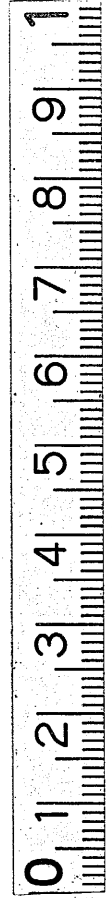


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CONSIDERATIONS
 ON THE
 DEPENDENCIES
 OF
GREAT BRITAIN.
 WITH
 OBSERVATIONS
 ON A
 PAMPHLET,
 INTITLED,
The Present State of the Nation.

LONDON:
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[Price Two Shillings.]

Considerations, &c.

THE Pamphlet, intituled, “ *The present State of the Nation*”, is certainly worthy of public attention, and tho’ I am far from agreeing with the author in several of his leading principles, I am very ready to admit the merit which he may claim as a man of abilities, improved by industry. I do not mean to combat, but animadvert; and whilst I alledge that this Pamphlet suggests some schemes contrary to justice, and others inconsistent with practicability, I am willing to allow, that it also communicates useful information; and I beg leave to express my entire approbation of such a detail of our circumstances for the consideration of the public, at a time when a course of mismanagement, and a state perplexed by a multitude of difficulties, require some interposition, above that of *temporary expedient*. And indeed, from the state this author gives of the weight of taxes in England, and the insufficiency of the *ordinary revenues* to defray the *ordinary ex-*
B *pences,*

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pences, without annually breaking in upon that fund appropriated for discharge of the debt, it is evident, that something more than the qualifications of High Birth, Fortune, or even Virtue itself, is necessary to regulate the great concerns of the British Empire: some improvement of Discipline, some restoration of Oeconomy, some discovery of Resources must take place, in order to prevent the destruction of England.

It appears that the regular expences of government at this time of tranquility, amount (exclusive of the interest of the national debt) to little less than four millions; and that the standing Ways and Means produce about 2,322,000 *l.* consequently that to make up the supply for the year, it is necessary to borrow above a million and an half from the Sinking Fund, which certainly ought to be sacred to the payment of our immense debt.

That the debt of the nation (after the reduction of the seven millions since the peace) amounts to about 141,000,000 *l.* the annual interest of which is about 4,500,000 *l.*

That the last war encreased the debt no less than seventy-five millions; the annual interest

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interest of which is stated at about 2,600,000 *l.* which added to an encrease in the peace establishment of 1,500,000 *l.* makes an annual additional charge on the nation of above four millions, in consequence of the last war; and therefore on the plainest principles of calculation, another war, under a continuance of the present mode of management, must end in the *ruin of England.*

That of this debt 52,000,000 *l.* are due to foreigners, the interest of which is above 1,500,000 *l.* this sum is to be deducted from the ballance of trade, which is not, according to this author, above two millions and an half in favour of England.

These great national points are stated in this pamphlet with great clearness, and I do believe on good grounds. I agree therefore with the author, that this view of things calls for the most serious attention; but I disagree with him in his plan of remedy, as inadequate to the end, and inconsistent with policy, justice, or indeed practicability.

The state of Great Britain is this.

The peace establishment, with a little re-

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formation, may be reduced to	3,300,000
The national debt	141,000,000
The interest of which is	4,500,000
	<hr/>
	£ 7,800,000

This 7,800,000*l.* is the sum to be provided annually for the expences of England. To the accomplishment of which the author of the state of the nation proposes, that Ireland should contribute 100,000*l.* and the Colonies 200,000*l.* making together 300,000*l.* which is just the difference between 7,800,000*l.* and 7,500,000*l.* *per annum.*

This extra-British contribution to the British Establishment, is the principal object which I propose to consider.

First, then, as to Ireland, let us enquire, whether this would be reasonable or practicable; and examine how far the relative condition and abilities of Ireland have been justly stated by this author; even supposing this 100,000*l.* *per annum* an object of weight enough in the scale of British expence to demand such consideration, or justify such an expedient.

I have this moment before me the national accounts of Ireland, which were laid

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laid before parliament the last session, and shall from them state the annual sum raised on that kingdom in taxes; and then examine into its means, its resources, and the proportion it bears to Great Britain, in its ability and its exertion.

In the year ending Lady-day 1766, the produce of the

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Hereditary revenue was	671,649	13	5
The additional duties	245,954	8	11 $\frac{1}{4}$
The loan and other appropriated duties	73,141	1	11
	<hr/>		
	£ 990,745	4	3 $\frac{1}{4}$

The amount of the whole is nearly one million of money, actually raised every year on Ireland. And when I add to this, that on comparing the expences of government with this produce of the revenues, it was apprehended by the Irish parliament, that this sum might turn out inadequate to the expences, and therefore they passed a *Clause of Credit* in the bill of supply, empowering government to borrow 100,000*l.* if it should be found necessary, in the interval between that and the next session of parliament;—and this, tho' some *additional* taxes were granted, and all the *old ones* continued; tho' Ireland already owes a debt of

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of near 700,000*l.* which not only has not been diminished since the peace commenced, but has been every session encreasing in consequence of votes and acts of credit, beside paying a pension list equal to the interest of a debt of 2,275,000*l.* All this being considered, I shall not be accused of sacrificing much of accuracy, if, for the sake of perspicuity and facility of comparison, I state the annual supply raised on the kingdom of Ireland *at one Million*; and when we take into our calculation the new tax on absentees, and probable increase of the revenue from the reduction of duty on tea, by which that commodity will be restored to the Custom-house, from whence it has been banished by excessive duties, I am convinced, if I state the revenues at a Million, I do not exceed the actual produce of this present year.

It appears from the full calculation of this author, that the sum to be raised annually in England is 7,800,000*l.* which for expence of management, and ease of calculation, I shall call 8,000,000*l.*

Thus we see Great Britain pays *eight times* as much in taxes as Ireland.

Let us now examine, whether England

has

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has more or less *than eight times the ability of Ireland* to pay; then we shall be able to judge, whether Ireland pays more or less than her proportion to the general cause. England contains thirty-six millions of acres; of which those who have taken the latest surveys, admit twenty millions to be in perfect cultivation, and well worth one pound *per acre*; which with the other 16,000,000 under pasture, sheep, wood, &c. valued only at 8*s.* *per acre*, make a rental of 26,400,000*l.* to which, in consideration of the infinitely advanced value of land and ground-rent in and about London, York, Bristol, and all the other cities and trading towns of England, we must at the lowest computation add 3,600,000*l.* more; and this brings the rental of England to thirty millions.

I have frequently known it stated at 40, and sometimes at sixty millions; therefore I am certain of not exceeding in my valuation at thirty millions.

As for Ireland, it is by nature in so great a proportion marshy and mountainous, and so far deficient in culture and population, that the eleven millions of Irish plantation acres which it contains cannot possibly be estimated

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estimated at more than three millions.

Thus England is in this respect *ten times* as great as Ireland; notwithstanding the taxes of the former are only *eight times* as great as those of the latter. As for the personal property of England, it exceeds that of Ireland still in a much greater proportion, including many articles, which that country either has not at all, or in a proportion below all comparison with the superior country; such as plate, jewels, furniture, ships of war, merchant-ships, &c. &c. so that, at the lowest computation of the wealth of England by any political arithmetician, it will, I believe, be universally admitted, that the real and personal property of Great Britain united, are *sixteen times* as much as those of Ireland; and yet it pays but *eight times* as much. There is another method of comparing the wealth of the two countries, namely, by the *expences* of each individual. The expences of every inhabitant of Great Britain, from the king to the beggar, are estimated at 10*l.* *per* head. Those of Ireland do not exceed 2*l.* 10*s.*—Computing then Great Britain at eight millions of inhabitants, and Ireland at two, the consumption of the one

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is eighty millions, of the other only five; so that Great Britain spends (and consequently has) sixteen times as much as Ireland. Thus there results a reciprocal confirmation from the agreement of these two mediums of computation; each individual of England *having* four times as much as each person in Ireland, ought to *pay* four times as much; otherwise they are not taxed proportionably. But, as England pays only eight millions, whilst Ireland pays one, each person in England pays only twice as much as each person in Ireland, and consequently but half as much as he ought. And here I cannot avoid subjoining an observation on this subject, made by a person of the greatest eloquence and abilities: “ Bread and beer are the necessaries
“ of life in England, milk and salt the lux-
“ uries of Ireland; and it is their luxury,
“ and not their poverty, that disables the
“ people of England to bear more taxes;
“ for, if they would live but as the inhabi-
“ tants of Ireland, and reduce their annual
“ expence from 10*l.* to 2*l.* 10*s.* each, their
“ annual expence would decrease from
“ eighty millions to twenty; which would
“ make a saving of sixty millions each year.

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“ So that the whole national debt of England would be paid off, if the people would consent to live but *two years and a half*, as the people of Ireland are condemned to live *perhaps for ever*.”

These disproportions are amazing, yet they certainly subsist; and if it be in a great degree difficult for the people of England utterly to alter their manner of living, let them retrench, *in some degree*, or at least let them cease to call on frugality and indigence to supply, not their *wants*, but their *luxuries*. It may indeed be *irksome* to men to subtract any thing from superfluities, to which they have been accustomed, but to subtract from the necessaries of life is *impossible*. Frugality is a resource, which has not yet been tried in England—in Ireland it has been tried as far as it will go.

If lands in Ireland have of late risen in their value, it is in a great measure owing to the avidity of the landlord, and the parsimonious habits of the tenant, who pays the former the whole of the advance, and still reserves no more than existence to himself. Provisions too are growing very nearly as dear in Ireland, as in England; but in the latter, as this dearness proceeds from
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the plenty of money, in Ireland it is the consequence of the scarcity of provision.—For let a country be ever so fertile in itself, if it have not a resource against superfluity by foreign trade, it never will be able to supply itself;—and accordingly, with all its natural advantages, Ireland has always been obliged to import from other countries a great proportion of her *consumption* of Corn; and at this day, with all her boasted improvement, industry, and salutary laws, she is yet unable to feed her own inhabitants, but is obliged to send near 150,000 *l. per annum* out of the kingdom for different kinds of grain. And by a paper lately published by the Dublin society, it appears, that of two millions of money sent abroad, for foreign articles, one million is for commodities which Ireland might provide for itself. Is there not almost a rebellion in England when the people cannot easily get the best *white bread*?

How different is the case of Ireland! The tumults which lately were raised in that kingdom, were the irregular discontents of a desperate people, who, through the rapacity of *landlords*, and variety of extortion exercised by *dealers in tythes*, found it almost impossible by the hardest labour to procure

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potatoes.

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potatoes. This was downright rebellion!

