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[THIRD EDITION, CORRECTED AND ENLARGED.]

PARTICULAR CONSEQUENCES

OF

Mr ORDE's IRISH RESOLUTIONS

TO THE

*Landed, Manufacturing, and Trading Interest of
Scotland;*

AND

GENERAL CONSEQUENCES

OF THEM TO THE

BRITISH EMPIRE.

CONSEQUENCES

OF

Mr ORDE's IRISH RESOLUTIONS.

TO THE LANDED INTEREST.

FOR the encouragement of agriculture, much needed in Scotland, various Acts of Parliament, before the Union, were passed in that country, prohibiting the importation of grain from Ireland, or other foreign parts. Our ancestors thought this so important a point, that they made it the subject of a special article in the Act of Union, article 6th, in these words: ' And, in respect the importations of ' Victual into Scotland, from any place beyond Sea, would ' prove a Discouragement to Tillage, therefore, that the Pro- ' hibition, as now in force by the Law of Scotland, against ' Importation of Victual from Ireland, or any place beyond ' Sea, into Scotland, do, after the Union, remain in the same ' Force as now it is, until more proper and effectual Ways ' be provided by the Parliament of Great Britain, for Dis- ' couraging the Importation of the said Victual from beyond ' Force

‘ Sea.’ And from that day, until this day, the British Parliament has so well preserved national faith upon this point, as to admit only one exception from this article, viz. in the case of a dearth.

Mr Orde’s 3d Resolution contains these words: ‘ It is proper that no prohibition should exist in either country against the importation, use, or sale, of any article, the growth, product, or manufacture, of the other.’ This is a direct repeal of the above Article of the Union; for, under this resolution, the Irish may import victual into Scotland whether there be dearth or not.

Resolution 7th contains these words: ‘ It is necessary, further, that no prohibition, or new additional duties, should be hereafter imposed on either Kingdom, on the exportation of any article of native growth, product, or manufacture, from thence to the other, except such as either Kingdom may deem expedient from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits; and also, except where there now exists any prohibition which is not reciprocal, or any duty which is not equal in both Kingdoms; in every which case the prohibition may be made reciprocal, or the duties raised so as to make them equal.’ At present, there is no prohibition to export grain from Scotland to Ireland, either by British or Irish statute; and, in fact, very great quantities of grain have been commonly exported from the north-

north-east parts of Scotland to Ireland. But there is a prohibition now existing to Import Victual from Ireland to Scotland; and, therefore, the import of the latter part of this clause is, that the prohibition is to be reciprocal, and, consequently, Scotland is not to Export Victual to Ireland.

The first of these resolutions clashes with the last part of the second of them; for the one supposes that there is to be no prohibition, and the other that there is to be a reciprocal prohibition. And the last part of the 7th resolution clashes with the first part of it; for the last part of it supposes that the prohibition now existing, to import to Scotland from Ireland, shall become reciprocal in future times, not to export from Scotland to Ireland; and yet the first part of it supposes, that hereafter prohibitions, or new additional duties, may be imposed; that is to say, may in future times vibrate, in terms of the resolution, as either kingdom may deem expedient from time to time: All which makes such a jumble, that it is plain the person who drew these two inconsistent resolutions, whoever he was, did not see his way in the matter before him.

But whether, by these resolutions, the exportation from Ireland to Scotland is intended to take place, or not to take place, or to depend on the accident of vibration, the Landed Interest of Scotland must suffer. If the prohibition is to take place, then, as it is to be reciprocal, we are to be barred from

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from sending Victual to Ireland, and thus lose a beneficial market. If it is not to take place, then the Irish will pour in their Victual upon us, to the ruin of our Land Estates. If it is to vibrate from time to time, according to the pleasure of either Parliament, then we are to exchange the present security to our estates, saved to us by the Articles of Union in all future times, for the chance of future temporary favours, depending on the accident of the Parliaments of England and Ireland being in the humour to grant us those favours when we ask them, and which we may most need when the parliaments are not sitting.

England as well as Scotland must suffer by the removal of the prohibition to import from Ireland to Scotland, because Scotland has hitherto got her supplies from England. In the thirteen month from August 1. 1782, to September 1. 1783, the importation from England was 288,880 quarters of grain.

TO THE MANUFACTURING INTEREST.

