys constructed of stone or of brick, not placed at the gable end, but in the centre. On the eastern side of the Shannon the chimneys are made of wicker work; they are shaped like the cow of a malt kiln, and secured and daubed over with clay.

On the western side of the Shannon, the appearance of the people, their dress, the form of their cottages, and even the Irish language which they speak, are different from what they are in Leinster or Munster, or in any other part of Ireland. The inhabitants of this side of the river, treat those on the other side with the utmost contempt. A common term of reproach with them is, "he is a Connaught man;" and I have heard the people of Dublin, when a gentleman's carriage was passing, drawn by horses of different colours, badly matched, and as an ill-built vehicle always does, rattle in a peculiar manner, exclaim with a contemptuous sneer, "there goes a Connaught." The Connaught men, to elude these sarcastic remarks, call themselves "West Endians," which they pronounce, West India's.

Labour here is lower than in other parts of Ireland, and the people in consequence of the nature of their leases live in a state which approaches almost to slavery. Little money is to be seen in circulation; every payment is made by conveniences; but still, as much wretchedness and poverty is to be found in Dublin and within thirty miles of it, as in any part of Connaught. In this province, and the case is the same in many parts of Ireland, labourers are never employed without a person to overlook and attend them. They generally work in companies; but half the time is wasted in *gossiping* either with the overseer, or among themselves. In the course of my tour, I observed many instances of this idle habit, and was much amused with their conversations. I have seen gangs of young women employed in hay-making or in gathering potatoes, indulge in the same propensity; joking and laughing with the overseer the whole day.

An inclination to theft and pilfering is still remarked among the indigent Irish.

There are some towns of considerable size in Connaught; but Galway is the largest; and is remarkable for the peculiar construction of its houses, which have their gable ends with a coach-house door towards the street. The inhabitants say this town was built by the Spaniards, and Mr. Young seems inclined to this opinion; I know not of any historical evidence to support it. The ladies of this province frequent Galway as a bathing place, and families who are fond of society, reside there during the winter. De Latocnaye, who travelled Ireland, gives a very humorous description of the summer excursions in that country, but as I have not the original I must quote from the translation.

"The young men of Ireland go to seek their fortunes in foreign countries, and continue to soften the hearts of old widows, in spite of brothers, sisters, and children, and even grand-children; but the Irish ladies not being able to go in quest of similar adventures, appear to assemble by agreement at Galway. During summer they flock in here from every corner of Connaught, under pretence of sea bathing, but I would venture to swear it is for some more important purpose. There are few countries in which there are more pretty brunettes, and every thing seems to contribute to the success of their humane plans. The milliners give them credit for ribbons and every other article of dress, and reserve their bill unto the day after marriage. Then the poor husband is like those conquered nations, whom the conquerors oblige to pay for the bomb-shells and cannon-balls with which they have been mowed down. There are public assemblies daily at a moderate sum. Sometimes half-dressed, sometimes dressed, and sometimes undressed, and according to these different degrees, these meetings are called assembly, drum, or promenade. The price of entrance differs according to the name. The greatest gaiety and ease reign there; in fact, the belles of Galway are capable of instructing the French ladies in coquetry. It may naturally be expected, that such a number of fair ones would attract a great many young men, who go there merely to amuse themselves, and often return with an additional rib. In this town is a gentleman who was formerly a catholic priest, and having nothing to live upon but the forty pounds a year granted by law,\* increases his income by marrying people after the *Strada fashion*. In the morning, five or six young ladies stowed on a car, with their legs hanging out, go two miles from the city to refresh their charms in the sea; and in the evening, if there be no assembly, they go from shop to shop, buying, laughing, and chatting with their friends, whom they meet in the way. Galway must be a delightful place for young men during the summer months. There are, however, in this good city, some ladies who grow old without perceiving it, and who go about shopping, dancing and bathing, until they are upwards of fifty; but I am convinced there is no country where they could pass their time more agreeably."†

Some people in England, by terrified newspaper stories, consider the state of society to be so uncivilized, that it is almost dangerous to visit Ireland. In Dublin, and throughout Leinster, a similar idea once prevailed, and is yet continued in a degree towards Connaught, which is considered by the other districts to be far behind them in civilization. If you make any inquiries respecting this province, the common reply is, "I have never been in it."

The following inscription, it is said, was formerly placed over the gates of the town of Galway, "O God, deliver us from the ferocious O'Flaherty's." It is still imperious to the king's writ; but the people speak English, and are by no means in that wild state in which they are generally represented. De Latocnaye met an inoculator in the midst of these mountains, and he very justly observes, that the people, being anxious to have this operation performed upon their children, is a proof of civilization.‡ Mr. Townsend notices the same to the south-west parts of Munster.

During the two seasons I attended the fair at Ballinzsloe, I perceived a great anxiety in the inhabitants of Connaught, to retaliate for the contempt with which they are treated by the people in other provinces. I had an opportunity of observing many

\* This £40. per annum is paid by the county to any Roman catholic clergyman who changes his religion.

† Cork edition, vol. ii. p. 20.

‡ Ibid. p. 62.

scenes are not to be met with in any other part of the British empire, and which make a singular impression on a stranger. When the bishop of Kilmore entered the fair, he was saluted by a loud and general howl, which resembled more the war whoop of savages, than a complimentary acclamation. It seemed, however, to be highly gratifying to the multitude, and to produce a smile of satisfaction on the faces of the Galway buckeens.

Whenever a person dies out of doors, whether naturally or by accident, every traveller who passes throws a stone upon the spot, until the number accumulated rises into a large heap, or cairn, which is preserved for many years. This custom is not peculiar to Connaught, but is common in both Leinster and Munster. Mounds of this kind are to be met with in various parts of Ireland; and I have known gentlemen remove them when they increased to such a size as to be inconvenient by obstructing the roads; but so great is the force of habit and superstition, that their removal has always been followed by a fresh collection; and the common people often told me, that the strongest expression of hatred that they can use from one to another is "*ni curfated me leech au der carne,*" I would not even throw a stone on your grave.\* A contrary expression, "*curidh mi clach ar do chaarn,*" I shall add a stone to your cairn, was among the Scotch Highlanders, the valedictory expression of gratitude or esteem.†

The Irish howl, or cry of lamentation, prevails throughout Connaught and Munster. I have heard it also in Meath and in Louth, but it is on the decline. When a traveller meets a corpse, it is expected that he should lift his hat as it passes; and it is considered as a mark of respect, if a man on horseback turn and follow the funeral to a short distance. When a stranger is in sight, the attendants increase their noise, raising it louder and louder as he approaches; and if they pass through a town, they make an extraordinary exertion. A traveller in Ireland remarks,

"That the *conclamatio* among the Romans coincides with the Irish cry. The *mulieres præfice* exactly correspond with the women who lead the Irish band, and who make an outcry too outrageous to be the effect of real grief,

Ut qui conducti plorant in funere, dicunt  
Et faciunt prope plura dolentibus ex animo.—

\* There are abundance of such cairns in Scotland, where in some places they are considered as having been collected by way of penance, in the time of popery. *Sir John Sinclair's Statistical Account*, vol. xv. p. 529. In general, however, they are supposed to be rude monuments over the graves of warriors who fell in battle. The author of the *Statistical Account of Kiltarn parish, in the county of Ross*, says, "It is evident from these remains, and many others of a similar nature, which abound in almost every part of the highlands of Scotland, that it was the custom of our ancestors to cover their burying-places with heaps of stones; and the reason, probably, was, to prevent the bodies from being dug up and devoured by wolves, wild boars, and other beasts of prey, which then infested the country. 'I'll add a stone to your cairn,' was formerly a proverbial expression of friendship among the Highlanders." *Sir John Sinclair's Statistical Account*, vol. i. p. 293.

† *Statistical Account*, vol. xvii. p. 349.

"That this custom was Phœnician we may learn from Virgil, who was very correct in the costume of his characters. The conclatatio over the Phœnician Dido, as described by him, is similar to the Irish cry,

Lamentis gemituque et fœmineo ululatu  
Tecta fremunt—.

The very word *ululates*, or *hulluloo*, and the Greek word of the same import, have a strong affinity to each other.\*

In this portion of my sketch of the character, habits, and manners of the Irish, I have confined myself principally to the people on the western side of the Shannon, which completely divides the country from Portumna to the ocean. Beyond this district, the first object which engaged my attention was, the city of Limerick, where I found the police in a wretched state, although it might be expected that in the vicinity of a city of so much consequence, it would be one of the chief objects of attention. The most alarming and atrocious robberies were daily committed. When at Adare, in October 1808, I learned that the carriage of the bishop of Limerick, with four or five others, had been stopped between Lady Clare's and the city, by a band of about a dozen ruffians, one of whom fired at and wounded his lordship. These banditti were headed by one Ryan, who rented some land near Pallas, and who was afterwards taken up for another offence, and conveyed to Clonmel gaol. He traversed the country, watching every opportunity to raise contributions on the road. Robberies, indeed, were so common here, that gentlemen who travelled with their servants went generally well armed.

There is one practice strongly characteristic of the lawless and riotous disposition of the people here. Numbers assemble, sometimes in a tumultuous manner, and entering a field or enclosure, catch the horses, ride them about the whole night, and in the morning turn them loose on the high road.

In October 1808, I met, in the neighbourhood of Adare, a boy who had travelled from Carriek, a distance of forty miles, for the purpose of begging. I gave him some money, and, meeting him again a few hours after, observed a remarkable change in his looks. His whole demeanour announced a comparative degree of happiness. He had got his pockets filled with bread; and, after thanking me for my bounty, he told me that he had purchased the *Arabian Nights' Entertainment*. In the morning he seemed famished, and almost naked; but his misery was now forgotten in the enjoyment of his book, which he, considered as a great treasure.

The Palatines, who reside in the neighbourhood of this city, have among them about ten different names. They are reserved in their manners, and hold very little intercourse with the other classes of the people.

The inhabitants, in the old part of the city of Limerick, live in such filth, that, for the sake of the reader, I shall not attempt to describe their habitations. A con-

\* Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland, p. 209.

siderable portion of the whole population consists of persons exceedingly poor. There is, however, much commercial wealth; but it does not produce an effect in polishing the manners of its possessors. This city has a theatre, and the new part, which belongs to Lord Limerick, must, to judge from the appearance of the houses, be the residence of respectable families; it is celebrated for the beauty of the higher class of its females, and not without reason.

Following the banks of the Shannon, the country to the north of Limerick has a few resident proprietors, but is not remarkably populous. The poorer classes, particularly in the neighbourhood of Bruff, where I passed in November 1808, are an active race, who go half naked, live in miserable mud cabins, and are, no doubt, hardy. It is impossible to find any country where the people are more confined to potatoes for food, than the inhabitants of this district.

In the neighbourhood of Tarbert is a holy well, at which I saw upwards of fifty persons on their knees doing penance.

The brogues of the common people are made like pumps, with thick soles; but instead of being sewed with wax thread, they are worked together with leathern thongs.

On leaving Tarbert, I lost every trace of resident gentry, and travelled to Kerry-head, passing through a country, the inhabitants of which I was told were all "White Boys." I do not know what title they gave themselves, nor is it of much importance; but I spent two nights among them, and experienced as sincere hospitality, and found as much personal safety under their roof, as I ever did in the most civilized parts of England. Their cabins are built of stone without cement, and the doors are of wicker work. In every respect, they had a wretched appearance. Turf was so scarce that they were glad to use any thing for fuel; and when they lighted a fire, they endeavoured to increase the warmth by confining the smoke within the walls of their huts.

From Tarbert to Listowel, the country as well as the inhabitants present a wretched and gloomy appearance. Among the latter there is some weaving carried on, but they have no market to which they can bring the produce of their labour. There are no resident gentlemen, but White Boys in abundance; yet many of these poor are sufficiently intelligent to feel and describe the situation of the country in a manner which excited my astonishment. A very considerable estate, where this wretchedness predominates, belongs to Trinity College, Dublin.

I was advised not to enter into so disturbed a district, but as I was conscious that no act of mine deserved their resentment, I entertained no fear; I neither carried pistols, nor was dressed in uniform; I conversed freely with every one I met; kept company with many of the poorer orders on the road; and by the time I reached Kerry Head, had many attendants to shew me the Atlantic. I found them a sensible and inquisitive people, superstitious, querulous, and of an idle disposition. The principal objects of their complaint were proctors tithes, middlemen, and bad land-

lords. They seemed to have a very imperfect idea of the government; but they said nothing against it. They only observed, speaking of their own condition, that they had "no master" or protector; an expression by which they meant that there were no resident land-owners among them to shield them from oppression.

At this period, the people in the south of Ireland were in a state approaching to insurrection, and great alarm prevailed throughout the whole country from Kerry Head, to Tramore, in the county of Waterford. The rioters assembled on the blowing of a horn. The leaders, for distinction, wore white shirts. They attacked the persons and houses of proctors, agents, and magistrates; wreaking their vengeance on the Palatines, and conducting their meetings with such secrecy, that their plans were never detected in time to prevent the meditated mischief. Great acts of barbarity were committed, yet few were taken; and whatever may have been the cause, every thing was in the utmost confusion. Mr. Townsend, alluding to this circumstance, says: "The perpetual enmity that subsisted formerly between rival tribes, when every petty chieftain lived in a state of constant hostility with his neighbour, established a spirit of contentious emulation, of which too many traces still remain. The chiefs, indeed, are gone; the creating cause has disappeared; but the effect produced has not yet followed it."\*

At Kerry Head, I observed that the children were all educated. Some are even taught the politer accomplishments, and dancing masters were established in all the towns.

In this part of the country, weddings, among the opulent, and even those among the poorest people, are attended with considerable expense. The usual seasons for marrying are a month before Lent, and a month before Christmas, which they call "before Advent." The parties are often very young: girls of fourteen or fifteen, and boys a year or two older. The match is frequently settled by the parents, without the knowledge of the intended bride and bridegroom.† When a man has a daughter, whom he considers old enough to be a mother, he gives out that she is to be married before the ensuing Advent. The dowry generally consists of some cows; and the lady's being disposed of to advantage, depends on the number of these animals which the father is able to bestow. The father of the young man divides his holding with his son; and, in making the bargain, the chief object on one side is to obtain the largest quantity of land, and on the other, the greatest number of cows. When the preliminaries have been settled, as early a day as possible is fixed for the marriage. On that occasion the whole neighbourhood are invited, or rather invite themselves; for as it is customary to pay for their entertainment, every one

\* Cork Survey, p. 70.

† The power assumed in this case by parents in Ireland, seems to be as great as is given to them by the laws and customs in some of the Oriental nations, but there the matchmakers are the mothers. See *Charlin*, vol. i. p. 231. *Russel*, p. 111. *Ricaut*, vol. ii. c. 21. *Niebuhr's Travels in Arabia*, p. 75.

who comes is welcome. The expense to a visitor is about 6s. 6d. Of this sum, 2s. 2d. is given to the priest; 1s. 1d. goes to his coadjutor; the same to the musician, who enlivens the company with the melodious strains of his bag-pipe, and a like sum to the cook, who superintends the preparation of the entertainment. The dinner consists of "every delicacy" that the adjacent district can supply; and, as those who partake of it are numerous, a whole sheep, with pigs, turkeys, geese, and fowls, are dressed in the surrounding houses. Ten or fifteen gallons of punch are made, of which the company, both men and women, liberally partake, and the merry dance is kept up with great spirit during the greater part of the night.

The people to the south of this district value themselves on their antiquity. Very ancient title-deeds may sometimes be found in the hands of the poorest peasant, and they are as proud of tracing their origin from the Milesian race, as are the Welsh from their great chieftain Cadwalladar.\* Mr. Weld, in his description of Killarney, gives a very interesting account of an instance of this propensity, which was communicated to him by Mr. Betty of the herald's office. It is the opinion of many intelligent persons, that the ancestors of the inhabitants of this part of Ireland, as well as those in Galway, came originally from Spain. Spain is supposed to have been peopled from Scythia; and the manners and customs of the Irish, roving about with their flocks in the woods and bogs, as described by Spenser, who wrote in the days of Queen Elizabeth, have a great resemblance to those of the ancient Scythians. Mr. Young, in the year 1779, remarked many customs in Ireland, which by an examination of names and circumstances, he was enabled to trace to Spain.† In a late conversation with Mr. Arrowsmith, I found that he entertains the same opinion; and it is generally believed that in Kerry there is a language which bears some affinity to Latin. I occasionally met with some who spoke a doggrel dialect, somewhat like the Latin, but they were very few in number.‡

Proceeding along the sea coast, the poor are a quiet but inquisitive people, idle, and addicted to pilfering. All ranks are most anxious to become acquainted with every circumstance respecting a stranger. When one is among them, they have penetration enough to discover him, and ask him innumerable questions. In my way to Bantry, in October, 1808, I met a gentleman on horseback, attended by a servant. He stopped me when he came up, and accosted me with: "Pray, Sir, from whence do you come?" "From Killarney."—"And whither are you going?" "I am going to Bantry."—"And have you a letter of introduction to Lord Bantry?" "Yes, and can you inform me whether his Lordship is at home?"—"Why,

\* This is a common christian name in the county of Wexford.

† Tour in Ireland, London edit. 1804, p. 217.

‡ Mr. Weld found the people here much in the same state as I have described. See his Tour, p. 179, also Smith's History of Kerry.

to be sure, now; and Captain White and his lady are both there, and you'll be heartily welcome."

A few days after I met a music-master on his way to Bere to teach the young ladies of a clergyman's family and others; his stay was to be a week at each house where he taught. During that time, his horse and himself were maintained free of expense, and he was paid for his services besides.

In the southern part of Ireland there are some considerable towns, which have an influence on the manners and customs of the people in the surrounding districts. There are theatres in the cities of Cork and Waterford. In the former is a philosophical society, and both have many charitable establishments, which do honour to their founders. The other places most worthy of notice are Carrick, Clonmel, Youghal, Fermoy, Kinsale, Bandon, and Cloghnakilty; the great difference, however, between this district and other parts of Ireland, consists not in towns and villages, but in the extent of its population which is spread all over the country, and particularly along the sea-coast of Cork, where the inhabitants, are so numerous that they often emigrate. Mr. Townsend thinks that farmers are in general the most comfortably situated, who live in the interior at some distance from the sea. Population being there less crowded, land is obtained on more reasonable terms, and every occupier "has enough."\* I did not find that population in Ulster occasioned an increase in rent, as it does in the south; and although a proportional close population must in every situation abstract from the comforts of the people, I am still of opinion, that in the neighbourhood of the sea-coast, although room may not be afforded for the larger occupations, as is the case in the interior, mentioned by Mr. Townsend, the inhabitants are in a more advanced state of improvement, than I found them in the northern part of this large county.

The language, is every where nearly the same; even in the city of Cork, and at Youghal, the common people speak Irish. The use of wheaten bread, which some years ago was unknown, is now common among them; and I was informed by Mr. Fitzgerald of Corkbeg, that this change is ascribed to the potatoes having been scarce in the year 1800, which obliged the people to have recourse to wheat, since which time they have continued to use it. This has led to the erection of many belt-ing-mills throughout the whole line of country, affording an agreeable proof of improvement. But as all the great towns lie within a few miles of the sea-coast, population and wealth have increased. The people consume much fish, but they use it chiefly salted, from an idea that it goes much farther.

The Irish language is so much spoken among the common people, in the city of Cork and its neighbourhood, that an Englishman is apt to forget where he is, and to consider himself in a foreign city. There are many other circumstances also, which

\* Survey of Cork, p. 300.

tend to excite the same idea. Cork never having been the seat of government, its inhabitants have not acquired that urbanity and polished behaviour which are communicated by the vicinity of a court, and which are extended, in some degree, to every rank in society. This great city has entirely arisen from commerce and manufactures. These pursuits are the great sinews of the state, and merit encouragement and support; but they communicate to the manners, habits, and ideas of the people, a peculiar cast, which is perceptible even by those who do not possess very acute powers of discrimination.

The inhabitants of sea-port towns, and particularly the poor, are seldom distinguished by purity of morals or softness of manners: yet the number of unfortunate women here is not so great as in some cities of the same size in England. I observed that the female part of the labouring class are treated with a barbarity not at all in unison with that gallantry and regard for the sex on which Irishmen so much value themselves. These poor creatures may be seen in all parts of the city without shoe or stocking, carrying baskets on their backs filled with meat, and suspended by a hay-band round the head.

At Doneraile, I was informed that the women every where dress the corn, carry home the potatoes, and perform all those labours, for which man was by nature intended. By exposure to the weather they become hardy, and lose that charm of delicacy which is the characteristic of their sex. The whole way between Grainge and Adare, I saw women washing linen in the ditches, and standing up to their knees in water, notwithstanding the coldness of the season, it being then the beginning of December.

When at Glangarriff, in October 1808, I was informed by Miss Townsend, an intelligent elderly lady who resides at Castle Townsend, that women are hired to attend funerals, and that their business is to rehearse a kind of oration on the character and ancestry of the deceased. This practice is called "keening," and these female orators are paid according to the rank and opulence of the person whom they panegyryze. For those who are poor, there are numerous eulogists, who volunteer their services, and perform this office without reward. Itinerant bards are also common, whose mercenary aid can be refreshed by money and who compose adulatory verses for hire. A petition, presented by the widow of one of these poets to Mrs. Townsend, contained the following expressions: "May your ladyship long reign—My cabin was built by my husband, by the force of his strains, as Amphion built Thebes by the power of his lyre." This lady said, that the poor in her neighbourhood sup at nine o'clock; converse by the light and warmth of bog wood until eleven or twelve; rise at a late hour, and milk their cows at eleven in the forenoon.

The farmers in the inland part of the country live upon potatoes, with the addition of butter-milk, as they cannot afford to use milk fresh from the cow. At Christ-

mas, perhaps, they indulge in a little meat; but the labouring cotters have no other fare than dry potatoes, and consider it fortunate if they are enabled to purchase salt to render them more palatable. The account given of the poor of Cork, by Mr. Townsend, is a picture of misery and distress, as affecting as that which Mr. Du-bourdieu has given of the same class in Down. The former says:

“ Houses differ in size, according to the circumstances of the occupier, but they are all built, when left to the farmer's choice, on the exceptionable plan with an open chimney at one end and a small room separated by a partition at the other; this is the bed-chamber of the family, and serves also for a store-room. The walls are too low to allow an upper floor for habitable purposes; but a few sticks thrown across at the feet of the rafters form a receptacle for lumber. Glass windows are a luxury to which cottagers rarely aspire; but as light is an indispensable requisite, they contrive, by making opposite doors, to have one always open for its admission. No regard is paid to the cleanliness of the mansion—indeed it is impossible for any care to keep houses in any thing like decent condition as long as the slovenly custom prevails of emptying every vessel on the floor, and making dung-holes before the door. It is, however, but fair to observe, that want of cleanliness is by no means peculiar to the lower order, and that many who lay claim to a higher appellation, commit the same faults without the palliation of the same necessities. Many houses may be found of two stories high, the windows of which have never admitted any air, except through the chinks, and to whose floors the mop and scrubbing brush are hardly more than annual visitors.”\*

Notwithstanding persons of every description in this part of Ireland have some portion of land, the poor are without gardens, which is the great comfort of the English labourer, the meanest cottage being often ornamented with the honey-suckle, sweet-pea, and scarlet-bean, while his little plot of ground produces a plentiful crop of cabbages, carrots, beans, and other useful vegetables. In Ireland, no such thing is to be seen. Mr. Townsend ascribes this want of garden-ground, to the general cultivation of the potato, and I am of the same opinion.

In Munster, a peasant never considers himself dressed for a fair or a pattern unless he puts on his whole wardrobe at once. Mr. Rawson says, that this custom is prevalent in the county of Kildare. “ Even in the dog-days Pat sweats under a heavy frieze coat, and if he had three coats he would mount them all.”† It is to be remarked, that an Irish tailor considers it unnecessary that a man's dress should fit his body. A coat in Ireland is not made like that which in England is called a straight coat. It always hangs loose in the manner of a surtout. An Irishman is as awkward in a close coat, as a highlander in breeches.

In Tipperary, Limerick, and the Queen's County, the Irish language is very common. The men are strong limbed, and seem to be more active than those in Cork. Hurling is a prevalent amusement. Children, as soon as they are able to follow each other, run about, in bands of a dozen or more, with balls and hurls, eagerly

\* Survey of Cork, p. 245.

† Survey of Kildare, p. 25.

contending for victory. They sometimes issue in such numbers from the miserable mud cabins which are scattered throughout the fertile districts of this rich country, as must excite astonishment in those who are acquainted with the poverty of the inhabitants. Hurling is a game which cannot be played in mountainous districts; and I think that the vigour and activity of the peasantry in the south, are in a great measure to be ascribed to their attachment to this play, which by the exercise it affords, strengthens the whole frame and contributes to health.

