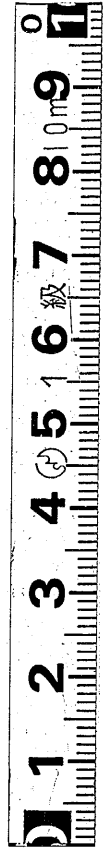


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THE
 M E R C H A N T S
 A N D
 M A N U F A C T U R E R S
 M A G A Z I N E
 O F
 T R A D E A N D C O M M E R C E.

V O L . I.

O Britain! chosen port of Trade,
 May lux'ry ne'er thy sons invade;
 What is't who rules in other lands,
 On Trade alone thy glory stands:
 Be Commerce, then, thy sole design,
 Keep that, and all the world is thine.
 G A Y.

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L O N D O N:
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 M, DCC, LXXXV.

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P R E F A C E.

THE great number of Magazines now monthly printed, might very well intimidate any persons disposed to undertake a similar publication.

But a work that is not calculated to rival any of those already carrying on, it is presumed may have a chance to prove acceptable.

Most of the Magazines already in being, have amusement and entertainment for their design; these, therefore, may be supposed to leave a fair prospect of success open to one calculated purely for instruction.

To assist the forming mind to become entertaining, must be considered a commendable undertaking; to enable it to become highly useful is a noble one.

The great interests of this nation are allowed to be trade, manufacture and commerce, they are therefore the most requisite to be best known; and yet they in general, are the least thoroughly understood. With a right knowledge of commerce, that of real policy is so closely connected, that a full comprehension of the latter, can only be attained by a clear one of the former; and it has been from a want of such knowledge, that the true interests of these kingdoms have been so often mistaken on very important occasions.

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To all men without distinction, such knowledge must therefore be highly useful; and it is of a nature not difficult to acquire, because the whole mystery of fair traffic is built but on common sense. The human mind needs but little training to be capable of making a great progress in this study; however important it must be thought, and however intricate it may appear, and its very happy influence in every situation of life must be such as should make it a most desirable knowledge.

In order to communicate such instruction, this work is undertaken. It will in a regular series of productions, treat of whatever is necessary to be learned in those great and useful articles of knowledge, by the theorist or speculist; and, in a general sense, by the practitioner; which is all that can be expected from an undertaking of such a nature.

The Commercial Propositions lately made in the Irish Parliament; having given birth to the late enquiries and examinations in the British Parliament, they are placed at the beginning of the work, deserving that precedence, as well for their importance, as being the ground and cause of the several papers, which immediately follow.

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M E R C H A N T S
M A G A Z I N E.

RESOLUTIONS of the HOUSE of LORDS
and COMMONS in IRELAND.

Sabbati, 12 die Februarii, 1785.

- I. **RESOLVED**, That it is highly important to the general interest of the British empire, that the trade between Great Britain and Ireland be encouraged and extended as much as possible; and, for that purpose, that the intercourse and commerce be finally settled and regulated, on permanent and equitable principles, for the mutual benefit of both countries. Irish Resolutions.
- II. *Resolved*, That, towards carrying into full effect so desirable a settlement, it is fit and proper that all articles, not the growth or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, should be imported into each kingdom from the other, reciprocally, under the same regulation, and at the same duties, if subject to duties, to which they are liable when imported directly from the place of their growth, product, or manufacture; and that all duties originally paid on importation into either country respectively, shall be fully drawn back on exportation to the other.
- III. *Resolved*, That, for the same purpose, it is proper, that no prohibition should exist, in either country, against the importation, use, or sale of any article, the growth, product, or manufacture of the other; and that the duty on the importation of every such article, if subject to duty in either country, should be precisely the same in the one country as in the other, except where an addition may be necessary, in either country, in consequence of an internal duty on any such article of its own consumption.
- IV. *Resolved*, That in all cases where the duties on articles of the growth, product, or manufacture of either country, are different on the importation into the other, it would

be expedient that they should be reduced, in the kingdom where they are the highest, to the amount payable in the other; and that all such articles should be exportable, from the kingdom into which they shall be imported, as free from duty as the similar commodities or home manufactures of the same kingdom.

V. *Resolved*, That, for the same purpose, it is also proper, that in all cases, where either kingdom shall charge articles of its own consumption with an internal duty on the manufacture, or a duty on the material, the same manufacture, when imported from the other, may be charged with a farther duty on importation, to the same amount as the internal duty on the manufacture, or to an amount adequate to countervail the duty on the material; and shall be entitled to such drawbacks or bounties on exportation, as may leave the same subject to no heavier burthen than the home-made manufacture; such farther duty to continue so long only as the internal consumption shall be charged with the duty or duties to balance which it shall be imposed, or until the manufacture coming from the other kingdom shall be subjected there to an equal burthen, not drawn back or compensated on exportation.

VI. *Resolved*, That, in order to give permanency to the settlement now intended to be established, it is necessary that no prohibition, or new or additional duties, should be hereafter imposed, in either kingdom, on the importation of any article of the growth, product or manufacture of the other, except such additional duties as may be requisite to balance duties on internal consumption, pursuant to the foregoing resolution.

VII. *Resolved*, That, for the same purpose, it is necessary, farther, that no prohibition, or new or additional duties, should be hereafter imposed, in either kingdom, on the exportation of any article of native growth, product, or manufacture, from thence to the other, except such as either kingdom may deem expedient, from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits, and also except where there now exists any prohibition which is not reciprocal, or any duty which is not equal, in both kingdoms; in every which case the prohibition may be made reciprocal, or the duties raised so as to make them equal.

VIII. *Resolved*, That, for the same purpose, it is necessary, that no bounties whatsoever should be paid or payable, in either kingdom, on the exportation of any article to the other,

other, except such as relate to corn, meal, malt, flour and biscuits, and such as are in the nature of drawbacks, or compensations for duties paid; and that no bounty should be granted in this kingdom, on the exportation of any article imported from the British plantations, or any manufacture made of such article, unless in cases where a similar bounty is payable in Britain on exportation from thence, or where such bounty is merely in the nature of a drawback, or compensation of or for duties paid, over and above any duties paid thereon in Britain.

IX. *Resolved*, That it is expedient, for the general benefit of the British empire, that the importation of articles from foreign states should be regulated, from time to time, in each kingdom, on such terms as may afford an effectual preference to the importation of similar articles of the growth, product, or manufacture of the other.

X. *Resolved*, That it is essential to the commercial interests of this country, to prevent, as much as possible, an accumulation of national debt; and that therefore it is highly expedient, that the annual revenues of this kingdom should be made equal to its annual expences.

XI. *Resolved*, That, for the better protection of trade, whatever sum the gross hereditary revenue of this kingdom (after deducting all drawbacks, re-payments, or bounties granted in the nature of drawbacks) shall produce, over and above the sum of £. 656,000, in each year of peace, wherein the annual revenues shall be equal to the annual expences, and in each year of war, without regard to such equality, should be appropriated towards the support of the naval force of the empire, in such manner as the Parliament of this kingdom shall direct.

W. WATTS GAYER, } *Cler. Parliament.*
EDW. GAYER, }
THO. ELLIS, *Cler. Parl. Dom. Com.*

RESOLUTION of the HOUSE of LORDS and COMMONS in IRELAND.

Mercurii, 16 Februarii, 1785.

Resolved, By the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, that the said resolutions be laid before his Majesty, together with an humble address, to assure his Majesty, that they are thoroughly sensible of his Majesty's unwearied attention to the welfare and happiness of his subjects: That our gratitude is peculiarly due to his Majesty

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Majesty, for the measures which, since the last Session of Parliament, have been taken, by his royal command, towards forming an arrangement of commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland: That, with the most sanguine hope, they look forward to the confirmation of these resolutions, containing the principles upon which, they trust the commercial interests of the two nations will be finally established. When these shall be happily and fully carried into effect, through his Majesty's paternal goodness, and the wisdom and liberality of his Parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland, they shall, with the most sincere satisfaction, behold a system established, upon the firm basis of reciprocal advantages, which will compleatly strengthen and cement the common interest and mutual affection of both kingdoms, and will indissolubly unite the efforts of all his Majesty's subjects, of Great Britain and Ireland, in maintaining the strength, increasing the resources, and extending the power and credit, of the British empire. And that it is their fervent prayer, that his Majesty may long possess the true reward of a great and generous mind, in beholding the blessings derived under his royal auspices, and in receiving the just tribute of the most zealous duty and attachment from his loyal and affectionate people.

W. WATTS GAYER, } Cler. Parl.
EDW. GAYER, }
THO. ELLIS, Cler. Parl. Dom. Com.

At a General Meeting of the WEST-INDIA PLANTERS and MERCHANTS, held by Public Advertisement, at the London Tavern, on Thursday the 24th of February, 1785.

The Right Hon. Lord PENRHYN, in the Chair.

The following resolutions were agreed to, viz.

First Meeting of the Planters.

1. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this meeting, that the West India islands are materially interested in the adjustment proposed to be made in the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland.

2. Resolved, That the Introduction of West-India produce, raw, or refined, into Great Britain, through the medium of Ireland, (unless under proper restrictions and regulations) will be attended with the most pernicious effects to the British West-India Planters and Merchants.

3. Re-

M A G A Z I N E.

3. Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to take such measures as may appear to them necessary upon this important occasion.

4. Resolved, That this Committee be the standing Committee of Planters and Merchants; and that they do report their proceedings to the next general meeting.

5. Resolved, That the Committee do meet for the above purpose on Saturday next, the 26th instant, at half past twelve o'clock, at the London Tavern.

6. Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Right Hon. Lord Penrhyn, for his candid and impartial conduct as Chairman of this meeting.

7. Resolved, That the preceding resolutions be forthwith published in the News-papers.

JAMES ALLEN, Secretary.

London, February, 28.

This day Lord Penrhyn, Mr. Beckford, Mr. Neave, and Mr. Long, the gentlemen deputed from the West-India planters and merchants to apply to Mr. Pitt, waited on him at the Treasury, and requested to be informed, "Whether he had formed in his mind any, and what regulations and restrictions, in his plan of commercial intercourse between Great-Britain and Ireland, to prevent the mischiefs of an uncontrouled intercourse." The gentlemen did not receive from Mr. Pitt a satisfactory answer to this question. Instead of informing them what his own determinations were on the subject, he expressed his readiness to hear their ideas, and to know from them what the Committee of merchants and planters thought would best tend to guard the intercourse from the dangers which occasioned their alarm.

London, March 5.

Lord Penrhyn having reported the unsatisfactory answer of Mr. Pitt, the standing Committee appointed on the 24th of February, wishing to fall in with the desire of the minister, appointed a Sub-committee to consider and report to them if any restrictions or regulations could be devised to prevent the fatal consequences of an uncontrouled intercourse. Accordingly the Sub-committee met this day, and after some consultation Resolved as follows:

"That after the most deliberate and mature consideration, this Committee cannot suggest, or point out any restrictions and regulations, sufficient, in their opinion, to prevent the pernicious effects of an uncontrouled intercourse."

pernicious effects which will arise from the importation of West-India produce into Great-Britain, through the medium of Ireland."

March 7. This resolution they reported to the standing Committee this day, when it was agreed to adopt it; and to the following Resolution,

"That it is the opinion of this Committee, under all the circumstances, that an humble petition from the West-India planters and merchants should be forthwith presented to the House of Commons, stating their alarms and apprehensions on the subject of the intended commercial adjustment between Great Britain and Ireland; and praying that so much of the said commercial adjustment as proposes to allow the importation of West-India produce, raw, or manufactured, from Ireland into Great Britain, may not pass into a law; but that the privilege of supplying her own markets with the produce of her own colonies may be preserved inviolate to this country; and that the petitioners may, if necessary, be permitted to be heard by Counsel at the bar of the House in support of their said petition."

General Meeting of Planters.

March 8. The standing Committee called a General Meeting of the Planters and Merchants, this day at the London Tavern.

Lord PENRHYN in the CHAIR.

The minutes of the former meetings were read, by which it appeared that a deputation had waited on Mr. Pitt, to confer with him on the proposed regulations of commerce between Great Britain and Ireland, and that Mr. Pitt had expressed a wish to hear from them again, and to know what regulations they could propose for securing the sugar trade to this country.

The last resolution the Committee came to after the conference with Mr. Pitt, stated, that they were unable to propose any regulations which would sufficiently secure the sugar trade from being liable to injury, from sugars being imported into this country, through the medium of Ireland; therefore it would be proper to petition Parliament, that the proposed regulations might not pass into a law.

Mr. Beckford. Mr. Beckford moved, that the meeting do agree with their Committee in that resolution.

Mr. Neave. Mr. Neave opposed it, stating that when the conference was held with Mr. Pitt, he seemed anxious to grant them redress, if they would point out the mode; therefore, in his opinion, petitioning against the principles of the Bill, would be

be flying in the face of the Minister, and make him an enemy to the West-India Planters, instead of assisting them in making alterations which might tend to benefit their trade.

Mr. Beckford urged as a reason, for agreeing to an application to Parliament, that the Minister (who had several times postponed the business) had on Monday, particularly requested, that all persons who had any objections to make, or proposals to tender, would lay the same before the House.

Mr. Spooner said he was one of the minority of the Committee, who opposed the resolution then under consideration; and he did it on a firm opinion, that it would make the Minister hostile to the measure, instead of friendly; he thought an application should be made to the Minister, and regulations pointed out, which he might inspect; and if it should then appear, that he refused to comply with any reasonable request, the Committee would be at liberty to petition Parliament against the measures, *in toto*.

Mr. Vaughan likewise opposed the motion, and seemed to think it was most politic to make friends with the Minister, as he was the most likely to do them service, both in England and Ireland; he undoubtedly was the origin of the motions in Ireland, and therefore, it was scarce probable that he would be friendly to any set of persons who seemed to condemn his propositions *in toto*; yet, at the same time, he might be willing to adopt such regulations as would be extremely beneficial to the trade in general; he cautioned them against affronting Mr. Pitt, for he recollected a former Minister (Fox) declaring, "that a certain Company had ruined him, and, therefore, they could not expect him to be very friendly towards them;" and it was natural to expect that Mr. Pitt would use a similar language.

Sir Charles Bunbury said, he recollected a variety of applications being made to different Ministers on subjects of trade, and he never knew any good that resulted from those applications; and he desired the meeting to recollect what was Mr. Pitt's conduct last year, when out of office, on being applied to relative to some regulations which were proposed to be made in India. He by no means advised an application to the Minister, but recommended a petition to Parliament; and that the Directors should write to every corporation throughout the kingdom; saying, nothing but a clamour will be likely to succeed; that certainly was his advice, and in the present circumstance, nothing but a popular clamour would

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would have any effect, for the Minister would take advantage of their indolence, and urged that no petitions having come against the measure after he had requested them, he was justifiable in passing the bill.