The common people of England generally feed on wheaten bread, butter, cheese, bacon, and beer; whereas in Ireland, the northern people live on oaten bread and milk; those of the south and west universally on potatoes; to which scarcely any of them aspire to add milk, the *whole year round*, but really and truly (however improbable it may be to an Englishman) do frequently support themselves by nothing but *potatoes and water.*

The wages given throughout Ireland to labourers are as universal at *6d. per day*, as they are throughout England at a shilling. What is the reason of this difference? Is it that *6d.* in Ireland will produce as much as one shilling in England? that is impossible! For I have this moment the English and Irish News-papers before me; by which I find, that the medium price of meat and Corn is not much above one twentieth higher in England than in Ireland, and the commodities are certainly one twentieth better, which makes the prices in fact equal*. The
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* There is no particular in which the people of England are more mistaken, than in the prices at which they rate the several articles of Irish consumption; they think Ireland the
cheapest

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case is, the *English* labourer will not be satisfied unless he feeds on *white bread*, cheese, bacon, and beer, which he cannot do for much less than a shilling; whereas the *Irish* labourer is contented to subsist on potatoes and water, or esteems himself happy, if he can procure himself potatoes and milk; and all this he can do for six-pence. Thus the grievance

cheapest, whereas the fact is, that it is the most *frugal* country in Europe; the generality of things are *as cheap* in England, and very many are and must, from the nature of their trade and restrictions on the Irish commerce, be *much cheaper* than in Ireland; of which I shall mention such as occur to me, tho' I shall not be able in my catalogue to comprehend every article. Woollen-drapery almost of all kinds, iron, tin, copper, coals, hops, bark, earthen-ware, hard-ware, all kind of mechanical-tools, gold, silver, Brussels and all kind of laces, lamp-black, white and red lead, liquorice, saffron, sugars, tobacco, cotton, indigo, ginger, speckle-wood, Jamaica-wood, fustick, and other dying woods, rice, molasses, beaver-skins and other furs, pitch, tar, turpentine, tea, coffee, chocolate, sago, pepper, cloves, cinnamon, and all manner of spices, stamped and stained linens, madder, needles, linseed and train-oil, paper, pewter, toys, timber of several kinds, all manner of drugs both for manufacture and medicine, china-ware, porcelain-earth, pearls and all precious-stones, ivory, taffatees, and in short every thing which is brought either from the East or West-Indies; and finally, as to the great article of human subsistence Corn, let me observe, that there is no year in which a great quantity is not imported into Ireland from England, which would not be the case if Corn bore *in any great degree* an higher price in England; for tho' there is a bounty of five shillings *per quarter* paid on exportation of wheat, and so in proportion for other grains, yet hazard, freight, damage, insurance, commission and delay, are all such deductions from this bounty, that they would scarcely be at the trouble of exporting their Corn, to sell it at a price much lower than that which their own markets afford.

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grievance of England does not subsist in the *high price*, but the *high use* of provisions; and if the time shall ever come, in which the labouring man shall change his bread and cheese for roast-beef, there must then be an end of the trade of England; for no commodity can be merchantable, manufactured at the expence which that must induce. Thus the wants of England are artificial, or the effects of extravagance; the necessities of Ireland are natural, and proceed from meer poverty. — When Mr. Postlethwayt says, that labour is cheap in Ireland in consequence of the cheapness of provisions, he mistakes *the cause*; and when the people of England complain, that the price of provisions is exorbitant, they mean (as the author of the farmer's letters observes,) by *provisions* the *superfluities of life*. And the same excellent author has made an exact calculation of the expence at which a labouring man, his wife, and three children, can subsist *comfortably*, at the present price of things, provided he is industrious and lives as a labouring man ought. He is not allowed the *best wheaten bread*, nor does his wife drink tea, yet twice in the week he has meat made into a good soup, good bread, beer,

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beer, cheese, or rice milk at the worst. The whole expence of this oeconomy being deducted from their earnings, and allowing one pound for sickness or casualty, there remains a ballance at the end of the year to this family of 13*l.* 13*s.*

The extravagant manner in which the labouring people actually *do* live, reduces that ballance to 3*l.* 10*s.* It is not then the high price of provisions or taxes that really do render them oppressed: this they may see by turning their eyes to their neighbours the Dutch. With *them* the manufacturer must pay, if he will consume it, for such bread as the Englishman would eat, 3*d.* *per* pound; and for flesh-meat 9*d.* He pays *one third* of his earnings in taxes, and the Englishman not much above *one tenth*; yet the Dutchman's wages are only 14*d.* *per* day, which is at a medium about the price paid in England, and yet this frugal and industrious people manufacture the products of various countries, and under-sell them all, at their own markets.

In France, the taxes are peculiarly oppressive on the poor, yet labour is there three times as cheap as in England; and, on the other hand, we may see that Birmingham, notwith-

notwithstanding the high price of provisions, has not only rivalled Geneva, the most plentiful and frugal part of Europe, but has entirely taken from her the enamelled and lacquered trade, which she was in possession of. And as for Ireland, what an Englishman would call the necessaries of life, are within a very small degree as dear there as in England; yet as I before observed, the price of labour is but one half as high. But the author of *the State of the Nation* says, the people of Ireland may afford to make this annual contribution of 100,000*l.* because they do not pay *Land Tax, Malt Tax, House or Window Tax*, no duties on *Soap, Candles, Salt, or Leather.*

Good God! what matters it under what titles or denominations it is that money be raised on the people, if it be actually levied? There are abilities and disabilities to bear particular taxes peculiar to every country. A tax upon bread would be the most oppressive tax in England, upon potatoes in Ireland; the *Hearth-money* was discontinued in England soon after the Revolution, as a badge of subjection; and the extensive *Land Tax*, which this author recommends, is a judicious tax for *England*, but would be an oppres-

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five one in *Ireland.* Almost the whole lands of Ireland being in the hands of the Protestants, and two thirds of the inhabitants being Papists, a *Land Tax* so far as it operated would be, at least in the first instance, *partial*, and therefore *injurious*: For tho' I would not wish on account of religious differences to subject men to any severities, I would not, on the other hand, confer immunities on nonconformity, or give two thirds of the community an exemption from a tax, to lay a penalty as it were on the established religion. The sum raised on the people of Ireland is one million; on England eight millions. As the consumption of England and Ireland is different, the object of their respective taxes must be different.—The revenues in England are raised by *Customs, Excise, Land Tax, Malt Tax, Window, Stamp, Salt, Candle, Leather Duties, &c.* In Ireland by *Customs, Excise, Quit, Crown and Composition Rents, Hearth-money, Ale and Wine Licences, Casual Revenues, &c. &c.*

The question is on the *sum raised*; the means must always differ according to the circumstances of the country:—otherwise Ireland might retort the argument of this author and say, “ the people of England can

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“ bear

“ bear still more taxes, because they do not
“ pay Hearth-money, or Quit-rent”*.

Let us however make a close examination into the reality of those exemptions from taxation, which have been attributed to Ireland.—And first as to the *Land Tax*.

This tax, when it is stated at three shillings to the pound, does not at an equal and exact assessment exceed † one shilling in the pound, on every acre of land in England; in Scotland not three-pence in the pound. Ireland, it is true, does not pay a *Land Tax*, at least under that denomination, but it pays a *Quit Rent* of above 2d. $\frac{1}{2}$ per acre. Now allowing throughout the kingdom three acres to the value of a pound annual, which every one who knows the country knows is as little as can be allowed, there is an ac-

* The author of the Present State of the Nation says, “ the net produce of the public revenues of Ireland in 1766, arose altogether from Port-duties or Customs, an Inland duty or Excise upon Beer, Ale, or strong Waters, made for sale, and a tax upon Fire-Hearths”. Was it by accident that this author, who seems so intimately acquainted with the state of Ireland, has omitted to mention in his recital of Irish Taxes, *Quit-Rents, Crown-Rents, Composition-Rents, Port-Corn-Rents, Wine-Licences, Ale-Licences, Cyder-Licences, Cyder-Excise, duties on Hawkers and Pedlars, on Cards, and Dice, on Coaches and other Carriages, prizage of Wines, Light-house-duties, Casual-revenue, &c. &c. &c.*

† If the rental of England be 30,000,000 l. one shilling in the pound is 1,500,000, which is the exact amount of the *Land-Tax* when stated at three shillings in the pound.

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tual Land Tax of 7d. $\frac{1}{2}$ in the pound; which is not so very much inferior to what England really pays, and almost three times as much as Scotland pays. But without having been at the trouble of mentioning a corresponding imposition, or concealed *Land Tax*, I might have stated the prohibitions of Irish trade as a *series of Land Taxes*, as so many discouragements to cultivation, which alone makes land valuable, and actual deductions from the value of whatever the land does produce. Is it to be imagined, that so little as 3s. in the pound is deducted from the landed property of Ireland, by depriving it of the market of *universal commerce*? Would not an Irish farmer readily advance his rent 3s. in the pound to his landlord, if he could in return give him every market in the world open to what he has to dispose of? He certainly would. But the case is in Ireland, that home consumption being in the general the ultimate resource, superfluity is the terror and the scourge of the farmers; and the consequence of *universal plenty*, may be with them *universal poverty*. Let us only consider, so far as the tillage lands of England extend (which are twenty millions of acres) what a repeat or indemnification of the *Land Tax* is the

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liberal

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liberal bounty on exportation of Corn. Whilst wheat even bears an advantageous price to the farmer until it be 48*s.* *per* quarter, there is a bounty paid of no less than 5*s.* on exportation of a quarter, which is not above 32 stone: so that when the year is so plentiful as to produce six of those quarters *per* acre, there will be a bounty received of thirty shillings on the produce of each acre of wheat. This law not only gives this great bounty to corn lands, but must, if not defeated by mismanagement, convert all the lands of England into such.—There is an humble imitation of this law in Ireland, but it is utterly ineffectual; the bounty not taking place until wheat be of so low a price as 30*s.* *per* quarter, which quarter consists of forty stone. If that plenty should ever happen, the bounty to be paid on exportation is only 3*s.* 4*d.* for every 40 stones of wheat, which is little more than half the bounty England would pay at the same time. This law therefore never has been, nor probably ever shall be executed in Ireland.—I do however think, that much acknowledgment is due to those who procured that law, tho' at present inoperative, as it is founded in the best

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best principles of cultivation, and may be the object of future improvement*.