SILKEN MANUFACTURE.—Mr Orde's resolutions keep out of sight the question, Whether Ireland is to be at liberty to trade in the East Indies, to the dominions of Asiatic Princes, and to foreign settlements, if not to the settlements of the English East India Company. It is believed that Ireland claims a right to all three; at least, she certainly claims

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the two first. It is very well known, that, if Britain was to take off the duties from East India raw silk, she would rival the Southern nations of Europe in the silken manufacture. But she cannot take off these duties, because they produce a very great revenue, which she cannot spare. Ireland is in no such distress; she will impose no duties either on raw or organized silk; but take up the silken manufacture free of duties upon both.

Until the Irish have established their own silken manufactures, they will, for the sake of an immediate profit, and, perhaps, even after these are established, they may, for the sake of the continuance of the profit, export that raw silk to the Low Countries, to Germany, and the countries to the north and east of it, where the manufactures of silk, if the raw material was cheap, can as easily be established as the linen manufacture, in those countries, now is. The consequence would be, to raise up new rivals abroad to our silk manufactures at home.

The loss of the silk manufacture will be a material one to Scotland, both in point of possession, and in point of prospect. There are only five hundred silk gauze looms in all England. But, besides other gauze looms in Scotland, by an account taken last year of the number in and round Glasgow and Paisley alone, there are seven thousand; and these seven thousand looms maintain forty thousand people. The gauzes

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of Glasgow and Paisley were arrived at such a degree of perfection, that many of them were sold by dealers as East Indian, at sales of East India muslins. Working silk is almost as easy as working linen; and, therefore, the transition from one branch of the business to another, is easy; and, consequently, the extension of the business is natural and certain, if not checked by artificial causes. Of all manufactures, the silken deserve most to be encouraged; because, when the children of other manufacturers are a burden on their parents, till they arrive at 14 or 15 years of age, the children of a silk weaver, on the contrary, are an estate to him, seeing they begin to work at seven years of age; the certain consequence of which is, that that manufacture increases marriages and populousness more than any other. But few manufactures are more easily transportable than the gauze; they require nothing to be carried, except the weaver, his loom, and his children. If the weavers of Glasgow and Paisley, and other parts of Scotland, hear of raw silk, and organzine silk, ready for them in Ireland, free of duties, they will be on their looms there in a very short time.

Last summer the silk gauzes received a severe blow, when, to encourage the muslins of the East India Company, a tax of twenty *per cent.* was laid upon gauzes. Mr Orde's resolutions, added to that tax, will put an end to the manufacture. An uncautious act of parliament may be repealed; but the blow given in a national treaty, is never to be recovered. An Eng-

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lish Parliament may take off the 20 *per cent.* they laid on; but an Irish parliament will not so easily surrender the superiority in the silken manufactures which these resolutions will ensure to them, if they have the sanction of the Parliaments of both kingdoms; in a solemn compact, and become the *Magna Charta* of the commerce of Ireland.

COTTON MANUFACTURES.- All along the western part of the coasts of Indostan, there are a vast variety of coarse cotton manufactures. In the country about Surat, they make a stuff that comes home for wrappers, and even with duties could be afforded in London for 3½ d. a yard. But cotton is the natural wear of a Negro, and to which he has been habituated in his own country. These wrappers are far more proper than linen Osnaburgs for slaves in the West-Indies and America. The Portuguese send vast quantities of different sorts of coarse cotton goods from the Malabar coast to their African settlements on both sides of the Cape of Good Hope. The English African Company find it a good trade to receive coarse cottons from India to England, and to send them from thence to the coast of Africa. In the book of rates printed in a small volume in the year 1782, page 350. there are enumerated eighteen different species of coarse cotton Indian goods, which are not allowed to be sold in England; but only to be exported from England to Africa. Some of these are handkerchiefs, checks, and cloths, and others are of other useful-fabrics. On the other side of India are many species of fine cotton

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goods; some of which are enumerated, and others not enumerated in our statutes. And all of these, whether coarse on the one side of India, or fine on the other, can be brought by the Irish to America, the West Indies, and Ireland, several hundred *per cents.* cheaper than the cotton weavers of Paisley, and the other parts of Scotland, could make them. The English Parliament knows all this perfectly well, and would allow them to be imported to Britain, on account of their excessive cheapness, was it not that the importation of them would overturn the immense cotton manufacture of England; and, consequently, all the employment of people, the customs, and excises which arise from it. But the Irish are under no such fear or anxiety. Their cotton manufacture is a trifle. They will either bring home these goods in the vessels of foreign East India Companies, or they will go to the East Indies for them themselves, as I shall soon show will be the case, and from Ireland spread them all over the world.