Here the young men are distinguished by a spirit of gallantry worthy of the ages of romance. They often meet in parties of a hundred, to carry off some female, either with or without her consent; and so prevalent is this practice, that few young women are married, that are not run away with in this manner. The activity of the men; their propensity for rioting and depredation, render them a terror to the aristocracy of the country. They extend their tumultuous excursions to the suburbs of Clonmel, and, when I was there, they excited no small consternation. Long accustomed to a licentiousness, which the administration of the laws does not repress, it has grown into a habit; and whether it breaks out at a pattern or a fair, in a general fight, or displays itself in nightly meetings for the purpose of carrying off women or burning houses, it is to be ascribed to the same cause. Mr. Townsend, who, resides in the neighbourhood of this district, and who observed the same practices in the county of Cork, considers them as arising from the ancient divisions of the country;\* and I am inclined to the same opinion. But the people have many just causes of complaint, two instances of which came within my own knowledge, and are of so singular a nature that they deserve to be recorded.

When at Nenagh, in the month of October, 1808, a dreadful riot took place in the neighbourhood, in consequence of a small farmer having paid his rent to his landlord, who was a middle-man, and who had neglected to pay the head-landlord. The poor man's cattle being seized for the rent, a party assembled to rescue them; and, though few in number at first, they increased in the course of a little time to several thousands. Confident in their strength, they attacked the persons who were conducting the cattle—obliged them to give them up, and carried them off in triumph. No lives were lost in this conflict; but many of the combatants were severely wounded. I was told by Mr. Gayson and Mr. Parker, that events of this kind were common.

Being at Marifield in December, 1808, on a ride one day with Mr. Bagwell, I was surprised to meet a country gentleman, a Mr. Sparrow, who resided in the neighbourhood, accompanied by three horse soldiers. He informed Mr. Bagwell that his life had been threatened; that a farm-house in his own occupation had the night before been burned to the ground; and that from letters he had received he

\* Survey of Cork, p. 70.

did not think it safe to ride out alone. Such a state of society, in a country where a regular government is established, was highly alarming; but both Mr. Bagwell and Mr. Sparrow spoke of it as a common occurrence; and they thought that the persons who had burned the house were well known to the inhabitants of the surrounding district. Mr. Bagwell said that he heard of the circumstance in the morning, and had ordered Mr. Sparrow's servants to attend him in his magisterial capacity. We proceeded to Clonmel jail, which was filled with rioters of this description. I conversed with many of them, and particularly with the celebrated Ryan, who had wounded the bishop of Limerick. The under sheriff was with us; and when we returned from Clonmel, I was anxious to be present at the examination of Mr. Sparrow's servants. It appeared by their depositions, that the farm-house which was burned had been occupied by a farmer under lease; and Mr. Sparrow, wishing to get possession of it, offered to put the occupier into another, of which he was to give him a new lease. It was further stated, that before the lease was delivered, the young ladies of the family expected twenty guineas each, as a douceur for their kind interference; but the tenant refused to comply; and the consequence was, an anonymous letter threatening that the house and premises which the farmer had quitted, would be burned unless they were restored to their former possessor. This threat was unattended to, and the house was burned; Mr. Sparrow received a second letter, denouncing farther vengeance, and stating that he would lose his life, unless compensation was made to the tenant for being turned out of his farm. I left the place the next day, and never heard how this strange affair terminated; but it explained to me why I was permitted to travel for several weeks in the midst of these rioters, without being molested. Had they been actuated by a general spirit of revolt or excited to massacre for the sake of plunder, this would not have been the case. As a proof that their irritation proceeded neither from religious nor political motives, and that their hostility was confined to those whom they considered as their oppressors, I shall mention, that Mr. Bagwell, who was at the head of a great political and religious party, and who had just contested the county against a violent opposition, could trust himself among them without any guard; and I observed, in our excursions, that they behaved to him with particular civility. I am persuaded, therefore, from these circumstances, that their discontent and irregularities are not the consequence of depraved habits or public grievances, but are solely owing to an indignant sense of private injuries, which they have no other means of redressing; and although the individual, who was the object of their resentment committed no deliberate offences against them, but acted according to the usage of the country, yet I must condemn the principle, and reprobate the practices which are at such variance with moral rectitude, and so injurious to domestic peace and to society in general.

These instances corroborate others which were mentioned to me in various parts

of Ireland ; but as they were not given in evidence before a magistrate, it may not be proper to detail them.

In Tipperary the peasantry wear clothes of different colours ; but on crossing the Suir, I observed that the men, as well as the women, were all dressed in blue. Entering the county of Waterford near Lismore, and leaving the Blackwater, I crossed, in my way to Kilmacthomas, a district which appeared to be almost uncultivated, and nearly without inhabitants. I found not one resident gentleman in this whole tract ; and I was informed, that it was the scene of the most barbarous excesses. When accounts of disturbances in Ireland are received in England, no one ever assigns any other cause for them than a spirit of rebellion, or religious hatred and animosity between the advocates of the catholic and protestant creeds. Such an opinion is incorrect. In this part of the country, which is one of the finest, extending over many thousands of acres from Kerry Head to the southern coast of Waterford, the people can be restrained only by a military force ; and for many years past, they have been in the same unfortunate situation. But a very little way from a barrack, murders, rapes, and robberies, are daily committed ; yet these atrocities arise neither from a spirit of revolt, nor religious bigotry. The inhabitants are all catholics, and in every outrage, they are catholic against catholic. This is to be ascribed, in some degree, to the prevalence of former habits ; civilization has not been sufficiently introduced among the people ; they have their traditions, and are still influenced by the old custom of fighting in septships ; but I must add, that it arises, also, in a great measure, from systematic oppression, which perpetuates their ignorance, leaving them a prey to their own ungovernable passions. Formerly the inhabitants assembled under their old chiefs at a moment's notice, to commit the most dreadful excesses ; immediately dispersing, and seemingly forgetting what had passed, until called forth to renew these scenes of devastation. The same custom still exists ; the people collect in consequence of the report of some grievance, but they have no chiefs, and act more from the impulse of the moment, than from concert or premeditation. I was told, by a very shrewd and intelligent man, that this custom was only a remnant of " Old Irish blackguardism ;" a remark more apposite, perhaps, than it may at first appear. But it is to be regretted, that government cannot devise some means of better employing these people, who are a fine body of men, and of rendering them useful to the state. Instead of allowing them to waste their strength in domestic warfare, it might be turned against the common enemy of the peace and happiness of Europe.

The Buckeens in all this district are Roman catholics, and deeply feel the degraded state to which the professors of their religion are reduced. Irritated by disappointment, they remain sullen spectators of the atrocities which they see daily perpetrated, and which are often subjects of exultation, conceiving that these disturbances harass the government. Such instances I have frequently observed ; and in Tipperary.

this spirit had been increased, by the change of government during the late administration. Seven Roman catholic gentlemen were formerly called on the grand jury, but since the power of nominating the sheriff has fallen into the hands of the protestant party, not one has been selected. Unfortunately, the last election for a county member was severely contested, from a spirit of religious opposition. The same disposition extends across the Shannon into Roscommon, and as far as Leitrim; yet a striking difference is to be observed between the districts on the opposite sides of that river. In Kerry, when I was in Ireland, few nights passed without some tumult, while the people on the other shore, in the county of Clare, were peaceable and quiet.

In Tipperary, hurling is a favourite game, and is sometimes played by parties of a hundred men on each side. The ball is tossed up in the middle, and each player has a knotted stick, with which he endeavours to drive it to the goal on that side to which his party belongs.

When a man marries, the ceremony of bringing home his wife is called "hauling home." On this occasion he is accompanied by all his neighbours on horseback, and as the cavalcade passes along, they are pelted with cabbage-stalks by the mob.

The people here are distinguished by the names of Cromwellians, Williamites, &c. in reference to the period in which their ancestors settled in Ireland. There is also, chiefly in the neighbourhood of Clonmel, a turbulent party, addicted to fighting and quarrelling, who style themselves *Shanavestes* and *Caravats*. They are Roman catholics, and have now become numerous.

Bastards in these parts, are called "free badgerers." When prisoners are tried at the assizes, they frequently are discharged upon what is called "town security;" that is, the prosecution is dropped, when some of their neighbours are bound for keeping the peace. The people do this among themselves, and according to their mode of expression, say, that it is "to prevent their being put to trouble."

Those who give out wool to be spun are called "Havilands." The poor are acquainted with the time they make their monthly or annual visit, and their arrival is looked for with great anxiety. The peasantry here are remarkably athletic, they run, jump, and play at hurling, without shoes or stockings.

The most favourite time for marrying is on the Monday before Lent. The fear of not meeting with a match during that period, gives an aching heart to many a young woman. Sometimes the relations, rather than that she should be disappointed, look out one for her; and they will even stop the first likely young man they meet, and make a proposal of marriage, which is very often accepted. Such alliances frequently take place, and yet the women are perfectly modest.

The Irish have a superstitious idea, that certain events, indifferent in themselves, are either lucky or unlucky. Among the latter is that of weighing or measuring very young children, or putting them out at a window.

In the county of Roscommon, I met with the following instance of the effects of superstition on the minds of the poorer people. A gentleman named Kelly having had some linen stolen, he sent for the "garvally," which is an implement somewhat like a shepherd's crook, kept by a person who possesses the double character of saint and conjuror. If this divining rod be placed round the neck of one who has told a lie, it is believed that the offender's mouth will be distorted, and turned towards the back part of the head. So powerfully did this operate on the imagination of the thief, that the linen was restored as soon as it became known the "garvally" was sent for.

While I was here, in the month of April, 1809, the "threshers" came in a great body, and swore Mr. Kelly's servants; this was done in consequence of the priest having refused to baptize a child until he received payment of some dues owing to him for a woman who died in the house of the father.

Kilkenny, Carlow, and the western side of the Barrow, south of the Queen's county, abound with country squires, of a character peculiar to Ireland. They are distinguished by a taste for fox-hunting, cock-fighting, horse-racing, gambling, and extravagant amusement, in the pursuit of which they expend more than their incomes: they are ignorant and conceited; and having never devoted any of their time to the acquisition of knowledge, are fit to associate only with persons like themselves. Some of the principal gentry are Roman catholics: many were once so, but have renounced their creed, and are called, by the poorer orders, "kildried protestants;" a term which is applied also to those born of catholic parents. The catholics consider them all their partisans, and I am inclined to think that they are so in their hearts.

The poor are much neglected by the richer classes in this district; and I have been informed of many, and have seen some glaring instances of the tyranny and oppression to which they are subjected: I shall mention one. In the month of June, 1809, at the races at Carlow, I saw a poor man's cheek laid open by a stroke of a whip. He was standing in the midst of a crowd, near the winning post: the inhuman wretch who inflicted the wound, was a gentleman of some rank in the county, but his name, for many reasons, I shall not mention. The unhappy sufferer was standing in his way, and, without requesting him to move, he struck him with less ceremony than an English country squire would a dog. But what astonished me even more than the deed, and which shews the difference between English and Irish feeling, was, that not a murmur was heard, nor hand raised in disapprobation; but the surrounding spectators dispersed, running different ways, like slaves terrified at the rod of their despot. I observed to a gentleman with whom I was in company, how different a feeling would have actuated the populace in England. There, no man who lifts his hand unjustly is sheltered by his rank. The bystanders are always ready to espouse the cause of the injured, and would themselves

inflict summary punishment even on a nobleman who should violate the laws of his country by such an aggression. "What!" replied my friend, "would a man there dare to strike his superior?"—Yes, "and on his own estate, and in the midst of his tenantry." Well, but twenty magistrates of the county of Carlow are present. Will they not interpose, and redress this man? "Oh! no, they will get into no quarrel with ——." The conversation dropped, and I never felt so proud of being an Englishman; the subject of a country where no man's poverty precludes him from finding an advocate—where every instance of cruelty excites the noblest feelings of the heart; and where the law affords the same protection to the poor as to the rich.

Throughout the south of Ireland, and particularly in Clonmel, Cork, Bandon, and Limerick, many of the commercial men are opulent quakers, who are in possession of great quantities of ready money. Brought up in industry and frugal habits, they acquire fortunes; but these habits relax as their riches increase, and they frequently lay aside much of that reserve which is so peculiar to their sect, and participate in the enjoyments of society. Their political opinions are those of the protestants, and are in direct opposition to the Roman catholics.

In Kilkenny, the humble orders are wretchedly poor. Mr. Tighe, who is a resident, and better able to ascertain their real situation, has given a very accurate picture of their condition:

"It is surprising," says he, "how, in the cheapest times, they can struggle for existence, *unaided* as they are by many little helps they meet with in this country: and, in fact, we feed them on such wretched diet, curtailed of that necessary article, milk, during great part of the year, and using salt in its stead, or sometimes herrings, to give a relish to their food: scantily supplied with potatoes; clothed with rags; famished with cold, in their comfortless habitations: nor can they, though sober, frugal, and laborious, which, from my own knowledge, I assert, provide against infirmity and old age, with any other resource than begging or dependence; than the precarious relief of charity; extremities to which many are constantly reduced. None can tell better than the members of the charitable societies here, what numbers of miserable objects depend on the distribution of their bounty for existence, and how inadequate language is to convey a just idea of their poverty and suffering. These statements may be applied, more or less, to all parts of the country. The habitations of cotters are generally wretched; those of small farmers tolerably good. In the parish of Dungarvan, a labourer paid 35s. a year for a strip of ground, a few perches taken from the side of the road, on which he had built a cabin; he earned 6½d. a day in summer, and two meals, threshes and ploughs. A cotter in the parish of Kilmacahill, held near two acres, at a guinea an acre; got 6d. a day the year round, and no diet. A cotter in the parish of Mothill, had a cabin, and nearly an acre, for 40s. a year, and 8d. a day the year round. For cabins in Iverk, and an acre of ground, from three to four guineas. Cabins in Pittown, 30s. Poorer houses here, in many parts, have no division but a mat, no chimney, and a hole to supply the place of a window; for such a house, and a little garden, in the parish of Ballycallan, 30s. were paid, and for similar houses in general, a guinea a year is the usual rent. In the wheat districts the cabins are the worst; in the hills the best. In general, they are dirty, often damp;

the moisture of the soil mounts up the mud walls, which are made of the earth upon the spot: wooden plates are mostly used in cabins, with some earthenware."\*

In Carlow the people seem to enjoy more comforts; but on proceeding north, towards the bog of Allen, their features are strangely altered; a difference which is produced by poverty and bad fare. Sir Charles Coote gives the following account of the poor in the King and Queen's counties; but I cannot agree with him, that their comforts would be increased were every peasant to keep a cow.

"In upper woods the women of the peasantry are more industrious than in the low lands. They find employment within and without doors. Their character, in other parts of the barony, is extreme idleness and sloth, and they scarcely do more than prepare the food of the family, which occupies but little of their time, except the few I have mentioned that spin worsted. Candour obliges me to acknowledge, that they are much addicted to theft, which is no disgrace to them to be detected."†

"The population of the county is much increased of late years; and it is a sad reflection, that their miseries are multiplied in the same proportion. The wealth of other states is appreciated by the number of their children, and, with the Irish peasant, they constitute his misfortune and poverty. How few of them enjoy the luxury of a little milk; and if a cow can ensure the happiness and comfort of a family, is there a peasant in the island that should not be indulged?"‡

"Throughout the King's county, the cottages of the peasants are miserably poor and wretched, in few instances weather proof, yet fondly clung to by the natives, who are attached to them from custom, and, perhaps, also, from the warmth occasioned by their smoke and lowness. In some parts they are only hovels covered with sods and bog rushes, but turf fuel is plenty and very cheap. Their food is potatoes, but they have little oatmeal or milk. Their clothing consists of coarse friezes and stuffs."§

"The more wealthy farmers live well, but are dirty; and they all refuse to live in slated houses, many of which have been erected by the gentry, and are very ornamental to domains, but they are of no farther use, as they prefer clay huts."||

On crossing the Barrow, a striking difference is observable in the manners and customs of the people; on the eastern bank, English is spoken, and Irish scarcely known; a little way interior, it is treated with contempt. The peasantry near the Slaney are a fine race of people, and in a state of improvement. They dress in a superior manner, and the muslin gowns and caps of the women are gratifying to the eye of an Englishman. Here the females have a proper idea of their own consequence in society, and pay more attention to personal cleanliness and neatness, than in many other parts of Ireland. This taste is attended with many good consequences, and ought to be encouraged.¶

\* Tighe's Survey of Kilkenny, p. 473, 474.

† Coote's General Survey of the Queen's County, p. 88.

‡ Ibid.

§ Coote's Survey of the King's County, Dublin edit. 1801, p. 19, 56,

|| Ibid. p. 67.

¶ The author of the Statistical Account of Carluke parish, in the county of Lanark, mentions one benefit arising from this taste, which is particularly worthy of remark. The people being "enabled to dress more decently, and to make a better appearance in public occasions, have thence an additional inducement to attend with more regularity the important ordinances of religion." *Sir John Sinclair's Stat. Account of Scotland*, vol. viii. p. 141.

To those who have never been in a catholic country, the assembling of the Wexford and Wicklow peasantry on a Sunday afternoon, to amuse themselves with dancing and other recreations, will appear extraordinary. They dress in their gayest attire; and cheerfulness and good humour are in their looks; on such occasions care is cast aside, and those who delight to see others happy will be highly gratified in travelling through these counties.

The labourers are indolent, and it is not without difficulty that they are compelled to perform the business of their employers. The dress of the poor is different to that in some other parts of Ireland. The coat is long, and fits close to the body. In Munster, coats of this kind are uncommon, the loose trusty is universal. So fond are these people of a profusion of clothes, that a man may be seen, like the grave-digger in Hamlet, with half a dozen of waistcoats on in the height of summer; over these is one trusty on his back, while another hangs over his shoulders; and by way of bravado, and to create a row, he lets the last trail on the ground, calling out "Touch that, by Jasus, if you dare." It is worthy of remark, that the humbler classes of the Irish display a wonderful hardihood on many occasions, and seem to care very little about wounds.

The Wexford peasants have a custom when at meals, to sit with their doors open, which is an invitation to those who are passing to enter and partake of their homely fare. So innate is their hospitality, that the stranger is always welcome, and I know no trait in the Irish character which is more generally displayed. This benevolent disposition pervades all ranks; in some it is not repressed even by wretchedness and poverty, which are calculated to destroy the generous feelings of the breast.

In some parts of Wexford the people are not inclined to enter into the army. In the barony of Forth no one has enlisted during the last eighty-seven years. Many, however, are sailors, and there is scarcely a family that has not one of its members absent at sea. In this barony the women are handsome, and attend to domestic cleanliness. On Saturday they carry their tables, chairs, and other furniture; to the nearest ditch or pond, where they are scoured and washed. It is much to be wished that this example were generally followed.

The peasantry in this county appear better than any I ever saw in the south. They are not half naked as in other parts, and all wear stockings and shoes. The women are commonly dressed in long blue cloaks, with straw bonnets, and sometimes with black worsted stockings. Mantua-makers are employed, and some purchase muslins. According to every account which I could procure, the superior condition of the people in this district arises from the land not being so much divided as in other parts of Ireland.

The baronies of Bargie and Forth are peopled by a distinct race, who are said to be descended from the adventurers who accompanied Strongbow to Ireland.

Their origin is pointed out by their language, and by their manners and habits, which bear a strong resemblance to those of their Saxon forefathers. General Vallancy, speaking of them, says,

“ When we were first acquainted with this colony, a few of both sexes wore the ancient dress. That of the man was a short coat, waistcoat and breeches, with a round hat and narrow brim. That of the woman was a short jacket, a petticoat, two or three rows of tape of different colours. We have seen one whose jacket was of superior cloth, of a dark brown colour, edged with a narrow silver lace; the dress of the head was a kircher. The names of the old colonists are Horse, Cod, Stafford, Whitty, Rossiter, Sinnott, Murphy, Stephen, Quiney, &c.

“ The gentlemen who now inhabit the country are mostly descended from the officers and soldiers of Cromwel’s and King William’s army, viz. Harvey, Nunn, Edwards, Hughes, and Phillips.

“ The people of these baronies live well, are industrious, cleanly, and of good morals. The poorest farmer eats meat twice a week, and the table of the wealthy farmer is daily covered with beef, mutton, or fowl. Their beverage is home-brewed ale and beer. The houses of the poorest are well built, and neatly covered with thatch; all have out-offices for cattle. The people are decently clothed. They are strong and laborious, and the women do all manner of rustic work, ploughing excepted. They receive equal wages with the men. In this delightful spot the greatest harmony subsists between the landlord and the farmer; and it is common to meet the tenant at the landlord’s table. Such is their aversion to idleness, that if a beggar appears in these baronies, he is immediately handed from house to house, till he is beyond their boundaries.

“ The professed religion here is Roman catholic, there are about one hundred of that persuasion to one protestant. Marriage is solemnized much in the same manner as the Irish; the relations and friends bring profusion of viands of all kinds, and feasting and dancing continue all the night. The bride sits veiled at the head of the table, unless called out to dance, when the chair is filled by one of the bride maids. At every marriage, an apple is cut into small pieces and thrown among the crowd, a custom they brought from England, but the origin has not descended with it.”\*

I have observed them to be much more industrious than those of Irish origin; they have larger farms, and the manner of conducting them gives them the appearance of English cultivation. I have heard them abused in the town of Wexford by the name of Englishmen. ‘ Did you ever see such an old English face,’ was the language of an inhabitant of that town, to an old man who had come to market from the adjoining barony of Bargie.

Provisions being abundant and cheap in the Wexford market, this city is the residence of many respectable families; and like Galway, has assemblies, drums, and what are called dry drums, at which I have frequently spent an agreeable evening. The poor have great contempt for middle-men, and shew a strong spirit of independence.

The county of Wicklow, in the interior part, is uninhabited. The people on the sea coast are either connected by business with Dublin, or reside there occasionally. The habits of the poor are similar to those in Wexford.

\* Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. ii. p. 24.

The manners and habits of the people in this county exhibit some traces of luxury and refinement. At a pattern at Glandelough, many of the women wore silk stockings, some of which were black. Several had black silk petticoats and felt hats. Those who could not afford silk stockings wore cotton ones with open shewy clocks. Music and dancing are very common; the fiddle may be heard in various directions as a traveller passes along. The Irish seem at all times to have been fond of music, and this is a national characteristic.

In Kildare, Meath, and Louth, there is a considerable number of Roman catholic gentry; and as I mixed much with them, particularly in Meath, I had an opportunity of becoming better acquainted with their character. Lord Fingal resides in this county, and in the rebellion commanded a volunteer corps, which distinguished itself at the battle of Tara. At the same period, Killeen castle, the seat of this hospitable nobleman, was a place of general retreat to the well-affected, and during that commotion, afforded protection to the protestant and the Roman catholic. I can state from authority, that the clergy of the church of Ireland, as well as those of the Roman catholic establishment, performed divine service under the same roof and at the same time, as long as danger existed, and while it was necessary to consider it as a sanctuary from the fury of the rebellious people. His lordship's conduct has rendered him justly popular. It is useless to state, that he is at the head of the Roman catholic interest, not only in this part of the country, but throughout all Ireland; and while he is venerated by those of his own persuasion, he is esteemed and respected by the protestants.

It is customary here when people die, to carry the straw on which they lay out of doors and burn it. This answers two purposes; it prevents infection, and is a signal to assemble the neighbours to the wake. It also renders the concealment of murder more difficult.

Irish labourers never work singly. An old man may be seen threshing in a barn in England; but this is never the case in Ireland; the people there have a sympathy of feeling, which makes company necessary for those at work.

The farm houses of persons, who occupy from fifty to an hundred and fifty acres, are remarkably bad. The indigent class are short in their persons, and very dirty, their cabins are the general resort of pigs and fowls, and unless where their condition has been improved, in consequence of some gentleman living in their neighbourhood, their looks exhibit every mark of poverty and wretchedness. The language universally spoken is Irish. Mr. Thompson, describing their habitations here, says,

“ Farm houses are generally formed from the earth or clay of the surface of the spot on which they are built, in order to save the expense of carrying it from any distance; hence the ground floor is commonly six or eight inches below the level of the surface outside the walls, and, consequently, subject to all the unwholesome effects arising from damp, to which the whole family are in a great

degree subject, from their straw beds being in most instances placed upon the bare floor, without even a mat or bedstead to protect them from its influence. In these houses a second or boarded floor is seldom seen or thought of. A great part of the filth, at present to be found about the farm house, is in a great degree attributable to the tenant, but much more so to the neglect of the landlord, in not providing for him the means of cleanliness. As long as the present mode is continued, in having the foddering yard in front of the farm house, instead of having it in the rear, every exertion towards cleanliness in the house-wife will be fruitless; for though a common expression prevails among the people of this class, that 'where there is muck there is luck,' yet I never understood that muck was of necessity to lie at the front, nor that the farmer and his family should wade knee deep in it. The farm houses may be literally said to be immersed in excrement.\*

"These cabins, or rather hovels, of the cotter tenants, are in general wretched beyond description, often not sufficiently covered to keep out the rain; they are all built with mud, and as in the case of the farmers' houses, the clay is taken to build the walls from the spot on which they are raised, leaving the surface of the floor, and the ground immediately about the walls the lowest part, and of course subject to receive all the surrounding damp; so much so, that I have often gone into a cabin and seen a hole dug in the floor to receive the water coming in at the door or under the foundation, from whence it might be bailed out with greater ease when collected. On this damp floor the family most commonly sleep, generally without a bedstead, none of them having a loft, except in town cabins where the ground for building on is more valuable. The inside of their huts is as filthy as their outward appearance bespeaks them to be.