It is true, that for these two or three years past, artifice, or the terrors of imaginary want, have frequently suspended the operation of those admirable bounties, by utterly prohibiting the exportation of grain.—But these are temporary cautions, the wisdom of which is controvertible; or rather (if I were to speak my opinion) the absurdity of which is incontrovertible; for nothing will produce uniform *plenty*, but uniform *demand*; and farmers will by degrees cease to till the ground, if they find they are not at any event to derive from foreign necessities indemnifications of their several losses by bad harvests. Besides, there is not any manufacture so profitable to the nation as agriculture; it is, as Montesquieu calls it, “a manufacture which must be established before any other can.” And it appears, that in five years from 1745 to 1750, there was exported out of England corn to the amount of 7,405,786*l.* so that I am entirely convinced that the exportation of corn, under the bounty, if it were not so frequently to yield to the impa-

* That law was passed when the Earl of Hertford was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

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tience and ill policy of the populace, would be more advantageous to England, than almost all the other trade of that country, their superior skill and superior encouragement, join'd to the regularity of their seasons, would enable them to supply several countries with grain cheaper than they could raise it themselves, and fifteen millions of uncultivated acres would be improved and enclosed; population would encrease in a great degree, and the people would be employed in the manufacture of a commodity, every article and rudiment of which is British;—the immense demand would produce plenty, and the prices at home would be lower than they are at this moment, tho' the exportation of corn is prohibited. And the truth of this assertion is proved by a view of the Windsor table of grain, by which it appears, that notwithstanding the universal advance in the value of all other things, yet wheat has been cheaper for these last 75 years than it was before; and the price had been regularly rising before the bounty was granted, and has as regularly been on the decline ever since. If this be not a proof, there is no certainty in nature.

In short, if, upon the failure of any foreign harvest, there is regularly to be a prohi-

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hibition at the English market, every country will be under a necessity at all events of applying themselves to agriculture for their own existence, as they can no longer hope to be supplied in their scarcity from England. But what I have endeavoured to urge on this occasion is not, it seems, the fashionable doctrine at present. If a few drunken artificers in London cannot procure by the labour of *three days*, as much of the *best wheaten bread* as they can consume in *six*, they are *up in rebellion*; and then must be bribed by a short-sighted administration into peace by *an embargo*; the natural fruits of which are *future wants* and *future rebellions*. In short, it is now the policy to sacrifice the farmer to the mechanick, which must end in the ruin of both; for it is laid down by a judicious writer as an invariable maxim, “that whatever
“encreases the *sale* of a production, encreases
“the *quantity* of it; and therefore if you
“would have the bread cheap for your ma-
“nufacturer, you must suffer the exporta-
“tion of corn to be certain and unobstruc-
“ted.” I shall, in addition to this, only remind England, that she formerly supplied Sweden with corn, but that this supply became so precarious from wanton prohibitions,
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that self-preservation forced them into agriculture, and at present not one ship-load of corn goes from England to Sweden. And here I cannot but lament the *present prohibition*, which in its operation extends to Ireland as well as England, and that to its great injury. In short, the continent are told, once for all, “ You must apply yourselves “ to agriculture, for you shall see, that “ whenever you are in scarcity, we shall “ stop our ports, let our plenty be what it “ may. You must either follow the example of the Swedes, and at all events raise “ corn for yourselves, or apply yourselves to “ some other market, more regular and rational”. The consequence to England will be, that foreigners must do so. England will lose this most valuable of all her branches of trade; and when corn is no longer to be exported as a *commodity*, it will not be to be found as a *necessary*. And the peculiar misfortune of Ireland is, that tho’ she is now possessed of more grain than ever she had before, yet the English redundance will, for the sake of the bounty, and convenience of navigation, be sent to Ireland in great quantities, to the destruction of their farmers and agriculture. And this is not mere sur-

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mise. I have this moment a letter in my possession, from the most eminent corn merchant in Ireland, informing me, that great cargoes of corn are daily expected from England.

The next tax under consideration, from which Ireland is exempted, is the *Window-tax*. But let it be remembered, that Ireland pays *Hearth-money*, a tax more oppressive, and on a more indispensable necessary, and one which, in proportion to the circumstances of the two kingdoms, is of much greater amount.

They have not a *stamp duty* in Ireland; yet even that I cannot say they are *totally* exempted from, as the ultimate decision of all law proceedings has been transferred to England; and great is the tax which Ireland pays in defraying the various expences of solicitation, and attendance on appeals and writs of error in England: and whatever proportion of this English tax necessarily falls on the subjects of Ireland, is an addition to the taxation of Ireland, and a deduction from the taxation of England.

In short, whether the taxes of Ireland be considered collectively or in detail, they will be found heavier than those in Eng-

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land; for however people disagree, as to the minute materials of calculation, yet it must be admitted, that Ireland pays *one eighth* of the sum that England pays, and it is impossible to doubt, that England is *ten* times as rich. These are two facts, upon which there can be no difference of opinion, and the conclusion is certain and obvious. Let me likewise add, that the taxes are particularly oppressive in Ireland, because they are paid by about *one fourth* of the community, three fourths living without the use almost of any one taxable article, for potatoes are not yet excised; and hearth-money and tobacco duties are the only taxes to which they can be liable: whereas the taxes in England are not only in *quantity* lighter, but in *equality* more imperceptible. We must, however, acknowledge, that the proposition, which this author makes to Ireland, is conceived in terms of liberality, and, I really believe, with fair intentions towards that kingdom: but he argues from a remote view of a country under circumstances of depression, which are inconceivable to him; and the advantageous enlargement of commerce, which he would confer on Ireland, both justice
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and policy require that she should possess, merely to enable her to support her present contribution. But when she is already strained beyond her strength, when England, with all her complaints, is *diminishing* her national debt, and Ireland *increasing* hers; when the former is mending, tho' slowly, in her circumstances, and the latter not slowly growing worse, even in a time of peace, of laying up, or at least of recovering, it would be somewhat hard to expect that she should purchase, by a *certain* incumbrance, a *probable* alleviation; and for a precarious rivalship with France in the woollen trade, or some such commercial lottery, send away so great a proportion (even one fifth) of the current cash of the kingdom, over and above the immense sums already remitted to England from that country.

Ireland is an Island, which may certainly boast of natural advantages, but they have hitherto been generally either unimproved or unemployed; with fine harbours, but little commerce, and a fruitful soil, but little assisted as yet by cultivation. It contains about eleven millions of Irish plantation acres; not above two thirds of which are

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inhabited, and not one half under any reasonable degree of cultivation, which is evident, from its never yet having been able to produce corn nearly equal to the consumption of a country, which has the fewest inhabitants, and those too a people who consume less than any people perhaps in the world; taxed in a greater proportion than Britain, with a great majority of its inhabitants too miserable from their poverty to contribute to the supplies, and about two thirds debarred by religious policy, from almost every opportunity of contributing to the wealth, or strength of the country. Who, because they are not supposed to be attached to the government by *principle*, are not to be bound to it by *interest*; and by the evil construction of well designed laws, are not suffered to deposit with the state, even *hostages for their loyalty*.—Who are not allowed either incitements to industry, or pledges of fidelity, by being precluded from enjoying security for their money, or any valuable possession in their land.—Who are kept by the laws in a state of preparation for revolt, with their properties as transferable as their persons, without *hazard, attachment or obligation* to restrain them; in short, with-

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without any interest in the public preservation.

There is one branch of trade, which Ireland enjoys in a very perfect degree, that is the *linen manufacture*. This is infinitely advantageous to Ireland, and, let me add, highly so to England too; for the money she sends thither for linens only takes a progress speedily to return again; whereas the money sent to purchase foreign linens never returns. This I do admit to be a valuable branch of trade; however, the utmost attention of the legislature of that country has not been able to extend it, in any degree of consideration, beyond one of the four provinces, and it seems impossible in the nature of things that it should be made universal in that kingdom.—And when we examine the Custom-house entries, we are much deceived as to the value of the exportations under this head.—As linen pays no duty, ostentation and exaggeration of capital induce the merchant to make his entry greater than his exportation. And still this manufacture is of so narrow extent, and bears so small a proportion to the demands of England, that over and above what she imports from Ireland, (which is

is valued at 500,000*l. per annum*,) she imports *Flax, linen, thread, lace, cambrick, lawn, and linen*, from Ruffia, Silefia, Switzerland, Hambourgh and Bremen, to the annual amount of a million and a half. It is however a flourishing and advantageous branch of commerce, so far as it extends; but it is, as I before observed, almost entirely confined to one fourth part of the kingdom.—The sole commerce almost of the other three parts, is the *victualling trade*.—As that country is circumstanced and restrained, this trade is certainly profitable; it brings a good deal of money into the south of Ireland, and is certainly better than no trade at all, or the live-cattle trade; and at present there is no other trade for which to commute it; therefore it is an object of Irish regard.—I must however say (tho' I combat local advantages and private partialities) that of all kinds of trade it is the least advantageous; it operates against population and tillage, which are particularly defective in that island; for half the country is really inhabited only by cattle; and a great majority of those who inhabit the remainder, live in extreme poverty, and are obliged to other countries for a great propor-

proportion of their corn. Thus they export those commodities which employ the fewest hands to prepare, such as Beef, Pork, Butter, Hide, and Tallow; and they import Corn, which of all commodities employs the greatest number of hands.—A ruinous exchange!—I do not say, that the exportation of Corn is always prohibited in Ireland, or that the importation is enjoined; but the great bounty in England in so great a proportion exceeds that of Ireland, that whenever exportation is allowed, England must undersell Ireland, not alone in foreign markets; but as the great and populous towns in Ireland lie on the eastern and southern sea coasts, the convenience of navigation and greatness of the bounty enable England to undersell Ireland in Corn at *her own markets*.

Having examined the great objects on which the commerce of Ireland *can* be employed, let us enquire into the objects upon which it *cannot* be exercised; and that appears from a review of the several restrictions which have from time to time been imposed upon it *by the English parliament*.—By the English statute of the 15th of Ch. II. no production of Europe is to be exported

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ted to the Colonies, unless the same be shipped in England, Wales, or Berwick on Tweed, except salt for New Foundland, wine from Madeiras and Azores; from Scotland and Ireland provisions, servants, and horses.—This act was amended, in favour of Ireland, by the act of 3d and 4th of Q. Anne, by which that kingdom was allowed to send white or grey linen cloth *directly* to the plantations.

By the 7 and 8th of King William, “no plantation goods can be landed in Ireland, unless first landed in England”.

By the 10 and 11 of W. III. no manufactured wool is to be exported from Ireland, nor wool, under an heavy time, unless to England.

By the 7th of Geo. I. no commodity, the produce of the East Indies, is to be imported into Ireland, but from England.