Last summer the cotton manufactures of Britain received a severe blow, when a heavy tax was laid on them by Parliament. Mr Orde's resolutions, added to that tax, will put an end to the manufacture for ever. For an uncautious act of Parliament may be repealed; but a blow given in a national treaty is never to be recovered.

LINEN AND WOOLEN MANUFACTURES.—Silken and cotton manufactures are, in warm climates, so much preferable

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ferable to linen and woolen, that, if the Irish, in consequence of the above circumstances, send filken and cotton manufactures to those climates, at cheap rates, they will stop the exportation of the three great Scots manufactures of linen, printed linens, and thin worsted goods. These last, viz. woolen goods, must be hurt in Scotland by Mr Orde's 3d and 4th resolutions which allow the importation of Irish wool and woolens, free of duties, into Britain; and the second of them, viz. the trade of printed linens, has already been hurt by a heavy tax laid on them last summer; and still more by the fluctuating measures of administration, which first gave a bounty to them and printed cottons, and then, last summer, laid a tax upon both of them soon after.

IRON MANUFACTURES.—Scotland is the only country hitherto known, except England, in which seams of coal, iron-stone, or iron-ore, and lime-stone, (the three component parts, or raw materials, of which iron is made), are often found in the same field; and in the near neighbourhood of the sea, or of short water carriage to the sea. These mines run in a stretch of seventy miles from the east point of Fifeshire to the west point of Ayrshire, along the two friths, a sea coast, and the rivers that run into both. In the scale of true and sublime policy, that is, of national employment and grandure, that stretch is of more weight than the mines of Potosi. The works at Carron are the greatest iron-work in Europe. Time and fair play are only wanted for the erection of twenty such

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such works in Scotland. When Parliament is satisfied that a sufficiency of pig and bar iron may be produced in Scotland and England for the supply of the iron manufactures, the policy of Britain will be to continue, or rather increase, the present duties on the importation of foreign iron, and to revive the old duties upon American iron. But the policy of an Irish parliament will be directly the reverse. They will lay on no duties on foreign iron. They will give bounties both upon the importation of the pig and bar iron into Ireland, and upon the exportation from Ireland of the goods manufactured from them. As fast as Britain discourages the importation of foreign pig and bar iron, for the encouragement of the landed interest, to whom the raw materials belong, and of the manufacturing interest, which works them up; so fast will Ireland encourage that importation, to extend her own iron manufacture; and thus there will be a constant struggle between the two nations which shall beggar the other.

Nothing will be wanting to complete her system of iron manufacture but coal. It is generally believed she has coal within herself; but, if she has not, it is of little consequence in the scale of the competition with England; because, by the present law, she has her coals from England at a tax 75 per cent. less than England pays for her own coals going coastwise: For, when Ireland pays only 1 sh. 1 $\frac{4}{10}$ d. per chaldron upon coals exported to Ireland, England pays a tax upon coals going coastwise of 5 sh. 4 $\frac{7}{10}$ d. and, if they go to London, of 8 sh.

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8 sh. 7 d. per chaldron. And Mr Orde, in his observations upon the resolutions to the Irish House of Commons, very judiciously observes, 'That, by resolution 6th, the duty on coals from England to Ireland can never be raised.' These consequences will make the mines of Potosi, above mentioned, of as little value to Scotland and England as the bogs of Ireland.

General observation applying to the above five Manufactures.— It behoves Scots people much to attend carefully to present dangers to their manufactures, when they reflect upon the past ones that they have escaped. Last summer it was proposed to lay a tax of 2 sh. a ton upon coals: That single tax would have laid the ax to the root of the whole industry of Scotland, and desolated the land.

TO THE TRADING INTEREST.

WEST INDIAN AND AMERICAN TRADE.—To ensure a superiority in trade to one nation above another, four advantages are required: 1st, A saving in the voyage, either in point of time or of danger. 2^{dly}, A capacity of exporting to the country traded to, at cheap rates, the articles which it stands in need of. 3^{dly}, A ready market for what is brought from that country. And, lastly, An exclusive right of receiving the produce of it, either in the ships of the country to which she trades, or in her own ships. This last is esteemed

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so much to be the basis of European Colony commerce, that every country which has colonies reserves to itself that exclusive right; not England alone, but Spain and Portugal, without any exception, and France and Holland, with the very trifling exception of a few free ports; and on this principle the act of navigation of our ancestors, that paladium of British commerce and empire, was founded.