This, however, in a considerable degree depends on themselves, and is owing in a great measure to a want of exertion; but the whole does not spring from this cause.

Great part of the blame is due to the landlord, and might be corrected by a little attention in building their houses in good situations, and keeping them water-fast; and by the enforcement of a few trifling regulations, such as obliging them under certain penalties to open their windows, turn up their beds, and other daily observances in respect to cleanliness.

"The class of cottagers I speak of, as being the poorest in the county, are those who are not attached to any farmer, or if they are, to those of the lowest order. The labouring cottagers immediately under gentlemen, generally fare better; their houses are for the most part water-fast, but as to their having lofts to sleep on, proper windows, either for light or ventilation, or the floors raised above the level of the immediately surrounding ground, it seldom is the case. Few of them have chimneys, and fewer still have any other means of admitting the light, than by opening the door, or a small hole in the wall, stopped up occasionally with a bundle of straw. The hog is generally the inmate; the hens constantly, and if they are possessed of a cow, she also is introduced and becomes one of the family."†

I have found that these descriptions are perfectly correct, and I agree with Mr. Winter, that the houses of the poor in this place are a disgrace to the country.

"I allude," says he, "to the general state of the habitations of the peasantry. Certainly, in a few places, the humanity of individuals is conspicuous in the attention they have bestowed on this object; but these are rare instances, and serve to point the attention more forcibly to the wretchedness around them. Here is a spacious field for improvement, though I know not if it ever yet experienced such good fortune; the contrast between the stately mansion here, and hard by the filthy hovel, so outrages

\* Survey of Meath, p. 67.

† Survey of Meath, p. 71.

the feelings of human nature. The advantages in point of moral effect, of a clean, comfortable, and cheerful dwelling, compared with an abode dismal, dark, and dirty, are so incalculable; the conscious shame must sting every Irish bosom, when the proud stranger seems to dwell with insulting triumph on this reproach and scandal of a beautiful country. These considerations, and many more must satisfy us, that policy, humanity, and a sense of national honour, concur in calling for unceasing exertions to remedy this glaring evil.\*

Mr. Winter is a gentleman much respected in the county of Meath, and although I concur in the general sentiments expressed in his letter, there is one on which I beg leave to offer a remark. After describing the miserable huts of the Irish peasantry, he observes, that it is a circumstance on which the proud stranger seems to dwell with insulting triumph. That Englishmen have described and regretted the disgraceful condition of the Irish poor, is certainly true, and some of them have compared it with that of the same class in England; but, I trust, that those who did so, had no desire to wound the feelings of the respectable part of the Irish nation, or to exult over the misfortunes of its degraded children. It is only by exposing national evils that the attention of those who have it in their power to apply a remedy can be excited. I am sorry that Mr. Winter should believe, that a stranger could contemplate the wretched state of his fellow-creatures with feelings of triumph, and I am convinced that such sentiments are foreign to the generosity of the English character.

But however wretched the inhabitants here may be, it is certain, that some who have better means, are so wedded to their old habits, that they never contemplate a change. Having visited a farmer who lived in a miserable cabin, half buried in filth, although he held thirty-six acres of land at two guineas per acre, and had £500. at interest in his landlord's hands, I asked him, why he did not get a better house? His reply was "he should break his shins going up stairs."

The adjoining county of Westmeath has many resident gentry, and the condition of its peasantry is better than that of the poor in Meath. The character of the middle class is also superior; and to those who look only to social enjoyment, Meath and Westmeath are desirable places to reside in. The inhabitants consider the people to the west as behind them in civilization; a difference which is perceptible at every remove from the eastern to the western shore; yet I must observe, that the state of the poor cannot be worse than it is in many parts of Meath and Kildare. Some patriotic individuals have exerted themselves to ameliorate their condition; and it would be injustice to the memory of departed worth, not to mention the benefit rendered to the country in this respect by the late Mr. Reynell. The success which attended his endeavours afford a striking and encouraging proof how much good may be effected by a man of small fortune, who devotes his time and attention to useful pursuits. Economical in his domestic arrangements, but with a due regard to the

\* Letter from John Pratt Winter, Esq. in the Appendix to the Survey of Meath, p. 30.

duties of hospitality; careful in the management of his estate, yet liberal to his tenants, and punctual in all his dealings; he was enabled to leave to his children a small but elegant mansion with a good estate, and to erect comfortable cottages for the poor in the neighbourhood of his domain. Anxious to contribute to the prosperity of the country, he spent the greatest part of his life in converting barren land into productive fields; giving inhabitants to the dreary waste, and died with an exalted character.

In 1808 I noted several particulars respecting the manners and habits of the people in this part of the country, which deserve to be mentioned. One circumstance in the neighbourhood of Castle Pollard, shews, in a striking manner, the uncertain state of property in some districts of Ireland, and how little attention is paid in many cases to private right. A person had hired a number of men from Longford, whom he called Hessians, to dig turf, and assist him in a dispute he had about the possession of a bog. He agreed to pay these auxiliaries 1s. 1d. a day when at work, and 1s. 7½d. when fighting. This may be considered a peace and war establishment.

A circumstance which proves the strength and hardiness of the women, occurred near Coolure; I saw two or three who had lain in only about four days, carrying into the fields their husbands' dinner; and I was told that this is very common. I remarked the house-leek growing on the tops of the houses, and learned that the owners superstitiously believe, that where this plant is so situated houses will be secure against fire.

About half-past eleven in the forenoon, I generally saw before the door of each cabin a large iron pot, containing a stone of potatoes, over a turf fire kindled on the ground. When the potatoes were boiled, and the water poured from them outside the door, they were put into a wicker basket in the form of a trencher, and placed in front of the fire, covered with a cloth to keep in the steam, so that the water drained from them till they were dry.

At Fore I saw the women carting turf, and they seemed to work as much out of doors as the men. I did not perceive that the people were addicted to drinking. They made a vow of sobriety during the rebellion, and they have become sober from habit. I observed a strong propensity to thieving and perjury; yet persons who do not hesitate to steal or to take a false oath, are scrupulously attentive to the performance of their vows, and the penance enjoined by their priests. I suppose they have some casuistical mode of satisfying their consciences for the commission of crimes. Here the middling sort of people send their wives to market, but they always attend them, walking before in a long trusty.

I found the roofs of the cabins in Westmeath without ceiling, supported by two or three props. The walls were constructed of mud or stones, and sometimes of a mixture of both. The roof is formed by two or three couples, over which are laid, in a cross direction, the boughs of trees not stripped of their leaves. These

are covered with turf which is protected from the effects of the weather by a thatching of straw. A hole in the roof gives vent to the smoke, and the bare ground is the floor and the hearth. A hay-band so neatly twisted as to be almost equal to a tow rope, is stretched across the cabin, nearly over the fire-place, for hanging the linen to dry; but as the place is generally involved in thick smoke, it may be readily conceived, that it will acquire little improvement in colour. A cat and two or three dogs, are commonly lying round the fire. An iron pot, two or three stools of the rudest workmanship, a bad deal table, a dresser with a few plates, and dairy vessels, are all the utensils and furniture of the family. Their stock of provision consists of a sack of meal, which is placed in a corner. Many of the tenants here are bound by their leases to carry their oats to their landlord's mill; in this case the miller takes one stone in sixteen: in other cases the grist is one stone in twenty.

The dress of the women consists of a shift, one petticoat, a kind of stays or bodice not stiffened with whalebone, and shaped like a man's waistcoat without sleeves, a neat cotton or linen handkerchief, a jacket fastened round the waist, and a muslin cap, but neither stockings nor shoes. The petticoat, jacket, and stays, are made of linsey manufactured from wool, carded and spun by themselves. It is three quarters wide, and half a pound of wool makes a yard. The wool costs 18s. per stone of 16lbs. The spinning is estimated at 3d. per yard, carding at 1½d., dying 7d. per lb., and the weaving costs from 4d. to 5d. Wool, carded and spun in a similar manner, makes the frieze used for the dress of the men, and the expense is the same, only that it is dyed and wove for 2½d. Both the linsey and frieze are thickened at a mill, but I could not perceive the benefit of this operation.

Harvest men drink butter-milk, and seem to have little taste for malt liquor.

In some gentlemen's houses potatoes are kept hot the whole day. The servants have oaten bread and salt meat, and are, therefore, supported at very little expense. In others, none of the domestics, the housekeeper excepted, ever taste bread or drink tea. A "garsoon" in the kitchen does the drudgery of the house, and in many families of the first respectability, a kitchen boy, as he is called, although in many cases he is a grown up man, is the constant attendant of the cook.

Dublin, like other great cities, exhibits a variegated picture of extravagance and misery, riches and poverty, virtue and vice. It is the seat of government, and the residence of the King's representative, who lives in great splendour; and gives the tone to those around him. Some believe, that the example of an individual and his family, in such an exalted station, can have little effect on the morals and manners of the people. But this is a great mistake. The contrary is proved by history,\*

\* Plato says, Μηδεις ἡμᾶς κριθετω, ὃ φίλοι ἄλλα θᾶττοι καὶ ζῶον μεταβάλλουσιν ἂν ποτε πάλιν τὰς νόμους, ἢ τῷ τῷ δυναστευόμενοι ἡγεμόνα. μηδὲ οὐ γὰρ ἄλλα γίγνισθαι, μηδ' αὐθις ποτε γιγῆσθαι. De Leg. iv.

Theodoric, king of the Goths, in a letter to the Roman senate and people, observes: Facilius est errare naturam, quam dissimilem sui princeps posset rempublicam formare. Cassiodor III. Var. Epist. 12.

and experience. Man is always more disposed to adopt the vices than the virtues of those he has to look up to. It is not sufficient, that the person who holds this high office, be a man of polite manners or elegant address; these qualifications are often possessed by persons of the most licentious principles. He, who is the representative of royalty, ought to be distinguished as much by his virtues as his talents. During the vice-royalty of the late Duke of Rutland, a taste for dissipation, was introduced by the court among the higher ranks, and was disseminated throughout the general mass of society. There is a decency even in vice, which will be observed by those who are not insensible to shame; none but complete profligates will boast of it and expose it to every eye.

Dublin is also the seat of literature and science, having within its precincts the chief university in the country. It is the port of embarkation for the gentry who visit England, and who frequently remain here some time on their way. Not only is it the seat of government, to which the eyes of all who seek preferment are directed; but the four courts being established in this city, the judges and the inferior members of the law form a very important body, who must have a considerable influence on the state of society. Some manufactures are established; and it is the principal depository of bleached linens. The internal trade must be great, and its commercial transactions with England and foreign countries are of considerable extent. Merchants of various classes, according to their wealth, and the nature of their business, are settled in Dublin.

Many charitable institutions are raised in this city by a combination of benevolence and vanity, which are supported in part by government, and by the subscriptions of individuals. An account of them may be seen in Mr. Archer's Survey.

A city, which contains in miniature every thing to be met with in the great capital of the British empire, is an object of attraction, to the wealthy, the idle, and the dissipated, who repair thither from almost every part of Ireland, and particularly in the spring. At that season the clergy are conspicuous frequenters of the higher circles, and are more numerous in proportion than they are even in London; a circumstance which may be easily accounted for, by consulting the chapter on the Church Establishment of Ireland.

The provost, fellows, and students of the University, amount to between seven and eight hundred. The commander-in-chief, with his staff and necessary attendants, reside at Dublin, and these contribute to extend social intercourse, and to render this city as gay, perhaps, as any in Europe.

The lord-lieutenant and family, notwithstanding the state necessary to be maintained for the dignity of the office, mix more in society than the royal family in

*Sed præcipuus adstricti moris auctor Vespasianus fuit, antiquo ipse cultu victuque; obsequium inde in Principem et æmulandi amor validior, quam poena ex legibus et metus. Tacit. Annal. lib. iii. cap. 55. Op. edit. Oberlini Lips. 1801. p. 135.*

London. Commercial men, who have neither riches, talents, nor character to recommend them, are constantly in the drawing-room and at levees, admission into the castle being an honour of which the Irish are highly ambitious.

Scarcely a night passes in Dublin without balls, assemblies, and musical parties. The removal of the parliament has been favourable to society in this metropolis; for the attention of gentlemen is not now so exclusively directed to political discussions. The houses in the city are all occupied, and are increasing in every direction; so that the vacancy occasioned by absentees, since the Union, is supplied by a class of people, less valuable, perhaps, in some respects, yet, who fill up their place as to number. In all public places the company mix freely, without restraint or formality, and the consequence is, a general knowledge of each other; a circumstance which gives more animation to crowded circles in Dublin, than is to be met with either in London or Paris, where persons may frequently meet, and yet acquire very little acquaintance with each other. A social disposition and love of amusement seems to pervade all ranks, and the dance is often kept up with as much spirit in the back room of a shopkeeper, as in the splendid mansion of a peer.

There is no opera house in Dublin, nor any public concerts; but this want is supplied by the theatre, to the performances of which the Irish are so much attached, that it is better frequented than the play-houses in London. A strong propensity also prevails in Ireland for private theatricals. The late Lord O'Neil, had a theatre at Shanes Castle, which, however it might gratify his lordship and his friends, introduced dissipation into the neighbourhood; but the present lord, aware of the mischief, has razed it to the ground. At Kilkenny there is a theatre of the same kind which has attracted much notice; and extraordinary accounts of the wonderful specimens of comic talent exhibited by some of the Irish gentry, have been detailed in the newspapers. It was kept open only for one month in autumn; and during this short period, visited from all parts of Ireland; I have heard that some gentlemen performed there, whose powers would have called forth the approbation of the most refined audience. Although no advocate for private theatricals, I have little objection to them, could they be confined entirely to the higher classes; as they might divert their attention from unworthy objects, and abstract them from pursuits prejudicial to society. It is but justice to the Irish character to state, that the profit arising from the performances was devoted to a most useful and laudable purpose, the support of the infirmary at Kilkenny; so that it may be truly said, that the extravagance and dissipation of the Irish, come in aid of a generous spirit, and a sympathetic feeling for the distresses of their fellow creatures. But this benefit will appear to be of little importance, when contrasted with the mischief occasioned by a taste which is introduced for reading loose and licentious plays, and other works, the object of which is that of being amused without being instructed. Modesty is the cestus of the female character, and no woman who in the smallest

degree regards this beautiful ornament, will ever glance over a page, however recommended by refined or elegant language, which has any tendency to pollute the mind: let the works which are perused in private be those that may be proclaimed in public, and let a female be always modest and delicate to herself. The woman who could so far forget herself, as to look into the works "of the late Thomas Little, Esquire," the *Memoirs of the Count de Grammont*, or *Moore's Anacreon*,\* might be a candidate for a place in the annals of gallantry, but would not make such a wife as any man of sense would desire, or be the proper superintendent of a virtuous family.

In Dublin, there are three club houses, the principal of which is Daly's, where there is frequently much deep play. The other two are in Sackville and Kildare streets, and are superior coffee-houses, where none are admitted but members. To the existence of these places I ascribe, in a great measure, the want of comfortable taverns, like those which are so numerous in London; excepting the mail coach hotel, I know not one which deserves the character even of mediocrity.

Gentlemen of the law, not being accommodated with chambers as with us, mix more in society. A barrister in London, as soon as he has dined, returns to his Inn, where he secludes himself till midnight, sees little company, and acquires a reserved manner, which communicates a peculiarity to his habits, unlike men of the same class in Ireland. Dublin is remarkable for the number of its lawyers; no city in the world gives employment to so many attorneys, owing, perhaps, to the frequent forfeitures which have taken place. This circumstance has originated many tedious and intricate law-suits; another cause may, perhaps, be found in the disposition of the people, who have a most unfortunate propensity to litigation.

It is extraordinary that medical men in Ireland are not held in the same estimation, as gentlemen of the other liberal professions. Physicians are treated with particular contempt in this country, which is highly discreditable to those who indulge in such feelings; for there are many professors of medicine as much distinguished by their skill and learning, as by their humanity and attention to the comfort and health of the poor.

That class of men who rise to opulence by trade, commerce, and industry, are numerous in Dublin. The Latouches, Mr. Luke White, Mr. Conolly, and others, like the Barings, Thellusons, and Raikes of London, have accumulated immense wealth.

\* The first of these works has gone through an eighth edition; this may be highly gratifying to the author, but had it been confined to the youth who hold commissions in the guards, in the neighbourhood of St. James's, it would have done sufficient mischief without going any farther. On the last mentioned work, the reader will find some very just observations in the *Edinburgh Review*. It is to be regretted, that a poet who displays such uncommon marks of genius and fancy in his productions, and particularly in his translation of *Anacreon*, and who has proved himself an elegant and classical scholar, should have promulgated sentiments which have called forth such just animadversions. It is highly creditable to the literary journals of the present day, that they have marked this conduct in the most decided terms of disapprobation.

There are few respectable tradesmen who do not keep a jaunting-car for their families; these persons are always ready to shut up their shops, for an excursion into the county of Wicklow, in the summer months. I doubt, whether the gloomy selfish tradesman, who never allows himself or family the enjoyment of the country air, is to be found here; and yet, the Dublin shopkeeper is not remarkable for his civility.

The University, the Royal Irish Academy, and the Dublin Society, which is an excellent national establishment for the general encouragement of science, being in this metropolis, it might be expected, that it is here we should find a considerable number of literary men; but this is not the case. In England, Scotland, and France, science and literature elevate men of the humblest birth to respect and attention. In Ireland the custom is different; there a man of talent, however exalted his genius, or extensive his learning, is neither sought after nor esteemed. As a candidate for public favour, he will never succeed against the trifler of upper life, whose productions are puffed into notice by the partial breath of titled friendship. Fashion bears sovereign sway, to which the whole Irish nation bow.\* This arises from a defective system of education; to guide the opinion, or bias the taste of the well informed, in states where letters are cultivated, is difficult; educated men will examine for themselves; but the illiterate, yielding to a momentary impulse, follow the multitude, and praise what others admire. This may, in some measure, account for that capriciousness which is observable in the Irish character. Unsteady in attachments, they readily confer their friendship but as quickly withdraw it. The Tipperary rioter scours the country because it is the fashion; and it was the same impetus which induced so many hundreds to attend Davy's lectures, even before they knew the alphabet of science. A desire to produce a reformation of these obstacles to national improvement obliges me to state, that the Irish are illiberally jealous of rising merit among themselves. They encourage not the youth of genius, whose talents, if fostered and protected, might be the source of improvement to their country. A young Irishman of ability must seek his reward in England; the chilling breath of neglect will blast his buds at home.

The Irish character is lively and cheerful; the men are famed for the gallantry of their manners, which is carried, on many occasions, to a romantic height. This was particularly remarked by Mr. Cowper, when he visited Dublin in the year 1799:† they accuse the English of treating the female sex with unfeeling indifference; and so much would a gentleman of that country be considered an exception to this opinion, that were he but to pay the common and polite attentions which every female has a right to expect, he would be called "a man

\* The illustrious Locke defines fashion to be "for the most part nothing but the ostentation of riches, and, therefore, the high price of what serves to that, rather increases than lessens its vent." *Locke's Works*, ninth edit. vol. iv. p. 59.—The Irish carry fashion much farther than this definition of it.

† Cowper's Letters on the Irish Nation, second edition, 1801.

of gallantry ;” but if he exceeded the mere filling up of time with the light conversation, which is too frequently addressed to this most interesting part of the creation ; were he to converse with them upon subjects of importance, or seem to feel that respect for their opinions, which is so justly paid to the well educated and sensible ladies of Scotland, such conduct would at once be construed into a design upon their happiness and characters.

The vanity of the Irish is evinced by some of the commonest appellations ; a married woman is never addressed or spoken of as the wife of any one ; such an appellation would outrage the feelings, and be most offensive to an Irishman ; etiquette requires that the term should be “ the lady.” Even an hotel keeper expects when you inquire after his spouse, that you should ask “ how his lady does” To speak of her as Mrs. Murphy, Mrs. O’Flaherty, or Mrs. O’Flannegin, would be considered as ill bred.

Among the upper ranks, who have spent their time in well bred company, a foreigner might suppose, that every one was acquainted, and intimately known to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. I am so ignorant of Carlton House, that I know not how many of the Irish frequent it ; but I seldom was in company without being entertained with the sayings of that august personage. In a word, it is fashionable to claim acquaintance with the prince ; and the desire of being thought one of his favourites is so conspicuous, that I cannot help considering it as a trait of national vanity.

Formerly, excessive drinking prevailed among the higher orders, but this practice is now entirely out of fashion ; instead of this symbol of ancient barbarism, a custom much more rational has been introduced. The gentlemen do not drink until tea and coffee are announced ; every one when he feels disposed leaves the table without ceremony, and retires to the drawing-room. The host, however, conceives himself bound by the laws of hospitality to remain at his post till the last, as he is never disturbed by a call from the ladies.

Amongst mercantile people, and rich graziers, most copious libations are still offered at the shrine of Bacchus ; but fashion begins to exercise a most beneficial influence, and the example of the higher ranks is now generally imitated.

The common people, however, are so much addicted to spirituous liquors, that this passion may be still considered as a trait in their national character. In another part of this work, I have pointed out some of the mischiefs of this destructive vice, which is gaining ground, and spreading its ravages in various ways. To the number of its melancholy consequences, I shall add, on the authority of an eminent physician, “ an increase of insane persons as returned at each assizes to the grand juries, and claiming support from the public purse.” Though all cases of this kind are not to be ascribed entirely to intemperance, it has contributed in no small degree to the increase of this grievous malady. Mr. Halloran says, and his

remarks deserve the most serious consideration, that "the many wretched victims to this fascinating indulgence are not confined to youth nor old age; to sex nor condition; so that an inconsiderate observer would be more inclined to conclude, that measures had been actually adopted more with a view to encourage this perverted appetite, than to restrain it within moderate boundaries. So frequently do instances of furious madness present themselves to me, and arising from long continued inebriety, that I seldom have occasion to inquire the cause, from the habit which repeated opportunities have given me, at first sight, of detecting its well known ravages."\* The following observations which he afterwards makes, are particularly worthy of notice: "If then we admit the expediency of indulging the lower orders with a free admission to the bewitching charms of our native whiskey, let it be, in the name of pity, in the name of decency and good order, under such stipulations, as that it may, at least, be dealt out to them in its purity, free from those vicious frauds, which not only constitute the immediate cause of the most inveterate maladies in the general sense, but also render them particularly liable to the horrors of continued insanity: in preference to which, the deprivation of existence may be admitted as a blessing from that BEING, who had thought fit to bestow it."†

In the middle ranks, hot suppers, a profusion of dishes, and plates loaded with meat, are considered as genuine hospitality. The frugal repast of bread and cheese, with a draught of home brewed, so common among the same class in England, is here quite unknown. The meat breakfast of the English country squire, or the more luxurious one of the Scottish laird, on whose plentiful board are displayed mutton, ham, dried fish, marmalade honey, and other dainties, is never seen in Ireland: yet the breakfast in that country has always an addition of plenty of eggs. The English custom of a luncheon is seldom in use; meal-times are much the same as in England, except among tradesmen, whose shops are not open so soon in the morning by two hours, as they are in London, consequently, the breakfast is later.

The gaiety of Dublin, during the fashionable season, exceeds all description: there are many who never pass an evening out of visiting parties, either at home or abroad. I know some individuals, whose faces have become so familiar from this practice continued for years, that they are distinguished by the appellation of "Dublin hacks."

Charity sermons are always numerously attended. All who have the smallest pretension to fashion throng to them; and there is no place where people of both sexes are more inclined to exhibit their persons; it is not uncommon for a young lady to make her *debut* into fashionable life on one of these occasions. In Ireland, a collec-

\* An Inquiry into the Causes producing the extraordinary Addition to the Number of Insane. By William Saunders Halloran, M. D. senior physician to the Louth Infirmary, and Physician to the House of Industry, and Lunatic Asylum of Cork, p. 14, 1810.

† Ibid. p. 10.

tion is generally made before the sermon, and commonly by handing into every pew a small copper shovel; but when a charity-sermon is preached, the collection is not made until the feelings of the congregation have been roused by the pathos and eloquence of the minister. A number of ladies, distinguished by their personal attractions, rank in life, or prominent character, who may be supposed to command, rather than to solicit charity, are appointed collectors. They are attended by gentlemen, bearing wands; and each lady, taking her own portion of the church, goes round the pews, handing a silver dish to every individual, while the squire stands behind with another silver dish, into which the money is emptied. This method is preferable to that adopted in England, where the churchwardens stand at the door with plates. On man, the fascinating influence of beauty, pleading, with a look of compassion, for the unfortunate, must have a powerful effect; and those insensible to female charms may be induced to be liberal, from an apprehension of the satire of a dashing belle.