An act was passed in the 4th of Geo. I. in some little degree of alleviation of the 7th and 8th of King William; by which Ireland is permitted to import *directly* from the plantations any goods, not *particularly enumerated*.—But I cannot avoid mentioning the articles exempted by name from this indulgence. “Sugars, tobacco, cotton, wool,

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“wool, indigo, ginger, speckle, and Jamaica wood, fustick, or other dyeing-wood, rice, molasses, beaver-skins, and other furs, copper-ore, pitch, tar, turpentine, masts, yards, bowsprits”. They are not by another act to import from thence “hops” and by another to export “glass or silk”, &c.

Does this great indulgence amount to much more than this! “The former act said, Ireland shall import *nothing*; this act permits her to import *everything* from the Colonies, except what the Colonies have to export of *any value*”. For really after the before-mentioned exceptions the plantations do not produce any thing of very great value except *Corn* and *timber*; the first whereof is imported to the discouragement of agriculture, and the second is better imported from Norway; beside some denominations of that are prohibited.

It appears then, from a review of these laws, that the only trade of any degree of consideration which is to support the million annually raised by taxes, and the several drains and incumbrances which I shall hereafter in part mention, is the *linen Manufacture*, which only extends to one fourth

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of

of the kingdom—and the *Victualling trade* chargeable with the objections I before made to it.

What the profits of this trade, are to the kingdom, let us in the next place enquire.

Upon examining the Custom-house books it appears, that the value of the exports of Ireland for the year ending Lady-day 1767 (a remarkable year of exportation) amount to,

	2,842,599
Imports for the same time,	2,147,079
Ballance that year in favour of Ireland,	£. 695,520

But on a medium of six years last past by the most accurate calculation, the ballance in favour of that country amounts only to, 485,925 l.

I will however state the ballance of trade one year with another at 500,000 l. as for the illicit trade, whatever it may be, it is all against the kingdom, except the wool smuggled to France, which is a pernicious trade, and some camblets, serges and coarse stuffs run from the west of Ireland to Portugal, But the latter have for some time been reduced to so small a quantity, as scarcely to deserve consideration; and the whole

whole of those exportations are far from being equal to counterballance the illicit importations of *tea, spirits, tobacco* and such like. Let the ballance then stand at 500,000 l. which is above 14,000 l. higher than it appears on the books; and consider on the other hand, what various deductions, and ruinous drains are operating against this trade of 500,000 l *per annum* value. Every article, as I before observed, that the East Indies or America produce, must be purchased in England; and all the profits of commerce, freight, insurance, and several exaggerations of value, are added to them when the Irish purchase them. Whatever they buy, they buy at the dearest rate; and they have nothing to sell (linen excepted) but the simple, native commodities of beef, pork, hide, tallow, and butter—*simple commodities* I call them, for the operations they undergo to prepare them for exportation, do not deserve the name of manufacture.

It has been observed in "*the State of the Nation*", that fifty two millions of the national debt of England are due to foreigners, so that the interest, being 1,500,000 l. annually remitted to the several creditors, must

be deducted from the *ballance of trade*.—
This is very true!

Let us then examine similar deductions from the small ballance of Irish trade.

A pamphlet has lately been published in Ireland under the direction of the Dublin society, specifying each particular person and article from whence the general conclusion is drawn—by which it appears, that the sums remitted annually to England out of the Irish estates of persons who live there, amount to

	£ 381,900
Out of the pension list, the whole of which amounts to 91,207 l. }	70,275
From places and employments,	143,000
Travelling expences of merchants and traders, who annually go to England to buy and sell va- rious commodities, }	8,000
Education and inns of court,	35,000
Law-suits and solicitation,	19,000
Military contributions of several denominations as therein par- ticularly specified, }	142,207
Adventures to America,	40,000
Insurance of ships,	30,000
	£. 869,382

if

If we were to attempt deducting this sum from the ballance of trade, we should not only annihilate this ballance, but create one against that country of 369,382 l. *per annum*.

In Mr. Prior's publication, about thirty years ago, he stated his absentee list at 621,000 l. *per annum*.

But I shall be contented to avoid all possible controversy with the authority of Mr. Postlethwayt, one of the greatest names in commerce, who cannot be supposed a very partial advocate for Ireland; who only spoke from what he knew, but who could not possibly know all. He, in his dissertations on the British commerce, states the expence of *Absentees, Pensions, Employments, and Troops abroad*, at 486,000 l. *per annum* against Ireland. Even if this were the amount of that charge, which it certainly is not, deduct it from the ballance of 500,000 l. and it reduces the real national ballance to 14,000 l. *per annum*. Thus I am contented to state the ballance as high as possible; and contrary to the testimony of their own evidence to take the authority of an English writer. When the author of the *State of the Nation* has considered the several materials

terials that I have laid before him, he will, I am convinced, have candour enough to confess, that there is not a country in Europe, so unimproved and unpeopled—of so small a capital and limited a commerce, which is so heavily taxed as the kingdom of Ireland;—and that it is a matter of astonishment how she contributes *as much* as she does, rather than of reproach that she does not contribute *more*; especially, as half of the cash of Ireland is brought up to the metropolis, and there spent in *foreign* luxuries, upon *foreign* guests; who are thereby taught to conceive an erroneous opinion of the condition of Ireland; and imagine the magnificence and plenty of Dublin extend themselves over the whole country. But they are mistaken—the splendor of the city is not so much the *sign of Wealth*, as the *cause of poverty*: and this must be obvious, not only to every man who has travelled through the country, but who has been at the trouble of making calculations on the commerce, manufactures, and population of it.

However, under all these disadvantages, a national loyalty, and fortunate situation have rendered Ireland a more profitable appendage

pendage to the British monarchy, than Gaul, and Spain, and Germany united were to Rome, when they were provinces of that Empire.—The situation of Ireland is such, that whatever defence England affords her is eventual, and consequential to her defending herself; there are no ships of war regularly stationed in her ports, nor fleets cruising along her coasts; nor is England at any extraordinary expence in the protection of that kingdom. And tho' Ireland derives a security from the alliance, it costs the country that confers it nothing, and is recompenced and requited by ten thousand advantages to England.—Her internal defence (such as it is) composed of an *army of officers*, is supported at her own expence; *the modification of it* is the work of English councils, and every body knows it is the weakest imaginable; the payment belongs to Ireland, and that is exorbitant. But besides this, she furnishes six entire regiments, and pays them for the protection of those very colonies with which she is scarcely permitted to trade; and remits the money for their pay regularly to London. The civil contributions of that country are very considerable. The representative of the

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the king is maintained there in great splendor, propagating the influence, and encreasing the dependancies of British authority; all at the national expence. And above two thirds of the sums granted for the civil list are remitted to England under different heads. For the support of the Royal Family, in pensions of all denominations, and salaries to absent place-men, of which there are not a few. Add to this, that Ireland is not only a nursery but a college of soldiers for England; from whence they relieve their garrisons by entire regiments, and replenish their army by perpetual drafting. But this is not all. From the laws I have recited, all that the East and West produce must be bought at London market, so that two thirds of the *whole* imports of Ireland, are from England; and the currents which carry money from Ireland to England are so powerful and uniform, that not so little as one third of their acquisitions, be they great or small, must ultimately center in England: and it is very remarkable, that the actual current cash of Ireland (which independent of paper, does not very much exceed 500,000 *l.*) was of as great amount soon after the revolution, as it is at present.

Another

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Another important article is, the accession to the British navigation, which results from Ireland. Mr. Postlethwayt, who made his calculation some years ago, computes that the tonnage of ships employed in the Irish trade was 286,594, of which so great a proportion were English and Scotch, as 236,634; Irish only 33,312. And the same author not only asserts but proves, that from the revolution to this day England has not profited by Ireland in a less annual sum than *a million and a half*; and it must be remembered, that the "*State of the Nation*" proves, the whole ballance of trade in favour of England to be no more than *two millions and a half*.

Beside these several pecuniary advantages, the patronage of promotions, ecclesiastical and civil in that country, is in a great proportion applied to English purposes; as appears from a review of the present occupancy of some of their principal offices.

The heads of the *Church, the State, the Army, and the Law*, in that kingdom have for a course of years been of another country; of the 22 right reverend Prelates, the natives only furnish seven; and their connections must necessarily direct several of the

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benefices in their disposal into foreign channels—of the seven chief judicial offices, two only are occupied by Irishmen — of the forty two regiments on the establishment, seven only are commanded by Irishmen. Of the fourteen great officers on the staff, five only are of that country ; and beside all this, several of the principal employments are granted in reversion, *out of the Kingdom*. So that wheresoever you turn your eyes, or direct your observation, you find Ireland administering to the advantage of England. When we have summed up the catalogue of benefits (many of which I have omitted) how different do we find the present from the antient relative situation of Ireland to England ! At a time in which Ireland could scarcely make any one return, it was thought worth while to send over great sums from England for the preservation of that kingdom to the British empire. In the reign of Henry VI. Richard Duke of York was sent Lord Lieutenant to Ireland ; we have the conditions transmitted down to us on which he would accept that government : they are as follow.

“ That he should be Lord Lieutenant for
“ ten years, and have the whole revenues
at

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“ at his disposal without account. That
“ he should likewise receive *out of England*
“ 4000 marks the first year, and 2000 e-
“ very year after. That he might let or
“ farm any of the King's places ; levy
“ what men he pleased, and appoint his
“ own deputy.”

In the reign of Edward III. Sir William Windsor Lord Lieutenant engaged and indented with the King to govern Ireland for 11,213*l.* 6*s.* and 8*d.* *per annum* ; and Sir John Davis observes, that Queen Elizabeth sent over to Ireland for the suppression of the three great rebellions of O Neal, Desmond, and Tyrone, a million of money. It is likewise certain, that Lord Strafford was the first, who attempted to support the government of Ireland, without being a charge to England. Can it be imagined, that those expences were sustained thro' knight-errantry, or from proximity, or any relation of that nature ? By no means ! England could not justify it, nor was Ireland intitled to it. It was on principles of sound policy, and national advantage.

If Ireland then in times of barbarism was thought of such moment to the British monarchy, what care and cultivation is she at

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this day intitled to, in consideration of the infinite benefits she confers on England? I am aware that it may be said (for indeed any thing may be said) that in reciting the great expences England has formerly incurred for the preservation of Ireland, I have established to England a just title of indemnification from Ireland. If that were really the case, has she not had already an indemnification ample beyond the utmost extent of her hopes? Could she have formed an imagination that her efforts should have been rewarded by a million and a half of money every year, and the enjoyment of the benefits which I have before recited, without interruption for almost a century? It would be ridiculous to call this *only* indemnification. But the fact is, that from the situation of Ireland, it was worth to England the application of all her powers, to annex it to her empire; for as it has been observed by the judicious Sir Francis Brewster in his essays on trade, “ since Ireland is above water, England cannot be safe, if that kingdom should be in any hands but her own”. And therefore the Kings of England, who are likewise Kings of Ireland, without having the least idea of

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of the immense commercial and pecuniary advantages which have since resulted to them, must have used their utmost endeavours to preserve the connexion and co-operation of Ireland.