Now, Ireland has the *first of these advantages* over England; because, when vessels come from the Western World to Ireland, instead of England, the only dangerous part of the voyage is past, and the saving, in time, is considerable. The difference of insurance upon the coming and returning western voyages to and from Ireland, and to and from England, proves the weight of this advantage. *2dly*, Ireland has *the second advantage*. Having labour and provisions cheap, no tax upon land, and few on other subjects, no poor's rate, and coals on a tax 75 *per cent.* less than England carrying coals coastwise pays for them, she can furnish manufactures, and provisions in grain, meat, and fish, cheaper to the western world than England can do. *3dly*, Ireland has *the third advantage*: For, when England has only two markets, viz. her own consumption, and a trade to other countries, Ireland will have three markets, viz. her own consumption, a trade to other countries, and a smuggling trade to England; and this last will be more beneficial to Ireland than both the others put together; because the high duties of England will be the profit attached

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to the trade. Nor will it be possible for England to prevent that smuggling trade. The west winds, which blow from Ireland to Britain ten months in the year, and the open and unguardable coasts on the west side of Britain, make smuggling both easy and safe. Why was England forced to buy the Isle of Man from the Duke of Athole? Why have the Danes erected the Island of North Faro into an *entrepot* for the smuggling trade to the British dominions? The run from Ireland is not greater than from the Isle of Man; and the long and dangerous navigation from North Faro will be avoided. In this trade England will have the threefold disadvantage of suffering in her revenue, in her home trade, by the competition between the Irish smuggler and the English fair trader, and in her foreign colony trade, seeing it will be impossible to distinguish the produce of foreign colonies from the produce of the British Colonies, whether they be fairly entered from Ireland, or smuggled from Ireland. *4to*, Ireland having thus the three first advantages over England, will also participate in the *last advantage*, the only one which England has at present over her, and bring the West Indian and American trade in her own ships, through Ireland, to England. Is it not obvious that Ireland, possessing the three first of the above advantages beyond England, and partaking with her in the fourth, must beat Britain, and consequently Scotland, in the American and West Indian trade?

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THE GENERAL CARRYING TRADE—must stand or fall with the Act of Navigation, which preserves it; but Mr Orde's second resolution repeals the Act of Navigation. The words are: 'It is fit and proper that all articles, not the growth of Great Britain or Ireland, should be imported into each kingdom from the other, reciprocally, under the same regulations, and at the same duties, if subject to duties, to which they are liable when imported directly from the place of their growth, product, or manufacture.' The consequence is, that a great share of that part of the carrying trade of Britain which Scotland possesses will be lost to Scotland.

GENERAL CONSEQUENCE TO THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

REVOLUTION OF COMMERCE AND EMPIRE.—

There are eight causes of the high price of woven manufactures in Britain. 1st, Raw materials dear. 2^d, Provisions dear. 3^d, Cloaths, fuel, and buildings, dear. 4th, Customs and excise upon the necessaries of life high. 5th, Few works in which women and children can be employed. 6th, Carriage, even water carriage, expensive. 7th, The freedom which every man has to go from one business to another, which makes him run from every business that is cheap. And, lastly, The privileges of exclusive corporations, and statutes of apprenticeships, both of which give a monopoly to individual

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workmasters against the community. In all these circumstances, the state of woven manufactures in India and China differ: 1st, Whereas silk is brought to Britain from India or Italy, and cotton from the West Indies, and flax and wool are produced by slow, expensive, and artificial operations; silk and cotton in the East Indies, on the contrary, are got upon the spot, and produced almost by the hand of Nature. 2^{dly}, The food in India is rice. The culture of an acre does not cost above 10 shillings. An acre of land, at each crop, bears four times the weight in rice that it does in wheat; it bears two, and sometimes three crops in the year; a handful, when boiled, swells into a large mass; and in hot climates men eat little; no fermented liquors are drunk; hence provisions, both solid and liquid, are cheap*.

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* The cultivation of Rice consists, 1st, in plowing, which, in the soil and climate of the East Indies, is entirely superficial; the plough, which is a piece of crooked stick held in one hand, making little more impression than the tooth of one of our harrows: This is done by oxen; an ox costs 10 rupees: He is fed on chaff and grass, and is maintained at the expence of a rupee and half per month, at 2 s. and 4 d. a rupee. The 2^d operation is taking the plants from the seed, and dibbling them into the ground. The 3^d is watering the ground, which is a trifling charge, because it is done from the public drains. The last is reaping, which is done with the sickle. Two men will reap an acre in a day: The wages of a land labourer are 3 rupees and a half a month, or about three pence a day. From these data, the expence of producing the crop cannot exceed ten shillings an acre.