When the winter is over, the lord-lieutenant retires to the Phoenix Park, and during the summer visits occasionally the nobility and principal gentry. The aristocracy, who had assembled in Dublin, return to their country seats; and the families of the lawyers, merchants, and trades-people; if their circumstances admit of it, retire to their villas near the sea; those whose circumstances forbid this gratification, crowd into lodgings near the coast; and those who cannot afford either, content themselves with bathing, a luxury which they very much enjoy. Thousands may be seen every morning between Dublin and the Black Rock, and on the shore of Clontarf, going into the water to "wash."\*

A faithful but melancholy picture, of the miserable state of the poor in Dublin, has been given by the Rev. James Whitelaw:

"In the ancient parts of this city, with few exceptions, the streets are generally narrow, the houses crowded together, and the rears or back yards of very small extent. Of these streets a few are the residence of the upper class of shopkeepers and others engaged in trade, but a far greater proportion of them with their numerous lanes and alleys, are occupied by working manufacturers, by petty shopkeepers, the labouring poor, and beggars, crowded together, distressing to humanity. A single apartment in one of these truly wretched habitations, rates from one to two shillings per week; and to lighten this rent, two, three, and even four families, become joint tenants. As I was usually out at very early hours on the Survey, I have frequently surprised from ten to sixteen persons of all ages and sexes, in a room not fifteen feet square, stretched on a wad of filthy straw, swarming with vermin, and without any covering, save the wretched rags that constituted their wearing apparel. Under such circumstances, it is not extraordinary that I should have frequently found from thirty to fifty individuals in a house. An intelligent clergyman of the church of Rome, assured me that No. 6, Braithwaite-street, some years since, contained 108 souls. These houses in 1797 were reduced to 97, and at the period

\* Small bathing houses stand on the shore for the accommodation of women and children: the latter are carried in by two women, who receive one shilling on entrance, and one when they leave off. Besides this they get two-pence for every dip.

of this Survey to 56. From a careful Survey twice taken of Plunket-street, it appeared that 92 contiguous houses contained 917 souls, which gives an average of 28 and a fraction to a house: and the entire Liberty averages from about 12 to 16 souls to each house. This is certainly a dense population. The best informed inhabitants, however, assert that it was much greater a few years since, and to this opinion I willingly accede. I do not affirm, however, that the houses at present in existence contained more inhabitants at any former period, though such, probably, was the fact; but I am confident that a great number of houses that once teemed with population, are no longer to be found. These were situated in the narrow back courts and lanes of the principal streets, and their ichnography is distinctly expressed in Roque's Four Street Maps of Dublin, which I generally found minutely exact; with this map in my hand, I searched for these courts. Some had totally disappeared, and their entrances were built up. The greater part, however, I found, but their houses were mostly in ruins, or converted into warehouses or work-shops, now perfectly useless; the few that remained were in a state of rapid decline. This crowded population, wherever it obtains, is almost universally accompanied by a very serious evil, a degree of filth and stench inconceivable, except by such as have visited these scenes of wretchedness. Into the back yard of each house, frequently not ten feet deep, is flung from the windows of each apartment, the odour and other filth of its numerous inhabitants, from whence it is so seldom removed, that I have seen it nearly on a level with the windows of the first floor; and the moisture that after heavy rains flows from this heap, having frequently no sewer to carry it off, runs into the street by the entry leading to the staircase. One instance out of a thousand that might be given will be sufficient. When I attempted, in the summer of 1796, to take the population of a ruinous house in Joseph's Lane, near Castle Market, I was interrupted in my progress by an inundation of putrid blood, alive with maggots, which had from an adjacent slaughter yard burst the door, and filled the hall to the depth of several inches; by the help of a plank and some stepping stones, which I provided for the purpose (for the inhabitants without any concern waded through it), I reached the stair case; it had rained violently, and from the shattered state of the roof, a torrent of water made its way through every floor from the garret to the ground. The sallow looks and filth of the wretches who crowded round me, indicated their situation, though they seemed insensible to the stench, which I could scarcely sustain for a few minutes. In the garret I found the entire family of a poor working shoemaker, seven in number, lying in a fever, without a human being to administer to their wants. On observing that his apartment had not a door, he informed me that his landlord, finding him not able to pay ——— I will not disgust my reader with any farther detail, and only observe that I generally found poor room-keepers of this description, notwithstanding so many causes of wretchedness, apparently at ease, and perfectly assimilated to their habitations. Filth and stench seemed congenial to their nature; they never made the smallest effort to remove them, and if they could answer the calls of hunger, they felt or seemed to feel nothing else or inconvenience. How far it is the duty of the magistrate to interfere in the removal and prevention of such dreadful nuisances, or how far he is enabled to do so by the existing laws, I shall not presume to determine. I am certain that every friend to decency and cleanliness, any person who is anxious to promote the comforts of the poor will join me in opinion, that a police which attends to our streets and lanes only, and that but partially, while it never bestows a thought on the back yards of the poor, performs only half its duty. The more essential part, perhaps, is neglected. The stench of filth in the open street may be dissipated by an unobstructed current of air; but that arising from human excrement in narrow yards, enclosed by lofty buildings, must operate with unchecked malignity. In the course of the survey, I frequently remonstrated with the inhabitants, and particularly when I found them unemployed and idle, on their not attempting to remove their dirt; but their universal answer was, 'It is not my business—if I remove it, who will pay me?' The land-

lord, who in reason should attend to this matter, seldom interfered. If he had an apartment in the house, the evil was, perhaps, somewhat less, though frequently he was the greatest brute in the stye. I found, frequently, that he was some money-grasping wretch, who lived in affluence, perhaps, in a distant part of the city, and also made a trade of renting out such houses to the poor, with whose concerns he never interfered, except to collect his rents, generally weekly, in which, indeed, he betrayed no remissness whatever. Now might not an act of the legislature empower the magistrate, if he has not that power already, to make the landlord, who has generally an exorbitant profit rent from these miserable habitations, answerable under a sufficient penalty, not only for their filth, but for their bad state of repair. This last circumstance is necessary to be attended to, as they very frequently admit every shower of rain, and sometimes from their ruinous state, threaten destruction to the passenger. In July 1798, the entire side of a house four stories high, in School-House Lane, fell from its foundation into an adjoining yard, where it destroyed an entire dairy of cows. I ascended the remaining ruin through the usual approach of shattered stairs, stench, and filth. The floors had all sunk on the side now unsupported, forming so many inclining planes; and I observed with astonishment, that the inhabitants above twenty in number, who had escaped destruction, by the circumstance of the wall falling outwards, had not deserted their apartments. I was informed that it had remained some months in this situation, and that the humane landlord claimed, and actually received, for it the usual rent. To persons unacquainted with the scenes I have been describing, this picture will seem overcharged; but I pledge myself that, if they take the trouble of inquiry, they will find it faithfully and minutely true.\*

The following letter I received from the Rev. Mr. Whitelaw. It will be necessary for the information of the reader, to state that the Bishop, of whom he speaks, was the late Doctor Law, Bishop of Elphin.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I am concerned to acknowledge that your letter, which is now before me, is dated so far back as the 23d of April; but in truth, I have been to this moment prevented from answering it by an extreme pressure of business arising from peculiar circumstances, which, I hope, will not again occur; to prevent an immediate acknowledgment of any communication with which you may favour me; and I have to lament with lively emotion, that it cannot now be through the medium you propose, our common and invaluable friend. I am much gratified by your approbation of my volume on the Population of Dublin, as it comes from a person the good bishop taught me to look up to with respect. I, of course, feel a pleasure in sending the best answers I can give to your queries, and will be happy to give you any further information you may require, and with as much accuracy as I am able. My hint of an alteration in the burial-grounds has not been attended to; a detached cemetery is, indeed, intended for the beautiful new church of St. George, not as yet quite finished, and which, being completely insulated, has no enclosure attached to it. This intended cemetery is, I am informed, to be without the circular road, and sufficiently remote from the city; and a hope is entertained that the other parishes to the north of the Liffey, and particularly St. Mary's, will avail themselves of this opportunity of providing one spacious and common receptacle for their superfluous dead; but nothing

♦ Whitelaw upon the Population of Dublin.—This invaluable work should be studied by every friend of humanity—and of the Irish in particular. I cannot direct my pen to mark in characters sufficiently strong the respect which I feel for it.

has been as yet done. In the poor liberty parishes, the evil has, in a great measure, found its remedy in the natural desire of the lower class, to evade burial fees, which induces them almost universally to deposit their dead in the hospital-fields without the bounds of the city; and the parish of St. Andrew laudably contributes a small sum towards defraying the expense of carrying their dead to such a distance.

“ The new paving board has exerted itself with great success in removing nuisances from the streets and lanes of this city, but their authority not extending to the back yards of houses, and no branch of the police seeming to consider these as subjects of its attention, they remain in the same neglected state. In the parish-schools, no alteration whatever has taken place, except in that of St. Mary's, where an attempt has been made to separate the sexes, by dividing the formerly common yard into two, now distinct enclosures.

“ In Dublin, the income of our clergy generally arises from a poundage on the rents of houses (some having also small estates, and some glebe-houses), but this poundage is, unfortunately, a most unequal cess. In the old part of Dublin, contained within the old city wall, the valuation is excessive. Houses in a state of decay, and often nearly ruinous, paying the ministers from forty to fifty shillings per annum, while in the more modern parts, houses superior in every respect, do not pay above ten shillings. This unfortunate portion of our metropolis was when this valuation was formed the entire of Dublin, and, of course, possessed all its wealth and commerce, both of which have long since deserted it, with an exception of one or two streets; but what makes this evil still more oppressive is, that most of the other local taxes are regulated by the proportion of the ministers-money. From this circumstance, two evils arise—the houses are most loaded with taxes which are least able to bear them, and when new houses are to be valued, the valuers considering that doing strict justice to the clergyman, must eventually bring a heavy pressure of other taxes on the proprietor, keep the valuation so low, that instead of shillings in the pound to which he is by law entitled, he seldom receives six-pence, and often not three-pence. The valuers are sworn to do justice, but in observing a long established modus, they no doubt consider this conduct justifiable. The unequal pressure of taxes in the city of Dublin is, in truth, a most serious evil, and I cannot give you a stronger instance than what occurred to the Board of Inquiry in looking into the accounts of the Paving Board a few years since, of which I was a member, when it appeared to us an incontestible evidence that the bed of a poor working hosiery in corn-market was sold to pay his paving-tax; that his house was ruinous, without a back yard, not intrinsically worth £500.; and that his proportion of taxes was precisely the same with that of the palaces (if I may use the expression) of the nobility and gentry in Merion Square. We pointed out a sufficient remedy for this evil, which government evinced a disposition to adopt, but from opposition somewhere, the business failed, and the evil remains. The bills of mortality of Dublin are extremely imperfect. The deaths among Roman catholics, though by far the greatest majority, being totally omitted; those of Protestants, who are buried in the city church-yards, have, for a few years past, been carefully registered by the express orders of the two last archbishops of Dublin, but without any specification of ages or causes of death; but such of the lower orders as are carried to country church-yards, escape the notice of the sexton, and are, of course, not registered. Marriages and births are precisely in the same state of neglect, those of Roman catholics being unknown, and many even among Protestants not registered, notwithstanding the archbishop's mandate. Infants being frequently baptized at their parents' places of residence, by clergymen not belonging to the parish, and who make no returns, and marriages being frequently solemnized by couple-beggars, who are numerous in this city. When we add that of Protestant Dissenters, no register is, I believe, kept. We may safely pronounce that Dublin is as yet destitute of any thing that deserves the name of Bills of Mortality.

Our fever-hospital, lying-in-hospital, dispensaries, &c., must, however, be excepted from this reproach. Being thus destitute of any sufficient *data*, I have not been able to form any opinion on the rate of life in different ranks, and all I can say is, of course, little better than conjecture. I am inclined to coincide with you in opinion, not only that the weakly children of the poor generally die, but that these are now more numerous than formerly. As to the wants of the comforts of life, and even a sufficiency of its necessaries, must be added the consumption of ardent spirits, by both fathers and mothers of this class, which of late years has increased, and is daily increasing, in a degree distressing to humanity, and even frightful to imagination.

“ I must also observe, that the scrophulous complaint called the King’s Evil, formerly confined to the upper class, is now, if possible, more prevalent among the poor; but whether this misfortune is the consequence of illicit connexions with their superiors, or of increased intemperance and profligacy, or of both, I will not presume to determine, but the fact is incontrovertible; and to such an extent has this disgusting malady increased in our charter-schools which are supplied from the children of the poor, and particularly from those of the liberties of this city, that the incorporated society have been obliged to erect an hospital convenient to sea-bathing, appropriated to this disease alone, and which, though capable of receiving sixty patients, has been found totally insufficient for the number of infected children, who, notwithstanding every possible precaution to exclude all such, have been admitted into the schools.

“ In the year 1800, I took the population of the town of Bray and its vicinity, about ten miles south of Dublin, with great accuracy, amounting to nearly 2,000 souls, and afterwards the protestant population of my own parish, St. Catherine, consisting of nearly the same number; when it appeared that a natural family, consisting of a father, mother, and their immediate living offspring, amounted on an average to  $5\frac{1}{2}$  in Bray, but in the liberty parish to  $4\frac{1}{2}$  only—a melancholy proof of the effects produced by intemperance, profligacy, and, perhaps, sedentary trades in a crowded capital on the prolific powers of man. As to the proportion of Roman catholics to Protestants, I have carefully ascertained it in the parish of St. Catherine to be as 9 to 1—scarcely a ratio that may, I believe, be adopted for the entire of the liberties of this city. In the other parts of Dublin, however, the ratio will, no doubt, be found much more favourable to protestantism; and in the eastern or fashionable part, the householders are generally protestants, but their numerous servants mostly of the church of Rome.

“ Having formerly ascertained the gross population, I did intend to attempt a computation of the number of protestant inhabitants from the registers of deaths and births, imperfect as they are; but was happily prevented by a measure just adopted by the archbishop, who promises to fill his station, and discharge its duties with a degree of energy little known to us for many years. His Grace, from the laudable motive of inducing his clergy to cultivate a more intimate acquaintance with their respective flocks and their spiritual wants, has directed them to make him accurate returns of the protestant inhabitants, specifying not only the number in each family, but the age and sex of each individual of it, and whether he or she can read, write, or spell, or is possessed of a Bible. When his return is finished, I shall endeavour to procure the result, and will be happy to communicate it to you with such observations on it as may occur.

*Vicar’s Lodge, Grand Canal,  
20th of June.*

Believe me, Dear Sir, to be, with much respect,

Your obedient humble Servant,

JAMES WHITELAW.”

The reader will lament to hear that the Archbishop, Doctor Cleavor, whom Mr. Whitelaw mentions in such honourable terms, is now in so infirm a state of health, as to be unable to attend his diocese.

In all the cities of Ireland there are parts occupied entirely by the poor, whose mud cabins, thatched with straw, are half buried amidst hills of dirt; until within a few years such was the general state of the towns. At present, stone houses, more than one story high, with slated roofs, are prevalent; the suburbs, where the poor reside, are usually called "Irish Town." These portions are inhabited by lazy wretched beings, for whom, in consequence of the slow progress of improvement, adequate employment has not yet been provided. Circumstanced as they are at present, these places can be considered only as receptacles for beggars. The women and children gather dung, or pilfer turf, and the men occasionally get a day's work, which enables them to purchase a few potatoes. These are people who do not often obtain that "belly-full" of the celebrated root, so often spoken of by gentlemen in Ireland.

In the general character of the Irish, many traits are completely national, and are common to all ranks.\* To say that they are brave, lavish in hospitality, warm-hearted, sensible, eloquent, witty, possessing an uncommon cheerfulness of disposition, and a people with whom it would be desirable to reside, would be paying them no compliment. They have all these qualities, and some of them in an eminent degree; but the impartial observer must describe them as loquacious, and extravagantly prodigal, though, often parsimonious. In whatever they undertake, there is no moderation; all is in extremes; their vanity predominates, and like the French, they entertain a high idea of themselves, and of the advantages of their country. Hence, their appetite for praise is unbounded, and censure always mortifies their pride, and irritates their feelings. They are irascible, easily offended, violent and impetuous in their resentments. In gaiety, they enjoy the present moment without any care for the future; and, from the same thoughtless habit, readily embark in extravagant schemes. From these causes they are unsteady in their conduct, often grasping at objects, which when attained afford not the expected gratification, and are, therefore, abandoned almost as soon as tried. That they are generous I have admitted; but this quality only extends to strangers. If we examine them in one of

\* The following character of the Irish is given by Hornius. How far any part of it may be applicable at present, I shall leave to the judgment of the reader. "Irlandi corpore agili, cursu velocissimi, animo audacissimi, moribus tam contrariis ut proverbio dicatur, *Bonus Hiberno non posse inveniri meliorem nec malo deteriorum*. In universum pigritiam atque otium supra omnia sua vitia amant, adeo ut omissâ agriculturâ ne corpus quidem contra imbres, nives aut aëris inclementiam tueri curæ habeant. Omnis ipsorum voluptas atque vita in latrocinio consistit, de die somno et ebrietati indulgent, noctem in prædis agendis consumunt et dedecus apud eos habetur si quis noctem somno impendat. Vestitus ex vili lana, capite semper intecto, nisi quando in proelium prodeunt. Belli avidissima gens. Suos ad proelium non tubâ vel tympano sed utriculo animant: hostes non ante occisos putant, quam caput illis amputarint. Ipsi adeo vitæ tenaces ut quamquam pluribus contrucidati vulneribus atque affecti pro mortuis habeantur, repente vulnera comprimentes cursu velocissimo sese iterum in fugam coniciant; hinc mos fluxit capita illis amputandi." *Hornii Orbis Politicus*, Vesaliæ, 1669, pars iv. p. 21.

the most important relations of society, we shall find, that as landlords they exact more of their tenants than the same class of men in any other country. Instances came to my knowledge of an ungenerous want of feeling for the poor by some of the first nobility, which an Englishman would hear with indignation. Men, whose doors are open to every visitor, for the temptation of a few pounds per annum, will let a fishery to a Scotch company, although thousands of the wretched inhabitants are, by this, deprived of a scanty relish to their dry potatoes. But this reproach is not to be confined to one class: every tenant endeavours to waste his landlord's estate, before the expiration of his lease. The conduct of gentlemen towards their tradesmen is also very reprehensible. Punctuality, I shall be told, is not generosity. But those who credit the assertion of Dr. Crump, that "there is no country in the world where tradesmen make so many bad debts," must allow, that justice is another virtue no less necessary, although by some not held in equal estimation.—Generosity cannot be traced among the middle classes, in their conduct to one another; they eagerly endeavour to circumvent each other by obtaining reversionary leases. We meet not this virtue at a fair, or in a fight, where, according to Mr. Townsend, the anxiety of the whole crowd to strike, so interferes with the efforts of each individual, as to prevent the blows being fatal.

Farther testimony might be adduced, even from native writers, that this trait in the Irish character is not to be found in perfection. Some persons mistake prodigality for generosity; the most prodigal men are often the meanest;\* and to be generous and unjust, is baseness. The man who lives within his income; who pays his trades-people; and conducts himself towards his tenants as a guardian and protector; who, by economy, is enabled to administer to the wants of a friend, or relieve the distresses of the poor; if such a character as this were universal, it would be delightful to record it. But without considering the errors of mankind, as arising from pecuniary transactions; let us see how these people bear themselves towards each other in the common occurrences of life. Do they look with tenderness and compassion on the frailties of their species? or are they unforgiving, slanderous, and vindictive? In too many instances I have had occasion to

\* The following circumstance, related by Mr. Dutton, p. 363, affords a striking proof of the aversion which the Irish have to part with money, and of the wasteful manner in which property is managed. "In this country, as elsewhere, it is much the custom to put children to nurse with some healthy cottager, fine ladies don't like, either the trouble, or to spoil their shapes; as this unnatural custom does not take place so much in England, it may help to account for the superior prolificacy of our Irish ladies. A great inconvenience attends this custom. The nurse, and indeed her whole family, think you are obliged to assist them whilst they live. In fact, there is no shaking them off. They, in general, endeavour to avoid taking any money as payment for nursing, but they contrive, by "collops," (grazing of cattle,) wool, corn, potatoes, &c. to get thrice more than a liberal allowance in money would amount to; and, indeed, many of the better kind of people would rather pay three times the amount in this unsatisfactory way, than in cash. It must, at the same time, be admitted, that the poor man's family generally retain a great affection for the child during life."

lament that a different feeling had not been more prevalent; but this is in a great degree owing to the want of that restraint upon their passions, which is acquired by a knowledge of our imperfections.

Many Irish families retire to England, and retrenchment is the reason assigned for their residence in that part of the empire; but to me it seemed that this retrenchment meant their removal from the importunities of their creditors. I was the more confirmed in this opinion, when I found it the universal practice of these retrenchers to accumulate debts in England which their creditors on this side of the channel have no means of recovering—they might as well think of bringing an action in Siberia or Botany Bay as in a country place in Ireland. I have seen letters from gentlemen of the first consequence to their connexions in England, inviting them back with the consoling assurance that, “The sheriff is a friend of mine, and I will be answerable that no one shall hurt you, if you will return.”

The higher and well educated ranks, who have mixed much in the world, and had the advantage of travelling, are accomplished and highly polished in their manners, but, unfortunately, are better acquainted with foreign countries than with their own. The establishment of the militia has made Ireland more known to its gentry by their military removals, and connexions have arisen therefrom by marriage, between distant families, which would not otherwise have taken place. A benefit of this kind has resulted from the annual agricultural meeting at Ballinasloe. Gentlemen assemble there from every part of Ireland, and the intercourse between remote districts is thus extended.

The establishments of people of the first rank are similar to those of persons in the same sphere in England. A visitor to the Marquis of Thomond, the Earls of Shannon and Farnham, Mr. Wynne, Mr. Hyde, Mr. Newenham, and others, will observe no difference; he will find the same taste, elegance, and conveniences; but these are prominent characters in the country, and possessed of immense estates.

If he visit those one degree removed in wealth, the change will be obvious. A stranger will be at a loss to account for this striking difference; and to trace the cause, it will be necessary to consider the condition of the female sex, and the manner in which they have been brought up. The education and treatment of women has in all ages and in all countries had a decided influence on the habits and manners of the people; and this is particularly to be remarked in Ireland, throughout all the classes of society. What is the instruction which a girl receives from the moment that she can articulate a syllable? Dancing and music, the advantages of dress, the means for preserving her beauty, the necessity of a genteel deportment, and rules for entering a drawing-room. Parents are not now to be accosted in the old, unfashionable, and familiar style; they must be addressed, by their infant children, with the titles of “Sir and Madam.” The endearing appellations of “Father and Mother” are not permitted, and a substitute is found

in the cold and respectful language of distant politeness. To dress their young persons in such a way is to excite their vanity without improving their virtue, or communicating to them any of those solid accomplishments, which may render them happy in themselves, and useful to society. Were I to follow female education through all its subsequent changes, I should exhibit a picture which could not be contemplated without regret. What I have said may afford some useful hints, and I shall leave the task to those who may be better qualified.

The Irish ladies have to submit to the almost total impossibility of procuring virtuous females, who may be qualified to become governesses to their children; the same difficulty is sometimes experienced in England. But this want might be less regretted, were mothers capable of instructing their offspring; for whatever may be said, *a mother is not only the best nurse, but the best governess.*

When a young lady has completed her education, that is to say, when she can dance well, can play enchantingly on the piano-forte, has read all the modern French novels which could be imported, and is ready to "come out," as it is termed, then the harvest is to be reaped; and if she be never proposed *for*, it not being customary ever to propose *to*, she is brought to Dublin, introduced at the castle, and exhibited, during the winter, at every ball and assembly. Should this not be attended with success, she is next taken to Bath, Cheltenham, or some place of fashionable resort; but if in very high life, London is the ultimate place of her destination. Should all these efforts fail, and the young lady still remain undisposed of, she returns to Ireland, and some good-natured friend of the family finds out that she has never seen the Kilkenny theatricals. To Kilkenny, therefore, the young lady is conveyed; but it sometimes happens that even this is unavailing, and expectation is succeeded by the bitterness of disappointment.

I shall, however, suppose, that the desirable object is attained. The union has not been the result of mutual attachment, of a knowledge of each other's habits or disposition. The mother is the match-maker; it is she who courts for her daughter, and who negotiates with the gentleman who is to become her husband. Hence it appears, that in both countries, we are every day approaching to the pernicious system followed under the old government in France, where the parents settled the preliminaries, and the young people knew nothing of each other, until they were united at the altar.

Should the reader think that this picture is highly coloured, I must assure him, that it is strictly true. Eighteen out of twenty marry the moment their mothers inform them that suitable offers have been made; and of however short a date the acquaintance may have been, the intended union will be made public before the young people know of it themselves. When the bargain is finished, the settlements are drawn, and the marriage takes place. No time is allowed to the parties to become acquainted with each other, nor is there any waiting to fit up a house. After the

ceremony has been performed, the new married couple generally stay some time among their friends, visiting from house to house.\* If they be people of fortune, a carriage is the first necessary appendage to the family, and, if the expense can be afforded, it must be an English one, and drawn by four horses, a less number would be held in great contempt in Ireland.