Mr. Neave. Mr. Neave said he was still of opinion, that some regulations might be proposed which would answer every end desired, and put the trade of this country on a safe footing; for by the persons most materially concerned, he understood that they would be perfectly content if such regulations were made, as prevented Ireland from importing foreign sugars, and by that means smuggling into this country sugars at a lower rate than the fair trader could possibly afford them at.

Mr. Long. Mr. Long spoke in favour of the motion, as he had supported the same in the Committee; yet he did not perceive any impropriety in trying the Minister once more, although it appeared rather strange to pray for relief to the very man who was the author of the grievance which caused that meeting.

The question was then put, and the meeting divided; noes, 59; ayes, 40. Majority against petitioning in the first instance 19.

Mr. Neave. Mr. Neave then moved, that a Committee be appointed to lay before Mr. Pitt certain regulations, to be adopted, relative to the intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland.

Mr. Baillie. Mr. Baillie opposed the motion, stating that he had, he believed, as much property in the island of Jamaica as any man present; and should be loth to let it be subject to what three or four persons might think proper to enter into contract with the Minister for.

An amendment was then proposed, which was to make the motion as follows: "That a Select Committee be appointed to wait on the Minister, and to confer with him on the proposed regulations of commerce between Great Britain and Ireland; and that they do, from time to time, report to the meeting at large, the result of such conferences; which was put, and agreed to.

It was then agreed that the select Committee should consist of Lord Penrhyn, Mr. Beckford, Mr. Neave, Mr. Long, Mr. Vaughan, Mr. Spooner, Sir Charles Bunbury.

After which the meeting broke up.

London,

London, March 15.

This day a general meeting was held of the West India General Meeting of Planters and MERCHANTS, at the London Tavern.

Lord PENRHYN in the CHAIR.

The Committee having had a conference with Mr. Pitt, on Sunday morning last, (the 13th) a report was now made of that conference. The Committee presented a paper to Mr. Pitt, entitled *Requisitions*, to which he gave certain answers. The following is a copy of the *Requisitions*, and the Minister's answers.

"It being the opinion of the general meeting of West India Planters and Merchants, that the resolutions of the Irish House of Commons open the door for the clandestine importation of foreign West India produce into Great Britain, unless proper regulations and restrictions are established to prevent it:

"The Committee deputed by them to confer with Mr. Pitt on the subject, beg leave to submit to his consideration, the following queries, to which they request the favour of his answer; that they may make a report to the general meeting for their concurrence.

1. "Whether we may depend upon having such regulations for the West-Indies, as may be necessary to prevent the introduction of foreign West India produce into and from our Islands?"

"Answer. Yes, as far as depends on Mr. Pitt.

2. "Whether we may depend on the navigation laws being complied with in Ireland, respecting ships coming from the islands, so that none but such as are *bona fide* British or Irish, or made free according to the regulations in Great Britain for that purpose, be admitted into Ireland?"

"Answer. The navigation act is already in force. Mr. Pitt has no doubt that what new regulations may be necessary will be complied with.

3. "Whether we can depend on having the same regulations at the Custom-house in Ireland, as are in force in Great Britain, respecting certificates from the islands, and any other regulations that are adopted, or may be thought necessary for preventing the importation of foreign West-India produce into both countries?"

"Answer. "Mr. Pitt will take care that effectual measures shall be proposed for that purpose."

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4. "Whether we may depend on British and foreign West-India produce being at all times imported into Ireland, upon duties respectively equal to those paid in Great Britain, and that the laws in Ireland for these purposes shall be made permanent?"

Answer. "He has no reason to doubt of its being done."

5. "Whether we can depend upon the same regulations with respect to the export of refined sugars from Ireland as from Great Britain, in order to prevent the smuggling of such into Great Britain, after the bounty is obtained?"

And 6. "Whether we can depend upon Ireland adopting our regulations now in force against smuggling vessels?"

Answer. "He imagines there will be no difficulty to either of the above regulations."

7. "Whether the above regulations cannot be made upon such a footing, that any infraction of them taking place on the part of Ireland, the present concessions made on the part of Great Britain, respecting the West-India trade shall also become void?"

Answer. "YES."

Mr. Neave. Mr. Neave said, he had that morning conversed with an eminent sugar baker, and could inform the Committee that he seemed perfectly satisfied with the protecting duties which had been laid in Ireland, and had informed him that they were as follows:

	£.	s.	d.
Candia	1	16	9
Loaf sugar	1	16	9
Bastards	6	18	11
Melasses	1	7	0

Sir T. Dundas. Sir T. Dundas wished to know whether those duties were proposed by way of bill to the Irish House, or whether they passed into a law.

Mr. Neave said he really did not enquire.

Sir C. T. Bunbury. Sir C. T. Bunbury wished to know whether the sugar trade in general were satisfied, or whether it was only the opinion of a particular refiner.

Mr. Spooner. Mr. Spooner said, he had been introduced to a meeting where several refiners were present, and they were of opinion, that under proper restrictions and regulations, the present commercial system would not injure the British trade.

Sir C. T. Bunbury. Sir C. T. Bunbury desired to know whether the proposed system of commerce would not be detrimental to raw sugars?

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A young gentleman answered, that the protecting duties, as they were called, were introduced into Ireland to act as a prohibition to the British refined sugars, which, in his opinion, the resolutions of the Irish House of Commons were totally to do away.

Mr. N. Baillie said, in his opinion, the proposed system would be highly injurious; and as there was to be a meeting of the sugar refiners on Thursday next, it would be proper to hear what they had to say.

Mr. Bryan Edwards was of opinion, that nothing could be more fair or explicit than the Minister's answer, which was, that if the Irish Parliament would not agree to the resolutions proposed by the British House of Commons, the whole should be void; therefore, whether the refiners were or were not satisfied, it did not appear to him to signify in the least; and the whole of the opposition seemed to originate from party: however, to put an end to the business, he should propose that the meeting would come to a resolution to declare, "That the restrictions and regulations under which it is proposed to admit into this kingdom British plantation produce through the medium of Ireland, (as communicated from a deputation of this meeting by the Chancellor of the Exchequer) if adopted by the Legislatures of Great Britain and Ireland, ought, in the opinion of this meeting, to be satisfactory to the West-India planters and merchants."

Sir C. T. Bunbury said, the regulations proposed to the Minister only went to do away the apprehensions relative to the mischief that might be done by smuggling; but the meeting ought to consider, that, however well they might wish to Ireland, (and no man wished better than himself) they ought not to build the future happiness of that kingdom on the destruction of this; for they might depend upon it, that our sugar trade would emigrate to Cork, as our Spitalfields manufacturers had to Paisley; and it was both idle and absurd to say, that we need not be under any apprehensions on account of their want of capital, for the moment the trade went, the capital would easily be found.

Sir T. Dundas said, the answer of Mr. Pitt was full of doubt; for all that he said was, that he would propose such regulations as they might point out, which, certainly, was only holding out hopes.

Mr. Hoskins (a counsellor) said the word "propose" was sufficient; and had the Minister said more, he ought to have

have been sent to the Tower; for it would have been indecent in the extreme for any Minister to say that the Parliament should do what he pleased.

Mr. B. Edwards. Mr. B. Edwards was of the same opinion, and thought the word *yes*, short as it was, fully sufficient; and surely when men had to ask a favour even of a lady, could they desire any thing farther than for her to say *yes*?

Sir P. J. Clarke. Sir P. J. Clarke said he was of the same opinion, that a Minister in justice could only answer for himself, and that was a strong reason for going to Parliament at once; they could give a satisfactory answer by vote, which it was not decent for a Minister to promise; however, he saw no necessity for the motion proposed to the Committee at present; they might, for a time, rest content with the Minister's answer, and watch over his proceedings; if in the end they found them adopted, then the motion would be proper; but if they were not, then at all events it would be proper to petition Parliament: and he must really declare that it struck him, that by the proposed regulations as Ireland flourished, Great Britain must decrease; for whatever we gave must lessen ourselves, and unless we were impoverished by the scheme, Ireland could not be enriched.

Sir T. Dundas. Sir T. Dundas said many persons were of opinion, we need not be alarmed, for Ireland never could consume a quantity equal to Great Britain; he allowed that to be fact; but would not the proposed regulations make Ireland the manufacturer, and Britain only the consumer?

Mr. Edward Long. Mr. Edward Long said, for his part, his estate lay all in the West-Indies; and if restrictions and regulations were adopted, so as to secure the exclusive privilege to the colonies of supplying Great Britain and Ireland, he did not see how the planters could be hurt: but whether it would affect those whose estates lay likewise in this country, he did not pretend to say.

Sir C. T. Bunbury. Sir C. T. Bunbury said, the gentleman (Edwards) who proposed the motion, had spoken in familiar terms, and he would do the same: now, he would ask the meeting, whether if any of them had received an injury by being knocked down, and wounded by a man, who, on application being made to him, should say, I am sorry I have no salve to cure your wound; but if you will point out where any is to be had, I will ask for it; would they think that a sufficient recompence for the injury, and say they were satisfied? for in his opinion, it was exactly a similar case.

Mr. B.

Mr. B. Edwards said it was begging the question, and supposing an injury done when none was acknowledged; but he would have gentlemen recollect, that the proposed regulations would open a trade for the supplying of three millions of people with sugar in Ireland.

Mr. N. Baillie. Mr. N. Baillie said the meeting ought to pay but little respect to the promises of a minister; for at the best, they were but insidious, which was plainly to be seen by the account published in the General Advertiser of that day, relative to the treatment the manufactures met with; but the gentleman who spoke last, should recollect, that 7-eighths of the people of Ireland, were so poor as to live chiefly on potatoes; therefore, unless they could reduce sugar to the price of potatoes, the majority of Ireland would not taste sugar.

Sir C. T. Bunbury. Sir C. T. Bunbury stated another objection, which was, that great frauds would be liable to be committed in Ireland, owing to the defect in the regulation of Custom-house officers; and as it would be for the interest of Ireland to wink at the Custom-house officers not doing their duty, we may depend upon it many frauds would be committed.

Mr. Spooner. Mr. Spooner said, that objection was started to the minister, and he declared that the Custom-house of Ireland, was better regulated than that of England, for there the officers rose by seniority, and not by interest; therefore, whilst a man did his duty, there was no fear of any person being put over his head, and of course he was not open to temptations as they are here.

Mr. Fuller. Mr. Fuller said a few words; after which the question was put, as moved by Mr. Edwards, to declare their satisfaction with the Minister's promises, when a division took place.

Ayes ————— 82
Noes ————— 31

Mr. Edwards then moved, "for a Committee to attend to the proceedings of Parliament, relative to the adjustment of a commercial intercourse with Ireland; and to propose to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, from time to time, such regulations, with respect to that kingdom, as may be thought necessary;" which was also carried, and the Committee appointed, who are the same as were appointed to wait on the Minister, with the addition of

Mr Edward Long, Mr. Hankey, and Mr. Boddington.
Lord Penrhyn then called their attention to a business of great moment, which was to appoint a Committee to watch the

M E R C H A N T S

the business relative to the *Certificates*; for unless that was done, all the regulations would have no effect.

A Committee was accordingly appointed. Thanks were then voted to the Chairman, and the meeting broke up, after ordering the following advertisement to be published:

London, March 16, 1785.

At a General Meeting of the West-India Planters and Merchants, held at the London Tavern yesterday,

The Right Hon. Lord PENRHYN in the Chair.

Lord Penrhyn having acquainted the meeting that a deputation, appointed the last general meeting, had waited upon Mr. Pitt, and reported the answer they had received from him.

Resolved, That the restrictions and regulations under which it is proposed to admit into this kingdom British plantation produce, through the medium of Ireland, (as communicated to a deputation from this meeting by the Chancellor of the Exchequer) if adopted by the Legislature of Great Britain and Ireland, ought, in the opinion of this meeting, to be satisfactory to the West-India Planters and Merchants.

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to attend the proceedings of Parliament relative to the adjustment of a commercial intercourse with Ireland, and to propose to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, from time to time, such regulations with respect to that kingdom as may be thought necessary.

Committee named, and that they do report their proceedings, from time to time, to the General Meeting. Lord Penrhyn, Sir C. Bunbury, Mr. Neave, Edw. Long, Mr. Beckford, John Hankey, Mr. B. Long, B. Edwards, Mr. S. Fuller, T. Boddington, Mr. Spooner, Mr. Vaughan.

JAMES ALLEN, Secretary.

It is necessary to state to the public, that the West-India Planters are by no means in the same situation as the MANUFACTURERS of this kingdom, in respect to the negotiation now carrying on with Ireland; for if the planters can be certain of retaining the exclusive right of supplying both countries, under such regulations and restrictions as shall effectually prevent the smuggling foreign sugars into either kingdom, they are in a better situation than they were before the system was proposed; but the manufacturers are told that no alteration whatever can take place, but that the resolutions of

of the Irish House of Commons must stand or fall in the precise words in which they were first moved.

London Tavern, March 7, 1785.

At a Select MEETING of the MANUFACTURERS of this City, and from various Parts of this Kingdom,

First Meeting of the Manufacturers.

IT is agreed to submit the following propositions to the consideration of the manufacturers of Great Britain in general, and they are earnestly requested to give serious and immediate attention thereto, as the prosperity of this nation, and its manufactures, depend on the measures now under the consideration of Parliament, in respect to the forming a commercial treaty with IRELAND.

And another meeting is appointed to be held at this Tavern on Thursday next, at one o'clock precisely, at which the company of all manufacturers, interested in this business, is desired, in order to take the matter into farther consideration, and to appoint a Committee to attend to the progress of this negotiation.

As it is proposed to adjourn the meeting from time to time, the manufacturers of the following and other towns and places, are requested to appoint delegates to attend it; and to favour it with such communications on this important subject, as they may think will be of service:

Bristol, Birmingham, Colchester, Coventry, Exeter, Glasgow, and Paisley, Liverpool, Leicester, Manchester, Norwich, Nottingham, Sheffield, Stourbridge, Gloucestershire, Somersetshire, Wiltshire, Staffordshire, Yorkshire, &c.

Signed, at the request of the meeting,
JOHN WILKINSON.

P R O P O S I T I O N S.