There are three Begas in Bengal in an acre. A Bega will produce 10 mannds of rice in a crop; a mannd is 30 pounds. Hence the produce of an acre from each crop is 2400 pounds, or two crops in the year is 4800 pounds, or three crops in the year is 7200 pounds; but taking an average of two crops and a half in a year, is 6000 pounds. The calculations in this and the foregoing paragraph, I had from the two Armenian merchants of Bengal, who came to England 12 years ago, to throw themselves upon the protection of a

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mates, few cloaths, no fuel, and slight buildings, for houses, are required. 4^{to}, In India there are no customs or excises on the necessaries of life, and in China very few. 5^{to}, The fabrics of silk and cotton are mostly done by women and children. 6^{to}, Bengal and China being all intersected with canals, the expence of carriage is a trifle. 7^{mo}, Every man in India and China is obliged to follow the occupation of his fore-fathers, so that workmen, by changing business, cannot raise wages. *Lastly*, There are no exclusive corporations, or apprenticeships, there. From these circumstances, woven manufactures always have been, and always will be cheaper, by some hundreds *per cent.* there than in Britain; and, therefore, it will be in the power of the Irish, by importing them, to undersell the British woven manufactures.

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British house of Commons, against the violences of the servants abroad of the East India Company.

Upon the average of a family in Bengal of men, women, and children, half a pound of rice a day will maintain each individual.

A bushel of wheat in Britain weighs 56 pounds, and upon an average there may be 30 bushels to an acre.

From these principles it follows; that 365 acres will maintain 12000 individuals in Bengal for a year, when the same number of acres of wheat in England would not give flour to above a thousand.

But it will require more than double that number of acres to furnish flesh to these thousand persons, on the supposal that an acre will feed a bullock of 40 stone weight or 560 pounds, and that each person eats a pound of meat in a day. From all which it follows, that the same quantity of ground which maintains one person in Britain, will maintain 40 in Bengal.

A mannd of rice costs a rupee; hence at half a pound a day, the food of a manufacturer is little more than a farthing a day.

These differences will explain the reason of the excessive populousness and cheapness of the manufactures of the East, compared with those of Europe.

In this trade they will have the five following advantages over the English East India Company:

1^{mo}, They will import raw silk, without duties, for their own manufactures, those of other countries, and smuggling into England; and they will not be deterred from importing the silk and cotton manufactures of the East without duties, by the fear of injuring the manufactures of Britain.

2^{do}, By statute in England, machinery and manufactures cannot be carried to foreign countries. It is believed there are no such statutes in Ireland; or, if there be, they would be either reversed or eluded, so far as relates to India and China at least. In the whole silken and cotton manufactures of the East, all is done by labour, nothing by machinery; and, even in that labour, every thing is clumsy and unhandy. The ends of the beam of a loom are stuck into two mud walls; a silk shuttle is four times the size of an English one: The spinning or twisting wheel is not even turned by the foot. There is not even a stocking loom in all China or Bengal. The paintings on their stuffs are all done by the slow movement of the pencil, not by the expeditious stroke of the block. The Irish will send all kinds of machinery to their Factors in the East, for the proper spinning, twisting, mixing, dying, winding, arranging the warp and woof, working, painting, or printing, of silk and cotton fabrics. Sir Thomas Loomb's machine, at Derby, adapted for silk, and Mr Arkwright's for cotton, will soon find their way in Irish hands to the East.

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310, Fine silk fabrics being great in value, and small in bulk, require ships of small burden for carrying them. The East India Company, notwithstanding their vast losses by shipwreck in the river of Bengal, which is not fit for large ships, still continue to trade there in ships of great burden, partly from the habitual extravagance of that company, and partly because they are under a legal obligation to bring home saltpetre, which is a heavy commodity. The Irish being subject to none of these disadvantages, will bring home the fine fabrics in vessels of 300, or 350 tons burden, which the greatest navigator that ever sailed, Captain Cook, thought the fittest vessels for every service except that of war. Such vessels cost little in comparison of the Company's large ships, require few hands, are cheap officered, can load or unload where large ships cannot, sail on shallow coasts, and sail quick, whereby they come first to the market. From these circumstances the Irish will undersell the East India Company in every market.—This is not all; they will hurt the home sea-faring and shipping business. The most lasting ships in the world are built on the Malabar coast. The Irish will purchase them there, and sail them in all southern and middle climates, navigated not by English subjects, but by Lascars and Chinese, who can neither suffer by, nor are afraid of such climates. Lascars are every day to be seen at Wapping; and, four years ago, one of the Emperor of Germany's ships entered the Bay of Cadiz navigated by a crew who were mostly Chinese.