On an approaching increase of family, they return to the parental roof, and an effort is made towards furnishing a house. At first, the young people are fond of shew and parade, and when a home becomes indispensable, debts are generally incurred in half furnishing a mansion, which seldom possesses the conveniencies, and never the comforts of life. Hope, however, is always on the wing; and an intention is invariably expressed of completing in the ensuing year what has been already begun. In the mean time, the poverty of the house is excused with a laugh, and by saying that the place is "a sort of *rack-rent house*;" but this laugh ends, for the most part in a very serious truth. The family now becomes more numerous without an increase of fortune; and the finale is a rack-rent in reality, which is an establishment doubly exceeding the income of the possessor; and this forms the great difference between English and Irish establishments.

The same picture, but in a humbler degree, may be traced through every rank downwards, until it exhibits an interesting young female in the bloom of youth and beauty, exposed as it were in a public mart. This practice is avowed without a blush by the mountain farmers in the wilds of Kerry, and I have beheld with pain and astonishment such scenes in the course of my tour. But while I reprobate *these matches*, which are little less than licensed prostitution,† I have no wish to recommend marriages founded on the romantic opinion, that love only and strong regard are to be uniformly consulted in the union of the sexes; I agree with a sagacious and elegant writer, that "it ought to be the slow result of calm and true attachment, of deliberate and sober preference, sanctified by virtue and directed by prudence."‡ As this is a subject of great importance to the happiness of society, I trust, I shall be forgiven for offering another quotation from a female writer, whose pen has never been employed but in the cause of virtue and truth; and if I should be thought to dwell too long upon this passage in her works, it must be attributed to the

\* Mr. Newenham, in his Statistical Inquiry, p. 22, mentions this circumstance, but confines it to the lower and middle class. I, however, observed it to be so universally prevalent in every rank, that, wherever it does not take place, I consider it as an exception from the general rule.

† BELLEVUE, Feb. 13, 1809. One of the house-maids, a pretty young woman twenty-two years of age, was this day married to a man old enough to be her father. He was a widower with five children, and before so great a stranger to her, that she had never so much as heard his name. He had seen her at church, and though he had never spoken to her, sent her a message that he would marry her. Upon inquiry, I find that such sudden marriages are very common. The girl bears a most excellent character. Her chief inducement to marry was the settlement; that of the man a scarcity of protestant women.

‡ Knight upon Taste, 4th edit. 1808, p. 428.

partiality of a grateful son to a respected parent. Her opinions I hold in veneration ; and if I think of them too highly, it, at least, is a weakness that may be expected to attend upon filial affection.

“ In the education of females, the same view actuates every rank. An advantageous settlement in marriage is the universal prize for which parents of all classes enter their daughters upon the lists, and partiality or self-complacency assures to every competitor the most flattering prospect of success. To this one point tends the principal part of female instruction. For the promotion of this design, their best years for improvement are sacrificed to the attainment of attractive qualities, shew, superficial accomplishments, polished manners, and, in one word, the whole science of pleasing, which is cultivated with an unceasing assiduity as an object of the most essential importance. The end is laudable, and deserving of every effort that can be exerted to attain it. A happy marriage may be estimated among the rarest felicities of human life ; but it may be doubted whether the means used to accomplish it are adequate to the purpose, as the making first an impression, is by no means effectual to determine the preference of a wise man. It is not then sufficient that a girl be qualified to excite admiration. Her own happiness, and that of the man to whom she devotes the remainder of her days, depend upon her possession of those virtues which alone can preserve lasting esteem and confidence. The offices of a wife are very different from those of the mere pageant of a ball-room, and as their nature is more exalted, the talents they require are of a more noble kind. Something far beyond the elegant trifler is wanted in a companion for life. A young woman is very ill-adapted to enter into the most solemn of social contracts, who is not prepared by her education to become the participator of her husband's cares, the consoler of his sorrows, his stimulator to every praise-worthy undertaking, his partner in the labours and vicissitudes of life, the faithful and economical manager of his affairs, the judicious superintendent of his family, the wise and affectionate mother of his children, the preserver of his honour, his chief counsellor, and, to sum up all, the chosen friend of his bosom. If a modern education be not calculated to produce these effects, as few surely will judge it to be, who reflect upon its tendency, it is incompetent to that very purpose which is confessedly its main object, and must, therefore, be deemed imperfect, and to require reformation.”\*

In England people seldom marry until a house has been provided, furnished, and fitted up for them ; a part of the fortune is generally appropriated to this purpose. In Ireland, the case is so different, that improvident marriages are the foundation of many an extravagant and ill-regulated household. A young couple begin the world in debt, although with the best intentions of in time discharging it, and preserving good order in their family. These wishes are, however, often defeated ; one debt generally leads to another, difficulties increase, until they acquire a habit of irregularity and heedless profusion.

Marriages take place in Ireland in every rank at a much earlier age than they do in England. Among the lower orders, this has been already accounted for. But as the same causes do not operate among the higher classes, it is difficult to discern why these young ladies should so generally enter into the married state between the age of sixteen and nineteen. The disadvantages of this custom are evident. By marrying so early, they enter upon the most important duties of life at the

\* Mrs. Wakefield's Reflections on the Present Condition of the Female Sex, 1798, p. 9.

period when they have attained to an age which enables them to appreciate the value of time; and when the powers of the mind becoming stronger, two or three years of continued application to proper pursuits, would make them better mothers, and more able to superintend the affairs of a family. Another bad consequence of this system, is, the putting of children out to nurse: a custom which is very general. It is of long standing, and, therefore, the accounts which we read of fostering, are all founded on truth.

A great evil, arising out of early marriages and improper education, is, that the female mind is not cultivated so as to enable its possessor to enjoy the latter part of life with that happiness which is the result of good principles early imbibed. When beauty is faded, nor longer exists to attract the attention of the other sex; when the scenes which were wont to charm, are seen with indifference; if she have not been taught to find resources within herself, her condition will be helpless; life will become a burden, and existence itself of no value.

Notwithstanding the difference of prices in England and Ireland, every article being cheaper in the latter, as will be seen by inspecting the table of prices; the first establishments in Ireland are inferior to those of a respectable farmer among us. There are more servants, more horses, and more acres in hand; yet fewer comforts are to be found in an Irish family, than in one maintained at two-thirds of the expense in England. Celibacy being unfashionable, domestic servants are in general married; hence an incalculable waste is occasioned, and servants are frequently kept because their masters have not the funds to pay them their wages.

When I condemn female education, and the manner in which women are treated respecting marriage, it must be admitted that they deserve a better fate. In personal attraction the Irish ladies of the higher rank are eminently conspicuous: They are polite, and possess the most agreeable ease and openness of heart, with a generosity of disposition and fascinating address, which are altogether irresistible. But these qualities are not their only boast; they value themselves, and with great reason, on their chastity; instances of indiscretion or infidelity among them are very rare. The gentlemen in Ireland ascribe this virtue to a constitutional coldness, which renders them less subject to the violent emotions of the most powerful of all passions; and, indeed, on seeing married ladies express little indignation at the illicit intimacies of husbands, I have been sometimes inclined to this opinion. My doubts were still farther excited, when I found that the sight of a husband's natural children on the outside of his domain wall, produced only a smile from the wife. But this conduct may have arisen from magnanimity; not from apathy or want of jealous feeling; and notwithstanding these instances, I am far from supposing that the chastity of the Irish ladies is the chastity of interest.\* If I may be allowed to make any deduction

\* Barrow, speaking of the Chinese says, "the cool and indifferent manner of bargaining for a wife, is not calculated to produce numerous instances of criminal intercourse. *Travels in China*, p. 149.

from their importance, it is in remarking a failing which is equally prevalent with the fair of my own country. They have too strong a propensity to acrimonious strictures against those of their sex who have been led away from the paths of virtue, and whose misfortunes ought rather to be viewed by them with an eye of commiseration. But let them remember, that the truly benevolent will throw the veil of charity over the frailties of a helpless, and, perhaps, suffering, female.

In Ireland there are numerous occasions which call for the exercise of benevolence, and by the female part of society these opportunities are never neglected. Were I to enumerate all the instances of this kind which have come within my own knowledge, I could fill a whole volume. This disposition is a conspicuous trait in the female character in that country; and when I add that the ladies are benevolent, it must be understood in its most enlarged sense, including all those acts which are the result of humanity and charity united.

One thing worthy of remark in Ireland, is the manner in which the line of distinction between the different classes is preserved in the formation of family alliances; It is rare for a man born in the inferior ranks of life, to marry a genteel bred woman.

Marriage among the poor seldom takes place from an union of affection; a man speaks of going to be married with as much indifference as if he were going to purchase articles at a fair. Among the labouring poor in England, I have often seen, with satisfaction, instances of the strongest attachment between married persons; and I am convinced, that the numerous cases of females granting favours before marriage arise from affection. In Ireland such cases are very uncommon; and I am inclined to the opinion that the sexes in general unite, more through an anxious desire to escape parental authority, than from any other cause. There a man considers his wife as his slave. In this respect there is a marked difference between the two countries. An Irishman assumes over the partner of his bed an authority which is seldom claimed or submitted to in England. Females in Ireland are treated more like beasts of burden than rational beings, and although I never saw any one yoked to a plough, as was formerly the case at Byzacium in Africa,\* or dragging the same implement alone, as is the practice still in some parts of China,† I have seen them degraded in a manner disgraceful to the other sex, and shocking to humanity. In the country they are subjected to all the drudgery generally performed by men; setting potatoes, digging turf, and the performance of the most laborious occupations: I have often watched them with the utmost attention, but never heard a woman disobey the command of her husband, or repine at his orders. On such occasions I recollected the African women, who immediately after marriage are desired by the bridegroom to fetch wood and water, to break them into obedience.‡

In the cities, they are daily seen tottering under loads too heavy for the female

\* Pliuy, lib. xvi. cap. 21.

† Barrow's Travels in China, p. 141.

‡ Labat. vol. ii. p. 299.

frame. Even after lying-in, when they ought to be objects of peculiar care, they are allowed only a few days' exemption from their ordinary duties.\* In consequence of this harsh treatment, and continual exposure to the weather, added to the smoke of their cabins, and scanty fare, they exhibit a miserable spectacle, and acquire, at a very early period, every mark of old age. I have seen women, who, from their appearance, might be supposed to be past the time of child-bearing, followed by very young children, whom I did not consider as their own; but on inquiry, I found that I was mistaken, and that their mothers were not above thirty years of age.

Ireland is a country where aristocratical influence is more prevalent than in England. Every thing which government has to bestow being reserved for parliamentary interest, and conferred on the higher order of protestants, there is no middle order of people to balance between the very great and the very humble; and two other bad effects are the consequence, that of fostering religious distinctions, and discouraging merit, the only proper qualification for public office. A disgraceful system of political corruption, the source of which it might not be difficult to discover, pervades all ranks, from the peer to the peasant. By a small proportion of peers their representatives are elected—and the wishes of the castle destroys, in every case, the independence of the nobility. It is well known that a great national undertaking, the Royal Canal, has been cut in a wrong direction, that it might pass near a great man's estate. Regiments of militia have been raised for the purpose of extending patronage, by giving the nomination of officers to certain individuals. Barracks have been erected for the purpose of creating a market for an adjoining property. If we look at the pension list, and examine the sums paid by way of compensation, a momentary doubt will not be entertained, that in Ireland a wide-spreading system of corruption prevails. During the existence of the Irish parliament, the very idea of honesty was held in derision. When a gentleman, whose wife and daughters were loaded with the weight of public money, rose to address the legislature, and began by saying, "If ever I gave an honest vote in my life——," the roar of

\* Strabo says, that it was customary among all barbarous nations, for the women to perform the offices of the men. This was the case among the Belgæ. Τὸ δὲ περὶ τῶν ἀρσενῶν καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν, τὸ διὰ τὴν οἰκονομίαν τοῖς πατρὶ ἡμῶν, κοινὸν καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους συγχρῆσιν τῶν Βαρβάρων ἐστίν. Geograph. edit. Amst. 1707, lib. iv. vol. i. p. 197. He gives the same account of the people of Spain, lib. iii. p. 166. Justin also, speaking of the ancient Spaniards, says: *Fœminæ res domesticas agrorumque culturam administrant; ipsi armis et rapinis serviunt.* Lib. xlv. cap. 3. edit. Elzevir. Lugd. Bat. 1640. p. 292.

According to Sophocles, the men in Egypt remained at home employed in weaving, while the women performed all the out-door labours:

Ὡ πάντ' ἴκωντο τοῖς ἐν Ἀιγύπτῳ νόμοις  
φύσει κατακασθῆναι καὶ βίῃ τρυφᾶς.  
ἴκῃ γὰρ ἐν μὲν ἄρσενες κατα στήλας  
θακῆσι ἰσχυροῦντες· αἱ δὲ συνημοί  
τα' ἔν βίῃ τρυφῆα πορεύουσ' αἴν.

Œdip. Col. v. 328.

laughter was so great that he could not proceed. Were such instances uncommon, ridicule might produce some effect; but being general, venality loses its odious character, and individuals console themselves with the reflection, that others are as bad as themselves. But there is little difference between the senator who commences in this manner, whose notorious corruption is a source of merriment, and the perjured witness, on the table at a quarter sessions, whose witty answers entertain the whole auditory, while the judge, perhaps, concludes that the amusement he has afforded may be balanced against the profligacy of his conduct.

The prevalence of what is here termed, jobbing, is every where so conspicuous that no useful enterprise is undertaken, without being considered by the people as "a job." There is no confidence that public works are begun for any other purpose; and, even among persons of education, this opinion is prevalent. Being in Ireland when the news arrived of the convention of Cintra, the whole country declared, with one voice, that our generals were bribed by the enemy. When parliament voted a large sum for surveying the bogs; I was assured at first that it was a job to provide for the younger brothers of noble families; and when men of acknowledged talents in business were appointed to be commissioners, and acted without salary, it was then Lord Lowther's English job, to oblige the Irish to purchase his Whitehaven coals, instead of burning their own turf.\* I did not myself escape the imputation; for many of the newspapers assured their readers, that I was paid five guineas a-day by government, and they asked, "Who would waste his time without remuneration?" The wives and daughters of agents, it is commonly believed, are all to be bribed. In this general character there is, I fear, too much truth. I rejoice, however, to state, that I know numerous exceptions; and in most counties there are some, who in England would be called "hard-headed country gentlemen." Persons of this description are well acquainted with the business of the county; attend to it carefully, have a thorough knowledge of every thing that is passing around them, and exert themselves to be useful to their neighbours. Yet, with all this merit, their knowledge is circumscribed; they have travelled through the country from their own houses to Dublin, and a few may have been at Ballinasloe; but of the rest of Ireland, its resources, its political situation, its relative importance amongst European states, or any thing more than may be learned by being on the grand jury, they are as ignorant as they are of Tambuctoo. Libraries are not common in Ireland; by some families they are purchased on their first commencing housekeeping, as a part of the furniture, and the choice of the volumes depends greatly on the elegance of the type and binding. Yet although landed proprietors of extensive information are thinly scattered over Ireland, there are some gentlemen, such as Mr. Foster, Mr.

\* Since writing the above, a bill has been introduced to parliament, for the purpose of paying an income of £500 per annum to each of the Bog Commissioners. I admit myself to have been mistaken, and the popular opinion condemned in the text to be correct.

William Tighe, Mr. Cornelius Bolton, Mr. Wynne, Mr. Aldworth, and others, whose characters and talents would do honour to any country in Europe.

Education is more general among the poorer classes in Ireland, than it is among the same description of persons in England. In the former the peasantry are more quick of comprehension than the latter. Labourers in England can plough the land or make a fence, in a manner which would astonish the Irish; but they are so boorishly stupid, that it is difficult to converse with them; and they seldom trouble themselves about any thing beyond the precincts of their own parish. But the Irish, with less skill in manual operations possess more intelligence; they are shrewd by nature, and have a most anxious desire to obtain information. Their inquisitiveness is strongly marked by their interrogatories; and it is to this spirit that I ascribe the frequency of anonymous letters in Ireland. Persons almost in every station are exposed to the resentment of some secret enemy, who would rather die than be publicly known as an informer. I have been witness to some distressing scenes occasioned by an attention to these letters; and I am astonished that persons of rank have not magnanimity enough to commit them to the flames.

The strong attachment which children of both sexes shew towards their parents, is a noble trait in the character of the indigent Irish. In China this duty must be enforced by law;\* but in Ireland it is the effect of natural feeling. Young people never permit those to whom they are indebted for existence to work during their declining years. The poor laws in England have, perhaps, steeled the heart against these honourable sympathies, but in Ireland they are universal. The common expression among these people, when they wish well to any one, is, "Long life to your honour!" a compliment carried to such excess, that a stranger might imagine, that the Irish considered length of days as the ultimate earthly blessing; and it is not improbable that this may be derived from the precept in the decalogue, "Honour thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long in the land."

The higher ranks have an overbearing pride, which prevents them from educating their children in industrious habits, or suffering them to engage in commerce. Tradesmen they consider as a distinct class in society; and every business is contemned, that of wine-merchant excepted, in which some branches of the first families in the kingdom are engaged in Dublin. The army and navy are filled with their sons; and, if credit be to be given to a very general assertion, the majority in both consists of Irishmen, and these Roman catholics. I know of no data by which the truth of this statement can be ascertained; indeed, I do not believe it. I have had some conversations on the subject with Mr. Chalmers, and he agrees with me in opinion, that the number of Irishmen in the ranks, and before the mast in our men of war, is, comparatively speaking, very small. To this subject I paid particular

\* Duhalde's China, vol. i. p. 303.

attention. Except in some part of the north, the poor are decidedly averse to inlisting;\* the army to them is as much an object of hatred, as it is of admiration to their superiors. From all the accounts which I received, the Roman catholic clergy discountenance it; and as to the navy, if the reader will turn to the chapter on Fisheries, it will be seen that there is no nursery of seamen to any extent in Ireland.

A peculiar *esprit du corps*, or fellow feeling, exists among some classes of the Irish, which is manifested in a very peculiar manner; if a jingle-driver be married in Dublin, all the jingles in the city are engaged at the wedding. This spirit is widely diffused, and has a very powerful influence. The best recommendation which a candidate for the place of drawing-master to the Dublin Society could possess, would be that of being a member of the corporation: all the freemen would certainly vote for him. Were the secretaryship to the Farming Society of Ireland vacant, the electors would be guided in their choice, not by the qualifications of the persons proposed, but by the side of the Shannon to which he might happen to belong.

Dr. Crump remarks, that combinations, risings, and outrage among tradesmen are very common, and he adds, that the pretexts on such occasions are often truly ridiculous. "I have known a tumultuous mob," says he, "assemble in one city to demolish the stores of a merchant, because he found it advantageous to export some of his hog's flesh saved as bacon, and, consequently, required a somewhat smaller number of casks than when all was exported saved as pork; and on five being taken up and confined, the bakers refused to bake, and the butchers to kill meat, till they were liberated."† This feeling extends to the higher ranks, and leads them to adopt resolutions to wear no other clothes but such as are of Irish manufacture; and even the Irish loan-monger complains, because England is disposed to lend her money to the sister island. The truth is, the passions of the Irish are soon excited; and, as they allow themselves no time for reflection, they conclude rashly. Led away by vanity and national pride, they too readily credit misrepresentation, and where no injury is done or offence intended, conceive themselves contemned and insulted.

Were this sentiment confined to the poor, it would not be surprising, for I have known shameful instances of their superiors behaving to them in a most reprehensible manner. I have seen magistrates refuse to devote a moment to their complaints, and heard them coolly observe, "The man is no tenant of mine; let him go to his landlord." Dr. Crump remarks, that he had many opportunities of learning the real situation of the poor Irish; and he might have adduced instances from his own observation of the hard treatment they frequently experienced, and the extortions to which they are daily exposed; but he adds, "a repetition of the former would be disgusting; a petty detail of the latter tedious."‡

\* Tighe's Kilkenny, p. 506. "Inlisting, either in the army or navy, is almost unknown in the country parts."

† Crump on the Means of providing Employment for the People, p. 187.

‡ Crump's Essay, ut supra, p. 201.

England holds out to surrounding countries a proud example of the due weight which is allowed in society to her poorer orders; and to this may be ascribed in a great measure, the prosperity of the country, and the comparative state of tranquillity which it enjoys. Every man, however low his station, is aware of his own importance; and until the case is the same in Ireland, it never can excite surprise, that the indigent imitating the conduct of the rich should grasp at power, and when they feel themselves sufficiently strong, retaliate on their oppressors. When these attempts are made, or even an inclination evinced towards them, instead of conciliatory means being used, recourse is had to the severest measures, the consequence of which is the suppression of open resistance, but an increase of secret irritation. The castle is filled with complaints, and the whole country is alarmed by a proclamation of martial law. Punishment is easily inflicted, and to hang, shoot, or transport a few offending men, may, by some, be considered not only as the speediest, but the best method of reducing the people to obedience. The question for a wise government to consider is, the means of preventing the atrocities and outrage, which furnish an excuse for resorting to means so distressing to the feelings of humanity. Until the higher orders themselves cease to infringe the laws, it cannot be expected that the same laws should bind those who are taught by daily experience that they cannot look up to them for protection.

The humbler orders of the Irish are in general very incredulous to our newspaper accounts of the defeat of our enemies, which they consider like the Chinese gazettes, published every second day, to announce victories where no battles were fought or even armies existed. This arises from the practice adopted in Ireland, of disseminating false intelligence, and so often employed to answer political purposes.\* They have, some way of acquiring authentic intelligence which has often struck me with wonder; and are frequently acquainted with public events long before the arrival of the post. This circumstance may appear incredible, but I can affirm it with truth.

The superstition of the common people in Ireland is so well known, that it is not to be dwelt upon. This weakness extends even to some of the higher ranks, who might be supposed to be proof against such influence.

The Irish expend large sums at their funerals, and such is their ambition for

\* 11th September, 1808. Being in company this day with Sir William Rowley, his son, and the Rev. Joshua Rowley, we observed pasted on the post-office door, at Rathmelton, in the county of Donegal, a printed paper with the king's arms at top, like a gazette, in which an account was given of the French being defeated in Spain, and that 14,000 of them had been killed by the blowing up of a mine at Saragossa. We inquired of the post-master from whom he had received this intelligence, and were told, that it was contained in a paper transmitted to him in the inside of the Correspondent, the Castle newspaper, with an order to make it publicly known: he, therefore, conceived it to be an official communication. I saw a similar paper some days after, on the door of the post-office, at Moneymore, in Derry, and another in March 1809, at the post-office of Feathard, in Wexford. As these accounts were entirely false, it needs excite no wonder, that the people should disbelieve real events when regularly communicated.

pageantry and shew on these occasions, that the poor often begin to collect money for defraying the expense before the person is dead. Waking the dead is a most extraordinary custom, the following account of a wake, in a letter written in the south of Ireland, may be relied on as correct:†

“I think what they call a wake here seems to be the highest source of fun. I went the other day to see the nurse of one of my sister’s children, who I supposed to be in trouble, as her father had died suddenly in the room with her the night before. I found the kitchen a scene of merriment. The poor old man was laid out on the table with candles and plates, containing salt placed all around him; I missed two of the daughters. The nurse said they were cleaning out the barn for the girls to dance in, and that one of the lads was gone for a piper.” The writer, who is a native of the north, adds, “We know nothing of this waking amusement in our part of the country. There I have seen the happiest set of female faces, thirty or forty spinners together at work, round a large turf fire, singing in turns, or the old dame telling frightful stories. The using salt at wakes arises, as far as I can learn, from an old custom of the Greeks or Romans, who considered it as lucky. When employed, the priest first blesses it, and some of it is then put into holy water. I have inquired of various Roman catholics in this country, but cannot learn any thing more respecting it. Amusements of every kind are practised at these wakes—blind man’s buff, hunt the slipper, and sometimes dancing, but the last is less common. The intention of these amusements is to divert the young people, great numbers of whom are assembled on such occasions. The old ones smoke, and the young make merry to keep themselves from falling asleep. There are no wakes in the north except among the Roman catholics. The presbyterians assemble also on such occasions, but they have no amusement, nor do they sit up the whole night with the corpse as in this part of the country.”\*

Tombs to the memory of deceased relations, are apparently much beyond their means. The weakness, which is evident in this fondness for ostentation, displays a warmth of attachment that may be readily excused. An extraordinary veneration prevails among them for their places of burial, and persons of the poorest class frequently carry their dead to a great distance, that they may be deposited with their kindred. I have heard that many of them believe that the gates of Heaven will be shut against those, whose remains are not committed to the earth of the same church-yard where the rest of their family have been laid.