1. That the British manufacturers are greatly interested in the commercial negotiations with Ireland, now under the consideration of Parliament.
2. That the manufacturers of this kingdom ought not to object, and will not object to any system of fair, equal, and equitable commercial regulations, being adjusted and finally settled between the two kingdoms.
3. That each specific article, the produce or manufacture of either kingdom, being made subject precisely to the same duty in one country as in the other, as held forth by the third resolution of the House of Commons of Ireland, on the

the 7th of February last, is by no means calculated to produce that equality.

4. That in a commercial treaty between two countries, where it shall so happen that the exports, duty free, from the one, consist chiefly of an article of which the other can send very little in return. In order to produce a fair equality, this balance against the latter ought to be made up by the admission of such other specific articles, duty free, as the latter can send to the former.

5. That the Irish linens imported into England duty free, amount yearly, to about 1,400,000l. whilst the British linens imported into Ireland do not amount to more than about 30,000l. and that other articles, the produce or manufacture of Ireland, are imported, duty free into England, to the amount of 700,000l. making together upwards of two millions sterling yearly, of goods imported from Ireland into Britain, duty free, being of the whole exports.

6. That the fair equality consists not in stating the specific articles of one kingdom against those of the other, as linens against linens, but in the quantity or amount being the same, or nearly so; and that in order to balance the advantage which Ireland has over England in this respect, either Ireland should admit articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain, duty free, to the amount of two millions yearly; or Great Britain should lay a duty upon Irish linens sufficient to indemnify her for the duty which Ireland has laid, and is to continue, upon British goods of other species.

7. That partiality shewn here in favour of Irish linens, by admitting that article duty free, besides giving a bounty on its exportation from England, and at the same time laying a heavy duty upon the same article, the produce of other states has already rendered those states unfriendly to the admission of British manufactures. And it is the opinion of this meeting, that when the provisions in the 9th resolution of the Irish House of Commons, stating, "that the importation of articles from foreign states should be regulated in each kingdom on such terms as may afford an effectual preference to the importation of similar articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other," shall pass into a law here, it will be extremely difficult for this country to negotiate a commercial treaty with any other state in Europe.

8. It is the opinion of this meeting, that unless Ireland will agree to pay equal duties with Great Britain on all articles

articles imported from foreign states, and some regulations be adopted respecting those articles which are objects of exportation, and subject to an excise in either country, no scheme of equalization can be devised which will not in effect prove highly detrimental to Great Britain.

MEETING of the MANUFACTURERS on the Irish Regulations, held at the London Tavern, March 10. Second Meeting of Manufacturers.

At half after one o'clock, Sir Herbert Mackworth was called to the chair. He opened the business with declaring that the purpose of the meeting was not "the little interest of the individual, but the fair, broad bottom of general utility, unmixed with any political consideration. That a body of well-informed and respectable manufacturers assembled upon such a liberal and open plan, in order to give every kind of useful information to Administration, and as far as it was possible, consistent with the principles of self-preservation, to meet the wishes of Government, could not fail to demand the attention, and command the respect of the Minister." It was then moved, that the resolutions of the Irish House of Commons might be read; and when the second resolution was read, it was observed that the article of silk, paid a duty of about 7s. 6d. per lb. at its importation into this country, and received a drawback of about 6s. 6d. when exported to Ireland; besides which, there was a difference of at least twenty per cent. on the workmanship. The Minister on being waited upon, informed the manufacturers he had anticipated their complaint, and had proposed a proportional duty to be levied in Ireland, upon the importation of silk; together with 2s. per lb. additional, as an equivalent for the reduced prices of labour. A great deal of useful information was derived from the investigation of this article; and it was generally agreed, that upon the present idea of reciprocity, the importation of silk from Ireland would be highly detrimental to the manufactory of this kingdom.

The article of Portugal Salt came next under discussion, which is imported, duty free, into Ireland; whereas there is a duty in this country equal to a prohibition. This species of Salt is used after the meat is first prepared, in order to preserve it for a length of time. The balance which Ireland derives against England, on that account, amounted to near

half a million, there being 367,000l. paid, last year, for the single article of Butter.

Mr. Peel. Mr. Peel, of the county of Lancaſter, repreſented the Cotton-trade as giving employ to at leaſt 500,000 people. That the manufactory of printed cottons, pays 4d. per yard exciſe; but in Ireland it pays nothing; the exciſe is drawn back upon exportation; but as a very large capital muſt be always employed in advance for duties, he had waited upon Mr. Pitt, being deputed by the trade for that purpoſe, to deſire an equivalent might be infered in the regulations; more particularly as manufactures were now carried on with that regular exactitude, that a ſaving of one per cent. would entirely draw the trade from one part of the empire to the other. Mr. Pitt had promiſed to pay due attention to this objection.

Mr. Phillips. Mr. Phillips then took notice of the article of books, which he ſaid, beſides the heavy load of cuſtoms and exciſe upon paper, would, by the regulating articles, ſtrike at the copy right, and thereby annihilate the foreign trade.

Mr. Bolton. Mr. Bolton, of Birmingham, entered very minutely into the nature and extent of the iron trade. If the propoſed regulations took place, he was convinced that ſeveral ſorts of goods, particularly iron hoops and nail rods, could be manufactured in Ireland, and carried to market for leſs money than the raw materials coſt in England. This he explained by the high duties paid for Ruſſia and other iron in England. If the ſame duties were to be in future paid in Ireland, yet the difference in the price of labour was of itſelf ſufficient to draw the trade from this country. Of his own knowledge, above twenty very capital manufacturers would ſpeedily repair to that kingdom, ſhould the regulations be paſſed into a law. He further obſerved, that the great partiality which the Engliſh nation already ſhewed to the Irifh linens, had induced the Emperor of Germany, and the Empreſs of Ruſſia, to lay a duty, equal to a prohibition, upon ſeveral articles of Engliſh manufacture. This was by way of retaliation for our not admitting the Ruſſia and Sileſia linens upon lower duties. Here Mr. Bolton argued how difficult it would be in future for England to negotiate a commercial treaty with any ſtate in Europe, if an "effectual preference" was to be given to every article of Irifh produce. The objections againſt the ſecond article were multiplying ſo rapidly and ſtrongly, and likely to extend to ſuch a length, that Sir Herbert conſidered it proper to call the attention of the meeting to the propoſitions (for which ſee page 5 of this work): the ſame were

were read, and with a few amendments and additions, paſſed unanimoſly, as the reſolutions of the meeting. It was next propoſed by Mr. Wedgewood, and ſeconded by Mr. Boulton, that a Chamber of Manufactory be inſtituted, which might draw all the manufacturing intereſt in the kingdom into one focus. After a conſiderable debate, and the general uſefulneſs and beneficial tendency of the inſtitution being proved to a demonſtration, the motion was unanimoſly carried, and a Committee was choſen to put the ſame into execution; and the meeting was diſſolved at four o'clock.

London Tavern, March 10.

At a numerous and very reſpectable adjourned MEETING of MANUFACTURERS, from various Parts of this Kingdom,

Third Meeting of Manufacturers.

Sir HERBERT MACKWORTH, Bart. in the CHAIR.

The following reſolutions having been propoſed and read, were unanimoſly agreed to, viz.

1. *Resolved*, That it is the opinion of this meeting, that the manufacturing intereſt of Great Britain has ſuffered in many inſtances for want of a general bond of union among the manufacturers, and of a free intercourſe between them in the different parts of the kingdom, which is more eſpecially called for at this time, to conſider matters of the greateſt importance, reſpecting the commercial intereſts of Great Britain and Ireland.

2. It is the opinion of this meeting, That a probable means of producing ſuch an union and free intercourſe, would be, *the eſtabliſhment of a Chamber of Manufacturers in London*, to watch over their intereſts at large as one aggregate; to communicate and correſpond with the ſeveral committees which are, or may be eſtabliſhed in different parts of Great Britain; and likewiſe, to be prepared to furniſh Government, if required, with ſuch impartial and true information, as they may, from time to time, ſtand in need of, for the protection of the commerce and manufactures of the empire at large; for the want of which (or by relying on the information given by intereſted individuals) the true intereſt of the whole has been often unavoidably miſtaken.

3. *Resolved*, That the above Chamber of Manufacturers be compoſed of a chairman, a deputy chairman, and a number of aſſiſtants, to be elected as deputies from the different manufacturers within the kingdom of Great Britain, who ſhall wiſh to ſupport the meaſure; and alſo of other per-

fons, being manufacturers, who shall be duly elected, according to regulations hereafter to be formed.

4. It is the opinion of this meeting, that a committee be now formed, to prepare proper regulations for such an institution, with a secretary to attend them, to sit from time to time, as occasion may require, to receive such communications as may be delivered in for the use of the Chamber of Manufacturers, and to transact such other business and affairs as cannot conveniently be delayed from the time of one meeting of the Chamber to another. But all regulations made by the Committee, which may affect the body at large, shall be laid before the next meeting of the Chamber for confirmation. And a Committee was accordingly appointed to meet on Monday next, the 14th instant at the George and Vulture Tavern, Cornhill, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon.

5. That the British manufacturers are greatly interested in the commercial negotiations with Ireland, now under the consideration of Parliament.

6. That the manufacturers of this kingdom ought not to object, and will not object to any system of fair, equal, and equitable commercial regulations, being adjusted and finally settled between the two kingdoms.

7. That each specific article, the produce or manufacture of either kingdom, being made subject precisely to the same duty in one country as in the other, as held forth by the third resolution of the House of Commons of Ireland, on the 7th of February last, is by no means calculated to produce that equality.

8. That a commercial treaty between two countries, where it shall so happen that the exports, duty free, from the time, consist chiefly of an article of which the other can send very little in return; in order to produce a real equality, this balance against the latter ought to be made up by the admission of such other articles, duty free, as the latter can send to the former.

9. That the Irish linens imported into England, duty free, amount yearly to about 1,400,000l. whilst the British linens imported into Ireland do not amount to more than about 30,000l. and that other articles, the produce or manufacture of Ireland, are imported, duty free, into England, to the amount of about 700,000l. making together upwards of two millions sterling of goods annually imported from Ireland into Britain, duty free, being four-fifths of the whole exports of Ireland.

10. That

10. That the fair equality does not consist in stating the specific articles of one kingdom against those of the other, as linens against linens, but in the value or amount of goods imported, duty free, into each kingdom respectively, being the same or nearly so; and that in order to balance the advantage which Ireland has over England in this respect, either Ireland should admit articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain, duty free, to the amount of two millions yearly; or Great Britain should lay a duty upon Irish linens sufficient to indemnify her for the duty which Ireland has laid, and is to continue, upon British goods of other species. But the whole exports of the produce and manufactures of Great Britain to Ireland, being less than one million yearly, it follows, that if the whole of those exports was admitted duty free, Ireland would still fall more than one million deficient, in compensating Great Britain for the admission of her linens, &c. free of duty, into England.

11. It is therefore the opinion of this meeting, that Ireland not having wherewithal to balance with, or pay an equivalent to, England, for more than one million of her produce being imported into England duty free; it would be as unreasonable in her to expect, as it would be unwise in Great Britain to grant, a greater indulgence than she is able, if she was willing to pay for; more especially if we consider, that when we have once bound ourselves never to lay a tax upon Irish linen, we have lost our best, if not our only security, for any equitable regulations of commerce in future, or for settling any commercial disputes which may arise from unforeseen causes.

12. That the partiality shewn here in favour of Irish linens, by admitting that article duty free, besides giving a bounty on its exportation from England, and at the same time laying a heavy duty upon the same article, the produce of other states, has already rendered those states unfriendly to the admission of British manufactures. And that when the provisions in the 9th resolution of the Irish House of Commons, stating, "that the importation of articles from foreign states should be regulated in each kingdom, on such terms as may afford an effectual preference to the importation of similar articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other" shall pass into a law here, it will be extremely difficult for this country to negotiate a commercial treaty with any other state in Europe.

13. That

13. That unless Ireland will agree to pay equal duties with Great Britain, on all articles imported from foreign states, and some regulations be adopted respecting those articles which are objects of exportation, and subject to an excise in either country, no scheme of equalization can be devised which will not in effect prove highly detrimental to Great Britain.

14. That the thanks of this meeting be given to Sir Herbert Mackworth, Bart. for the very able and impartial manner in which he conducted the business of this meeting.

London Tavern, 12th of March, 1785.

Committee. AT A SPECIAL COMMITTEE.

Having this day received the most authentic information, that no alteration whatever can be made in any one of the Irish propositions now before the House of Commons; but that the whole must stand or fall precisely in their present form; and as it is evident, from the debates of yesterday, that should the first proposition be passed on Tuesday next, the House is considered as pledged to consent to the remainder: it follows, that any expectations which may have been entertained by any manufacturers, that their interests in particular will be taken care of, must prove groundless.

The hope that some alteration would be made in these propositions, so as to render them compatible with the manufacturing interest of this kingdom, seems hitherto to have prevented any petitions being presented, against these destructive measures; and it is now urged, that no such petitions appearing, it must be concluded that the manufacturers are satisfied. But that hope being now entirely cut off; you are, therefore, earnestly requested to attend a special meeting of manufacturers, on Monday next, the 14th inst. at twelve o'clock, at the London Tavern, when it will be considered, by what means this impending evil may be averted.

Signed on behalf of the Committee,
JOSIAH WEDGWOOD.

Chamber of Manufacturers. Chamber of MANUFACTURERS of Great Britain.

Mr. Smeathman (the Secretary) will attend every day, from ten in the morning, till three in the afternoon, at the George and Vulture Tavern, Cornhill.

And the Committee of the above Chamber, will, during the time the treaty with Ireland is pending in Parliament, sit from

from eleven till one, when they will be glad to receive from, or communicate to, the manufacturers of this city, and every part of the kingdom, any information relative to the business under their consideration.

All letters are desired to be addressed to "the Committee of the Chamber of Manufacturers of Great Britain."

London Tavern, March 14th, 1785.

Chamber of MANUFACTURERS of Great Britain. Chamber of Manufacturers.

At a numerous and respectable special Meeting,
JOSIAH WEDGWOOD, Esq. in the CHAIR.

It was represented in consequence of official information, That no alteration will be made in the resolutions of the House of Commons in Ireland, now before the Irish Parliament, but that the whole must stand or fall together.

It was, therefore, resolved unanimously, 1st, That it is highly expedient for the preservation of the interests of the manufacturers of Great Britain, that petitions be immediately presented to the House of Commons, for leave for the Petitioners to be heard at the Bar of the House, by themselves and counsel, against the said resolutions.

Resolved unanimously, 2dly, That a petition be presented from this meeting for that purpose.