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410, The foreign Companies in India carry on their trade with the fortunes of the servants of the English Company, which they send in goods to Europe, in foreign bottoms. Though this was not the only cause, it was, perhaps, one cause which induced Mr Hastings, some years ago, to remit the fortunes of the servants in the Company's investments. But he made the bills payable at the end of years, and the Company at home protracted these terms of payment still longer. Hence the servants will, probably, not trust that channel again. But the rapidity with which they ran into it, shows that remittance through the channels of foreign Companies is not natural to the servants, and that they do not like them. Deceived by the one, suspicious of the other, they will embrace the new channel of Ireland; and regular factories will be established between Ireland on the one hand, and India and China on the other, for the remittance of the fortunes of the servants of the English Company. Thus the Irish will trade on the money of other people; and the only objection to their getting a great East India trade, to wit, the want of original capitals, will be removed.

Lastly, The demand for silver to the East Indies is vast, and still increasing. That silver comes from Mexico to Spain, from Spain to England, goes from England to Indostan, and most of it from thence to China. That is to say, it sails as many leagues as would go twice round the globe; it takes two years in its passage, and is loaded with many duties, com-

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missions, insurances, freights, and risks. Its natural passage should be by agreement with the Spanish government from Mexico to Manilla, in the common Manilla flota, a voyage of a few weeks, and from thence the conveyance to China is a trifle. This the English Company have never attended to; and the present disordered state of their affairs would now prevent Spain from trusting that Company with her treasures. But it is not probable that the Spanish government would refuse to trust them to an Irish East India Company, supported by the Parliament of Ireland; or even to a private Irish society, supported, as it probably would be, by the wealth of individuals in England, and the fortunes of the English servants in India; which society could even afford to pay the silver in Spain before it was delivered at Manilla, because they could replace it in six months after, from its own produce.

With these advantages over the English Company, the Irish, in foreign vessels of a moderate size, I mean Indian ones, navigated by foreign seamen, I mean Lascars and Chinese, will carry raw silk and woven manufactures, free of duty to Ireland. They will smuggle cotton and silk goods upon the coasts of Africa, and upon the American dominions of Portugal and Spain, in which last, as appears from Mr Smith's excellent book, vol. 2. p. 460. there is said to be a market for no less than three million Sterling in linens, the place of which those goods would supply. They will send them to the French and English West Indies, and to North America. Under the
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name of the Armenians, who already trade from India to the Manillas, they will send them to the Manillas, and from thence the goods will find their way along the coasts of Mexico, Peru, and Chili; they will smuggle them along the coasts of Spain, Portugal, France, and England, and send them into the Mediterranean, in the same way as the Emperor lately sent raw silk even to Leghorn. They will send them either in the way of fair trade, or of smuggling trade, to all the north-eastern countries of Europe. In those passages, they will drop their teas, china, and other eastern commodities, in all countries that will buy them. *Lastly*, the India business of England will be transferred from London to Ireland.

Or, as a quicker road to immediate wealth, the Irish may take possession of one of the many islands that lie between Africa and America, either by treaty, if they be inhabited, or by the mere act of possession, if they are not inhabited, and convert that settlement into an emporium for East India goods for all nations to resort to, in the same way as Alexandria in ancient times was the emporium of the world for the produce of India. Should this settlement succeed, most nations would supply themselves there, instead of exposing themselves to the dangers and expence of voyages round the Cape of Good Hope to the East Indies, and of maintaining settlements in them. The consequence would be, that Ireland might draw the profits of a vast trade, and draw a vast revenue in customs, without employing in that trade almost a single British

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or Irish ship, or seaman. But vain and fatal would be the wealth both to Ireland and to England, even though England was to share in it. For wealth to England, without a navy to defend it, and which navy cannot be got but by preserving the navigation acts sacred, would only make her and hers the more tempting prey to her enemies.