One trait in the Irish character cannot be mentioned without painful sensations; I mean their jealousy of England. Mr. De Latocknay relates the following instance of it, and I have known similar ones on different occasions:

“My guide,” says this traveller, “seemed to be a jovial fellow, as he often reproached me with not having taken the precaution of bringing something to eat. You speak always of eating, says I;

\* The following circumstance occurred to me at a cottage, where I called to inquire after a poor man who was ill of a consumption, but who having a good constitution seemed likely to live for some time. I found the kitchen full of men and women, all dressed in their Sunday clothes; I, therefore, asked one of them what they were going to do, and the answer was “We are waiting for the wake.” I inquired who was dead: “No one, but the man within is all but dead, and we are chatting abt that we may help the widow to lift him when the breath goes out of his body.” The love of gossiping is a strong feature in the Irish character, and is, I believe, very often the cause of such meetings.

you must be an Englishman, are you not? Do not call me names, said he; but said I, an Englishman is at least as good as an Irishman, in my opinion. The manner in which he shook his head, and the oath he pronounced with a particular emphasis, convinced me that he was not of that opinion. It is very odd, that though so many centuries have elapsed since the conquest of Ireland, the two nations are by no means united, and, probably, never will be so. In France the people of the different provinces boast of their being Frenchmen, without entertaining any other prejudices against each other, except those which may be supposed to proceed from the distance between them.\*

With all this jealousy of England, there is still among the Irish a tacit acknowledgment of the superiority of that country in various points of view. A tenant who possesses a larger farm than common, who is wealthier, and shews more skill in rural economy, as well as more neatness in the arrangement of every thing around him, is called "an English tenant." A gentleman's grounds kept in good order is said to be like an English seat; among persons of property, nothing short of an English carriage will satisfy their taste. In short, the Irish are as ready to adopt English fashions as the English are to imitate those of France.

In many instances, jealousy exists of the government of the castle, which is not regarded with that confidence, which alone can conciliate affection and secure respect. This circumstance arises in a great degree from the conduct of the higher classes, which rendering the people mistrustful of those in power, inclines them to disaffection. Lord Selkirk says, "had the English government, after its successful possession of Ireland, provided an opportunity for those who felt sore from their subjugation to emigrate, a deal of the present discontent against the government would never have occurred." Talleyrand has favoured the same idea by observations made in America, the immense extent of which afforded room for the discontented to remove to some distance, where their dissatisfaction would diminish as they became engaged in the prosecution of some new project.† Emigration is a composing medicine, which allays the violence of disease, and it is only considered in this point of view that I would recommend it. I had much rather that the disease did not exist; and there are means, by which it might be cured without having recourse to this desperate remedy; for although I cannot regret the loss of numbers, I must lament the diminution of that capital and that industry which the people carry along with them. The persons who thus quit the country are the most valuable part of the community, enterprising individuals, anxious to improve their condition; and none think of removing who do not possess some kind of property.

It will be found, on examination, that Ireland has a greater number of drones in the hive, in proportion to its population, than any other country in Europe. The northern parishes are more than sufficiently served by a triple provision of clergy; the minister of the church of Rome and his coadjutor; the presbyterian minister and his assistant, and the different classes of methodists. Preachers among the quakers

\* Page 126.

† Essai sur le Avantages a retirer d'une Colonie nouvelle.

form a part of the general mass, as no individuals of this persuasion attend exclusively to the performance of public worship.\* Every other part of Ireland has a double set of clergy, either resident or absent, who waste the resources of the country for their support. When the multitude of persons, set apart for religious instruction is considered, and the number of those who are educating for the same purpose, the gross amount will be found greater than is at first evident. To this list may yet be added an immense swarm of lawyers, and their dependants of every description; judges, for the same number of people in double proportion to those in England, and whose attendants are more numerous; unnecessary domestics, and the useless and lazy loiterers attached to every establishment. In consequence of the manner in which the revenue is collected, there is an host of officers, who must be placed in the same class. The country towns in Ireland are filled with idle persons, the most conspicuous of whom are middlemen, who find that by re-letting the lands they have previously taken, they can raise an income without the exertions necessary for agricultural pursuits. I must not omit to state, that professed beggars are very numerous.†

I shall now examine how much labour is really taken from the active part of the community. Considering the minute division of land, in consequence of which the tenant and his family hope for nothing more than a supply of that all-pervading root, the potato, and clothes; it will be perceived that a large family seldom renders the earth more productive than a small one. In all cases the same quantity of land is cultivated, whatever may be the number.

True!—thou art blest, in nature's plan,  
 Nothing seems wanting here—but—MAN.  
 Man—to subdue, not serve the soil;  
 To win, and wear its golden spoil.  
 Man—conscious of an earth his own;  
 No savage biped, torpid, prone;  
 Living to dog his brother brute,  
 And hungering for the lazy root;  
 Food for a soft, contented slave,  
 Not for the hardy and the brave. DRENNAN.

\* The quakers in Ireland, as I am informed by Mr. Thomas Shilitoe, are in number about 6,000; in England 22,000. What a body of morality, benevolence, wealth, and useful citizens; their wisdom is exemplified by their having neither priest, lawyer, or warrior.

† In the year 1802, Mr. Martin, under the authority of the Secretary of State for the home department, undertook to examine the state of mendicity of London, and in March 1803, reported that there were,

9,271	of this class	English
5,310	- - -	Irish
504	- - -	Scotch
177	- - -	Foreign.

15,388

If the Irish, so far from home, form one-third part of the beggars in London; what must their numbers be at home?

Much time is lost from the late hour at which the people rise; the days they devote to pleasure, and those given up to religious ceremonies; I calculate, that one-third at least of the time of the labouring classes in Ireland, is wasted in holy-days, funerals, weddings, christenings, fairs, patterns, races, and other recreations. Of the remaining two-thirds I estimate that one-half, by a proper application of labour, would produce as much as is effected by the present wasteful system in which manual labour only is employed. If my calculation be correct, the production of Ireland might be obtained by one-third of its population. Malthus justly remarks, that "it is the great surplus produce in England, arising from her agriculture, which enables her to support such a vast body of manufacturers, and formidable fleets and armies. Such a crowd of persons engaged in the liberal professions, and a proportion of the society living on money rents, far beyond what has ever been known in any other country of the world."\* Let this surplus produce be the object of the Irish country gentlemen, and it will be attended with the same effects. When I hear a strong desire expressed for commerce, and the construction of canals to create it; when the want of manufactures is stated, and the Irish, desire that encouragement should be given to home-made articles, in preference to those which can be imported; when I am told of the increased issue of bank notes sinking a part of the money rents of the proprietors, and of bounties being considered as the best stimulant to the production of corn, I greatly regret, that the Irish are so blind as not to perceive, that the chief object ought to be an incitement to industry, and that were the people habituated to labour, agricultural produce, manufactures, commerce, a proper circulating medium, the representative of that industry, would all be the happy results of this primary cause. Were Irish gentlemen as anxious to promote the industry, as to increase the number of their tenants, and were that "army of freeholders," the boast of every landed proprietor, but the bane of national prosperity, disbanded by the legislature, an astonishing change would take place in the state of the country.

I have heard it frequently stated by men of information and talent, and by some who are as well acquainted with England as with Ireland, that the poor are better provided for in the latter than in the former. Mr. Young, when he first visited Ireland,† asserted, that the condition of the inhabitants was as good as that of most English cottagers. Highly as I respect this gentleman's authority, I conceive such a statement to be erroneous. His assertion has served as a foundation for much false reasoning on the subject; and the remark of Dr. Adam Smith,‡ that a given quantity of land produces more people by the cultivation of potatoes, has served to give currency to the same opinion. The frequent repetition of such arguments, has made

\* Malthus on Population, p. 438.

† Tour in Ireland, part i. p. 21.

‡ Vol. i. p. 249.

me anxious to shew from Irish authority, the miserable and wretched state of the inhabitants in general. Mr. Newenham has given a comparative statement of the manner in which the English and Irish live; and his authority is entitled to respect, as he is a man of undoubted veracity, and has resided in both countries.

“Potatoes, it is well known, are the great article in Ireland, meat in England. Comparatively speaking, a very small quantity of animal food is consumed in that country, a very great one in this. Much of that sort of food is saved here by religious fasts, a very trifling quantity there. By the lowest class in this country, it is generally speaking, once a week—by the lowest class in that country, generally speaking, never. In England, that most numerous, next to the lowest, eat it three times, or at least twice a week. In Ireland, the same class which is in proportion more numerous than here, do not, generally speaking, eat it once a month; a great majority of that class do not eat it oftener than six times a year. Substantial farmers and country artificers in the country, live chiefly on animal food. The same description of people, in most parts of that country, live chiefly on potatoes and milk. Manufacturers here subsist for the most part on flesh, wheat, and bread. Three meals of animal food are very rarely eaten in that country, very frequently in this.”\*

Still it is said, “notwithstanding his mud cabin, the Irish cottager has his cow, his pig, his fowl, his turf-stack, his potatoes; and however mean his habitation, he is better off than an English labourer, who is to live from the uncertain produce of his industry.” My reply is, that the comparison between the same classes of society in the two countries is not fairly drawn. Give an English labourer two acres of land† (about three and a half English), a cow and a pig, and what will he be at the end of two years? not a labourer, but a small farmer thriving and laying by money, his children well clad, and his whole family eating meat and drinking good beer. Look at the Irishman in the same situation, and tell me whether he will be better off at the end of five years; the objects of comparison are different beings. Now, let me suppose an English labourer, who has a cottage at three or four guineas a year, without a rood of garden ground, and that his wages are regularly paid to him at the end of each week (I speak here of an industrious man in the full possession of health); does he not eat beef with his family on sundays, and pork or bacon on other days? Is not his common beverage beer, and does not his whole family appear decently clothed? Let such a man in England, be contrasted with an Irishman, who has no land; and to find such a being, we must go to the suburbs of some town, and no words can describe the wretchedness of the whole family. Intimately acquainted as I am with the circumstances, comforts, and wants of the people in both countries, I have no hesitation in saying, that an English, in comparison of an Irish labourer, knows not what poverty indicates. I am persuaded also, that the Englishman, by carrying his labour, which is his capital, to market, and selling it to the highest bidder, has a better provision than if an attempt were made to improve his condition by let-

\* Inquiry into the Population of Ireland, 1805.

† Irish measure.

ting him an acre or two of land, without his possessing the capital necessary for its cultivation. By this change he would become a bad labourer, and a worse farmer; yet I will not deny, that such a person, put into a small farm completely stocked, might arrive at a higher degree in the scale of society, than if he continued to till the earth for hire. I know the value which the poor attach to the possession of a little property, and I should be sorry to deny them every reasonable gratification; but I never knew an instance where the possession of a pig, of poultry, &c. was of any benefit to a good workman. In cases without number, labourers have acknowledged to me that this is the truth; and some, who kept an account of the expense of their pig, have assured me, that at the season for salting pork, it cost them more than they could have bought pork for by the score. Nay, I will farther add, that I never knew a poor man who kept a breeding sow, who did not within the year apply to the parish for relief.\* In England, the most direct and practical assistance to the labouring poor is that which arises from the establishment of well regulated benefit societies; the first year's payment of which I have frequently presented to those whom I employed, and I remarked that they never afterwards failed to keep their accounts with the club clear. Thus they were taught habits of economy, and in my opinion, these institutions are of the utmost national importance.†

It will, perhaps, be said, that I am mistaken, in believing the people of Ireland to be idle; I have been frequently told, by persons whom I respect, that "they are industrious." The same thing is stated in some of the county reports; but Mr. Tighe, whose account of Kilkenny is so superior to every other, speaks of the labourers of that county in a very different manner.‡ Campbell also (whose work is sufficiently modern to be good authority, although of a less recent date), considers the Irish as remarkably slothful. Indeed, the whole character which he draws of them, I think very correct.

"Were I to devise an emblematical figure of Ireland in her present state, it would not be a Minerva-like figure, with her spear and harp, nor shield, it would not be a Diana with her wolf dogs uncoupled, and moor deer in the thicket in the back ground; for that species of her deer has been extant here longer than the records of Irish history reach. The wolves too being all destroyed, and the thickets, it looks as if nature intended that their species should fail also, for I never could see one of them. But my picture of Ireland should be *mulier formosa*, supreme—a woman exquisitely beautiful, with her head and neck richly attired, her bosom full, but meanly dressed, her lower parts mean and ema-

\* This was written after I had read Mr. Gourlay's Account of the Cow System in some parishes in Lincolnshire. See Annals of Agriculture, vol. xxxvii. p. 154. From my personal knowledge of that gentleman, I am inclined to pay very great attention to his opinion, for few have seen so much of England in a practical way as this intelligent North Briton; but I am not convinced of the benefit of the system, and did the nature of my work allow me, I should readily give my reasons for dissenting from his opinion.

† In 1803, the number of benefit societies in England and Wales, as returned to parliament, was 9,672, comprehending 704,350 members.

‡ Tighe's Survey of Kilkenny, p. 507.

ciated, covered with tattered weeds; her legs and feet bare, with burned shins, and all the symptoms of indigent sloth.\*

Dr. Crump is another authority for ascribing idleness to the Irish, and his work is of modern date.

“The misery and idleness, occasioned by poverty and oppression united, is a principal source of the prevalent tendency to inebriety, and the consequent riotous feuds so remarkable among the Irish. Drunkenness is the solace of misery, the source of idleness, the great pleasure of the uncivilized in every quarter of the world. Habit and example confirm and extend a practice so destructive; for as general wealth increases, and as industry and civilization become diffused, it is gradually diminished, and as a national stigma, at length becomes effaced.”†

## CHAPTER XXX.

### DEFENCE.

**KING** James very emphatically called Ireland “the back door of England and Scotland;”‡ and an ingenious writer observes, “that it may, indeed, be esteemed most happy for this nation, that no king of Denmark, or Norway, or of Sweden, or any prince of the Ostmen settled in Ireland, ever gained an entire dominion of that isle; for had it remained under the orderly government of any of these, its neighbourhood would have been in many respects, prejudicial to England.”§ Being of so much importance, the only question is, in what manner it can be best protected. Inhabited by a numerous people, who possess great personal bravery, activity, and bodily strength; who have been hardily brought up, and have imbibed a most ardent attachment to their native soil, these are the natural sources of its defence. The natives of this country have an advantage, which will always give them a great superiority over an enemy: they are able to live on inferior food, and which, in general, is ready for their immediate use; nothing, therefore, is required but to secure their affections, and train them to military tactics.

“To prevent the executive power from being able to oppress,” says, Baron Montesquieu,|| “it is necessary, that the armies with which it is intrusted, should consist of the people, and have the same spirit with the people; as was the case at Rome, till Marius new modelled the legions by inlisting the rabble of Italy, and laid the foundation of all the military tyranny that ensued. Nothing then according to these principles ought to be more guarded against in a free state, than making the military

\* Philosophical Survey of Ireland, Dublin edit. 1778, p. 138.

† Crump's Prize Essay, Dublin Edit. 1793, p. 208.

‡ Leland's Hist. of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 434.—Letter of Sir T. Philips.

§ Lord Littleton's Hist. of Henry II. Dublin edit. 1772, vol. iii. p. 34.

|| L'Esprit des Loix, liv. xi. ch. vi. Œuvres, vol. i. p. 295.

power, when such a one is necessary to be kept on foot, a body too distinct from the people. Labours, therefore, it should wholly be composed of natural subjects; it ought only to be enlisted for a short and limited time; the soldiers also should live intermixed with the people; no separate camp, no barracks; no inland fortresses should be allowed; and, perhaps, it might be still better, if, by dismissing a stated number, and enlisting others at every renewal of their term, a circulation could be kept up between the army and the people, and the people and the soldier, be more intimately connected together.\*

The face of the country itself, made strong by mountains, intersected by rivers and lakes, and abounding with bogs, presents many obstacles which would impede the operations, and retard the progress of an invading army. There are few parts of Ireland where there is not a chain of mountains favourable for the erection of military posts, by a proper distribution of which an enemy could be confined to a small space wherever he might effect a landing. Its rivers are numerous, deep, and rapid; the Shannon nearly divides the island from the one shore to the other; the Suir cuts off many miles of the southern coast; and the line is then continued across the country by the Galtee mountains. The Barrow, on the eastern side, presents a similar defence towards that coast, and to the north, Lough Neagh, and Lough Erne, with the assistance of the mountains, and the posts that might be erected between them, would form a barrier which might be rendered insurmountable; to these may be added, the bogs, a retreat to a native army into which no foreign troops could follow. Cæsar, and others authors, describe the difficulties which the ancient morasses of Germany presented to the Roman legions,† and in 1798, the rebel forces could always escape, when within reach of such places of safety.

Were England invaded, interest, that powerful incentive, would unite all ranks in its defence. The peasantry, who are not insensible of the danger to which their property, their freedom, their laws, and their lives, must be exposed, would be as anxious to preserve these blessings, as the other classes of society. Of property, the Irish peasants have so little, that in an invasion, they would not think it worth a contest, or at any rate, they would take the chance of that of the protestants falling into their hands; for constituted as society is at present in Ireland, I doubt, whether the superior property of a small class of persons possessing a faith different from that of the majority of the inhabitants, can be considered of much weight in the scale of national defence. Those who have received the benefit of education, know freedom in theory; but in practice, the great mass are altogether unacquainted with its blessings. It is not to be supposed, therefore, that they would contend for an object of which they are ignorant. The preservation of life is natural to man, and were it in danger, a struggle might be expected. But of the laws, the people always complain that they oppress them; and while such an opinion exists, it would be an inducement to join the enemy rather than take up arms against him.

\* Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. i. p. 418.

† Cæsar de Bello Gallico, lib. iii. cap. 24.

I fear that the invader who would promise retaliation for the centuries of oppression and slavery under which their ancestors and themselves have groaned, would be received with open arms, and hailed as a deliverer; of this we had a striking instance in the year 1798. I do not say, that the case would be exactly the same in 1811; but in my opinion, if a similar event occurred, the commander in chief would soon perceive, that little reliance could be placed on the loyalty or attachment of the inhabitants. The operations of his army would be distracted; it would be harassed by marches and counter-marches, and government would be able to retain only those parts of the country where its forces were actually established. In England the case would be different: the inhabitants being every where friends, the army might be safely drawn to the spot where its presence would be attended with the most benefit; and during its march, it would receive the assistance and support of all ranks and classes, whose property, liberty, and lives, would be at stake in the contest. I shall be told, perhaps, that the Irish cabin, however mean, is still a home, and that the inhabitants, however coarse their fare, have sufficient for the wants of nature. I may be reminded also of the observation of a peasant to the bishop of Killala, that "a cabin is of as much importance to a poor man, as a palace is to a bishop." But a habitation and food, without the comforts of life, will never be highly estimated; and the account, which the bishop has given of the events after the taking of Killala, was not calculated to recal the deluded people to their allegiance, or inspire them with sentiments of affection towards their rulers.

The publication of our intercepted letters to India has thrown much light on this subject. They all express one sentiment, the dangerous situation of Ireland; and Lord William Bentinck went so far as to say, that unless some change took place, that country would be lost to England. Since the date of his lordship's letter, to this time, there has been no change either in public measures, or, as far as I can learn, in the disposition of the people; on the contrary, I think the great mass of the inhabitants have become more disaffected.

Of places of strength, the most important is a large fortification at Athlone, in the centre of Ireland; which was constructed, as I have been informed, for the purpose of commanding the Shannon, near which it is situated; so that an enemy, landing in Connaught, would be arrested in his progress, and prevented from getting into Leinster. Hearing the advantages of this fortress much commended, I was inclined to believe, that the immense sums of public money laid out upon it had not been expended in vain. In the course of my tour, I remained two or three days at Athlone, and learned, to my surprise, from persons not connected with the fortifications, that the Shannon is fordable at eleven places, within eight miles of this great military station. The entrance of the river, however, might be completely defended by a fort at the point of Tarbert, where it is so narrow, that Admiral Pakenham has fired a shot across it.

Batteries, on Whiddy and Bere Islands, are constructed for the defence of the Bay of Bantry; but the whole navy of Great Britain might enter it, to the east of Bere. The fortifications on that island are capable of defending the roadstead between Bere and the main land to the westward, and those of Whiddy might, probably, protect the town of Bantry.

The fortifications on Whiddy island consist of three forts, with a circular ditch, and barracks in the centre. The guns, which are twenty-four pounders, are mounted on traverse carriages, and there are ovens for supplying them with red-hot balls.

It is the opinion of every naval and military officer with whom I have conversed, that all these works are useless. Colonel —— fired a ball from Bere island, and found that it reached but about one-third over the bay. He thought that the haven, on the east side of Bere, might be defended, if the fortifications were manned on the appearance of an enemy; but troops have never yet been supplied.\* The erection of these works cost £230,000.

When I visited them in December 1808, whether originating in the manner in which the buildings were constructed, or from any other cause, I know not; but a great mortality prevailed among the men, some of whom were dying every day.

The next place of strength, proceeding along the coast to the eastward, is Spike island, in the harbour of Cork, which has been fortified at the expense of a million sterling.

Duncannon fort commands the Suir, but is itself commanded by heights in the interior.

There are some forts at Enniskillen, constructed under the superintendance of a French engineer, but they are commanded by hills immediately above them.

The eastern coast from Wexford to the north, is in some places defended by Martello towers, which, in many instances, stand at such a distance from the shore, that ships can never be within the range of their guns. At Drogheda, there is a large tower, capable of holding a regiment; it stands on a mound, and commands the whole harbour.

Such are the principal works and fortifications for the defence of Ireland; but how far they are calculated to answer the intended purpose remains to be discussed.— A French fleet entered Bantry Bay; and were it the only harbour in Ireland capable of admitting a hostile squadron, the expenditure of £200,000. in erections for its defence, might not only be justifiable, but commendable. But why should it be supposed, that the French, when they next visit Ireland, will put into Bantry Bay? In my opinion, they would be more disposed to go round Dursey Head, and run up Kenmare river. Are there no harbours on the western coast in which another fleet could anchor? It is admitted, that no extent of coast in the world, affords so

\* It is obvious that the batteries cannot be kept constantly manned, and if once a hostile fleet had entered the bay, it would be impossible to convey troops to the islands.

many places of equal safety; if the principle on which Bantry has been protected be proper, why not fortify the rest? The answer to this question is easy—Because the revenue of the British empire for twenty years to come, would not be sufficient to defray the expense. Since it is impossible, therefore, to erect fortifications on all those parts of the coast where an enemy might land, little can be gained by fortifying one or two places, which they will never, perhaps, visit.

Those who are interested in this subject will do well to consult Captain Pasley's work on the Military Policy of Great Britain; for to no part of the empire is his reasoning more applicable than to Ireland. I beg that his sentiments on Martello towers, on fortifications, and upon the spirit of a martial people, may be carefully studied. If properly attended to, the folly of the childish and desponding opinions in favour of such means of defence, will be fully apparent. I have no personal acquaintance with Captain Pasley, but I have read and approve of his work. He points out, in a forcible manner, the benefit of that part of our naval system which advances merit, and he recommends a similar plan to be adopted in the army.

I am not a gloomy politician, who is always disposed to find fault with the present times, and praise those that are past. Convinced that the improvement of the age in which we live is great, and that our national resources have been multiplied, I look forward with hope to the future; yet I never recollect the conduct of the war ministers of England for the last twenty years, that of Mr. Windham excepted, but with sentiments of something beyond regret. In that whole period, I can see only one continued series of blunders, each more disastrous than the other. Yet, in this country, the naval department has been managed with judgment and skill; while the formidable power of our armies, which are as well appointed, and as well equipped as any in Europe, has been most unfortunately directed.

Those who have studied the means of defence, which Great Britain might command, were they properly called forth, must be aware, that a considerable part of these means could be furnished by Ireland. There never was a period at which the empire possessed a more abundant store of warlike resources than at present. To speak, therefore, of England becoming a province of France, betrays both ignorance and folly: none but the most dastardly minds can harbour such an idea even for a moment. Great Britain, whose population contains a greater number of freemen than was ever found on the same extent of territory, notwithstanding the immense load of her debt, and although foreigners no longer afford a market for her manufactures, was never in greater security. I am no advocate for extravagance; no friend to unlimited expenditure; but I am convinced, that the minister who employs the retrenchment of her luxuries in purchasing the means of defence, which will furnish bread to her workmen out of employment, may yet make her the admiration of surrounding states, and a terror to her enemies. It is not by suddenly lopping off all the luxury and splendour by which she is surrounded, that this can be effected; but by gra-

dually turning them into a different channel: for, notwithstanding the luxurious habits of the people of England, they would as readily sacrifice personal gratifications to retain their liberties as any nation of which history furnishes an example.

But it is not yet necessary to call upon the people to surrender their comforts and enjoyments. Nothing is at present required, but to prepare them for doing so without murmuring or complaint.

We are contending with a formidable nation, whose chief, armed with unlimited power, and having numbers at command, seems bent on destroying the freedom and independence of all the nations of the civilized world. Against England his hatred has been particularly directed, because it is the only country which has hitherto given an effectual check to his ambition. Aware of our superiority by sea, his attention is directed to the formation of a navy. But a few years ago, Antwerp had neither ships nor arsenal; at present it has both, and the number of its fleet is daily increasing. Similar exertions have been made in the Texel; and as France now possesses a great part of the north of Europe, its means of creating a navy are rendered much easier. Naval supplies being of the utmost importance to the security of the empire, I have given, in another part of this work, some statistical information respecting Russia and Sweden, the great marts for ship timber, which, I believe, is not generally known, and which, in my opinion, deserves the most serious attention. It will there be seen, that timber, which in these countries was supposed to be inexhaustible, begins now to be scarce; and that they are capable of supplying their own navies only for a few years.