Resolved unanimously, 3dly, That a Committee immediately withdraw to prepare the said petition.

Resolved unanimously, 4thly, That the Society established under the domination of "the Chamber of Manufacturers of Great Britain," do not cease with the present business.

Resolved unanimously, 5thly, That each member of every commercial Committee in Great Britain, (being a manufacturer) be a member of the Committee of the Chamber of Manufacturers of Great Britain.

Resolved unanimously, 6thly, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Chairman, for his unwearied zeal, and for his upright and impartial conduct.

Resolved unanimously, 7thly, That this meeting be adjourned to Wednesday morning at ten o'clock at this place, and Gentlemen are desired to meet precisely at that hour.

JOSIAH WEDGWOOD, Chairman.

N. B. All manufacturers from different parts of the kingdom then in London, as well as the manufacturers of this city, are earnestly requested to attend.

London,

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London, March 16.

Chamber of Manufacturers of Great Britain.

RICHARD WALKER, Esq. was called to the Chair.

Mr. Jackson.

Mr. Jackson said, a report had been industriously circulated, that the Chamber of Commerce was a party-meeting, and that Mr. Fox was running the Irish bill against the India bill, which was one material objection that many eminent manufacturers did not attend, and refused to sign the petition.

Mr. Silvester.

Mr. Silvester observed, that the Chamber knew of no party whatever, but were open to receive information from all persons, which might tend to the benefit of the manufacturers in general; and it was their wish to take every legal and constitutional means of preventing the resolutions of the Irish Parliament passing into a law, as it was evident they were fraught with mischief, and must prove destructive to the trade and commerce of this country.

Mr. Wedgwood.

Mr. Wedgwood came in and apologised to the meeting for what he was going to trouble them with; but as it in some degree concerned them he would state it, particularly as it appeared more aimed at the infant society than at him, as an individual member, who had been honoured by being called to the chair. He had been informed, that in a respectable meeting in the city, a gentleman had stated, "that the answer of the Minister, as delivered by Mr. Wedgwood to a public meeting, at the London Tavern, was false." Some persons in the company insisted that the gentleman should either give up his author, or quit the room; and he chose the latter. That being informed of the proceeding, he traced it to Mr. Robinson, of Paternoster-Row, who had waited on the Minister; and in a discourse with Dr. Prettyman, on the subject of the Irish resolutions, he was told the "printing branch should be taken care of;" he directly pointed out to the doctor the advertisement of Mr. Wedgwood, wherein it stated, that the Minister's declarations were, "That the resolutions, as moved in the Irish Parliament must stand or fall, in the precise words in which they were moved:" on which Dr. Prettyman replied, "that answer is false; it is not the answer given." Mr. Wedgwood then remarked that he was happy he had not gone to the Minister alone, but had taken a respectable friend, both of his and Dr. Prettyman's with him, who could vouch for the fact, and begged the favour of Mr. Robinson to accompany him to the gentleman who had been witness

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to the transaction; they accordingly went, and it so happened that Dr. Prettyman and Mr. Wedgwood's friend dined out together, on which Mr. Wedgwood, early yesterday morning, wrote a note, &c. (which the two next papers sufficiently explain.)

Great George-Street, March 18.

Mr. Wedgwood having seen in the General Advertiser of Mr. Wedgwood yesterday, an account of the proceedings of the Chamber of Manufacturers, held on the preceding day at the London Tavern, in which the share he had in the business of that meeting, is mentioned with some little inaccuracy; but which, if other interests besides his own had not been involved, he should have thought it of too little moment to trouble the public with; begs leave, first, to say, that the publication was just as much without his knowledge, consent or participation, as is that of any other public proceedings, without the participation of the individuals concerned in them; and hopes, he shall further be indulged with the liberty of laying a true state of that proceeding before the public; which, he thinks he owes, as well to the characters of the other parties concerned, as to his own.

He had been informed, that he had been pretty severely reflected upon at a public meeting in the city, for having given the following information to the Special Committee, held on the 12th inst. namely: "Having this day received the most authentic information, that no alteration, whatever, can be made in any one of the Irish propositions now before the House of Commons; but, that the whole must stand or fall precisely, in their present form." This it was urged, from its nature could not be true, and of course, both he and that special Committee must have misinformed and misled the public.

He therefore thought it his duty to state this to the meeting of the 16th, with the following circumstances relative to it.

Mr. Robinson, Bookseller in Pater-Noster-Row, had told a common friend, as well to Mr. W. as himself, that he had been with Dr. Prettyman, (private Secretary to the Chancellor of the Exchequer) and shewed him the paper of proceedings of the Chamber of Manufacturers, published the 12th inst. laying his finger on the part above quoted. That the Doctor said Mr. W. had very much misapprehended what

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he had said; but, he (Mr. W.) had afterwards seen Mr. Pitt, and gone away satisfied.*

Upon receiving this information, Mr. W. desired Mr. Walker, and Mr. Silvester, of Manchester, to go with him to Mr. Robinson, which they did, and Mr. R. confirming the above representation, Mr. W. requested he would be so good as to accompany him that afternoon to Dr. P. when he would request a very respectable gentleman, a friend of both parties, who had been present during the whole conversation with Dr. P. to be there.

But it happened that both the gentlemen were engaged that day, on which account Mr. W. was disappointed of having the desired explanation. He therefore wrote the following note to the Doctor, pretty early the next morning.

“ Mr. Wedgwood presents his compliments to Dr. Prettyman, and being told that he (Mr. W.) had been charged before a large company in the city, with having given a false representation of the information he had received from Dr. Prettyman, “ that no alteration whatever can be made in the Irish propositions, but that the whole must stand or fall precisely in their present form.” Mr. Wedgwood hopes the Doctor will do him the justice to say in what respect the information he received from the Doctor, differs from that which he made public by the inclosed paper.” [Meaning the proceedings of the Special Committee of the 12th.]

Wednesday morning.

The above was sent by Mr. Wedgwood’s servant, who was told that Dr. Prettyman was not up. About an hour after, the servant was sent again, and was then told the Doctor was gone out, and would be back in half an hour. In little more than half an hour, the Doctor’s servant brought a message, that he was then going into Downing-street, and could not stay to write, but would be glad to see Mr. W. there.

Upon which Mr. W. sent him the following note: “ Mr. Wedgwood presents his compliments to Dr. Prettyman,

* The truth is, the Gentlemen, Mr. Walker, Mr. Silvester, and Mr. Wedgwood, who waited on Mr. Pitt, were so far from being satisfied, that they were still more alarmed on Mr. Pitt confirming what Mr. Wedgwood had before been told by Dr. Prettyman; and adding farther, that he did not feel himself in duty bound to protract the business any longer, and that it was his determination to bring the business forward on Wednesday at farthest.

J. SILVESTER.
R. WALKER.
“ and

“ and begs the favour of a written answer to the note, which he had the honour of sending him this morning.”

Wednesday, March 16.

To this Mr. Wedgwood’s servant received the following answer: “ Dr. Prettyman sends his compliments to Mr. Wedgwood, and cannot give him a written answer.”

Mr. Wedgwood has not received any answer, either verbal or written, from Dr. Prettyman, since that time. He mentions this merely as a fact, and does not mean in the least to infer, that the Doctor cannot give him a reply, when it may be convenient to him.

JOS. WEDGWOOD.

Great George-street, March 19.

Mr. Wedgwood was informed yesterday, from the most friendly motives, by a gentleman, (a member of the House of Commons) for whom he has a very high regard, that the conduct of the Delegates from the Manufacturers, and his own in particular, respecting Irish affairs, have been censured upon the following grounds:

1. Because they did not petition against the resolutions of the Irish Parliament, as soon as they became known.
2. Because they did not, upon their several examinations before the Rt. Hon. the Committee of Privy Council, make known all those facts and reasons which they are now bringing in evidence against the Irish resolutions. And,
3. For being now induced to join with opposition, more upon factious principles, than from apprehensions of any real danger, from those resolutions passing into a law

With respect to the first charge, Mr. Wedgwood can very truly answer for himself, and he has found it to be the general sense of those whom his situation has given him an opportunity of conversing with upon the subject, that they did not entertain an idea of the Irish resolutions being so far binding upon the British House of Commons, that they must pass, if they pass at all, without alteration; but, on the contrary, looked upon them as propositions submitted to the English Parliament, to be either approved of in their present form, or to receive there the necessary alterations or modifications. They therefore waited, with no small degree of anxiety, for such alterations of the exceptionable parts of the resolutions; and expected, that when so modified, they would then be held forth to their consideration, if it was meant that they should have any opportunity of expressing their approbation, or the

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contrary. If they have been mistaken in such expectations, it is hoped the public will do them the justice to believe, that the mistake arose from the novelty of the case, and their ignorance of Parliamentary forms.

To the second charge, the short answer is, That the questions put to the Delegates by the Right Hon. the Committee of Privy Council, and from which questions they were not in general permitted to deviate, were not sufficient to bring out that detail of evidence which the Delegates were willing and have since shewn themselves able to give, and which is absolutely necessary to a thorough investigation of the important subjects upon which they were examined.

It may farther be observed, that the very circumstance of their being examined at all, after the resolutions had been sent to the Irish Parliament, and even after they had passed both Houses there, must have tended to confirm the Delegates in the opinion they had formed, that some alterations in the Irish resolutions would, if found necessary, take place in the British House of Commons. And now that they are told that those resolutions cannot be altered, but that the whole must stand or fall together, precisely in their present form, they are at a loss to conceive upon what principle any information was required from them, relative to a transaction already concluded upon, and made, as far as the British Minister could make it, *irrevocable*.

Respecting the third charge, of being induced to join with opposition, more upon factious principles, than apprehension of any real danger from the resolutions passing into a law, Mr. Wedgwood can only be expected to speak individually for himself; and he *utterly denies the charge*. He could call upon many respectable and zealous friends of the present Minister, to bear testimony of his lamenting the situation which the Delegates from the country were unavoidably thrown into, as they must now either take the same ground with opposition, that is, go against the whole of the Irish resolutions, or act contrary to their conviction, and betray the trust reposed in them: for let any one consider the errand on which the Delegates are sent hither: namely, *to oppose the Irish Resolutions passing into a law*; and that they find the Minister and his friends determined to pass them at all events, and then say what he would advise them to do; especially if after making their errand known to the Minister and his friends, they still find that such application tends rather to accelerate than retard the progress of the resolutions through Parliament.

Parliament. They certainly have but one line of conduct to pursue, which is thankfully to accept the assistance they so much stand in need of from any quarter; for a drowning man will not be over-nice in the colour or form of the twig, which must assist him to keep his head above water.

Mr. W. wishes only to say farther, that he has every motive of a private, or personal nature, to unite with his Majesty's ministers, and he has done so in every case compatible with duties of a higher nature; and he trusts it will appear, before the Irish resolutions are disposed of, that other motives than those of *faction* or *personal interest* have influenced his conduct, in the active part which he has been called upon to take in this business; and that those who have opposed the Irish resolutions passing into a law *as they now are*, have been the best friends, not only to the mutual interest of Great Britain and Ireland, but likewise to those of Mr. Pitt, as his Majesty's responsible Minister.

London Tavern, 16th March, 1785.

Chamber of MANUFACTURERS of Great Britain.
RICHARD WALKER, of Manchester, Esq. in the Chair.

Resolved unanimously, 1st, That it is incumbent upon the manufacturers of this kingdom to adopt, without delay, the most spirited and decisive constitutional measures to prevent the resolutions of the Irish Parliament now under the consideration of the British Parliament) passing into a law.

Resolved unanimously, 2dly, That for this purpose it is highly proper to present a petition to the Hon. House of Commons from this Chamber; and that the Committee be requested to prepare a petition accordingly, and to lay it before the next meeting.

Resolved unanimously, 3dly, That it appears to this meeting, that great dangers will arise to the manufacturers of Great Britain, with which many of them are not at present acquainted, from the 3d resolution of the Irish Parliament, declaring, "that no prohibition should exist in either country against the importation, use, or sale of any article, the growth, product, or manufacture of the other; and that the duty on the importation of every such article, if the subject to duty in either country, should be precisely the same in one country as in the other, except where an addition may be necessary in either country, in consequence of
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“ an internal duty on any such article of its own consumption.”—It is therefore the opinion of this meeting, that a committee be appointed to examine what articles are prohibited to be imported from Ireland into Great Britain, what internal duties they are charged with, and what effect the removing those prohibitions will have upon the produce and manufactures of this country; and as no new duties are provided by the present resolutions, and none can hereafter be laid on such articles: and that they do report to the Chamber, from time to time, the result of their inquiries, in order to their being published for the information of the manufacturers at large. And a Committee was then named for the above purpose, to meet at the George and Vulture Tavern, in Cornhill, to morrow morning at ten o'clock precisely.

Resolved unanimously, 4thly, That this meeting do adjourn till to-morrow, at the London Tavern, when the the chair will be taken at twelve o'clock precisely; and every person interested is most earnestly requested to attend.

Resolved unanimously, that the thanks of this meeting be given to the chairman, for his very able and impartial conduct.

RICHARD WALKER, Chairman.

London, March 17.

Chamber of Manufacturers of Great Britain.

This day the Chamber met again at the London Tavern, pursuant to their adjournment, to receive the report of the Committee relative to the goods that are now prohibited to be imported into Great Britain, but which, by the third resolution of the Irish Parliament, will be let loose on the manufacturers of this kingdom, duty free; likewise to take into consideration the propriety of a petition to Parliament, to pray for farther time.

R. Walker, Esq. Richard Walker, Esq. of Manchester, was called to the chair, and opened the business, by reading the minutes of the former meeting.

Mr. Wedgwood. Mr. Wedgwood said, he was happy to see the commercial part of the kingdom began to awake from the lethargy into which they at first seemed to be plunged; and the petition which had that day arrived from the landholders of Lancashire, was a strong proof that gentlemen now began to see that the interests of the landed and commercial world were the same; for if the manufacturer could not live in the kingdom,

dom, owing to the heavy burthens laid on him by the excise laws and other taxes, which the distressed state of the country made necessary; he could put his property in his pocket; and as he was sure to carry his head with him, he could go to another country where the taxes were lighter, and the prospect of gain more favourable: wherever he went he would be a welcome guest. But the case was quite otherwise with the landholder; for when he found his land deserted, by the manufacturers having emigrated, he could not put his acres in his pocket like the other, but must submit to the misfortune without any redress. He then read a letter addressed to the Chamber from Mr. Anstie, Chairman of the Committee of Manufacturers of Wilts, and a principal clothier at the Devises, relative to the resolutions passed by the Chamber on the 8th instant; he highly approved of most of them, and gave his sentiments on the subject; stating, that when he was examined before the Lords Committee of Council, it was not, as he understood, relative to the resolutions passed by the Irish Parliament.