It is no vision to foretel that the Irish will make settlements in the Sandwich Islands, discovered by Captain Cook in his last voyage; one of the first seats on earth for trade and for maritime conquest: For, being placed in the latitude of 22° north, ships can run from them on the trade wind to India and China; or, by going a few degrees north to get the great west wind, which blows there ten months in the year, they can run in the tract of the Acapulca ships to the coast of Mexico, and from thence along all the coasts of the South Seas, taking advantage of the north land wind, which blows continually from Mexico into the Bay of Panama. By which they may command both the gold of the East, and the silver of the West. The passage is not difficult; instead of going by the high latitudes of Cape Horn, they will go by the Cape of Good Hope, by easy latitudes, in which the highest at New Holland is in 40 degrees; and they will have five great resting places for their ships, Madeira, the Cape, New Holland, New Zealand, and the Society Islands; besides many other smaller ones in their passages through the South Sea. The expence will be a trifle; an Irish parliament will hold it cheap indeed.

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It will only require two ships of 350 tons, 200 Irish adventurers, a train of light carronades to be carried on poles, or even on mens shoulders, and the frames of a few small vessels, to be put together at the scene of action. The islands are full of salt, of provisions, and of inhabitants. By their rocky form, they are full of natural fortifications. The officers who went first to the islands in the South Sea in the present reign, agree that the islanders, in a few days, ran along the yards and up the shrouds of the ships, faster than their own people, and in a few weeks would have made as good mariners; for which there are two good reasons; the first is, that people who wear no shoes tread surer on ship-board, on yards, and on cordage, and cling firmer, than men who wear shoes; and, 2dly, That, as the inhabitants live by fishing, every one is by nature a mariner.

In this succession of events, the seeds of many wars are involved. The Irish, on differences with the English East India settlements or servants, will claim the protection of Ireland, and of the parliament of Ireland. Trading and settling in the dominions of Asiatic princes, or in foreign settlements, they may intrigue and stir up wars against the English Company, their rivals in trade. It is very well known that the hardest fought battles in America were maintained, not by native Americans, but by British and Irish subjects, emigrated to America. The same exertions by emigrating subjects may pull down the Company's empire in the East which pulled down

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the British empire in the West.—European nations, provoked by their smuggling on their coasts, will proceed to severities; these will be retaliated. If, on these disputes, England does not support the Irish, they will turn their rage against that nation which deserted them. If England supports them, she will involve herself in wars that are not her own. The piques of merchants will become the quarrels of nations. In the year 1739, an English smuggler, Captain Jenkins, informed the House of Commons at their bar, that the commander of one of the King of Spain's guarda costas had cut off his ears, and threatened his life. In that dreadful moment, said he, 'I recommended my soul to my God, and my revenge to my country.' It required little more to incite a popular assembly to a war with Spain, against the will of the King, and his ministers, and against the national interest.—Spain will protest against Irish settlements in the South Seas; Ireland will plead the rights of nations; whatever side England takes England will suffer.

Objection 1. To these consequences it may be objected, *first*, That if the importation of the woven commodities of the East had been so very advantageous, the different East India companies of Europe would have embraced them before now. It is answered, the Swedish Company is so poor, that they do little more than trade to China, in order to form at Gottenburg an *entrepot* for smuggling teas, and other Chinese articles into the British dominions. The Danish Company is

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not much richer; even supported by the remittance of the fortunes of the English servants, they employ not above three or four ships in a year. The Emperor's Company is new, and still poorer than either. The French trade in India, till thirty years ago, when they exchanged it for schemes of conquest, was a succession of bankruptcies, because imprudently conducted; and, since that time, has been ruined in India by two unsuccessful wars. The Portuguese have vast settlements of their own to supply, and do supply them; but farther exertions were not to be expected from a country which has lost its spirit with its liberty. The Dutch Company has been intent, and occupied in its great object, the monopoly of the spice trade; and yet the late importations of silk and cotton manufactures from the East Indies to Europe, which the Dutch *have made*, may show what the Irish *may make*. Importations by the English Company have been restrained by the demands for taxes upon importation, and by the fear of interfering with the interests of the woven manufactures of Britain. But Ireland will make her spring free, disencumbered, and her flight will be high.