No title then can be founded in those several expences which England has incurred for that purpose, except only that of obedience to the mutual sovereign, for which they on the other hand are intitled to protection, and liberty. And let me further observe, that the defence of Hanover *in the last war*, cost England *more*, than the protection of Ireland has done for almost an *hundred years*; and yet in that time Ireland has conferred on England not less than an hundred millions of money. It has not however been proposed, that Hanover should make a contribution to the British Establishment. I do not talk of obligations * between countries; they are often

* When the people of Ireland speak on the subject of obligations, they state them thus.—“ When England received nothing from Ireland except the allegiance of her inhabitants, she expended her treasure, and her blood, to secure that allegiance to herself, and to protect her from her enemies; and in doing so, she acted according both to policy and justice; for by retaining the dominion of Ireland, she purchased her own strength and her own security; and by protecting her, she but paid a debt which she owed; protection being always *due*, where allegiance is *paid*. In protecting Ireland she cannot be said actually to have conferred an obligation upon her, supposing even that protection to be the most

ten chimerical, and almost always transitory. Nations of their own free will seldom

most expensive, and the most vigilant; for as Ireland neither makes war for her own account, nor peace for her own advantage, but follows the fortunes of England without partaking of her councils, so it is just that Ireland should be protected in a danger to which for the sake of England she is exposed. And as Ireland by the allegiance which she pays is exposed to injury, if she has not a right to indemnification and reward, she has at least a right to be protected." It may be objected, "If Ireland were separate from England would she not be exposed to injury—would she not have wars upon her own account?" The answer is obvious, "then they would be upon her own account". If we engage in a contest at our own discretion, and for our own advantage, we have no right to the protection of others. But if we engage for the sake and at the pleasure of another person, that person should protect us from injury, to the utmost of his powers. Therefore the national allegiance of Ireland may be stated as an equivalent for the national protection of England. And to prove that it is an equivalent, we have great authorities in our favour—the policy of the whole world and of all ages: even France pays the establishment of her colonies, and Rome protected, not only her provinces, but every nation that bore the name of *ally to the Romans*. Let us now consider what Ireland gives to England, besides her allegiance; and what England gives to Ireland, besides her protection.

First then Ireland has a large demand against England on this account, that she pays the principal expence of her own protection—she pays the army that is to defend her; she even pays a part of the army that protects the dominions of England; and exhibits the first instance that is to be found in the annals of mankind from the beginning of history to this day, of a dependant nation giving protection, instead of receiving it. Let us then consider the advantages which England receives from the application of the Irish revenue, from pensions, employments, &c. Let us consider her profits by the restrictions of the trade, and the abridgment of the natural rights of Ireland; or rather let us compute what Ireland suffers, than what England gains by them: for the charge against a person who deprives us of any thing, is to be rated not at the amount of his gains, but of our losses; and if, added to this, any injuries have been done to our liberty and our constitution, at what shall we estimate them?

Of

dom do any thing but for their own advantage. The contributions of Ireland to England,

land,
Of all these articles the ballance due to Ireland is composed; for we do not take into our estimate the blood which she has expended, the loss of all the rights of sovereignty, the absentees which drain her of her riches; all these are the fair and natural consequences of her national allegiance to England; and if England gives her perfect protection in return, we esteem them to have been paid for. But on the other hand, if at any time England has given her no protection whatsoever, but what the security of her own coasts required, the blocking up the harbours of the enemy, and the intercepting fleets of uncertain destination. If England not only did not provide for the internal defence of Ireland, but when she had provided for it at her own expence, has deprived her of a part of her defenders.—If even when invasion was threatened, she has applied the army of Ireland to the defence of other territories, not either equal in their importance, nor exposed to equal danger.—If this has been the case, it must certainly be taken into the account, in stating the national ballance.

What on the other hand has England to counterballance this demand? "She has permitted Ireland to adopt her laws and constitution. But it would be absurd to state this an obligation: had Ireland no connection with England, she might have done so. Any nation may imitate the constitution of England, that purchases a correct edition of her statutes, and chuses to adopt them. To suffer a nation to adopt our laws is no benefit, but to prevent their doing so if they please would be an injury. But the king of England made a charter of a compact with Ireland conferring freedom, and therefore advantageous. He was king of Ireland as well as of England; but state it as you please, in that compact the interest of England was consulted at least as much as that of Ireland: but being a compact, whilst it is observed on both sides, nothing is due by either; but if England at any time has invaded that freedom, she is then the debtor of Ireland. Thus much for the benefits which England has conferred. If she protected to the utmost of her power, she has received an equivalent in the allegiance of Ireland, and a large account remains yet unballanced. But if she has omitted to do so, we shall find nothing but an imperfect protection where a perfect one was due, and a compact conferring a free constitution, which compact has frequently been violated,

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land, I will suppose consequential to their reciprocal relations, and in many instances more the fruits of circumstance than of liberality: the protection England affords in return costs her *little*, and is in a great degree the result of protecting herself. *Mutual advantage* is the union of nations. And private communication the bond of affection. These in the nature of things are the only relations that can be permanent between bodies of men. And thus may Great Britain and Ireland be to the latest times united, by the indissoluble ties of general interest, and a constant communication of good offices: and he deserves to be esteemed an enemy to both, who should attempt to weaken that constitutional dependance subsisting between them. Whatever may be the original and incontrovertible rights of Ireland as a kingdom, she, with the other appendages of Britain, yields to the circumstances of the times, and complication of the British Empire; by which it has *in some measure* become necessary, that “ a

ted. But let this be forgotten, Ireland feels no resentment, demands no recompence; she acknowledges as much dependance as is consistent with liberty; but with such a ballance in her favour, she has at least a title to use the words of a poor French nobleman to his monarch, “ All that a poor subject *asks* of your Majesty is—that your majesty would *ask nothing* of him. Or to be still more moderate, she makes this request, “ do not do me an injury, when by doing so, you do yourselves no service.”

“ general

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“ general superintending power should be
 “ somewhere deposited, for the arbitration
 “ of commerce, and for directing, restrain-
 “ ing, and regulating the *external* relations
 “ between the different members of the em-
 “ pire.” This power cannot reside any
 where with such propriety, as in the British
 legislature. It is indeed a great power! Tho’
 it cannot abridge the *internal* liberty of a sin-
 gle man, it can restrain the external opera-
 tions of whole kingdoms, and if it were to
 be exercised to the utmost extent, would in
 many instances effect the purposes even of
internal coercion. The legislature of Great
 Britain will I dare say make a prudent, and
 just use of it; in former times they did not.
 It is most true that their first and greatest ob-
 ject should be, the commerce of the *princi-
 pal country*; and no trade should be permit-
 ted to any part of his Majesty’s dominions,
 injurious to England: but where they have
 prohibited the trade of a *whole nation* for the
 partial benefit of a *particular county, town or
 village*, they have been unwise, and unjust.
 Of the laws that I have recited relative to the
 Irish trade, several have been framed in this
 principle. There was a law passed formerly

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in England, prohibiting the exportation of live-cattle from Ireland, lest that trade should interfere with some breeding farms in the west of England. This law turned out (contrary to the intentions of those who made it) advantageous to Ireland: the consequence was, that immediately the breeding-lands were converted into sheep walks, and wool was cultivated. England then, pursuing the progress that she had begun, prohibited the exportation of that *wool manufactured*, or the *wool itself*, unless to England. The result of which has been, that Ireland being deprived of the woollen-trade, and a competition arising in that branch between France and England, by the establishment of a great manufacture at Abbeyville, the frugality of France has enabled her to give an higher price for Irish wool than England can, and yet undersell her at foreign markets. It cannot then be doubted that Ireland, unable to manufacture her own wool, would sell it to the *highest bidder*; and accordingly they have smuggled into France every year so considerable a quantity as 25,250 stons, which have enabled France to work up 78,750 stons of

wool;

wool; for *one* third of our wool is necessary to the working up two thirds of theirs.

In short the fact is at this day, that the convenience of getting wool from Ireland (which no law can prevent) and the cheapness of labour in France, have concurred entirely to deprive England of a most valuable part of the woollen trade; yet still, to use the words of Mr. Postlethwayt, “ this fear, or rather infatuation
 “ in regard to the value of our lands, makes
 “ us persist in a prohibition, that not only
 “ injures the Irish and ruins ourselves, but
 “ enriches and aggrandizes the French;
 “ for as the case stands, Ireland or France
 “ must have the woollen manufacture.

The same policy takes place with regard to molasses and sugar. Ireland cannot import them from the plantations *directly*, but must first enter them in England; wherefore the Irish, to avoid the costs, danger, and loss of time of two voyages, sail directly to the French ports, and furnish themselves with their brandies and sugars, without attempting to meddle with the produce of the British plantations, and this to the amount of a sum, which, so long ago as Sir Matt. Dicker's time, was 150,000*l.* per

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annum.

annum. All this being the worst *policy* imaginable, why is it not altered, if it were only for the sake of England? Ireland desires no advantage *over England* in commerce, but *over France*; and is she to pay England a stipend for obtaining that?

Would it be reasonable of England to say to Ireland, “ The French, our natural enemies and rivals in trade, have, from the cheapness of their labour, beat us out of the woollen trade. You, from your frugality and industry, are certainly, on the other hand, able to undersell them; to withhold from them the material by which they work, and finally to wrest this trade out of their hands. However, notwithstanding that whatever you acquire would be an acquisition *from the enemy*, and an addition to the wealth and navigation of the British empire; and a great proportion of it must immediately center in England; though we have, to all intents and purposes, lost this trade ourselves,—in short, though retaking this prize from France would be to the last degree advantageous to us, yet you shall not be permitted to do so, unless you

“ pay

“ pay us, in return, a large sum of money yearly for it.” Can any thing be imagined more absurd, or more unjust? No power has a right to impose a prohibition, except for the good *of the whole*; what can we say then of that prohibition, which does an injury to ourselves and our friends, to do a benefit to our enemies? Yet such is the inference on *The State of the Nation*, and such is the policy of England on this subject.