Mr. Smith said he knew Mr. Anstie very well; and when he was examined before the Lords Committee, it was more to justify a measure already formed, than for forming a plan upon such evidence as might come before them.

Mr. Phillips said, he knew that to be a fact; for when several of the manufacturers were examined before the Committee, they were prevented from giving their full opinion on the subject, and were told they were only to answer to such particular questions as might be asked.

Mr. Wedgwood informed the Committee, that one principal intent of their meeting was, to have signed a petition to Parliament, praying for more time; but as the circumstances of the case were altered, and it was now plain that the petitions already before the House of Commons, would take up some time in hearing; the necessity of instantly petitioning was done away.

Mr. Smith was of the same opinion, and enumerated the petitions which are already before Parliament.

Mr. Withers, as one of the Committee appointed to enquire into the prohibited goods, acquainted the Chamber that he had been with another of the Committee to the Customhouse, and conversed with two gentlemen in the Longroom, who from their situations and abilities, were very capable of giving the best information possible on the subject; and in asking them whether wrought leather was at present

present prohibited to be imported into England, they had told him that they never remembered any being imported; but by an act of the legislature it was prohibited, and by another, an exception was made with respect to Ireland; but if a ship was to arrive in the River, and a part of her cargo consisted of wrought leather, they should be at loss to know how to proceed; for there were duties from 30 to 65 per cent. *ad valorem*, which amounted to the same as a prohibition; but in fact they would be obliged to apply to the Board to know what steps they should take. Mr. Withers said, for his own part, he never remembered any wrought leather, such as saddles, shoes, &c. being imported from Ireland; but he made no doubt that if the Irish resolutions passed, large quantities would soon find their way into this kingdom, to the detriment of the manufacturers.

Mr. Silvester.

Mr. *Silvester* entered very fully into the nature of the export trade, and stated that it was not leather only which at present was prohibited, but a variety of other articles; and he was credibly informed, that the glass trade would materially suffer. He also entered into the threats used by the Emperor, against the manufactures of this kingdom, and exhorted the gentlemen who had so kindly undertaken to make enquiries into the different articles which are now prohibited, to pursue those enquiries, and report them, from time to time, to the Chamber, which he was convinced must, in the end, be attended with the most beneficial consequences to the trading part of this kingdom, as it would enable them to guard against any infringement which might be offered mischievous to their interest.

The Chamber then agreed, that a petition, praying for further time, was rendered unnecessary by the delay which must of course proceed from the examination of witnesses and counsel, on those petitions already presented; and therefore adjourned until Tuesday next.

London-Tavern, March 22.

THIS day there was a most numerous and respectable meeting of the Chamber of Manufacturers at the London Tavern, Mr. Boulton, of Birmingham, in the chair.

It was proposed to enter into a subscription, for defraying the expences of the meeting, in advertising, printing, &c. It appeared to meet the sense of the company present.

Mr. Wedgwood.

Mr. *Wedgwood* said, he perfectly agreed in the propriety of the measure, and made no doubt but every commercial city and town would see the necessity, not only of hav-

ing a chamber of commerce in their own towns, but also of contributing to the support of a general chamber in London; yet, at the same time, as there was business of the first importance for the present moment, and the original Committee, owing to their being obliged to attend the House of Commons, had not framed several resolutions which they intended for the purpose, he would beg leave to defer the subscription until the next meeting, when he was in hopes of seeing a numerous attendance; and with respect to himself, he would subscribe as far as two or 300l. rather than the business should suffer for want of immediate support.

Mr. *Boulton* said he was in hopes of seeing the institution made permanent, as the commerce of this country rendered it highly necessary that the manufacturers should form one band of union for the mutual support of each other, and by having a chamber to resort to in London, the most authentic information would be received, and the most effectual measures adopted in time to prevent the fatal effects which lately appeared to have crept into the system of revenue; namely, that of taxing the manufactures.

Some little conversation took place, on the mistaken policy of the manufacturer, on which

Mr. *Silvester* said, as to taxes in general, so long as the State required them, he should cheerfully contribute; for money must be raised, and he did not wish to impede the motions or views of government, so long as they were consistent and equally sustained by the subject; but they were local and oppressive taxes of which he complained, taxes on manufactures, a system ruinous in its principle and destructive in its consequences, fabricated in weakness, and must certainly end in folly, if not in the total destruction of the manufactures of Great Britain. He likewise entered into a description of the effect the allowing a bounty on Irish linens, and laying an impost on foreign linens had with respect to the trade of this country with Germany, Russia, Prussia, Silesia, &c. &c.

Mr. *Wedgwood* was of opinion, that as the revenue in a great measure flowed from commerce, it was consistent with that chamber, whenever they saw the commerce likely to be affected, to point out what in their opinion was, and what was not, a proper system of measures to be pursued, without having any view to who was the rulers of the state.

The Secretary then read letters from commercial meetings at Leeds, Sheffield, Glasgow, Nottingham, &c. &c.

highly approving of the institution of a Chamber of manufacturers, and most of them couched in strong terms against the Irish resolutions.

The letter from Nottingham conveyed a copy of a petition they had agreed to, and mentioned their having appointed Carpenter Smith of Southwark; Mr. W. Northege of Aldermanbury; and Mr. W. Hayne of Milk-street, manufacturers of Nottingham, as their delegates, to attend the Chamber, and to assist in such regulations as might be deemed necessary.

Mr. Hayne. Mr. Hayne said, he begged to decline acting as a delegate, as his sentiments did not coincide with that of his partner, and the rest of the manufacturers who signed the petition; nor did Mr. Smith, the representative of Nottingham, agree with the sentiments contained in the petition which he presented.

Mr. R. Carpenter Smith. Mr. R. Carpenter Smith said, he perfectly agreed with the petitioners, and was happy in the honour conferred on him. As to the sentiments of Mr. Smith, the representative, in his opinion, they had no weight whatever, when put in competition with the petitioners, who must, undoubtedly, know their own interests better than he could; and he would assure the meeting, that a more respectable set of petitioners never existed; for they were men of great knowledge, and extensive property; and undoubtedly their member, in matters of commerce, ought to have obeyed the instructions he received.

Mr. Northege. Mr. Northege said, he perfectly agreed with the gentleman who spoke last, and would be happy in lending every assistance in his power, to the promoting the infant institution.

Mr. Hayne. Mr. Hayne then attempted to give a long opinion of his own, contradictory to the sentiments contained in the petition; and had the modesty to declare that he knew what was for the interest of the petitioners better than they did themselves; and it came out, that the petition had been sent up to him; but instead of acquainting the other two gentlemen, named as the delegates, he had taken it himself to Mr. Smith, (the member) and gave him his opinion in direct contradiction to the instructions he had received.

Some gentlemen were of opinion, that as Mr. Hayne was inimical to the meeting, it was scarcely decent in him to stay in the room; on which, after several broad hints, he retired.

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The Secretary then read the report of the Committee, appointed to enquire into the nature of such goods as are at present prohibited; the Committee had met at the George and Vulture, Mr. Withers in the chair, and were of opinion, that unless a tax was laid on the manufacture of wrought leather in Ireland, the importation of it into this country would be detrimental to the trade here.

Mr. Silvester then stated, that himself, and others of the Committee, had been obliged to attend the House of Commons more than they at first expected; but such time as they had been able to spare, they had dedicated to the constructing of some resolutions, which they then meant to offer the meeting at large, for their concurrence.

The resolutions were as follows:

London Tavern, 22d March, 1785.

GENERAL CHAMBER of MANUFACTURERS OF GREAT BRITAIN.

At a General Meeting,

MATTHEW BOULTON, Esq. in the CHAIR.

Mr. Silvester made the following report from the Select Committee.

The Committee which was appointed to meet on the 14th inst. at the George and Vulture Tavern, Cornhill, and to sit from time to time, as occasion may require, to prepare proper regulations for the establishment of a Chamber of Manufacturers in London, to receive such communications as may be delivered in for the use of the Chamber, and for other purposes, represent to this meeting, That they have received many letters from various parts of this kingdom, approving highly of the institution of a Chamber of Manufacturers of Great Britain, and offering many suggestions for its future regulations; but the business of each day has pressed so hard upon the Committee, that they have not yet been able to prepare any digested state of particulars for the consideration of the meeting.

But the just and general alarm which appears now to be taking place throughout the whole commercial and manufacturing interests of Great Britain, having interposed some delay at least in the progress of the propositions; the Committee now beg leave to represent to this meeting their opinion: That for the better carrying on and compleating the valuable purposes of this institution, it will be expedient for the Manufacturers of Great Britain to form separate and

distinct Chambers in the respective places where such Manufactures are carried on, to communicate, on all necessary occasions, with the Chamber in London; and that it will tend to the more speedy completion of the good intentions of this Chamber to address circular letters, recommending this measure to the various manufacturing places in the kingdom.

For the better distinguishing of the *Chamber of Manufacturers of Great Britain*, it is recommended that the word *General* be added to the title.

The Committee likewise, by Mr. Wedgwood, their Chairman, submitted to this meeting the following communications and resolutions, in order to shew, that the proposed plan of final adjustment between Great Britain and Ireland is not less exceptionable for the fatal provisions which it unadvisedly makes, than it is for the salutary arrangement which it unaccountably has omitted to make.

1. Resolved unanimously, That a proportionate participation of burthens, as well as advantages, is the only foundation upon which a fair and equitable system, or treaty of commerce, can be concluded with Ireland.

2. Resolved unanimously, That the Irish resolutions now before Parliament, holding forth no certain nor satisfactory participation of burthens, cannot be a proper foundation for such a system.

3. Resolved unanimously, That it appears, by the said resolutions, that the foreign trade of the two kingdoms of Great-Britain and Ireland, is left totally unsettled, whereby many advantages remain to Ireland over England, in her foreign imports and exports, which when the capital of Ireland is increased, either by her own extended commerce, or the emigration of English merchants and manufacturers, their capitals thither must be decisive against the merchants, the manufacturers, and the commercial interests of Great Britain.

4. Resolved unanimously. That it appears to the Committee, that the Irish Resolutions provide no restraint against the numerous bounties annually granted in Ireland, in favour of the manufacturers of that kingdom; nor any security against internal bounties being given, upon the exportation of the produce and manufactures of Ireland, to foreign markets; which grants and bounties added to an exemption from those taxes which affect all the manufacturers of Great Britain in general, and from those Excise duties

duties which lay a more immediate and heavy burden upon many of them in particular, must in time undermine us, and give a decided advantage to the manufacturers of Ireland, over those of Great Britain, in every foreign market.

5. Resolved unanimously. That the only security we now have, even before the Irish resolutions pass into a law, against such and other similar measures being carried to an extent, ruinous to the commercial interests of this kingdom, is our not being at present bound under every circumstance which may happen to continue the importation of Irish linens into England, duty free for ever; or, to continue for ever the present high duties upon German, Russian, and other linens. And that the circumstances we should be reduced to by these resolutions, are such as no sister, or even alien kingdom ought to require of another; and in the opinion of the Committee, such as this country cannot adopt, without immediate injury and future risque to our manufacturing interest, landed interest, naval strength, and public credit.

6. Resolved unanimously, That by these resolutions, the East India and China trade will, after the expiration of the Company's present charter, be left as open to the Irish as to the English nation.

7. Resolved unanimously, That there is no provision whatever, except the very vague one contained in the tenth and eleventh resolutions, (the fallacy of which has already been sufficiently pointed out) to oblige Ireland to be at a single shilling expence in the protection and preservation of those sources of wealth, in the advantages of which an equal participation is secured to her by these resolutions.

8. Resolved unanimously, That during the time Great Britain may be engaged in a war with any foreign power, whether for the protection of the commerce of the Empire at large, or upon any other grounds, no plan of proportionate, or any supplies from Ireland to the public exigencies of the state, is either made or proposed by these resolutions.

9. Resolved unanimously, That by these resolutions all the great questions respecting *foreign treaties*, the *Admiralty courts*, *reciprocity of measures to prevent illicit trade*, are left entirely unsettled, with many other great questions, and measures which the Committee have not had time fully to investigate; but in which they cannot but plainly perceive, that

that when all future controul of the linen trade is wrested out of the hands of this nation, its commercial interest will be left *unsafe* and *unguarded*, to the last degree.

JOSIAH WEDGWOOD, Chairman.

1. Resolved unanimously, That this Meeting approves of the proceedings and resolutions of their Committee, and requests that a circular letter be prepared, and sent to the different manufacturing places in the kingdom, recommending the institution of *provincial* chambers of manufacturers, as proposed by the Committee.

2. Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this Meeting be given to their Committee, for the attention they have bestowed upon the several subjects recommended to their consideration; and it being the opinion of this meeting, from the best information they can obtain, that notwithstanding the petitions daily presented to the House of Commons against the Irish resolutions, it is still determined to carry them unaltered into a law: they, therefore, recommend it to the Committee, to continue their unwearied endeavours to avert the impending evil.

3. Resolved unanimously, That it is the opinion of this Chamber, that the manufacturers in the different parts of this kingdom, should lose no time in acquainting themselves how far the resolutions of the Irish Parliament, if they are carried into a law in Great Britain, will affect their branches of manufacture; and they are requested to communicate the result of their enquiries to this Chamber.

4. Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Chairman, for the very able and impartial manner in which he conducted the business of the day.

5. Resolved unanimously, That the Meeting of the Chamber be adjourned to Tuesday next, the 29th instant, at eleven o'clock precisely, at the London-Tavern, Bishopsgate-street.

MATTHEW BOULTON, Chairman.

London, March 23, 1785.

General Chamber of MANUFACTURERS of Great Britain.

A general meeting of the manufacturers of this kingdom is appointed to be held at the London Tavern, Bishopsgate street, on Tuesday next the 29th inst. at eleven o'clock precisely, at which hour the chair will certainly be taken.

The intent for which this meeting has been frequently convened, having, as the Chamber is informed, been misunderstood

understood by many persons, who conceived they had no right to attend, it is necessary to observe, that the assistance of the manufacturers in this city and its vicinity, as well as that of the Delegates from the manufacturers in other parts of the kingdom, is earnestly desired.

HENRY SMEATHMAN, Secretary.

The Secretary will attend every day from ten in the morning, till three in the afternoon, at the George and Vulture Tavern, Cornhill, and the Committee of the above Chamber, will, during the time the treaty with Ireland is pending in Parliament, sit from eleven till one, when they will be glad to receive from, or communicate to the Manufacturers of this city, and every part of the kingdom, any information relative to the business under their consideration.