Objection 2. The English East India Company may recover the blow it has received, the faults it has committed, and all the *five* advantages above mentioned. It is *answered*, It is too probable that some of them will be recovered. For it will be impossible for England to see with unconcern such an immense trade taken from her; and the only way she will have

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have to recover a part of it, and to put herself on a footing with Ireland, will be, to repeal her navigation acts, at least so far as they relate to the East India trade, and to allow her subjects to find seamen, and sell cargoes, where they best can, without taking England in their way, by which the revenue, and the naval power of England, will suffer; and to introduce machinery for the manufacturers of the East Indies into her dominions there.

But, whether England repeals these laws or not; that is, whether, by not repealing them, she leaves an immense trade to Ireland, or, by repealing them, becomes at best but a sharer in the profits of Ireland; in both cases her woven manufactures must decrease; because the introduction of raw silk into Ireland, duty free, for the manufacturers of Ireland, and of other European countries, and the communication of the woven fabrics of the East to the whole universe, at lower prices than ever was known before, in consequence of the introduction of machinery into the East, will leave no market for the woven manufactures of Britain to supply.

Objection 3. Irish settlements in distant islands are mere visions, or, at worst, will not happen soon. It is answered, when Paterson, the needy, obscure, but able Scots projector, was planning his settlement of Darien, in a garret at Edinburgh, with a few men, obscure, but able like himself; had any man foretold, that, in the space of a year, individuals in
Scotland,

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Scotland, a country in which there was not then L. 800,000 of running cash, would subscribe L. 500,000, and advance L. 200,000 of it for that settlement; that it would be supported by great English wealth from London; that three armaments would fail, and make a settlement effectual in the heart of the Spanish dominions, and on the noblest pass on earth for commerce, seeing it connected together the commerce of Europe, America, and both the Indies; that it would bring King William upon the brink of a war with Spain and France, for his being accused of protecting it, and with Scotland for his deserting it; and that it would give him more vexation than almost any event of a vexatious reign; that prophet would have been accounted a visionary madman; and yet all these events did follow just as it might have been very well foreseen they would follow. An Irish settlement in the Sandwich Islands, or between Africa and America, would not require a fourth of the expence that Darien cost. The establishment at Darien was an idea of genius and grandeur indeed; but the idea of a settlement in those islands is still more inflaming to a people like the Irish, prodigal of money and of life when they have great objects in view.

1st Concluding Observation. A common eye glancing over a common map of Ireland, and particularly of that part of it which opens immediately upon the Atlantic Ocean, will see it indented with deep and spacious Bays, more than any coast in the world, except Norway, from the northmost point of
Ireland

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Ireland to Cape Clear on the south. A scientific eye, examining those Bays by Mr M'Kenzie's Charts and Survey, will find them protected by islands in a most singular manner from furs and storms, and surrounded with natural harbours so numerous as not even to have names. The hand of Nature points out, that the country to which they belong is formed to be the Emporium of the commerce of the Western World.

2d *Concluding Observation.* Ireland has the same superiority over Britain in artificial and accidental causes. England pays the interests of near 200 millions of debt. The taxes requisite to do so, with the expence of collecting them, amount, upon an average, to above a Guinea a year to each individual; but, as a man pays for his wife and children who cannot pay for themselves, the rate is much higher. The taxes requisite to pay the interests of the public debts of Ireland do not amount to eightpence a year on each individual. Even a child might see that Ireland must from thence manufacture and trade cheaper than England. England is by future taxes to defend Ireland in times of war. Ireland is not to advance a penny to maintain those wars. Even a child might see that the bargain in the present treaty is unequal. England is in the condition of a few porters carrying on poles a load proportioned to their strength; let one quit his pole the whole load must fall: Diminish the commerce and revenue of England far less than to the extent to which these resolutions would diminish

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minish them, and the funds would tumble at once. By Mr Orde's resolutions, England is to give participation of her all, and is to get nothing in return, but what every other nation that chooses to trade with her gives.—The treaty with Ireland, founded on such resolutions, is like Pandora's Box, big not only with present but with future mischiefs. They are equally mischievous in what they have done, and what they have neglected to do. Britain and Ireland have only one of two ways to get out of the embarrassment in which they have involved the two kingdoms. One is, that Ireland should have all the benefits of English commerce, and bear all the burdens; in which case, Ireland and Britain would be the first state in Europe. But, if Ireland will not agree to this arrangement, then, the other is, that each parliament should regulate its commerce as it pleases; and the consequence will be, that, in future ages, the Irish will curse the present race of their countrymen, who did not accept the first of those alternatives.

T H E E N D.