But whilst it is an incontrovertible fact, that withdrawing the prohibition on certain woollen manufactures from Ireland would be injurious to France, and therefore advantageous to England, it is not a matter instantly to be determined, in what course of time Ireland should so far profit by this trade, as to be able to pay out of the kingdom any thing near 100,000*l. per annum* for it; for, though this is not the sole, yet, as it is the principal object of commercial indulgence proposed by this author, as an indemnification for this annual contribution, I shall make it a principal object of my examination. And here let me observe, that all that France would *lose*, Ireland would

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not gain. Suppose the wool heretofore exported to France amounted, as has been said, to 26,250 stone. If this were manufactured in Ireland, Ireland would gain the manufacture of 26,250 stone of wool. But it must be remembered, that France would thereby lose the manufacturing of 78,750 stone; for France cannot work without one third mixture of ours. By this it is evident, that France would lose exactly three times as much as Ireland would gain, which is at least as much the concern of England as Ireland; or, if the French were after this to manufacture, they must purchase their wool at so high a price, that England might reassume a share of this trade. Every circumstance in the laws and policy of Ireland has, for some years, tended to diminish the quantity of wool in that kingdom. The propagation of the linen manufacture, the several laws for encouragement of tillage, and the great profits of the Victualing trade, have all had so great an operation, that above one third of the quantity is diminished since the year 1711. To which must be added the increase of people; which, estimating them as the author
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of "*Dissertations on the British commerce*" has done, only at 1,666,000, the quantity of manufactured wool necessary for their cloaths, furniture, and burials, would amount, according to that author, to 1,061,250 *l. per annum*. Now this author says, that if Ireland were to manufacture *fully* every stone of wool over and above that employed in their own consumption, and not send, as they now do, yarn or worsted to England, it would amount in value to only 378,750 *l. per annum*. Now if the generally received computation be just, that the people of Ireland amount to two millions, the consumption of 334,000 persons must be deducted out of this 378,750 *l.* According to the calculation which he has laid down with respect to the other million six hundred and sixty-six thousand, of about 12s. 9d. *per head*, this consumption amounts to 212,925 *l.* which being deducted out of 378,750 *l.* would reduce the value of the whole possible exports by this trade to 165,825 *l.* provided, as I before observed, we admit the usual and most accurate computation of the numbers at two millions; a computation which I admitted
when

when it was unfavourable to me. But as it always shall be my object to investigate truth, rather than to avail myself of an authority favourable to my argument; I will not therefore allow the full extent of Mr. Postlethwayt's calculation, altho' it be in my own favour; but I will admit the consumption of every inhabitant of Ireland to be only at ten shillings *per* head; two shillings and nine-pence less than he supposed it. In this I am certain that I have not over-stated; and if this be admitted, the consumption of the inhabitants of Ireland will be one million only; consequently, as he computes it at 1,061,250 *l.* I deduct 61,250 *l.* from the consumption of Ireland, and add it to her export. But as this 61,250 pounds worth is to be exported, I suppose it to be *highly* manufactured, which I would not suppose it to be, were it to be consumed in Ireland. This superior degree of manufacturing being conferred upon it, it would be increased in its value one third, and would therefore be worth 81,666 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* I add therefore this 81,666 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* to the sum of 378,750 *l.* at which Mr. Postlethwayt computes the value of all the wool

wool of Ireland that could be exported, if manufactured *fully*; the sum then of 460,416 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* is the utmost value of the wool that could be exported from Ireland, supposing that every fleece of wool, not made use of by the inhabitants themselves, were *completely* and *fully* worked up, that is to say, made up into fine dyed cloath. Thus 460,416 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* is the value of that whole commodity highly wrought up for exportation. From whence you must deduct the value of the wool, which before was a vendible commodity, and the proportion of that is one fifth.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Take then from this sum	}	460,416	13 8
of			
One fifth		92,083	6 8
		368,333	6 8
Dye Stuffs of all denominations, oil, and drugs, necessary for this quantity of cloth,	}	10,000	
All the possible profits to the nation,	}	£. 358,333	6 8

It

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It appears then to a certainty that this sum of 358,333 l. 6 s. 8 d. is the greatest possible profit to the nation from this exportation, supposing every article of it *fully* manufactured.

Now that it should be *so* manufactured, is impossible; the competition of England in fine Spanish cloths would make that impracticable, and indeed Ireland could not reasonably expect it. But even tho' the laws and rivalship of England did not interpose (which they certainly would) the manufacture for exportation would not, under a course of years, make such a progress, as to exceed in any considerable proportion coarse cloths, serges, camblets, &c. And this degree of manufacturing diminishes the value of what I stated before by *one third at least*, which one third making 119,444 l. 8 s. 10 d. $\frac{1}{2}$ being deducted from 358,333 l. 6 s. 8 d. reduces the highest possible balance in favour of Ireland to 238,888 l. 17 s. 9 d. $\frac{1}{2}$.

But

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But in stating the whole possible balance to the nation on the woollen trade at £238,888 17 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ per annum, I have supposed *every fleece of wool* not consumed at home, to be wrought up in the manner I before described for exportation; which is really supposing an absolute impossibility: Factors would still be employed to purchase wool, woollen yarn, and worsted, for English use, which England will always have an interest in purchasing, and which, according to Mr. Postlethwayt, would very little diminish, though the exportation of manufactured wool were allowed. His words are these.* “ There will be always
“ in England and Ireland as many people on
“ the trade of buying the wools and yarns,
“ for which we (meaning the English) pay
“ ready money, as there will be purchasers
“ of their wools fully manufactured, which
“ if sent here to be sold for exportation,
“ must be on long credit; and, if sent a-
“ broad on their own accounts, will be
“ subject to uncertain sales, and as un-
“ certain payments.” This consideration induces him to deduct from his balance in favour of Ireland, which he states at £378,750, no less a sum than £300,000
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* Dict. Vol. II. Page 844.

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and finally concludes (page 843, vol. II).
 "That all the woollen goods Ireland can
 "fully manufacture for exportation, will
 "amount to no more than £78,750."

That the greatest liberty of exportation which Ireland could enjoy, would not entirely prevent England from purchasing raw wool, worsted and yarn, is certain: For though to manufacture *fully* is more a national object, yet to the person who has the wool or yarn to sell, it is a matter of indifference, whether he sells it to an Irishman, to manufacture himself, or to an English factor to carry to England; it is the price that must determine with him, and that will be generally in favour of the latter. However, though it would serve my argument, I will not agree with that author in stating the export of wool and woollen yarn to England on that contingency, as great as it is at this day; on the contrary, I think it is not to be imagined, that England should purchase as much from Ireland, when she has competitors in that market, as at present when she has none. But I am sure if this judicious writer has, on account of the wool and yarn that would continue to be sent to England, deducted 300,000l. from

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from his Irish balance, I shall be within all bounds of moderation if I suppose it 100,000l, which is three times as little as that author supposes it, and this sum being deducted from the balance which I have calculated of 238,888l 17 9^r, will reduce the whole possible balance in favour of Ireland by the exportation of manufactured wool, to 138,888l 17s 9d^r. But to prove beyond the possibility of doubt that the liberty of exporting, woollen cloths, &c. would not prevent the Irish from selling to England great quantities of wool, yarn, and worsted; let us look into the custom-house books, and we shall find, that though a great linen manufacture is established in Ireland, yet she sells England annually, above 30,000 Hundred weight of linen yarn; which, as some of it is fine working thread, cannot, at a medium, be valued at less than 16d per pound; at which price it amounts to 240,000l.

If then Ireland sends so great a quantity of the material of an established manufacture to England, where that manufacture is in its infancy, is it not certain that she will send in a greater proportionable quantity of wool and woollen yarn, the materials of a

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manufacture yet in its infancy in Ireland, but established in England? It is incontrovertible.

And after all these deductions from this branch of commerce, I must observe, that the efforts of France to procure wool from Ireland, rather than make a total renunciation of this trade, would be so vigorous, that neither national advantage, nor legal restriction, neither policy nor penalty would prevent (at least for some years) the farmer from selling his wool to the highest bidder, who will certainly be the French merchant; and it must be remembered, that for every stone of wool sent to France, there must be a deduction from this 138,888*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$ of no less a sum than forty shillings.

I will now suppose, for the sake of argument, that the 200,000*l.* which is proposed as an indemnification to Ireland for paying a tax of 100,000*l.* were *immediately* to be received by the individuals of that kingdom, in consequence of the free exercise of the woollen trade, which I think I have proved to be impossible.

The advantages arising to a nation from the introduction of a new manufacture, are
of

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of two kinds: First, it employs the idle, and by finding employment for them, it is a cause of its population; but this effect is not felt immediately, and though it will in time increase the numbers of a nation, and consequently its ability to bear taxes, yet that increase must be the work of years.

The other advantage is, that it occasions to the nation either a saving of money, which it otherwise would export, or a greater return of money from foreign nations; and thus in proportion to the extent of its operation, it turns the balance of trade in favour of the nation; and this effect is felt more immediately. If Ireland were to manufacture her wool, so as to add 200,000*l.* to the value of the commodity, it does not follow from thence that she would receive 200,000*l.* of clear benefit or accession to her wealth; or that the balance of trade would be turned in her favour in so large a sum as 200,000*l.* For though some would be employed in that manufacture, who before its introduction, were entirely, or almost entirely idle, yet many would be employed in it, who before were industrious, though possibly not employed in so profitable an industry

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dustry. Now, whatever was gained by their former industry, was a benefit to the nation, and, upon their industry being converted to the manufacturing of wool, that former benefit ceases: whatever they earn by agriculture, or by other manufactures less profitable than the woollen, from which they are diverted, is as certainly lost to the nation, as what they gain by the woollen, is gained to it: consequently the *former* must be deducted out of the *latter*, in computing the national benefit, and the clear gain to the nation, is only the exceeding of the profits of the one, over the profits of the other.

If the hands, who earn 200,000 *l.* in the woollen trade, did before earn 50,000 *l.* in agriculture, the clear profits of the woollen amount to but 150,000 *l.* because by its introduction, that 50,000 *l.* which was before gained to the nation, is gained no more. Thus it appears, that though Ireland should encrease the value of her wool 200,000 *l.* by manufacturing it, she would not really gain 200,000 *l.* but a large deduction must be made in our computation, of the benefit arising from it to the nation: It is impossible to compute before-

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before-hand, how great that deduction should be, but it is evident that it must be considerable.