The company of the Delegates from the country manufacturers, as often as convenient to them, is earnestly requested.

To the PRINTER of the GENERAL ADVERTISER.

S I R,

Observing in your paper of the 23d instant, that the conversation and conduct of the business, at a general meeting of the manufacturers, at the Chamber of Commerce, are misrepresented, so far as they respect me, and are couched in terms which tend not only to give the public an unfavourable opinion of my conduct, but also to sow the seeds of animosity between me and my partner, who is also my brother. It is therefore incumbent on me to lay before the public the real facts. I must first observe, that I should not have made any mention of the treatment I received at the Chamber, (which is now a matter of necessity) had not this false representation appeared. The following account is that of which I complain:

"The letter from Nottingham, conveyed a copy of a petition they had agreed to, and mentioned their having appointed Mr. Carpenter Smith, of Southwark; Mr. W. Northege, of Aldermanbury, and Mr. Hayne, of Milk-street, manufacturers of Nottingham, as their delegates, to attend the Chamber, and to assist in such regulations as might be deemed necessary.

"Mr. Hayne said, he begged to decline acting as a delegate, as his sentiments did not coincide with that of his partner, and the rest of the manufacturers who had signed the petition; nor did Mr. Smith, the representative of Nottingham,

Nottingham, agree with the sentiments contained in the petition which he presented.

Mr. R. C. Smith.

“ Mr. R. Carpenter Smith said, he perfectly agreed with the petitioners, and was happy in the honour conferred on him. As to the sentiments of Mr. Smith, the representative, in his opinion, they had no weight whatever, when put in competition with the petitioners, who must, undoubtedly, know their own interests better than he could; and he would assure the meeting, that a more respectable set of petitioners never existed; for they were men of long experience, great knowledge, and extensive property; and undoubtedly their member, in matters of commerce, ought to have obeyed the instructions he received.

Mr. North-edge.

“ Mr. Northedge said, he perfectly agreed with the gentleman who spoke last, and would be happy in lending every assistance in his power, to the promoting the infant institution.

Mr. Hayne.

“ Mr. Hayne then attempted to give a long opinion of his own, contradictory to the sentiments contained in the petition; and had the modesty to declare, that he knew what was for the interest of the petitioners better than they did themselves; and it came out that the petition had been sent up to him; but instead of acquainting the two other gentlemen, named as delegates, he had taken it himself to Mr. Smith (the member) and gave him his opinion in direct contradiction to the instructions he had received.

Several gentlemen were of opinion, that as Mr. Hayne was inimical to the meeting, it was scarcely decent in him to stay in the room; on which, after several broad hints, he retired.”

The facts are, that I went to the George and Vulture Tavern, at the request of Mr. Wedgwood, who had called that morning at my house; otherwise, I should only have attended the Chamber as a manufacturer. At the Vulture Tavern, I made my opinion known, and as I went to the chamber it was agreed, that no mention should be made of me; but, that Mr. Northedge, and Mr. R. C. Smith, should be introduced as Delegates from the Nottingham manufactory, which was done. But on reading a letter addressed to Mr. Wedgwood, it appeared there were three delegates appointed: it was observed the other was then present, and I was pointed out as the person under this circumstance. I thought it proper to say, that as my sentiments did not coincide with those of the petitioners, I had declined acting as their Delegate, and attended as a private manufacturer.

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A gentleman then made some very just remarks on the respectability of the Committee who had framed the petition; and, on that ground proceeded to lay some blame upon their member (Mr. Smith) for not having more implicitly complied with the instructions of the petitioners. I conceived also, that some of the observations on the same ground were pointed at me, (but in this I was afterwards set right). I thought it necessary to explain, that the Committee at Nottingham had not stated, either to their member, to me, or any other persons concerned, the grounds of their apprehending that any injury would ensue to their manufactory, should the propositions now before the House of Commons pass into a law; and that Mr. Smith had said he would write to the Committee for such information; I therefore contended that he, myself, and every other person, could only act from impressions previously formed. I then made some remarks, to shew that I did not foresee any evil consequences would arise to the stocking manufactory, from the proposed regulations.

On my concluding, a gentleman immediately got up and addressed the chair to this purpose; that as I had declined acting as a delegate, and as my sentiments were inimical to those of the Meeting, he moved, that I should be desired to leave the room. I replied, that I had an equal right, with any other Gentleman there, to give my opinion; and that if it was not well founded, I should be very glad to receive information from any gentleman that would come forward and give it. Instead of which, the purport of the motion was supported by three different gentlemen. The motion was accordingly made, and seconded by Mr. Wedgwood; during this time I had determined to leave the room if the motion should be seconded, without making any further observation on the impropriety of such a measure being adopted at a public meeting. The chairman having begun politely to address me, I prevented him the trouble, by saying I would take my leave, with this remark: “ That I came there with an intent to gain information, and did not expect to be precluded.” I trust I delivered my opinion with modesty, though not without that firmness which became me as a man; making no pretensions to merit, as a public speaker, or as a public writer; not having on any former occasion engaged in either capacity; and I do positively assert, that when I went to the chamber, I had no intention of giving my opinion, or of speaking in a public manner.

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How far I acted improperly, with respect to the mode in which I delivered the petition, and what blame is due to me for not having previously communicated the business to the two other Delegates, will appear by the following extract from the instructions I received with the petition.*

"You are earnestly requested by the Committee to deliver it to Mr. Smith yourself, as early on Monday morning as possible; there must not be any delay."

For the truth of this, appeal to Mr. I Northege. I shall not draw any inferences from this statement, relying on the discerning public to do me the justice of comparing the facts with the former assertions; assuring them that I will not engage any more of their time on this business, by entering into any controversy, either with the Chamber of Commerce, or any individual; with the latter there are other modes of adjusting differences, much to be preferred by gentlemen to that of censuring each other, and obtruding it upon the public, whose good opinion I wish to merit.

Milk-street, March 25, 1785. W. H A Y N E.

George and Vulture Tavern, Cornhill, London.
March 23d. 1785.

STANDING COMMITTEE of the GENERAL CHAMBER of GREAT BRITAIN.

JOSIAH WEDGWOOD in the Chair.

Reports having been circulated, that the Irish resolutions were to be withdrawn from Parliament, and the treaty was to be concluded by commission, with such alterations as would be beneficial to this kingdom; we think it incumbent on us to apprise manufacturers and others; that we much fear, by the information we have received, from very respectable authority, that such reports are groundless; and that it is still determined to carry the resolutions unaltered, into a law.

The petitioners arriving daily, accompanied with instructions to members, are numerous and very respectable; and it is by a perseverance in those spirited and laudable exertions, of which we have so many examples, that we can hope to avert the danger with which the best interests of this kingdom are threatened.

* It arrived (by express) at my house on Sunday, at midnight.

London,

London, March 27, 1785.

This day, in consequence of the advertisement, (See page 18) a numerous and very respectable meeting of the manufacturers of this kingdom, assembled together at the London Tavern, to consider of the most effectual means of averting the impending evil that threatens Great Britain, by the proposed regulations of commerce between this country and Ireland.

At one o'clock Mr. Josiah Wedgwood was called to the chair, and opened the business of the Meeting, by informing the company, That himself, Mr. John Silvester and Mr. Richard Walker, of Manchester, had, as Delegates, met the Minister that morning, and stated to him, that the hopes of some alteration being made in the propositions, so as to render them compatible with the manufacturing interest of this kingdom, had hitherto prevented any petitions being presented against those destructive measures; but it being now understood, that no such petitions appearing, it was concluded, that the manufacturers were satisfied; they therefore assured Mr. Pitt, that so far from that being the fact, the manufacturers, in consequence of what fell from him in the debate of Friday last, were greatly alarmed, particularly when he mentioned, "That all those who voted for the first proposition, must be considered as pledged to the remainder." Now the light they had always held the first proposition in, made them perfectly easy, as they supposed the remaining resolutions would be so modified, as to make them less dangerous than they appeared at present: but finding that on Tuesday or Wednesday next, the first resolution was meant to be carried, which would bind all the rest, that they had to pray for a further length of time, to consult their Constituents on what steps should be taken.

Mr. Pitt said, he did not feel himself in duty bound to Mr. Pitt's protract the business any longer, and thought it proper to acquaint them, "that no melioration or modification whatever of the propositions could take place, but that the whole must stand, or fall, precisely in their present form; and, that it was his determination to bring the business forward on Wednesday at farthest."

Mr. Wedgwood informed the meeting, that in answer to Mr. Wedgwood. Mr. Pitt, he stated, that the manufacturers were ignorant that the Irish resolutions could not be altered in the British House of Commons; and, that under that idea they did not expect that the first proposition would bind all the rest.

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Mr. Boulton

Mr. Boulton. Mr. *Boulton* said, the only alternative that appeared now to be left, was to petition against the resolutions in *toto*; for had not the manufacturers been thrown off their guard, the table of the House of Commons would have been loaded with petitions from every manufacturing town in the kingdom; however, as there were Delegates from many towns, at present, in London, he hoped they would join him in the necessity of a petition to the House.

Mr. Holmes. Mr. *Holmes* wished to know whether the Delegates, petitioning in their own names, would not preclude them from being heard as witnesses?

Mr. Ward. Mr. *Ward* assured the meeting, that from the best information he could get, the Delegates signing the petition, would be no hindrance to their being heard at the bar of the House of Commons.

Mr. T. Walker. Mr. *T. Walker* perfectly agreed with Mr. Boulton, and was confident, that a petition from Manchester, signed by 50,000 names, would be easily obtained, now that the manufacturers knew the true state of the case.

Mr. Wedgwood. Mr. *Wedgwood* said it was plain, that every day as the matter became better understood, the more general it appeared alarming; and he begged to call to the recollection of every gentleman present, to the third resolution of the Irish House of Commons, which was, "that no prohibition should exist in either country against the importation, use, or sale of any article, growth, produce, or manufacture of the other, &c." Now, he held in his hand a list of goods prohibited to be imported into this country on any terms whatever; but by the third resolution, the whole of those prohibited goods would be let loose upon the manufacturers in this country, duty free, to the manifest prejudice of the trading part of the kingdom.

Mr. Boulton. Mr. *Boulton* observed, that they could very easily intermix foreign articles with their linens, and materially injure the trade of this country.

Mr. Wedgwood. Mr. *Wedgwood* remarked, that no doubt there would be much smuggling; but exclusive of that, they would be able, after the prohibition was taken off, to introduce those articles, duty free, into this country, which our forefathers wisely prohibited under any duty whatever, however high it might be laid. The basis that the linens of the two countries should be admitted duty free, was by no means a fair or equal way of arguing; for in a commercial treaty between two countries, where it shall so happen that the exports, duty free,

free, from the one, consist chiefly of an article of which the other can send very little in return, in order to produce a real equality, the balance against the latter ought to be made up by the admission of such other articles, duty free, as the latter can send to the former; and with respect to the article of linens, this country imported annually about 1,400,000l. worth from Ireland; and Ireland, at the most, did not take from this more than about 30,000l. and the other articles, the produce or manufacture of Ireland, which are imported, duty free, into this kingdom, amount to about 700,000l. which together make more than two millions imported annually, duty free, into this kingdom, and which is four-fifths of the whole export of Ireland; whilst, on the other hand, the whole of the exports of the produce and manufacture of this country into Ireland are less than one million; therefore it followed, that if the whole of the exports were admitted duty free, Ireland would still fall more than a million deficient, in compensating Great Britain for her linens, &c. free of duty into England; of course it was unfair and impolitic, at a time like this, when we were negotiating with four foreign powers, relative to a commercial treaty, viz. with Russia, France, Spain, and America. Now, supposing they should make this method of equalization a matter of contention, and insist on the same privileges, Russia would say, you shall take our *hemp, iron, timber, and flax*, duty free; and in return, we will take the same articles from you. France would say the same with respect to her *wines*. Spain with her *indigo*: and America with *lumber, rice, and tobacco*. Therefore, he hoped the British House of Commons would see the absurdity of the measure, and recollect, that it was ridiculous to suppose that the staple commodity of two countries trading together should be alike. But he was fearful there was too much truth in the report which he had heard, and that the same conduct had been observed to several, viz. "That promises had been made by the Minister to take care of particular branches;" but whether that promise was, that they should be the last to be devoured, he knew not. But as the manufacturers of Great Britain formed one great chain, they ought to support each link, and not to look with indifference on the injury doing to their neighbour, as they might be certain, that when the chain was once broke, the whole would easily fall a sacrifice; and they might depend, it would be an easy matter to get one branch to say, "save me, and I will come

“ come to the bar of the House, and declare I am satisfied ;” of course the whole should be made one common cause, and each distinct branch endeavour to support the whole.

Mr. Smith. Mr. *Smith*, of Clapham, said he perfectly agreed with every thing that fell from the chairman, except the position he laid down of Russia, France, Spain and America, making use of this regulation, as a precedent for them in their commercial treaties with this country; for until the Chairman could shew that those countries stood in the same relation with us as Ireland, he by no means thought the analogy held good; for it was our interest and wish to see Ireland flourish; but with respect to France, it was the contrary, for it had always been a maxim, that as France flourished, Britain fell.

Mr. Wedgwood. Mr. *Wedgwood*, in reply, said that it would so far act against us in those treaties, that having bound ourselves to take the produce of Ireland duty free, Russia might say, should Ireland turn her mind to the cultivation of flax, hemp, &c. you will not be at liberty to treat with us as heretofore; and, of course it would tie up our hands from treating with other nations.

A gentleman whose name we do not recollect, stated that there was a particular grievance, which, in his opinion, had not been much noticed: it was, that Irish linens of the value of 6d. and not exceeding 22d. per yard, of the width of 25 inches, received a bounty of 1½d. per yard on being exported, which was prejudicial to the low priced linens of other parts of the kingdom.

Mr. Silvester. Mr. *Silvester* said he was utterly against entering into a warfare of bounties, nor did he see it had any thing to do with the question before the Committee, which was the necessity of petitioning at least for further time: however, the importation of Irish linens, duty free, was settled in the reign of William and Mary, as an equivalent for the prohibition of Irish woollens; and the allowing a bounty of three halfpence per yard on the exportation, was to put this country into a situation so as to be able to export as cheap as Ireland, who otherwise would certainly undersell us. As to the answer given by the Minister to him, and the other gentlemen who waited on him that morning, he thought it ought to alarm every manufacturer: for there was so much art and cunning in the first resolution, that he did not see how any person on the first sight could object to it; for could there be any thing fairer than to say, that it is highly important to the general interest

interest of the British empire, that the trade between Great Britain and Ireland be encouraged and extended as much as possible; and for that purpose, that the intercourse and commerce be finally settled and regulated on permanent and equitable principles, for the mutual benefit of both countries. Yet, when it was said that the agreeing to that resolution should bind them to agree to the whole, not a moment should be lost in petitioning against so destructive a measure.