Notwithstanding my confidence in the resources of the British empire, I must regret the manner in which they are applied. I am convinced that a large disposable marine force might be maintained at a smaller expense; but instead of recruiting our navy and army with men of the most worthless and abandoned characters,\* means should be employed to render it more honourable to defend the country. Were this once effected, there would be no want of numbers to fill any situation, however attended with hardship or danger.

His Majesty's present ministers are aware of the part which I took in the spring of 1810, under the direction of the late Lord Melville, with the approbation of Earl St. Vincent, in proposing a plan of national defence. The communications I had with Lord Melville, at that time, induced me to turn my thoughts particularly to this subject. Had the plans then suggested been carried into execution, they would have been attended with the most beneficial consequences to the country. It would be injustice to the memory of a great statesman, not to observe, that the recommendation of them did credit to his talents; they display his extensive know-

\* Since the above was written, some measure, I believe has been adopted, to prevent felons being sent on board ships of war.

ledge of the resources of the empire, and afford a proof of his ardent anxiety to promote its honour, safety, and independence. It was a feature in the character of the times, to run him down, and to endeavour to lessen him in the public esteem. I never was under the smallest obligation to Lord Melville. I speak of him as I found him—a great man. He is gone, and his plans appear to be forgotten. My acquaintance with him led me to a knowledge of many details never yet laid before the public; and his lordship is certainly entitled to one merit, which is, that he never suggested the abolition of any system, without proposing another in its stead. Those who have read his pamphlet, and are acquainted with his scheme for annihilating the transport service, and forming one immense marine corps, to be always at command, either for defensive or offensive operations; his proposal for building a new arsenal at Northfleet, and the foresight he displayed, in schemes for procuring of naval timber, will perceive, that national economy was the distinguishing feature of all the plans which he formed. A popular clamour was raised against him by men much his inferiors, who dreaded his talents, and envied his success. But I am happy to have this opportunity of contributing my mite to rescue his character from obloquy. I do not hesitate to say, that he was amongst the greatest of modern statesmen; and I am firmly convinced, that it was the superiority of his comprehensive genius, too active to be confined to one pursuit, which led him to neglect the details of his office, and involved him in the trouble and disgrace of an impeachment. The best answer to all his accusers is, that he died as he lived, a poor man; had the case been otherwise, I should not have paid this tribute to his memory.

In Ireland there are thirty-eight regiments of militia, who, by many, might be considered as well officered, and willing and able to meet an invading foe; but if we be to judge of the future from the past, some may entertain a different opinion. They have been once tried, when a few French were assembled at Castlebar; and on that occasion how did they behave? This question can be best answered by their officers. But if they were once guilty of an error, Are they never to be forgiven? Are there no means of forming them into soldiers? I have no doubt that there are; but this effect will never be produced by retaining them in Ireland, where they are subject to the influence of local attachments, as well as of personal animosity, and officered in a manner which prevents any confidence from being placed in them. Were the laws respecting the qualification of militia officers properly enforced, they would become more respectable; but the qualification of estate, should not be confined to the county to which the regiment belongs.

I witnessed their conduct in the year 1809, and those who read the account given in the subjoined note,\* will, I am convinced, absolve me from any desire to

\* June 5th, 1809. BALLYARTHUR, WICKLOW.—The Mayo militia have been ordered to march from Arklow, and the country people are every where driving their cattle to the mountains and woods, to conceal them from the "press." The officers, instead of applying to constables, suffer the soldiers to seize on all the cattle they

misrepresent their character. The remedy to this evil is obvious—a removal to England. On this subject I have conversed with some men of the first understanding in Ireland, with several militia officers, and with numbers of the common people,

they meet, and they extort from 2s. 6d. to 5s. a head when they refrain from taking them. This is frequently practised by each party in succession.

June 10th. SHELTON.—Called, with Mr. Symes, at the seat of Lord Wicklow, who lives in England, and found the horses hid in the garden from “the press.”

June 11th. The “pressing” still continues, so that no one dares to go to Arklow market for provisions. Cars are come in, pressed by the Kilkenny militia, from Limerick to Wexford, also some by the Dublin, from Wexford to Arklow, and others by the Mayo, to Rakeel. Every thing is indicative of a country in a state of war. The authority of the law seems suspended, and no one thinks of applying to the magistrates for protection.

June 12th. BALLYARTHUR.—It is practices, such as pressing, that alienates the affections of the people from government, and makes them disaffected. One of the Wexford carmen applied to a magistrate, who is the agent of an absentee nobleman for redress: “Do you think,” said he, “that I have nothing else to do, but to look after your business?” Had the enemy landed, a greater terror could not have been excited among the inhabitants throughout the country at this time; all were busy in removing their horses, and concealing their cars. Horses at grass were seized by the soldiers, who, immediately galloped off with them to join their companions; and, although unshod, they were put into harness, to draw cars, wherever they could be found. The mutiny act directs, that the officer shall apply to a magistrate, who is to issue his warrant to the constables of the district, who are to call upon the inhabitants who have horses and cars, to transport the luggage of a regiment to a distance not exceeding two stages, the stipulated rate per mile being paid for the first stage before their setting out; and no burden, exceeding 8 cwt. is to be put upon each car. I mention this regulation, which is explicit, for the purpose of shewing, that were it observed, military baggage would be easily removed, without injuring the inhabitants. It ought to be recollected, that the farms in the neighbourhood of Arklow are very small, and that most of the people possess only a poor half-starved horse, which is the most valuable part of their property. Yet Mr. Symes says, that few regiments leave Arklow, without seizing on these unfortunate animals, which are loaded without mercy, and driven from stage to stage, until their strength is quite exhausted. These militia regiments are accompanied with such an extraordinary weight of luggage, that it cannot be removed in the number of cars allowed them, without overloading them in this unfeeling manner; and besides, the women and children, for whose use there ought to be separate cars, are placed upon them as close as they can sit; the soldier *proging* on the horse with the point of the bayonet, while the wretched owner is sweltering in his trusty, at such a distance as to keep the animal in sight, but sufficiently near to hear the curses of those who are abusing and destroying his property. This is no overcharged statement; such scenes are common; and, as I am informed, occur every year, after parties of soldiers have scoured the country, demanding contributions for “letting the beast off.” The money, thus collected in the course of the day, is divided on their return at night. The last regiment which left Wicklow broke down many horses. Four of those belonging to Lord Wicklow died in consequence of ill treatment; and the case was the same with many others, the property of indigent cotters, who could ill bear such loss. Had the act of parliament been observed, and attention paid to the prescribed weight and distance, I will assert, that the people would have been as anxious to furnish horses, as they were to drive them out of the way. Neither man nor beast was at work in the whole course of our excursions round Ballyarthur. Many horses, with men to attend them, were sent away seventeen miles for protection.

Mr. Symes has been this day to Arklow, and observed, that there was not a person at market with a horse or car. The preceding day he carried the mutiny act in his pocket, and shewed it to the officer who was left with the luggage, but he pretended ignorance of any such law; and when Mr. Symes told him that no car ought

many of whom were highly irritated by the treatment they had experienced, and they all agreed in expressing the same opinion.

An exchange of the militias has now taken place, and although a measure from which much good may be expected, it is very unpopular among the catholics. At the time when the act for this purpose was passed, a general discontent prevailed among them; they wished that catholic chaplains should be appointed to the regiments when they left the country, and a more politic plan could not have been devised. Soldiers are surely as much entitled to chaplains of their own persuasion as felons; and I have already referred to the act of parliament, by which a catholic chaplain is appointed to every jail in Ireland, and paid for his attendance. This wish, on the part of the catholics, had it been attended to, might have aided a closer connexion between them and government, and reconciled their clergy to the idea of being paid by the public.

The poorer Irish have a confidence in the English soldiery, but it is impossible to inspire them with a similar sentiment of their own militia. This is a point which deserves serious consideration, as it shews, in a striking manner, what opinion they entertain of their character and conduct.

The militia of Ireland do not merit the name, for they are not raised by ballot, but by a bounty supplied by a county cess, or rather with money advanced by government to the county treasurer, which, I suppose, will never be repaid. A more unjust and oppressive measure, than raising a national militia by lot, was never introduced into a country. Upon the rich it is the most trivial of all fines; and besides, there are so many exemptions in their favour, that they are often excused altogether. But when it falls upon the poor, it is exceedingly heavy and vexatious.\* Many instances of the misery and wretchedness which it occasions have come within my own knowledge. I have long remembered the distressed situation of a poor bricklayer's labourer, who had the misfortune to be drawn for the militia, at Burnham, in Essex. The piteous appearance which the unhappy sufferer made, on the return of the constable from Malden, who had attended the ballot, was truly affecting. Half the single men in the parish had ran away, and those only with smaller families, who, by their industry, had provided themselves with neat cottages, remained. The messenger of woe was surrounded by a number of these persons, and when the fate of the poor fellow to whom I allude was made known to him, he seemed half distracted. Fortunately he was deaf, and the whole party immediately came to me, to inquire

ought to carry more than 8 cwt.; and that the hire for the first stage should be paid down before the baggage was moved, he declared that he had no money, and that all the rest of the officers had been gone some days. On Mr. Symes asking him, how the carmen were to be remunerated if he had permitted them to depart in this manner? he replied, "He could not tell."

\* Since the above was written, I have read the speech of Colonel Fitzgerald, March 15th, 1803, in which I find my opinion confirmed. *Woodfall's Debates*, vol. ii. p. 326. Colonel Fitzgerald was then member for the county of Cork, and is well acquainted with the temper of the Irish people.

whether it was not possible, on that account, to get him excused. In compliance with their wishes, I drew up a letter to the deputy-lieutenants of the county, stating his infirmity, and a fresh ballot was ordered. My name was among the others, for I had not claimed the exemptions to which I was by law entitled, and it happened to be the one drawn. I afterwards met my neighbours at Burnham, and I can scarcely describe the joy which appeared in their countenances, when I told them that I had to provide a substitute; a fine young fellow, a journeyman butcher, stepped forwards and said, I should have no occasion to go out of the parish for one: he was a bachelor, and would with pleasure serve in my stead. The bounty was to me a tax of very small importance; but the bricklayer's labourer, had it not been for his infirmity, would have been doomed to exile, and condemned to an occupation for which he had no inclination; his absence would have destroyed the domestic felicity of a poor but respectable family. The money which I paid the butcher, robbed the parish of a high spirited young man, without encumbrance, who, had he remained, might have been a useful member of society. The mode of raising men by bounty, and not by ballot, is the most natural and humane way of forming an army that can be useful to the state; the idea of a balloted militia being necessary to the liberties of a country, however salutary it might have been immediately after the revolution, is now unnecessary; no one can be so weak as to entertain a different opinion.\*

At present, there is a small body of regular troops in barracks distributed throughout the south of Ireland,+ but they are not intended so much for the defence of the country from a foreign enemy, as to overawe the inhabitants, and preserve internal tranquillity.

\* I beg the reader to consult the outlines of a work, entitled "Pauper Management Improved," by Jeremy Bentham, Esq. inserted in the Annals of Agriculture, vol. xxxii. p. 33, in which I am happy to observe, that the opinion of this benevolent and enlightened philosopher, coincides with that which I have here expressed. Mr. Young, at the same place, recommends on this subject, a paper in Roederer's Journal d'Economie Politique.

+ Nov. 14th, 1808. CASTLEMARTYR.—The large building, which was erected at Middleton for a woollen manufactory, has been purchased by government for £20,000. to be converted into a barrack. It is seldom used, and a large barracks since its purchase, have been erected at Fermoy and at Cork.

AN ACCOUNT of Monies paid on Account of His Majesty's Forces in Ireland, from January 5, 1793, to January 5, 1811; specifying each year; as returned to the order of the Honourable the House of Commons, May 6, 1811.

YEAR Ending	Amount of the MONIES paid on account of His Majesty's Forces in Ireland,	£.	s.	d.
*25 March, 1794		791,039	12	1½
1795	- - - - Ditto - - - -	1,217,603	12	11½
1796	- - - - Ditto - - - -	1,983,374	19	11½
1797	- - - - Ditto - - - -	2,122,590	2	6½
1798	- - - - Ditto - - - -	2,797,944	5	7½
1799	- - - - Ditto - - - -	3,962,615	0	4½
1800	- - - - Ditto - - - -	4,889,107	10	8½
from 25 Mar. 1800 } to 1 January, 1801 }	- - - - Ditto - - - -	2,913,036	14	3
YEAR Ending				
5 January, 1802	- - - - Ditto - - - -	3,913,012	15	5½
1803	- - - - Ditto - - - -	2,712,552	15	0½
1804	- - - - Ditto - - - -	3,219,880	5	9
1805	- - - - Ditto - - - -	4,456,261	17	3
1806	- - - - Ditto - - - -	4,034,698	4	7½
1807	- - - - Ditto - - - -	3,977,958	2	0½
1808	- - - - Ditto - - - -	3,971,613	12	4
1809	- - - - Ditto - - - -	4,485,450	18	2½
1810	- - - - Ditto - - - -	4,339,586	11	10½
1811	- - - - Ditto - - - -	3,587,368	2	2½

Since the rebellion in 1798, five barracks have been built in the interior of the country, and particularly near the Wicklow mountains, a situation that afforded shelter to a numerous body of banditti, above a year after that event. An inquiry into the building of barracks in Ireland, would expose a most shameful system of corruption, which is not limited to the mere disposal of places and pensions. Some great man, whose interest may be necessary to support the views of government, procures a barrack to be on his estate, that a town may be formed around it. I appeal to those acquainted with the south of Ireland, whether the whole barrack plan is not employed in this manner, although the chief object, if at all necessary, ought to be the situations of them, so as that the troops might easily be collected in case of emergency.

Lord Macartney, speaking of barracks, says:—

“ In the reign of Queen Anne, a law was passed for lodging the army in barracks, by which it was enacted, that no troops should be quartered on the inhabitants (as is the practice in England), except in particular cases, such as when they are waiting at a sea-port to embark, or in time of civil commotion. This method of stationing the army in barracks, is certainly more regular, and more military, than that of billeting, and dispersing them among the people, and in Ireland, it was for many reasons

\* Prior to the Union between Great Britain and Ireland, the Accounts of the latter were closed annually on the 25th of March, in each year.

particularly necessary.\* The establishment of barracks, has, however, been attended with a most enormous expense; for under colour of re-building, or repairing them, prodigious sums of money are daily thrown away—I say, thrown away, because no regular permanent system has yet been pursued. When one chain of barracks has been finished according to a well-considered plan, a new idea totally different, is, perhaps, entertained; other barracks must be built, and an extraordinary charge is incurred. No sooner is this scheme established, than a third is offered, entirely contrary to the two former; private solicitation is employed, the service of the public yields to the interest of the individual,† and the last project is adopted, and executed. Thus, expense is perpetually accumulated on expense, barrack demolishes barrack, and the labour to rebuild goes hand in hand with the labour to destroy. Whoever takes the trouble of looking over the barrack accounts, will see, that there is nothing exaggerated in this representation.”‡

I have been frequently informed, that the people of Ireland are contented, loyal, and submissive. But I would ask those who make this assertion, whether they would dare to remain in their houses, were the army withdrawn? I regret to state, and those who so much commend the attachment of the indigent orders, are also aware of it, that no confidence is to be placed in the great body of the inhabitants: should a hostile army effect a landing, reliance could not be placed on their exertions; and I am convinced, that no man in Ireland, acquainted with the disposition of the people, or the real state of the country, would trust its defence to the natives. The boast, so frequently made of the loyalty and submission of the Irish, may deceive a stranger, but can make no impression upon those who have seen and examined the condition of the country. Those who use this language, were their real sentiments known, would in reality be found to have no dependence on the people, and to rest their whole hope of safety on a British army transported thither in the moment of danger; although it would have to contend at the same time against internal enemies, and foreign invaders. Yet after having seen the greatest part of Europe subjugated through a blind confidence in standing armies, can there be a question, that these bulwarks are of little avail, when opposed to “an armed nation?” I have no high opinion of the resistance that could be made by the mere mob of a country to a hostile army, having every advantage of discipline and experience; but if the government of the invaded country possess the hearts of this mob, can supply them with arms, and direct their physical strength with prudence and skill, the fear of invasion will vanish. The very fortifications intended to keep the enemy’s fleets from the coast, might be razed, and the contest brought at once to a fair issue in the field. A country having such defenders, and capable of supplying one army after another in succession, would rise superior to every defeat; and the loss of a battle would only be a stimulant to more vigorous and more successful ex-

\* I have quoted the authority of Lord Macartney, who was minister of Ireland for the barrack system, but it will be perceived that I dissent from the unconstitutional doctrine contained in this passage.

† A man of consequence in Ireland desired to have barracks built on his estate; if he were a friend of the undertakers, it was seldom refused.—*Lord Macartney’s Note.*

‡ Barrow’s Account of the Public Life of the Earl of Macartney, vol. ii. p. 115.

ertion. But if reliance be placed on a standing army, the country is in a very different situation. After one serious defeat farther resistance is vain, and the ill-fated nation that risks its independence on so hazardous an event, must in all likelihood bend its neck to the yoke of a foreign conqueror. These observations are particularly applicable to Ireland. No people in the world are more distinguished for attachment to their native soil ; and were they equally attached to the government, it would be secure from any external force that might be brought against it. The system which ought to be pursued is obvious ; let the people be admitted to a participation in the blessings of the constitution ; allow them to enjoy equal rights, and equal privileges ; abolish all odious distinctions ; extend the protection of the laws to every rank of society ; cause them to look up to their superiors as benefactors, and all will be accomplished.

“ The natural love of the country that gave them birth,” says a respectable writer, “ should be proportionally stronger in the inhabitants of more genial climes, and few nations possess it in a greater degree than the Irish. But attachment to the country, does not necessarily imply attachment to its laws and government. In a country where so many unfortunate causes of dissension and depression still exist, they are, it is sufficiently known, but too easily separable. It is this peculiarity of situation, that calls for measures of more than common exertion, and imperiously demands the attention of rulers as well as landlords, to a subject of infinite importance to both.”\*

The poorer Irish, notwithstanding their ignorance, are aware of the situation in which they are placed. They are perfectly acquainted with the nature of the barrack system, and of the military government, which is maintained to awe them into subjection. Their sentiments, although not openly avowed, may be frequently collected from feelings which they are not always able to repress. I could perceive a general joy among them at the idea of the Walcheren expedition, and the measure of assisting Spain, because they afforded a prospect, that the troops would be withdrawn from the country. How far these circumstances are known to the Irish government, I am ignorant ; but I am certain, that the administration of England, from the manner in which it treated Lord Darnley's motion upon this subject, in the spring of the year 1810, was completely ignorant of the temper and disposition of the inhabitants of Ireland. The Marquis of Downshire had just returned from that country, and on this occasion delivered his maiden speech ; in the ardour of enthusiasm he spoke the truth, and the little that fell from his lordship, was worthy of the most serious attention. The aristocracy of the Roman catholics, those individuals who have lately purchased estates, entertained the same sentiments. I saw at the time letters from some of them, to one of their leading characters then in London, and they all spoke a similar language.

The plan of limited service, proposed by Mr. Windham, is that which is best

\* Townsend's Survey of Cork, p. 733.

adapted to Ireland, or indeed to any free country. Had the scheme been carried into execution, it would have formed a new era in our military system. The mind of a great and enlightened statesman was here displayed ; and I know it was much approved of by the army.

In Ulster, where almost every protestant belongs to a yeomanry corps, inlisting into the army is common ; but among the Roman catholics of the north I could seldom hear that it was the case.\* My inquiries were constant on this subject, the general result of which was, that the Roman catholic priests discountenanced inlisting. In my conversations with them on military service, when speaking of recruits, the usual observation was " who knows whether they are going ?"

In the formation of some of the militia regiments, partiality and prejudice prevailed so much, that none were suffered to inlist but protestants. In places, however, where persons of that persuasion were not numerous, I found them

\* July, 1808. LURGAN, ARMAGH.—Mr. Brownlow's yeomanry corps was raised in 1796, and since that time half of them have inlisted into the artillery and militia.

November, 1803. DONERAILE, CORK.—Colonel Bingham dined at Mr. Riley's. His regiment consists chiefly of recruits from the militia. Of 500, no more than 17 inlisted for unlimited service. Of the English, one in 180 ; of the Irish, two out of three desert. With the latter, inlisting is a trade. When they desert they are seldom taken.

December, 1808. ENNISCORTHY.—I was told, by a soldier in the Monaghan militia, that no one would inlist directly into the line, because they could get double bounty by inlisting first in the militia, and then volunteering into the line.

April, 1809. GLOSTER.—The protestants readily inlist. They have less fear of being entrapped when they leave home.

September, 1809. Major O'Hara says, that when the county of Sligo militia were raised, they were all protestants ; at present, only one-half are of that persuasion. Having asked him, why the Roman catholics did not inlist, he replied, " Because they are never made non-commissioned officers." The colonel, he said, wished for none but loyal men to be officers ; that the protestants were generally the best informed, and that on this account, they were better qualified for such situations.

Militia men are allowed one shilling a day, and a penny for beer money. They are obliged to buy 5lbs. of meat per week. Some eat bread ; some *stir-about* ; others broth ; and some potatoes. The quantity used of the last, is four stone per week. Major O'Hara's men expended, in a week, last year, at Cahir, as follows :

	s.	d.
Five lbs. of meat, at 4 <i>d.</i>	-	1 8
Four Stone of Potatoes, at 1½ <i>d.</i>	-	0 6
Washing	-	0 4
Barrack Cook	-	0 1
		—
		2 7
		—

The use of other articles depended on the taste of the men : some of them drank beer. One suit of clothes per annum was supplied by the colonel, at £2. 10*s.* The men buy their own leggins, and they receive 4*d.* per day marching money, or when sent on an escort.

so much superior to others of a different religious creed, that they considered it beneath their dignity to become common soldiers. In such districts, the few who did enlist, were Roman Catholics.

In the course of my tour through Ireland, I spent some time with a Roman Catholic gentleman in the south, who, in consequence of his family descent, and large property, has as much real influence, as any individual in the country. He frequently conversed with me on this subject, and as I consider his opinion of some importance, I shall offer no apology for giving it in his own words:—

“ I have known moments when every young man in the country was ready to enlist in the militia; at others, afterwards, not one would enter. They never think of the line; they are not raised by ballot, and I do not believe that they ever can. The formation of a regiment depends in many cases on the popularity of a non-commissioned officer, and I have known regiments raised by that influence, without any other inducement.”\*

Were care taken to appoint popular officers, I am convinced, that an army thus raised, would not only form the best defence of the country, but have a powerful effect in allaying the ferment, and removing the discontent which render its internal tranquillity so uncertain. By due encouragement, the heroes of “ riot, rape, and murder,” might be converted into recruiting officers. Many who are now a terror to the aristocracy, under proper management, might be reclaimed from their lawless pursuits; but if neglected and suffered to continue in their present courses, they may expiate their offences on the gallows. That this is no wild theory, but a suggestion capable of being reduced to practice, will be seen by the following anecdote, copied from a pamphlet, entitled, “ An Inquiry into the Causes of Popular Discontent;” and although the author has thought proper to conceal his name, I have no doubt that he was really, what he professes to be, “ An Irish Country Gentleman.”

“ I cannot omit,” says he, “ a very noble instance of the great effect which kind treatment has upon the hearts of the Irish peasantry. In surveying the unvaried scene of unbending oppression and sanguinary resistance, our imagination is terrified, our sympathy exhausted: yet there is one little trait in the history of these times, which, like the green Oasis in the mighty desert, affords refreshment to the heart, and proves that in mercy there is wisdom. It is the conduct of the Dean of Kilfenora,† to his parishioners.

“ This gentleman possesses the living of Callan, one of the largest in Ireland. When the rebellion broke out he had but just come to reside; and he found all the peasantry in his neighbourhood, as well as every peasant in Ireland, deeply engaged in insurrection. By every kindness in his power, by persuasion, but most powerfully by *civility*, to the meanest labourer, he gradually inspired them with

\* Some regiments used to have orange-coloured regimentals for the purpose of distinguishing the protestants, a practice which was attended with much serious mischief. The only qualification for the militia should be a military education, the army ought to be raised from the militia, and the chief recommendation for officers should be success in raising recruits.

† Dr. Stevenson.

confidence and esteem; he convinced them of the small hope and great peril of their enterprise; he assured them not only of just, but respectful usage; finally, he gained the friendship of their priest. In one day six hundred rebels came to his house and surrendered their arms. Had these deluded people gone in the same manner to any other gentleman, they would have been strictly examined respecting their treasonable practices; would have been loaded with taunts and reproaches for the past, and threats for the future; and would have found so little temptation to return to their old habits of life, that in a few days half of them would have again joined the rebels.