I will now suppose that Ireland were *immediately* to gain by the woollen trade, or any other additional branch of commerce, 200,000 *l.* free from all manner of deductions; that her inhabitants should receive it *quite clear*, and should actually have 200,000 *l.* to spend, more than they had before, and that every farthing should be spent in Ireland; it does by no means follow from thence, that she would be thereby enabled to pay 100,000 *l.* more of taxes, or revenue. Were indeed the whole of this 200,000 *l.* to go immediately into the Exchequer, it would then enable the state to pay 200,000 *l.* more than it did before; but the fact is, it would not—it would go into the pockets of individuals, to be spent by individuals. Now, from the money which individuals spend, there can be extracted but a certain proportion, and that a small one, for the revenue. Every thing almost is taxed, and therefore, in almost every thing which he purchases, he pays something to the state; but this is a small proportion, not above one fifth: for, in Ireland, the proportion

of the money spent by the people, and of the money extracted from their expenditure, for the purposes of the state, is about five to one,—the first, five millions; the latter, one *. If, therefore, there should be an accession to the individuals of the clear sum of 200,000 *l.* which, I have proved, they could not possibly have by the woollen trade.—If that accession were to happen *in an instant*, and if it were to be *all* spent in Ireland, it would not enable the state to pay above 40,000 *l. per annum* of revenue, more than it pays at present.

Thus I have proved that this manufacture never can arrive at the highest degree of perfection in Ireland; that if it did, it could not possibly add 200,000 *l. per annum* to the wealth of the nation; and that, if by this, or any other indulgence, they could acquire this addition, it would not enable them to pay an additional 100,000 *l. per annum* in taxes.—But though these facts were dubitable, which they certainly are not, can any thing equal the absurdity of imposing a tax, at the time you are only sowing

* This is a greater proportion than England pays. England, subtracting from her expenditure for taxes, at the highest, not above one eighth.

sowing the seeds of its support? It is like laying a burden on the shoulders of an infant, because, when he becomes a man, he may be able to bear it.

I have stated, with the utmost care and fidelity, the proportionable *powers* of Ireland to England; its exertion and its abilities; the benefits it confers, and the returns it receives; and I think it is, on the whole, impossible to deny, that Ireland does, at this moment, pay at least as great a proportionable tax, as any nation, under disadvantages which no other people experience.

The ordinary revenues of

France are	—	11,600,000 <i>l.</i>
	of Spain	- 5,092,400
	of England	8,000,000
	of Ireland	- 1,000,000

Thus proportioned and circumstanced in burdens and disabilities, it is impossible that Ireland can engage for any new grant, of a considerable amount at least, until she shall have for some years reaped the fruits of future acquisitions. With a balance of trade in favour of that country so ridiculously low, as that every concession that can be made, cannot raise it above 14,000 *l.*

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per annum, and which, in all human calculation, has been greatly exaggerated, by artifice or vanity, by the arbitrary entries of linen merchants, to propagate their own credit. With such a balance, I say, and a currency of little more than 500,000*l.* Ireland cannot try experiments, the introduction of which is to be, the annual remittance of 100,000*l.* into another country, an additional revenue to be raised on its inhabitants.

As for the Colonies, it is easy to say, “they are *abundantly able* to contribute to the expences of England 200,000*l. per annum* ;” but, I am sure, *at this time*, it is not easy to determine in *what manner* ; and, by the accounts we have of the revenues lately collected by the commissioners of the customs in America, it is evident, that this is not the harvest-time there for a rapacious minister.

If the Colonists incurred a debt of 2,600,000*l.* during the last war, it is, at least, as strong a token of their liberality, as of their wealth, and rather more, as this was an anticipation only of their revenues, among themselves, a great part of which was not raised in money, nor liable

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to interest, nor to be paid by funds. But, be that as it may, this is not a time to ring new impositions in their ears : when they shall be restored to order and tranquility, then, if we may judge from the testimony of this 2,600,000*l.* they will not be deficient in their contributions.

And certainly every part of his Majesty's dominions ought to contribute to the general preservation of the British Empire ; at the same time proportioning their contributions to their *abilities*, in the first place ; in the next, to *the advantages they derive*. For, as it is impossible that men can exceed their means, so it is unreasonable to expect they should make the same exertion in support of a good or a bad constitution, to confirm bondage, or defend their liberty.

“Burdens, says Montesquieu, are willingly borne, as the price of freedom ; under any other condition, men will not support them, unless they be compelled ;” and if they be *compelled*, they cannot support them *long*. For why should they pay, when they receive no consideration in return ; or how shall they exert themselves, when even victory shall not

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leave them free? For what have people to fear, or to defend, who do not possess an inviolable right in their liberties and properties? As for wealth, the great article of contribution, it must flow from human industry; and will human industry be ever exerted, if the fruits of it be rendered precarious? And, in truth, if the case of these Colonists were as some persons have stated it, it would be in vain to expect either zeal for government, or attachment to acquisition amongst them.—What are they to be solicited to by this address? “ You shall, as the prize of adventure, and reward of industry, enjoy the British birth-right of granting away *as much* of your property, in free-will offerings, *as you please*; but others shall have the right of taking away the *remainder*, or such part as they shall think proper.” Yet this is the import of several laborious compositions on this subject; which seem to me, as if they were framed but to weaken and distract the British empire. If the Americans were really under these circumstances, what mockery would it be to remind them of the *excellence of their constitution*, or call on them to exert themselves

selves *in defence of their country*? What have they in such a constitution to admire, or, in such a country, to defend? It would be but to *insult them with their subjection*, and call on them to *assert their chains*.

The author of *The State of the Nation*, whilst he imposes a tax of 200,000 *l. per annum* on the Colonists, admits that it is reasonable they should send representatives to parliament.—Not by any means as necessary to give the parliament a right to dispose of their property, their lives, or their liberty.—That the parliament have already power so consummate, as to be capable of no augmentation by that acquisition: “ But the prodigious extent of the British dominions in America, the rapid increase of the people there, and the great value of their trade, all unite in giving them such a degree of importance in the empire, as requires that more attention should be paid to their *concerns* by the supreme legislature, than can be expected from it, so long as the Colonies do not elect any of the members, of which the House of Commons is composed.” Here indeed the author states the very principle of legislation, among

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among freemen, and the indispensability of representation to legislation, and more especially to taxation; for that is one of the most important of all concerns: And if, from the considerations this author has mentioned, it is reasonable the Colonists should have representatives;—to tax them without such, would be unjust; and what is *unjust* no body of men have a right to do. Justice limits, (if I may use the expression,) even the *omnipotence* of the *omnipotent*. But I am sure that the English parliament will decide these weighty matters, according to wisdom and justice.

I do not therefore mean to expatiate on the infinity of their powers, nor on constitutional rights, which England may *assert*, and the colonists *deny*.—These points of law and policy have already been stated to the public in a pamphlet, intitled “The Case of Great Britain and America,” (2d. edition) with such *weight*, *precision*, and *depth of thought*, as must have convinced every *unprejudiced* man; the prejudiced nothing can convince. I only add on this part of the subject, that no body of men, descended in a twentieth degree from Britons, will live contentedly under this maxim of government “That persons

“ distant

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“ distant from them a thousand leagues,
 “ are to tax them to what amount they
 “ please, without their consent.—Without
 “ knowing them or their concerns,—with-
 “ out any sympathy of affection or interest
 “ towards them,—without even sharing
 “ themselves in the taxes they impose.—
 “ On the contrary, diminishing their own
 “ burdens exactly in the degree in which
 “ they encrease theirs.” Power may enforce this doctrine, but the declarations of an oracle could not make it compatible with liberty.—Yet writers have been found to support it; and even the infirmity of human institutions, and the imperfection of the British representation, have been urged to prove that America should have no representative at all.

But let them consider that imperfect as the representation of that country may be, yet there is not a spot in Britain, which is not within the pale and comprehension of representation. The principal towns and cities send their members, and the lesser towns and villages, not incorporated, are each a part of some county which chooses representatives. And there is not almost

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almost in the whole kingdom one man so inconsiderable, as not to have some share or influence in a general election; though the modes of election prescribed by parliament may withhold him from *the very act of voting*.—But if representation in England be partial, does it follow from thence that America should have no representation at all? And, as the above author observes, if England have not the *best* constitution human invention could form, is it a reason that America should have the *worst*? And let the author of “*The State of the Nation*” consider, the declaration of the statute of James the Ist. which he quotes as a foundation of the power of the parliament.—“The whole body of the realm, and every particular member thereof, either in person, or by representation *by their own free election*, are by the laws of the realm deemed to be present in the high court of parliament.” Can the people of America be supposed to be present in person, or by *representation by their own free election*? It would be an absurdity to say so. And his quotation, in the same note, as to the County Palatine of Chester, imports

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ports nothing more than this, that the parliament did, (without proving they had any right) in former times bind that country before it was represented. That, in the reign of Henry VI. in, probably, the very first instance wherein they had been taxed, they petitioned the king against it; who did agree with them that it was a violation of their privileges: and though, perhaps, it was not immediately after, yet it has long since been rejected, as unconstitutional; and at this day, in common with every other part of England, Cheshire sends members to represent her in parliament.

This author admits that the several Colonies should enjoy the privilege of adjusting the *ways and means*, by which they should raise their different proportions of the 200,000*l* per annum, which he, in the name of the British legislature, imposes on them in the gross. And why is this indulgence granted? Undoubtedly, because they must be supposed best to know the conditions and resources of their respective countries.

And is not this a stronger reason why the *quantity* of this gift, as well as the *mode of raising it*, should exclusively belong to them?

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them? Otherwise this indulgence would amount to no more than that of first condemning a man to death, and afterwards leaving to his choice the *mode* of his *execution*.

But the author proceeds,

“ Whilst eight millions of subjects inhabiting Great Britain are made to pay four millions on account of a war, one great object of which was the safety and prosperity of the Colonies; it surely is not too much to require of the two millions of subjects residing there, 200,000*l.* per annum for the general service.” But if the doctrines with regard to the Colonies, laid down by this author, and several others, be admitted, this expostulation is rather insult than argument; for according to them, the *safety and prosperity of the colonies*, to which they contribute, is nothing more than “ The liberty of procuring money by their industry, that it may be taken from them at the discretion of the state which protects them,”—who are they afraid shall take from them these valuable privileges? Or is there a nation under heaven, to which the colonies could be united, which would

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would not permit the inhabitants *to labour for wealth*, if they were to retain to themselves the power of *taking it from them without their consent*.

The great object of the war should be stated, *as it was*.—It was to vindicate from France the colonies of America, and to make them the great source of commerce, strength, and navigation to Great Britain. And a glorious object it was! Not to do merely a piece of courtesy, or kindness to the descendants of Britons who happened to be settled in America, or to get a trifling tribute of 200,000 *l. per annum* from them. But for preventing that inexhaustible fund of strength and riches from falling into the hands of an enemy, and applying it to the everlasting power of Great Britain. And an everlasting source of advantage will they prove, if her policy shall make *friends* of those, whom fortune has made *subjects*. Let her wisdom keep them dependent *in every external relation*, but let them experience *internal liberty, and a security in their acquisitions*. And England can, by her superior power and incontroverted superintendency, ever provide that their property shall not be encreased, with-

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out at the same time encreasing the benefits they confer on the mother country.