Mr. *Richard Walker* said it was needless to attempt to point out particular objections, when it was plain, from the Minister's answer, that no alteration whatever could take place; and it was equally plain, that from the great favour shewn to Ireland, she would, should the resolutions pass the British House of Commons, be enabled to supply foreign markets with many articles much cheaper than this country could afford, owing to the price of labour being cheaper.

Mr. *Wedgwood* said, however harsh it might appear, he had always considered that it was impossible to admit friendship into trade. You might, to be sure, go upon the plan of saying, “ Grant me one advantage, and I will grant you another:” but you might with as much propriety admit fancy into mathematics, as friendship into trade; and he desired the meeting to recollect what happened but a short time since: when Mr. Fox was in power, there was a talk of a commercial treaty, and the Emperor said, that unless certain regulations were agreed to, he would prohibit the importation of British produce into his dominions. A negotiator was sent over there; but before he returned, Mr. Fox was out of office, and Mr. Pitt being but newly seated, nothing was done: however, the Emperor published an edict, which is to take place in two months, and if we bound ourselves to take the flax, &c. of Ireland, in preference to his, of course his edict for a non-importation of British manufactures would take place. However, on the whole, unless Ireland would agree to pay equal duties with Great Britain on all articles imported from foreign states, and some resolutions be adopted respecting those articles which are objects of exportation, and subject to an excise in either country, no scheme of equalization could be devised, which would not in effect prove highly detrimental to Great Britain.

Mr. *Robert Peele* acquainted the Meeting, that he and Mr. *Robert Smith* of Cheapside had just come from the Minister, and had

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had been told nearly the same as stated by the Chairman, viz. "That no alteration could take place;" which greatly astonished them; for when they waited on him upwards of a fortnight since, as Delegates from Lancaster and parts adjacent, he assured them, that he would take care they should not be hurt, and desired they would think of what regulations were necessary, and he would send to them before any resolution was passed; he accordingly sent for them that morning, and told them, it was out of his power to alter the resolutions as made in the Irish House, but that they must stand or fall together.

Several of the Gentlemen who had been examined before the Lords Committee of Council, said, that if called to the bar of the House of Commons, they could give material information; and they trusted, the House would draw a different inference from their testimony, from that made by the Committee of Council.

The motion for a petition was then agreed to unanimously, and a Committee withdrew into another room, and prepared one, which was read, and met with a like concurrence.

The meeting then came to a resolution of forming a Chamber of Manufacturers in London, to consist of manufacturers only; and to appoint some one of their body to attend for certain hours each day, to receive information and instruction from the trading part of the kingdom, desiring that it might be directed to the Committee of the Chamber of Manufacturers, at the George and Vulture, in Cornhill. After passing a variety of other resolutions, and thanking the Chairman for his able support, and impartial conduct, they adjourned until ten o'clock to-morrow.

London, March 30.

General CHAMBER of MANUFACTURERS.

The Chamber yesterday was numerously attended, and Mr. Boulton, of Birmingham, was unanimously called to the Chair.

Mr. Boulton.

Mr. Boulton desired the minutes of the last meeting to be read; after which, for the information of some gentlemen who at a former meeting expressed themselves not sufficiently informed, to declare, "That by the Resolutions of the last Parliament, the East-India and China trade would, after the expiration of the Company's present Charter, be left as open to the Irish as to the English nation;" he

he acquainted them, that on enquiry, he was credibly informed, that after the year 1790, the Charter would expire, and the trade become equally alike to each country.

The Secretary then read a variety of letters from different manufacturing towns, all of which breathed an opinion, that unless Ireland will agree to pay equal duties with Great Britain on all articles imported from foreign states, and some regulations be adopted respecting those articles, which are objects of exportation, and subject to an excise in either country, no scheme of regulation can be devised which will not prove highly detrimental to Great Britain; and that a proportionate participation of burthens, as well as of advantages, is the only foundation upon which a fair and equitable system or treaty of commerce can be concluded with Ireland.

The letters likewise mentioned, that the Meetings had come to resolutions to Petition Parliament, and inclosed copies of the petitions, which were couched in strong but respectful terms. That from the sail-cloth manufacturers of Lancaster and parts adjacent, prayed, That the present bounties on British sail cloth might be continued; and that Irish sail-cloth might not be imported into this country duty free, as it would destroy the trade of this country. A petition equally strong, was read from Kidderminster, stating the various trades carried on there, which would be affected; and a remarkable, sensible, and well-penned petition, from the glass-manufacturers of London, Glasgow, and Newcastle, was likewise read; wherein the mischiefs that would attend that trade, are particularly pointed out.

Mr. Silvester informed the meeting, that he was credibly informed, the last petition was intended to be followed up by two others from the same trade.

The Chamber had also received a letter from Sir John Dalrymple, with his thoughts on the Irish resolutions, in which he had considered them under the various effects they would have on the landed interest, the manufacturers, the trading interest, and the carrying-trade; with a variety of observations, concluding at last, that the Irish resolutions, like Pandora's box, are full of mischief.

The letters from Warminster declared, that the Irish resolutions carry with them an intended ambiguity, to prevent the trading part of the kingdom from understanding them.

The letters from Gloucestershire stated a general meeting was to be held there as yesterday, and those from Salisbury; that a meeting of the clothiers was intended to be held on Nump. I. H the

the 4th of April, when they would immediately convey to the Chamber what resolutions they agreed to.

Mr. Boulton.

Mr. Boulton said there were to be meetings, he understood, at Wolverhampton, Dudley, West Bromwich, &c. the result of which, he presumed, would be known by the next meeting.

Mr. Silvester.

Mr. Silvester acquainted the Meeting, that the Committee, which sat to enquire into the nature of such goods as are at present prohibited, had not been able yet to form their report, so as to lay it before the Chamber, but would be ready in a few days.

A letter was read from the Committee of Manufacturers of Nottingham, to Robert Smith, Esq. one of their representatives in Parliament, with instructions to him how to act.

To ROBERT SMITH, Esq.

Nottingham, March 25, 1785.

“ S I R,

Instructions from Nottingham.

“ WE had the honour, yesterday, of receiving your favour of the 22d, and think ourselves obliged to you for your immediate compliance with our request in presenting the petition of the manufacturers of the town of Nottingham to the House of Commons, which, we find, is ordered to lie upon the table. Before we state to you the reasons and apprehensions on which the petition is founded, give us leave to say, that if what we read in the public prints is true, that you accompanied the presentation of the petition with an opinion of your own; that the Irish resolutions, if passed into a law, would not, in any one single instance, affect the manufactories of the town of Nottingham. We think such a declaration was uncandid towards your constituents, and submit it to you, Sir, whether, before you gave so decided an opinion in the House, you ought not to have consulted some of your intelligent friends here, how far those regulations would affect their manufactories.

When the commercial treaty with Ireland was first brought into the House, we are free to confess we did not understand its tendency nor effects; nor indeed do we now clearly comprehend the whole extent of its operation. The regulations intended to be established are said to be on principles of perfect equality; shew us that they can be made so, and we are friendly to this liberal system. It appears that this country takes from Ireland 1,400,000l. in linens, and about 600,000l. of other manufactures; and this sum, amounting to two millions, exempted from any duty. Is it not evident,

dent, then, that if we are to go upon a principal of equalization, that the duties on English goods, importable into Ireland, should be taken off to the same amount? (for there can be no equality without it) and we ought to pray that the manufacturers of this town may be exonerated from the heavy duties they now pay into Ireland, which stand as follows:

On cotton and thread stockings ten per cent. *ad valorem*.
On worsted stockings, from eight to ten shillings a dozen, which, on the average price, is full thirty per cent.

On silk stockings, four shillings and four-pence a pair, almost amounting to a prohibition.

This, however, is a very delicate point, for though we wish to see these duties taken off, which would for the present increase the demand of our goods to Ireland, (as we are confident the Irish do not yet manufacture stockings sufficient for their own consumption) yet such an encouragement might cut us most severely in future.—Irish stockings would be importable into this country free of duty likewise, and, it is feared, would open upon us another door to smuggling of French silk stockings, (a growing evil, and which this town at present most severely feels) and other articles of foreign manufactures, under the false pretence of their being Irish. There can be little doubt that if these regulations pass into a law, not many years will elapse before Ireland will appear the rival of Great Britain at foreign markets. The cheapness of labour and provisions; their comparative exemption from internal taxes, and of duties on the importation of raw materials; the drawback, which at present, we are informed, is allowed by England on all China silk, bought at our East-India sales, and sent to Ireland, is three shillings and three-pence a pound (which is about four shillings a pound when the gum is boiled out of the silk, and in a manufacturing condition); the emigrations which will most probably take place from this country from various motives and inducements: all these, and many other co-operating arguments, strike us with this conviction, that the propositions, if carried into a law, will effectually destroy and annihilate the manufactures and commerce of this kingdom, and consequently so reduce the revenue, by cutting off, or turning the source of trade into a different channel, as to render this country truly wretched and deplorable. Considering this matter as confined to the local interests of Nottingham, we will state to you a few of those many evils which are to be dreaded; nay, which we think

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think must necessarily ensue, from this Irish plan of arrangement.—With respect to the article of silk, there cannot remain a shadow of doubt, that with the advantage of buying the raw material four shillings a pound cheaper than we do; the cheapness of labour and provisions, &c. &c. and the probability that Ireland will fetch her own silk from Bengal and China, subject to no duty on importation, but she must in time rival us in this manufacture; and that she will supply every foreign market cheaper than we can.

In respect to the thread manufactories, the raw material being the growth and manufacture of Ireland, the loss of this branch is inevitable.

And now, with regard to the cotton manufactories, the progress which Ireland must make here is truly alarming; and from many concurring causes in her favour, must be rapid too. It is well known that she is superior to us in spinning cotton in the common way; that several mills are already established in Ireland for spinning cotton, upon Mr. Arkwright's plan, and many more, no doubt, from the immense profits attending it, will be created; she is now enjoying a part of those profits which are cut off from us by the monopoly Mr. Arkwright has established for near five years to come; and the manufacturing hosiery in Ireland will buy his cotton cheaper than we do.

The cotton manufactories, in our opinion, are the great object which Ireland looks up to; and as she now enjoys a free trade to the West-India islands, and can bring the cotton wool to her own door free of duty on importation, joined to every local advantage of situation, shorter voyages, cheap living, and exemption from taxes; under all these considerations, can any man doubt that Ireland will not supplant England in these inestimable manufactories.

The article of worsted hosiery may not possibly be in such immediate danger of receiving injury as the others before enumerated; but, in our opinion, all woollens importable into Ireland as the staple manufacture of this country, should be exempted from duty there, in return for that exemption which we are for ever to grant to her staple manufacture of linens, and for which she can never give a compensation.

We have already made an immense sacrifice of our woollen trade to the interest of Ireland; some gentlemen of the manufactory of this town will remember when there was a very great demand for our worsted stockings, and pieces, to Prussia, Brandenburg, &c. but as soon as the heavy duties were imposed upon Silesia, and other German linens, which

which were laid on purely to encourage the Irish manufactures. The King of Prussia laid on a duty of 45 per cent. upon all English woollens, and the Emperor, and other German Princes, seem to be following his example; and were we now at liberty to form treaties of commerce with these German Princes, and engage to receive their staple articles of linens in exchange for our woollens and other manufactures, we conceive the trade of this town and nation would be considerably augmented; but we seem to be in a humour to give every thing away to Ireland, and every thing that is given to her will be a loss to, and severely felt by Old England. It hath been urged as an argument, that the manufactories of this town can receive no injury from this commercial arrangement with Ireland, because the prices in Dublin for working the stockings are higher than they are in England; we admit that this is a fact, but deny the conclusion drawn from it. At present the Irish frame-work knitting-manufactory is principally carried on in Dublin, subject to the controul of an incorporated company of frame-work knitters, who make what laws they please for the regulation of their trade, and establishment of prices. The manufactory of this country was formerly subject to a tyrannical court, similar to this in Dublin, and was carried on principally in London; but by degrees came from the metropolis into Nottinghamshire, and the neighbouring counties; the chartered frame-work knitting-company of London followed the manufactory; established this court of jurisdiction here, exercising an authority injurious to every manufactory, of solely binding apprentices, excluding women and all non freemen from working or following their trade and occupations. Whilst this court existed in Nottingham, the manufactory did not flourish, and under such restrictions and penal laws it was impossible it ever should. No sooner had the town gotten rid of these troublesome gentry, than the manufactory began to increase. Between thirty and forty years ago, an attempt was made to revive the jurisdiction of this court in Nottingham; and this town ought for ever to hold in reverence the present John Thornagh Hunt, Esq; of Shire-Oaks, (then member for this county) by whose indefatigable zeal and activity to serve the town, this destructive measure (in Parliament) was defeated. Within your memory, Sir, another effort to revive the odious and baneful jurisdiction of this court has been attempted, and had it succeeded, from that moment the vigour and prosperity of this manufactory would have de-

declined. Now the situation which Nottingham was in, and the present situation of Dublin, are exactly similar. The Irish labour under the present restraining laws of this selfish company; but when the Irish propositions pass into a law, this manufactory will be removed from Dublin into some more convenient part of Ireland: the manufactory will be thereby emancipated from the shackles of those laws, and the prices which at present controul the trade; and they will then work cheaper than we do, or can possibly have the power of doing.

Thus, Sir, we have stated to you some of the many arguments we have in support of the allegations of our petition, which we have endeavoured, as much as possible, to confine to the interests of this particular manufactory: we think them substantial, cogent, and applicable, and such as must strike every dispassionate and impartial man with conviction, that the apprehensions we feel of the injuries which will probably result from the Irish bill to the manufacturers of this town, are not ideal and speculative, but justly founded. It may be necessary, perhaps, to say a few words in apology, for the resolutions of the manufacturers of this town being levelled against the Irish propositions *in toto*: this language was adopted from the information we received in the public prints, that the Minister had declared, "that the whole must stand or fall together." This matter is taken up by the town you represent, on the firm conviction, that the Irish propositions militate against the interest of its manufactories; we are in this cause united in one opinion, divested of every party consideration, only anxious and solicitous for the preservation and prosperity of our trade and the public good. On these grounds alone we have raised, and make our present opposition; and as the reasons we have urged are, in our judgment, clear and unequivocal, and have impressed our minds with a sincere belief of their truth and rectitude, we entertain a confidence that they will operate as forcibly with you; and by removing that fallacy and opinion which a predilection of measures, or the want of a more intimate knowledge of the nature and circumstances of our manufactory may have produced, secure to us and the public, earnest and steady exertion of your interest and abilities in conjunction with Mr. Coke, your colleague, in support of our petition.