"Instead of this conduct, Dr. Stevenson assembled the party on his lawn, spread tables for the whole six hundred, entertained them with the true magnificence of Irish hospitality, conversed with them on different subjects, and made the administering the oath of allegiance as a kind of fête, rather than an emblem of victorious oppression. What has been the consequence? Ever since that day, (though the rebellion continued long after, and many insurrections have succeeded) not one of those reclaimed rebels has been even suspected of disloyalty; and by the continuance of the same humane and enlightened conduct, there is not a man in Ireland sleeps half so securely in his bed as the Dean of Kilfenora; there is not a parish in Ireland that can be called well affected when compared with Callan.

"Though a clergyman, a protestant, and an Englishman, the Dean has received that tribute of the poor man's gratitude which is grateful even to the proud and wealthy; but which, as none in Ireland deserve, none receive. On his return from England last year, to Callan, the day was kept as a festival throughout the whole country; crowds thronged the roads and greeted him with huzzas, while all the mountains around blazed with bonfires. It seems strange, that many Irish gentlemen try with equal earnestness to cultivate the affections of the peasantry, yet meet not with the same success. The Dean of Kilfenora is the only instance of complete success. The reason is this, that he is, in the best sense of the word, a gentleman; that is, he treats his inferiors, whatever their station, with civility and affability. This is the real secret of conciliating the Irish peasantry; it is not your money or your protection that will win their hearts, but the respectful kindness which removes from their minds the painful sense of degradation.

"An Irish squire, let his intentions be ever so good, destroys the effect of obligations by his manner of conferring them. But it is in vain to tell the Irish squires to reform their manners towards the peasantry; manners are not to be moulded by wishes, they must be formed by circumstances. Make the gentry, in some measure, dependent on the peasantry; give to the peasantry more political importance, and you need not be afraid that they will be treated with insolence."

An army raised on conciliatory principles would be more valuable than the present militia, not only for defence, but for preserving the internal peace of the country. The militia, as now formed and conducted, serves for no good end. It answers the purpose of irritation rather than protection; and until the system is changed, from it little benefit can be expected. The new lure of giving a number of men to the line is the best part of it; but even this is so badly managed that it defeats its own purpose.

The wife and family of a militia-man have an allowance while he remains in the regiment, but the moment he volunteers into the line it is withdrawn; and I am sorry to state, that in such cases, there has been a shameful breach of faith which is a great discouragement, the men being sent to other regiments than those into which they volunteered.

An evil of greater magnitude is, that militia regiments are a source not only of patronage, but of profit. The people of England are ignorant of the circumstance that Lord Castlereagh has been for many years colonel of the Londonderry regiment, which gives him the nomination of the officers. His income from this source I shall not state. Were a member of the House of Commons to move for an inquiry into the number of men actually serving in every militia regiment, and that of the men for whom the colonel receives pay and clothing, it would be possible to form some idea of the profits which arise to the commander of each. Were the proportion between the number of officers and the rank and file known, we should have the excess of them over a regiment of the line, and be able to ascertain, in some degree, the amount of the patronage.

The yeomanry corps in Ireland are a very large body, consisting of the flower of the protestant part of the people. In the north they are numerous, and distinguished themselves during the rebellion, by steadiness, bravery, and perseverance. But their services have been purchased at a very dear rate, and have occasioned an enormous expense to the country.\* There can, however, be no objection either to the men or to their officers; and it is only justice to state, that they have made great sacrifices for the support of government. Notwithstanding their usefulness, the principle by which arms are intrusted into the hands of one religious party and denied to another, is impolitic; and marks out an odious line of distinction. I have not, however, any desire to withhold that praise to which they are justly entitled; and I freely confess, that in case of an invasion, circumstanced as the country is at present, I would rather trust to them than to the militia. They have an interest at stake worth contending for, and they would, no doubt, be animated to the contest by a religious animosity, which every means has been taken to foment.

I must observe, that it is bad policy to weaken the efficient force of a country, by encouraging internal factions to oppose each other, and still worse, to commit the arms and military force of the nation to one side exclusively. To have recourse to the yeomanry for defence, is like swallowing a powerful medicine, which, although it may afford a temporary relief, will eventually sap the vitals of the constitution.

The whole military of Ireland is under the direction of the commander-in-chief, who has his staff in Dublin, and is independent of the civil government as well as of the lord-lieutenant. Instances have occurred of these two offices being united in the same person; but this has only happened on occasions of great urgency and danger.

The signal stations on the coast may be comprehended under the head of naval defence. This is a useful establishment, but the expense and management demand a

\* July 5, 1808. BROOKHILL.—A troop of horse at Ballinderry, in the county of Antrim, cost government £9,800. in the course of eleven years. During that time they were eight months on permanent duty. They distinguished themselves in the attack at Antrim in 1798, at which time many were killed.

serious investigation, as they exhibit instances of the most flagrant neglect. On inspecting them I found some without ropes, others without balls; and if the rest be no better furnished than those on the coasts of Clare, Kerry, and Cork, it would be as natural to think of conveying telegraphic intelligence from the mansion-house in London to the residence of the Grand Lama in Thibet, as throughout Ireland by such apparatus.\*

How desirable it is to the internal and external defence of Ireland, to obtain quick and secret information, needs not be stated. The common people have speedy and sure modes of conveying private intelligence to each other, by which they have a decided advantage over government.

In Lord Hardwicke's administration, when an immediate invasion of Ireland was apprehended, a gentleman of great talents and ingenuity, Mr. Edgeworth, of Edgeworth Town, offered to construct a line of telegraphs, of his own invention, from Dublin to Galway. A description of his telegraph, the cheapest and simplest ever proposed, may be seen in Nicholson's Journal; and a detailed account of the various useful purposes to which it might be applied, either in war or in peace, is given in the fifth volume of the Memoirs of the Royal Irish Academy.

Mr. Edgeworth, with the assistance of Captain Beaufort of the Royal Navy, completed the telegraphic communication, as he had offered, between Dublin and Galway, and in the presence of the lord-lieutenant conveyed a message from the Royal Hospital, Dublin, to Galway, and received an answer in less than half an hour. The erection of this line of telegraphs, with temporary barracks, and the tower of *Cappa*, which Mr. Edgeworth built, cost the country only £15,000. Mr. Edgeworth received no remuneration whatever for his trouble, indeed, he desired none; his only object having been to render service to his country.

Had this establishment been continued under Mr. Edgeworth's superintendence, it would have been highly advantageous to the public, and honourable to the inventor. But in Ireland, almost every thing which is undertaken, even with the purest intention, is converted into a "job." Mr. Edgeworth, perceiving that the same system was to be introduced into this undertaking, declined having any thing more to do with it, and the whole establishment has since fallen into disuse.

\* October 18, 1808. KERRY HEAD.—The signal station consists of a square tower, thirty-four feet in height, each side of which is thirteen feet wide. It is committed to the care of a lieutenant and a guard. The door is in the upper story, and the only access to it is by means of a small ladder, which can be hauled up in a moment. It is built of stone, and might be defended by half a dozen of men against any number, unless provided with cannon. The contract price for building these stations is £630.; but the contractor erected them for £300. No attention, however, has been paid to the convenience of the officer who commands. A small apartment partitioned off by a bulk-head, which leaves a passage for descending to the lower part, where the guards are placed, and ascending to the leads above, serves him as a sitting-room and bed-chamber. The annual expense of each signal station is about £600., though they are much neglected, particularly in the supply of ropes. The next station is on Brandon Height, but it has never yet been used.

The harbour of Cork is the principal naval station, where there is always an admiral, having generally under his command a small squadron; but independent of the government of Ireland, the lord-lieutenant has not the power of ordering even a brig round to Dublin. The admiral has his instructions from the admiralty only; so that were the country in the most imminent danger, it would be necessary for the Irish government first to dispatch a messenger, to the admiralty in England, to request that board to transmit orders to Cork.

The board of ordnance in England have a branch in Ireland, this is governed by their directions; but in no department has there been a more shameless and profuse waste of the public money. I have frequently mentioned this evil to men of influence in Ireland; but the reply has always been: "England pays fifteen seventeenths of the expense, and it sets the Irish to work." This observation shews that something more than a legislative union is wanted.

There are extensive artillery barracks near Dublin, and others have been erected at Clonmel, Loughrea, and in Galway. The common car, used throughout the country, makes an excellent artillery carriage.

I think it of some importance to remark, that the approach of cavalry may be heard at the distance of two or three miles, by applying the ear to a hole, formed in the road, about the size of a wash hand-bason. This method, it is said, was practised by the insurgents during the late rebellion.

The foregoing observations were written before the introduction of Mr. Ryder's bill for the exchange of the militias, a measure which, as I have already stated, I most highly approve. Next to the Union, I consider it the most important and beneficial measure that could have been adopted.

Considering the subject of this chapter as intimately connected with the safety of the British empire, I transmitted it to a friend who has long resided in Ireland, and who is no less distinguished for attachment to that country, than for a heart-felt wish for the happiness of its people. No one has a deeper knowledge of the genius of the Irish; and I was anxious to have the opinions of such a judge, on some points, which naturally came under my discussion, and which deserve more attention than has hitherto been bestowed upon them. The remark of this friend was gratifying in the extreme, although laconically expressed in the following words: "read and revered." This flattering testimony I should, perhaps, not have made public, were it not that the approbation of one, who is as celebrated for talents, as any other individual in the British dominions, I must consider a great sanction to my conclusions and opinions.

An Account of the Civil and Military Expenses of the Ordnance, in that Part of the United Kingdom called Ireland, for the year 1811: Viz.\*

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Pay of Officers and Men belonging to the Royal Regiment of Artillery . . . . .	72,018	0	0			
Pay of Officers and Men of the Royal Horse Artillery . . . . .	11,318	0	0			
Pay of Surgeons on the Medical Establishment, for the Military Department of the Ordnance . . . . .	2,493	7	4			
Pay of Officers of the Corps of Royal Engineers . . . . .	4,296	7	9			
Pay of a Detachment of the Corps of Royal Artillery Drivers . . . . .	53,265	8	8			
Pay of a Detachment of Royal Military Artificers . . . . .	2,900	0	0			
Forage of Horses of the Brigade of Royal Horse Artillery . . . . .	3,442	9	0			
Forage of Horses of the Corps of Royal Artillery Drivers . . . . .	46,583	18	8			
Purchase of Horses for the Corps of Royal Artillery Drivers . . . . .	3,463	3	1			
For contingencies of the various Military Corps and Trains of Artillery . . . . .	21,364	3	8			
Salaries to the respective Officers of Dublin, and to the Storekeepers, Clerks, and Attendants at the several Out-ports, and Stations in Ireland . . . . .	16,503	9	0			
Pay of Artificers and Labourers in Dublin, and at the several stations throughout Ireland . . . . .	26,000	0	0			
For the Current Service and Civil Contingencies of the several Stations in Ireland . . . . .	10,000	0	0			
For Stores . . . . .	70,000	0	0			
Towards the Repairs of Storehouses, Artillery, and Drivers, Barracks, Magazines, Stables, and other Buildings for the accommodation of the Field Train, and Civil Departments throughout Ireland, and for Rents . . . . .	28,893	15	6			
Fortifications at Spike Island, Cork Harbour, Bantry Bay, &c. . . . .	100,589	13	11			
To complete the Artillery Depôt and Powder Manufactory at Ballycollig . . . . .	6,405	15	0			
For Store Magazines at Rocky Island . . . . .	3,139	13	6			
Towards the new Works at Hawlbowlng Island . . . . .	10,491	10	9			
Allowance to Regiments for Turnscrews . . . . .	2,950	13	7			
	496,119	9	5			
	Being in Sterling . . . . .			457,956	8	10
<b>TOTAL for GREAT BRITAIN</b> . . . . . Brought forward . . . . .				3,798,434	6	5
<b>TOTAL for the UNITED KINGDOM</b> . . . . .			£	4,256,390	17	3

\* Ordered to be printed by the House of Commons, March 18th, 1811.

## IRISH MILITIA.

NUMBER of MEN who have volunteered to the LINE, during the undermentioned Periods ;—  
furnished by the Right Hon. W. Wellesley Pole.

REGIMENTS.	In the Year 1800.	From April to July 1805.	From September to October 1806.	From October 1807 to June 1808.	From August 1808 to March 1809.	From May 1809 to August 1810.	From September 1810 to March 1811.
Antrim - - - -	345	186	- - -	174	120	155	120
Armagh - - - -	238	94	92	294	120	117	120
Carlow - - - -	215	176	47	97	90	67	55
Cavan - - - -	99	49	90	237	90	73	42
Clare - - - -	154	110	- - -	163	90	124	61
Cork City - - -	232	109	- - -	209	- - -	212	89
Cork County, North	38	71	- - -	184	- - -	82	- - -
Cork County, South	137	79	114	238	120	83	120
Donegal - - - -	207	112	- - -	229	- - -	245	- - -
Down, North - - }	348	99	41	159	90	148	89
Down, South - - }			144	90	188	90	142
Dublin County	258	132	90	181	90	72	90
Dublin City - -	223	80	120	198	120	70	120
Fermanagh - - -	141	82	- - -	165	- - -	70	- - -
Galway - - - -	290	231	150	381	150	207	150
Kerry - - - -	93	126	57	251	65	100	39
Kildare - - - -	215	114	- - -	95	- - -	107	- - -
Kilkenny - - - -	232	204	87	123	120	138	96
King's County	213	169	120	301	120	143	120
Leitrim - - - -	246	93	90	196	85	60	6
Limerick County	140	144	120	185	120	50	120
Limerick City - -	70	64	90	234	90	94	86
Londonderry - -	290	149	150	339	150	177	87
Longford - - - -	131	48	- - -	121	- - -	119	- - -
Louth - - - -	293	163	78	348	135	207	98
Mayo, North - - -	301	78	105	269	105	51	43
Mayo, South - - -	221	158	105	255	105	144	105
Meath - - - -	344	74	120	191	120	215	120
Monaghan - - - -	296	89	109	240	120	68	43
Queen's County	223	186	90	195	90	105	31
Roscommon - - -	249	140	120	300	120	156	90
Sligo - - - -	232	181	90	229	76	47	72
Tipperary - - - -	418	234	150	280	150	260	150
Tyrone - - - -	398	150	146	317	107	151	91
Waterford - - - -	168	22	- - -	266	- - -	207	41
Westmeath - - - -	232	181	90	146	90	112	90
Wexford - - - -	101	118	149	174	150	128	150
Wicklow - - - -	107	28	90	201	90	173	90
<b>TOTAL - - -</b>	<b>8,138</b>	<b>4,617</b>	<b>2,990</b>	<b>8,353</b>	<b>3,378</b>	<b>4,879</b>	<b>2,914</b>

## DEFENCE.

RETURN of the Number of RECRUITS raised from the commencement of the Recruiting Establishment, viz. 25th August 1802, to 25th June 1811; distinguishing the Number raised in each Year:—furnished by the Right Hon. W. Wellesley Pole.

DISTRICTS.	Comprising the Counties of	Number raised in the Years of										TOTAL.	
		1802.	1803.	1804.	1805.	1806.	1807.	1808.	1809.	1810.	1811.		
Leinster - -	{ Louth, Meath, Dublin, Westmeath, Kildare, King's, Queen's, Car- low, Wicklow, Wex- ford, Kilkenny, and Longford - - - }	442	840	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,282
Connaught - -	{ Sligo, Mayo, Leitrim, Galway, and Roscom- mon - - - }	164	266	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	430
Ulster - -	{ Antrim, Londonderry, Down, Donegal, Ty- rone, Fermanagh, Monaghan, Armagh, and Cavan - - - }	250	747	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	997
Munster - -	{ Clare, Waterford, Cork, Kerry, Limerick, and Tipperary - - - }	175	448	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	623
Dublin - -	{ Wicklow, Kildare, Queen's, Meath, and Dublin - - - }	-	1,401	1,736	1,352	971	1,003	1,342	835	918	622	-	10,180
Athlone - -	{ Mayo, Roscommon, King's, Galway, West- meath, Longford, and part of Tipperary - - }	-	1,268	1,537	912	1,280	923	969	684	884	475	-	8,925
Cork - - -	Kerry and Cork - - -	-	675	567	626	259	335	351	208	209	141	-	3,571
Newry - -	{ Louth, Armagh, Mo- naghan, and part of the counties of Down, Cavan, and Tyrone - }	-	986	849	810	508	564	586	494	370	233	-	5,390
Buniskillen - -	{ Donegal, Sligo, Lei- trim, Fermanagh, and part of the Counties of Tyrone and Cavan }	-	1,307	1,222	1,056	779	853	1,083	631	596	334	-	7,800
Limerick - -	Clare and Limerick - -	-	347	845	427	360	275	209	226	273	187	-	3,162
Waterford - -	{ Waterford, Wexford, Kilkenny, Carlow, & part of Tipperary - }	-	583	1,418	779	501	396	443	261	361	151	-	4,833
Belfast - -	{ Londonderry, Antrim, and part of Down - }	-	581	590	474	492	540	633	503	560	28	-	4,611
TOTAL - - - -		1,031	9,440	8,764	6,436	5,150	4,889	5,543	3,832	4,171	2,281	-	51,667

\* Unless I had been furnished with an account of deserters, the result of this table is delusive; but I suppose that Mr. Pole thought that the publication of such a document would be improper, or it would have been forwarded to me, along with the foregoing.

CHAPTER XXXI.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

IT appears from the foregoing accounts of Ireland, that the island contains 20,437,974 English acres,\* yielding a rent of £17,228,540. Irish money,† which produces on an average 20‡ Winchester bushels of wheat to the English acre, 39‡ of barley, 44‡ of oats, and 22,094lbs. ‡ avoirdupoise of potatoes to the Irish acre.

That in the year 1791, there were 4,200,000 people, paying a revenue of	-	-	-	-	-	£4,414,114§
But that the interest and charges on the national debt being	-	-	-	-	-	3,807,721
						<hr/>
Leaves only	-	-	-	-	-	£ 606,393

towards the expenditure of the country, which appears to be £6,327,055.,¶ upon an average of the three years 1809-10 and 11, independent of the charges on the debt.

That the official value of the imports of Ireland are	-	£7,055,167**
Exports	-	5,923,420**
		<hr/>
Total	-	£12,978,587**

• That the circulating medium is about - - £9,000,000††.

It was once my intention to have reviewed what I have printed upon the state of society in Ireland, and to have drawn the reader's attention to the results that naturally arose out of the facts, which I have collected; but when I look back at the two hundred sheets which I have already covered with letter press, when I call to mind, that as much more is buried in my escritoir, and that, perhaps, I have not selected the most useful information which I acquired, I have determined to close as speedily as possible this long and laborious task.

In the work which I have now brought to a conclusion, I have endeavoured to exhibit a faithful picture of the natural, moral, and political state of a people, who are intimately connected with Great Britain. My exertions have been directed to exhibit the peculiarities by which they may be distinguished from the other subjects

\* Vol. i. p. 4.

† Vol. i. p. 305.

‡ Vol. i. p. 605.

§ Upon an average of the three years, 1809, 1810, and 1811, vide vol. ii. p. 276.

|| Ibid. p. 277.

¶ Ibid.

\*\* Ibid. vol. ii. p. 275.

†† Vol. ii. p. 194.

of this empire; and to point out the measures that seemed to me best calculated to draw forth their energies for the benefit of the state, and their own happiness.

There is no country in which the extremes of virtue and vice, of generous and exalted sentiment, of disinterestedness or self-debasement, are so conspicuous and variously displayed, as in Ireland. Yet the mind, or intelligent principle, of the natives, is susceptible of every change and improvement by the powers of education and political circumstances, in a degree not to be surpassed by any people on the globe.

In Ireland, man resembles not the dull and insensible Laplander, or the indolent and placid native of an eastern climate: he has a soul that kindles quickly, and a body that poverty cannot conquer, nor labour destroy: to his benefactor he is grateful even to romantic enthusiasm, to his oppressor hostile and vindictive.

Notwithstanding that the inhabitants of this island have been for centuries under the nominal influence of British laws, yet few traces of happiness, arising from wise political institutions, are to be found in any part of the country—the original habits and manners of the populace still exist, and in many districts the traveller may fancy that he has gone back into periods of time long past, and is amongst a people whose domestic customs were those of former centuries.

We have descriptions and histories of the most distant parts of the globe; our travellers favour us with accounts of the habits, manners, and political institutions of nearly all the nations that have been called into being: but of Ireland, a country under our own government, we have little that is authentic! We know that it is now a part of the British empire, that it is restless and rebellious: we are ignorant, however, that only a minority of the people speak our language, although the country is almost within the range of our own vision. Of the reasons for these events we are unacquainted, and seem careless of being informed on the subject; there is, perhaps, a secret delight in protecting the prescriptive prejudices of our forefathers, in cherishing the same acrimony and continuing those national reflections that feed our own consequence.

A government is, to the persons who are subject to its control, as a guardian deity;—its powerful but lenient hand ought to rest upon the chaos, and gently, but steadily, bring it into form. The exercise of such a principle is not to be perceived in Ireland: the nation is agitated from every point by contending elements; the furies have long been abroad in the land; and self-interest, aided by power, and encouraged by the insanity of religious persecution, spreads itself like a destroying influence over the country.

In the nineteenth century, when the door of knowledge is so widely opened, it is surprising that man is not more emulous of the greatest of all glories, a desire to ameliorate and improve the situation of his species. If man be not to man the

object of his greatest regard, he deserves not that pre-eminence which God has conferred upon him over the other animals of the creation ; it is by the cultivation of his powers, bodily and mental, that he can most effectually evince his gratitude to the Deity ; and he who neglects to aid, or wilfully obstructs the progress of human improvement, is an evil principle operating against his species, and an offender in the eye of Omnipotence.

Unlike other nations, where the same ranks in society have the same characteristic distinctions, in Ireland, the corresponding classes in distant parts of the island are as dissimilar as the higher ranks are different from them. This is indicative in a great degree of the neglect of its interests, by those whose duty it is to lead the country to prosperity and happiness. In some places, indeed, we perceive that the people have struggled through the darkness that surrounded them, and are desirous of obtaining knowledge and the arts of civilization.

Such a retrospect of the situation of a country, placed by Providence in the most enlightened part of Europe, must awaken reflections no way favourable to its rulers. The garden is, indeed, well stocked, but the valuable plants are buried in weeds of the most noxious qualities. Life is produced to the utmost extent of population, but the use of this superabundance is not apparent. Even mere existence is hardly a blessing ; but existence, overwhelmed with poverty, wretchedness, and ignorance, is, to say the most, an equivocal good. The improvement of the reasoning faculties, and the cultivation of science, are the charms of life ; and communicate the emulations which give a zest to being, and urge us to social intercourse and social enjoyment.

Where a few families arrogate to themselves, not only the power of governing, but a control over the government itself ; where a minority, in consequence of the peculiarity of their religious creed, are so unchristian and so evil-minded as to keep their countrymen in bondage, the lower classes must deeply feel the injury arising from such events ; they are naturally called to the aid of one or other faction, and the most rancorous passions are excited and the most bitter hatreds kept alive. The low state of the mechanical arts and agriculture is a cause of the debasement of the humbler classes ; their abject situation, their wretched habitations, their unclothed bodies, their superstitions sink them into submissive slaves, and break down that frame, and that mind, which were given them for nobler purposes than to grovel at the feet of a being like themselves. How much more to be desired is the erect posture of the free man, and the commendation of his free spirit, than the deceitful suppleness and debased acquiescence of him, who is but a remove, in all earthly enjoyments, from the brute, who is at once his domestic companion and his benefactor.

It is an axiom in politics that the great majority of a people never rise into insurrection, or become rebels, without sufficient reason ; the disaffected few pos-

does not the power to increase political hatred to such a degree as to cause a general movement in opposition to the government; this effect can only be produced by a government itself, and this circumstance is the best apology for the people, if not their justification. We natives of England ought to be very circumspect in our condemnation of the principle of resistance to oppression, for of all nations upon earth we have most benefited by the exercise of such right.

The reader will discover, throughout the preceding pages, such various gradations of misery as he could not have supposed possible to exist, even among the most barbarous nations. Man is exhibited to his view as oppressed and insulted; he will perceive the hand of tyranny pressing upon him heavily and unsparingly, and find an accumulation of human beings, without any other use than for the accumulation of human wretchedness. He will find him hunted from the vale to the mountain top, to shelter in the rude caverns and rocks, from his brother christian the politically orthodox believer in the humble Author of their common faith. Yet amongst all these evils he will still recognize the genius of the people, like a bright star in a tempestuous and gloomy horizon. A nation never commits *felo de se*. A whole people cannot causelessly be impelled to brave the mouth of the cannon, or rush upon the bayonet against their rulers; and when such events do take place, and when the voice of complaint does arise from a whole people, let their governors attend to the awful warning, and remember, that it will not be necessary to seek a heavenly-gifted interpreter to expound this **HAND-WRITING UPON THE WALL!**

**THE END.**

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