The original formation of society was for the general advantage of all who compose it; and conformity to its laws can only be maintained by a preservation of those advantages. Tell the Colonists that you have spent seventy-five millions in a war, by which England is confirmed in the advantageous possession of the Colonies, and by which the Colonies have been rescued from *slavery*.—Tell them, that whilst you have ensured the returns of their industry to *yourselves*, you have made *them* subjects of a state, in which to be a *subject*, is to be a *freeman*:—tell them this, and you will solicit their gratitude, and may rely on their co-operation; for then their interest and their duty, their obligations and affections, will be all engaged in support of their allegiance. Let them see that they are freemen, and shew them the advantages of being members of a free state, and then you will make them, though they had neither virtue nor gratitude, unalienable friends to the British government.

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But if after all—after you had really conferred these benefits upon them, they should yet turn out factious or disobedient, (which is to the last degree improbable)—be but once sure, but be very sure, that the constitution is on your side,—that you erect not your standard against *law* and *justice*,—I say in that case, with such a cause and such an alliance, you may laugh at the opposition of America to the mother country.—But it is a formidable thing to enforce by arms a violation of right, and draw the sword against the liberties of a people.—And I lay it down once for all as a maxim, which neither the subtilty of genius, the authority of senates, or the terror of the sword can overturn, “ That
“ any people, whose property is at the
“ discretion of others, are in a state of slavery,—and that the very idea of property is destroyed, if it may be taken
“ without the consent of the owner.

This is a principle which I am sure is enthroned in the heart of the best of kings, and will for ever be vindicated by the British parliament.—

On the late occasions of disagreement, the people of America may possibly have misbe-

misbehaved, and directed their opposition in some particulars in a mode that was exceptionable: but if that be the case, it is little to be wondered at; for disobedience and anarchy ever have been, and ever will be, the fruits of oppression.

Let those answer for this, who advised the first violation of *American liberty*, by imposing the *stamp-duties*.

This however the British parliament speedily redressed,—not because the people resisted, but because the measure was repugnant to the *principles of the constitution*.—

If it were not, it is to be presumed their opposition had been ineffectual.—It must however be confessed that exertion discovers to a people their strength, and injuries will ever produce that exertion.

I smile when I hear it said “ There have been good accounts from America, “ all things are quiet there”—The fact is, the people there seem to be sober and determined.—But no good news can ever come from America, except by the return of the ship that carries them good news from England.—The colonists at present are *unable*, in any considerable degree to
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contribute to the regular establishment of Britain,—they are at present *unwilling* too, for both their abilities and their attachments depend on the good treatment they receive.—

Give them by your indulgence a *capacity*, and you will by that give them an *inclination* too.—The strength of all the colonies united, is weakness when opposed to Great Britain: yet even Great Britain should tremble, if they were united against her *in a just cause*.—

Let us not say we do not feel the discontent of America.—We do not feel it, 'tis true, in her opposition, or from her arms; but we feel it in the insults of our natural enemies; we feel it in our impotence or our fear to check the progress of their usurpation, and the extension of their empire;—we feel it in the sacrifice of our generosity and of our glory,—we feel it in the wounds of an illustrious people, and the contempt of all Europe.

The superior power and legislative pre-eminence of England, without violating a law of justice, or reducing America to slavery, can for ever enforce her dependence; and raise on the Colonies *whole-sale supplies*

Supplies for the benefit of England; supplies by which the giver would be enriched.—

Let England then cherish the Colonies, let her make them happy and free, and they will be industrious and rich: and the nature of dependencies co-operating with the wisdom of parliament, shall turn the tide of their acquisitions into the mother-country.—Let them have a *constitution* and they will *love* it,—give them a *property* and they will *defend* it; give them *freedom*, and they will adhere to you; give them *commerce*, and they will enrich you.

It has been observed by Montesquieu, that countries are not cultivated in proportion to their fertility, but their liberty; the most fruitful parts of the earth are deserts, when the most barren are cultivated. This is an observation suggested by wisdom, and established by experience. And we may be assured that as the only effectual method of taxing America is *to make her rich*.—The only method of making her *rich*, is to make her *free*.—For do not imagine you will be intitled to the gratitude of the Colonists for defending them from the French, unless you make

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your government better than *theirs*; and it will not be better, if you take their money from them without their consent. Place not such reliance in the strength of armies, or the authority of assemblies, as to imagine they can alter the stated and immutable relations of things.—All the armies that formerly conquered the *enemies* of America, and now may be employed to conquer her *friends*, and all the councils that directed them, though they may enforce a temporary subjection, are unable to make slavery the *law of the land*.—And whatever may be the efforts of interested declamation, or mercenary abilities, they never can overthrow the doctrines advanced in that constitutional pamphlet intitled *The State of Great Britain and America*. And I wish every line of it were engraved in the breast of the ministry; then should we see the colonies restored to freedom, allegiance, and industry; and England reaping the fruits and returns of the benefits she has conferred.

This must be the conduct of Great Britain towards her dependencies.—And the most rapacious minister, if he were *wise* and *permanent*, would *from avarice* adopt

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it. When the restitution of their rights, and revival of their commerce shall make them wealthy, they will probably be able to support the whole *expence* of their defence; and certainly, if they be well treated, that expence will be diminished. But I am sure the minister, who begins his work by imposing a *foreign* taxation on them to the amount of 200,000 *l. per annum*, would render the colonies unable to become really useful to England, and thereby defeat *the great object of the war*:—And all this would be hazarded for a consideration so ridiculously minute, that together with the Irish contribution, if England were tottering, it could not prop. that mighty fabrick *for one day*.—

Narrow exactness and official calculation may be subservient, but should never be predominant in the English ministerial character. To keep the accounts of an office, and to regulate the government, the policies, and the commerce of a great empire, are indeed provinces of different extent.

The man who, to live a year longer of administration, would patch up a supply by a little American plunder, and then
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tell the nation “ That to support their own
“ dignity, they must assert this outrage,—
“ that subordination and slavery are syno-
“ minous,—that the omnipotence of par-
“ liament must be displayed in an act of
“ injustice,—that they must be *wicked*, lest
“ they appear to be *weak*.”—Who for the
fake of an expedient, would alienate the
affections of two millions of loyal subjects,
and condemn to military execution all who
should be found in rebellion of *self defence*.
Who, if from the short duration of his
authority, there yet remained one amongst
the dependencies not actually alienated by
publick oppression, would endeavour to
disgust it by degrading, offensive, and un-
necessary declarations.—If such a man there
be,—let him not offer his pernicious coun-
sels to the best of kings;—but rather let
us remember, that one of the greatest of
the Romans, Tiberius Graccus, called a
prætor to publick judgment, because he
had alienated from Rome the affections of
the provinces!—If such a man there be,—
let him never be minister of England.
For such an appointment would throw all
the dependencies of Great Britain into de-
M 2 spair;

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spair; and though he might be a *sacrifice*, he could never be an *atonement*!

I have now concluded the course I intended to pursue:—happy, if what I have offered may tend to advance the interests of any part of the empire;—and surely a knowledge of the circumstances of each, is necessary to the government of the whole.—Happy, if I can for a moment recall the sentiments of the times from those pernicious doctrines, which have spread discontent, if not disaffection, to the extremities of his Majesty's dominions; which have relaxed the bonds of union and brotherly love, that make the *weak strong*, and the *strong invincible*.—For we may be assured it is by the co-operation of interests and affections alone, that this stupendous fabric can long be united and maintained.—And it is impossible that its union can be permanent, unless all be *slaves*, or all be *free*; for if freedom be the *principle* of the empire, every member must think it is his birth-right; and Britons can never call *slaves* their *fellow-subjects*.—Let not then the fundamental principles of the constitution be on any
account

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account relaxed, or sacrificed, to trifling expedients; nor suffer a precedent of slavery to be established even for England herself. — For if the time shall ever come in which British liberty shall be devoted, her dissolution will not *begin* in the *center* of the empire; but, (to use the words of a person of the first abilities) “ She will
“ feel subjection like the coldness of death,
“ creeping upon her from all her extre-
“ mities.”

Long may she remain at the head of the empire, superintending, restraining, consolidating!—Which she may for ever do, without disturbing a single shade of *internal liberty*. May she have every power necessary to her prosperity;—but it can never tend to her prosperity, to make *slaves* of *fellow-subjects*.—Commerce and virtue would accompany their freedom in her flight, and little would be the boast of an idle territory.

If England be overburdened by taxes,—let her at least begin with reducing some of her unnecessary expences,—let her establish some œconomy,—let her regulate her land tax,—which is in its *disposition* the
most

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most *unequal*, and in *itself* the most unexceptionable tax, for the policy of England.—Let not 180,000 *l.* annually be raised by lottery on the subject, more than the state receives, nor other articles of supply be warped to *gratuities*.—Let not the public treasure be perverted to private favours, or the public good betrayed to popular prejudices.—Let not the taxes on *necessaries* be transferred to *superfluities*, or at least suffer not the habits of luxury to confound the two *terms*, as convertible or synonymous;—and, above all, *establish agriculture* on a regular and uniform *exportation*; and that will produce not only plenty, but wealth.—If, however, after this, England should feel distress; let her dependencies, *if they be able*, assist her:—But the first step is, *to make them so*. Let Ireland and the Colonies enjoy every degree of commerce, compatible with the trade of England.—I wish for no more: and their acquisitions, after a progress conferring benefits as they flow, will finally settle in England.—This will result from the *natural course of things*: if it did not, it might be

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be so directed by the *external superintendency* and *commercial policy* of the British legislature.—And this is the utmost extent of taxation, that one people can exercise over another.

If there were any such minister in England as that great Sully, whom this author celebrates, he would feel the excellence of this reflection, “That the best means of making the dependencies of the empire *useful*, are to make them *happy*, and the best way *to tax them*, is to confer *benefits upon them*.”

This is not a vain use of words, but it is good policy and national wisdom. And if ever the day shall come, in which these sentiments shall direct the British councils, then shall we see the Colonies look up to their mother country, not as to a parent who gave them *birth*, only to defraud them of their *birthright*; but as one intitled to their support in her infirmity, for she protected them in their *infancy*, and cultivated them in their *maturity*.—Then we shall see the trade, navigation, and prosperity of the empire flourish, and every one of his Majesty's subjects contending with

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with his neighbour, who shall best maintain the general good, and do most in support of the greatest monarch in the world, whose dominion is founded in the affections of a free people.

F I N I S.