We are much obliged by your attention in securing to us the liberty of being heard at the bar of the House of Commons, in support of our petition; but shall beg leave to decline

cline that honour, from many, various, and cogent reasons, unless it should be required by the House, but we hope and expect that whenever the object of our petition may come into debate, that you will in your place in the House, as our Representative, deliver the reasons we have above assigned, as arguments in support of our petition, and in justification of our conduct, and which we sacredly hold solid ground of objection, and substantial bars against the adoption of measures originating in the spirit of the joint Irish propositions; and likely in their effects to be fatally prejudicial to our trade and manufactures, and subversive of those great inestimable privileges which we participate as Englishmen, in common with the rest of the commercial and manufacturing bodies of this kingdom, and on which the greatness, glory and dignity of the empire depend. We by no means shrink from the arduous and unpleasant task of an examination, but we conceive if what we have above adduced, is incompetent to conviction; an examination at the bar of the House will be little, if at all, more effectual, and we are inclined to think that in such enquiries, the means are too frequently inadequate to the end; and so far from producing perfect knowledge by full and clear investigation, are made the instruments of confusion, perplexity and embarrassment, directed to the purposes and views of the minister, and often expose the mysteries and intimate connections of our trade and commerce, and the course and extent thereof to all European states."

Mr. *Sylvester* observed, that the letter contained such sound Mr. *Sylvester* sense and strength of argument as must be of material benefit^{ter} to the public at large; he therefore moved, that the Delegates from Nottingham be requested to write to their Committee, for leave to publish the whole, or such part of the letter as they may think fit; the motion was agreed to, and Mr. *Northege*, one of the delegates present, promised to write as that evening.

Mr. *Colbourn*, one of the Delegates from Paisley and Glas-^{Mr. Col-}gow, in a sensible speech, pointed out the necessity there was^{houn.} for the Chamber to steer clear of party, and to continue their exertions, and watch over the interests of the manufacturers at large; he particularly advised no resolutions to be hastily drawn up or agreed to, until they had been maturely considered; for the business in question was of the utmost consequence, and if rashly concluded, would, in all probability, neither prove beneficial or lasting to either country; and they might depend upon it, that the mere delay of hearing the petitions would not be sufficient; for a number of ques-
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tions would be artfully put, to draw answers contradictory to each other, and then those answers would be made use of against them, and form a pretence for the resolutions being passed, as no conclusion could be drawn from the evidence given; therefore he had to suggest, whether it would not be most expedient to appoint a Committee, to consider of a Petition to Parliament, praying that the resolutions of the Irish Parliament might not pass into a law this session, but to give time for a well digested plan to be formed, which would prove a bond of union between the two kingdoms.

The motion was agreed to, and a Committee formed.

A gentleman from Salisbury said he had to propose, that the Chamber should point out to Parliament, that the only way of procuring such a system, was to form a Board of Trade in London, to consist of both English and Irish manufacturers, the numbers to be in proportion to the trade of each country; for instance, twenty of England, and twelve of Ireland, and for them to form such regulations for the commerce between the two countries, as appeared, on due deliberation, to be just and equitable; but, whilst the Chamber consisted of only manufacturers of this country, it would be said they were met only to consider their own interests.

Mr. Silvester.

Mr. *Silvester* stated the impropriety of the Chamber, pointing out any specific plan to Parliament, as it would appear arrogating to itself, a province which did not belong to it; and with respect to the imputation of the Chamber Meeting only to consider its own interests; he could assure the Gentlemen, that the Chamber was not averse to any system of fair, equal, and equitable commercial regulations, being adjusted and finally settled between the two kingdoms; but in doing that, they certainly were as good judges as any board of trade could be in what affected themselves.

Mr. Boulton.

Mr. *Boulton* was of a similar opinion; on which the Gentleman withdrew his proposition, and hinted, that the end might be answered by permitting Irish manufacturers to attend their Chamber.

Mr. Silvester and Mr. Boulton.

Mr. *Silvester*, and Mr. *Boulton* both pointed out, that the firm of the Chamber implied it to be manufacturers of *Great Britain*; of course, it was confined to them only, and if the manufacturers of Ireland were admitted, as *their* interests would be different, continual disputes would arise; therefore, if the Irish manufacturers wished to give their sentiments, they had better form a Chamber of their own.

No other business was done; and after thanks being returned to the Chairman, the Chamber adjourned to Tuesday April 5; at 12 o'clock.

MINUTES

[A U T H E N T I C C O P Y.]

Mercurii, 16 die Martii, 1785.

MINUTES of the EVIDENCE taken at the COMMITTEE on the TRADE between GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND.

MR. GILBERT IN THE CHAIR.

THE Committee was moved, That part of the Examination of Messrs. WALKER and RICHARDSON, page 38, (of the Edition printed by *J. Almon*) of the Report of the Lords of the Committee of Council, of the 1st March 1785, might be read.

And the same was read accordingly, and is as follows:

Q. "YOU have said, That if England and Ireland were put upon equal terms with respect to duties and bounties upon their cotton manufactures, they will naturally supply themselves with cotton goods for their internal consumption; Do you mean that the Irish manufacturer will supply the Irish market, and the English manufacturer the English market?"

A. "We apprehend the Irish manufacturer will have the advantage, and may in time even supply the English market."

Q. "If the cotton manufactures of Ireland are made subject to a duty of 10½ per cent. on importation into Great Britain, Do you apprehend the Irish manufacturer will be able to supply the English market, to the detriment of the cotton trade of this country?"

A. "If the cotton trade of this country was protected by a duty of 10½ per cent. upon the importation of cotton goods

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" goods

M E R C H A N T S

“ goods from Ireland into this country, we apprehend it
“ would be a sufficient security to our trade for the home
“ consumption.”

C O U N S E L called in.

Mr. Garrow, for the Petition of the Callico Manufacturers
and Printers of the County Palatine of Lancaster, and
Counties adjacent.

The said P E T I T I O N was read.

Mr. Garrow informed the Committee, that being called
upon on a sudden to attend this Committee upon the present
occasion, and not being therefore so well prepared as he could
wish, desired to call his witnesses first, and make his obser-
vations on the evidence after it was given.

Which being permitted to be done, he called

M R . R O B E R T P E E L E .

Q. What business are you?

A. A callico manufacturer and printer.

Q. What number of persons do you employ, distin-
guishing those employed in the manufacture, from those
employed in the printing?

A. In the manufacture, I employ 6000, in the print-
ing, 800.

Q. What is the amount of Excise duty paid by your
house alone upon the manufacture?

A. I pay 20,000l. per annum.

Q. Whether there are any duties paid on the manufac-
ture of cotton goods in Ireland?

A. There are none.

Q. What is the proportion of the price of labour to the
price of the raw materials used in the manufacture carried
on by you?

A. In the common articles of our manufacture, of which
there is the greatest consumption, a little more than half
the cost consists in labour; in high priced goods, seven-
eighths of the cost consists in labour.

Q. What is the common price of labour paid to the per-
sons employed in your manufactory?

A. Eight shillings per week per man.

Q. Do you know what is the common price of labour
paid to the working people employed in the linen manu-
facture in Ireland?

A. From the best information I have been able to get
the price is from four to five shillings per week.

Q. As

M A G A Z I N E .

Q. As you have stated that you pay to the Excise duty
to the amount of 20,000l. per annum, is not a considerable
part of your capital employed in the advance of those duties?

A. About 15 per cent of the capital employed for the
duties.

Q. What is the increase of capital required by the En-
glish manufacturer, on account of advance of duties, and the
difference of price of labour in this country and Ireland?

A. Twenty per cent. on the goods manufactured.

Q. Whether a person who has been employed as a weaver
in the cotton manufactory, can weave linen with equal fa-
cility?

A. Equally as well.

Q. Can the linen weaver, with equal facility weave
cotton?

A. Yes, he can.

Q. You have stated, that labour in Ireland is consider-
ably lower than in England: in what proportion would
that difference affect the goods when manufactured?

A. In common articles, the difference would be 20
per cent. In fine goods, the difference would be still
greater.

Q. If the cotton trade of this country was protected by a
duty of 10½ per cent. imposed on the importation of cotton
goods from Ireland to this country; do you apprehend,
that the Irish manufacture will be able to supply the En-
glish market, to the detriment of the cotton trade of this
country?

A. I certainly think, that the Irish manufacturer would
be able to send his goods into England, 12 or 13 per cent.
(after paying the 10 and 1-half per cent.) cheaper than
the English manufacturer; because of the increased capital
required by the English manufacturer, as well as the ad-
vanced price of labour.

Q. If the resolutions of the Irish Parliament should be
adopted by the legislature of this country, do you suppose
that the price of labour will increase, so as to remove the
inequality which you have stated to this Committee?

A. I cannot conceive, that the price of labour in Ire-
land can be much increased, whilst the taxes in that country
are so inconsiderable, unless the trade to this country should
be so considerable, as very much to injure the manufactures
of Great Britain.

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Q. If

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Q. If Ireland has hitherto possessed the advantage you have stated, how has it happened, that you have exported considerable quantities of printed goods to that kingdom?

A. We are superior to the Irish in printing; and as they have not had an opportunity of sending cotton goods into this country, we printed our own manufactures for that trade: but if the printing should continue in this country, we shall undoubtedly lose the manufacturing those goods, not only for the consumption of that country, but of Great Britain; and the manufacture employs nineteen persons for one to the printing.

Q. If Irish printed goods should be permitted to be imported into this country subject to duties, do you apprehend that the payment of those duties will be evaded, and the goods imported clandestinely?

A. The heavy duties paid upon our manufactures, with the addition of ten one-half per cent. on the importation, would offer such an advantage to the smuggler, that it is to be feared, very great quantities would come into this country without paying any duty; as it would be very difficult to tell whether a piece of Irish manufacture had paid the duty or not, if the trade was open.

Q. Can you state to the Committee any other objection drawn from the detriment, which, in your judgment, would follow to the manufactures of this country, as reasons against the adopting the resolutions of the Irish Parliament?

A. If the Irish are allowed to send their goods to the English market, they will not only injure us in our home trade, but we have great reason to fear that they will draw so much ready money from this country, as to enable them to give credit to foreign countries, and very materially injure that trade.

Q. Whether the persons employed in your manufacture, to the amount of six thousand eight hundred, contribute largely to the revenue of this country, by the consumption of articles charged with excise duty?

A. I should think they must be very serviceable to the revenue, in consuming those articles which are charged with excise duties.

Examined by MEMBERS of the HOUSE.

Q. You will inform the Committee whether eight shillings is the price paid to the principal persons concerned in the manufactory, and whether there are not others who receive much lower wages?

A. I

A. I reckon eight shillings to be the average price of labour that we pay to men in our manufacture.

Q. What is the price paid to women employed in this manufacture?

A. About five shillings per week.

Q. What is the average price paid to children employed in the manufacture?

A. From one shilling and sixpence to four shillings per week.

Q. In carrying on the manufacture, on an average, what is the number of women and children employed, compared with the number of men?

A. I never made such an estimate; it is impossible to tell with any kind of accuracy.

Q. Is it one-half or two-thirds; can you say in general, though not accurately?

A. I should suppose the number of men not to be one third.

Q. Can you say in general what is the number of children compared with women employed in the manufacture?

A. It is impossible to form any kind of judgment in my opinion.

Q. Whether you don't pay manufacturers every week, and whether from thence you can't say what that proportion is?

A. We are paying people every day, when they bring in their work.

Q. Whether a considerable part of the work in this manufacture, particularly in the first stage of it, is not performed by machines?

A. With the assistance of hand labour.

Q. You have given an account of the price of labour in Ireland, do you mean that for the price paid to men only, or on the average to men, women, and children?

A. To men only?

Q. Whether, in the linen manufacture, the same mills are made use of as in the cotton manufacture, in the first stages of the manufacture?

A. The same machines are not made use of as in the linen manufacture, in the early stages of it.

Q. Are any other machines of the same sort made use of?

A. Not of the same sort; there are machines used in the linen manufacture.

Q. Is the labour in the linen manufacture abridged by the

the

the machines, as it is in the cotton manufacture, in any, and what proportion?

A. I believe it is not abridged in the same manner.

Q. Have not the Irish manufacturers in linen a great advantage, by having the linen yarn cheaper than in Great Britain?

A. I should think they certainly had an advantage.

Q. Whether, notwithstanding the cheapness of the labour in Ireland, the cheapness of the raw materials, there not being the same use of machines; and that the Irish linen is imported duty free, there does not exist a very great linen manufacture in this country?

A. I don't believe there does exist a very great linen manufacture in England.

Q. Whether the same circumstances don't exist with respect to the manufacture of Scotland; and whether there does not exist a very great linen manufacture in Scotland?

A. I believe there does exist a manufacture of linen in Scotland, but I can't tell to what extent.

Q. Whether you don't know that the linen manufactures of Great Britain, have, for many years last past, been greatly increasing gradually?

A. I am not able to speak to that point.

Q. Do you know what is the price of labour in Scotland?

A. I have heard that the price of labour in Scotland is lower than in England; but I don't know in what proportion.

Q. Can you say what is the difference of the price of labour between Ireland and Scotland?

A. I can't say precisely; I believe it is lower in Ireland than in Scotland.

Q. What is the value per cent. of freight of cotton goods from Ireland to Great Britain, including port charges?

A. About two pounds per cent. I believe on our goods.

Q. What do you rate per cent. the amount of the duty laid last year on cotton goods in England?

A. Fifteen per cent.

Q. State to the Committee on what estimate you form that calculation?

A. The old duty on printing is three-pence per yard; the new duty on bleaching one-penny per yard; the average price of the goods (when finished) is about two shillings and three-pence per yard.

Q. Whether

Q. Whether the duty of last year is not drawn back on exportation?

A. All duties on our goods are drawn back on exportation.

Q. If a duty of ten one-half per cent. *ad valorem*, is added to the inland or Excise duty, now paid on our cotton goods, on the importation of the like goods into Great Britain from Ireland, together with the price of freight, do you think you have any reason to apprehend a competition between the manufactures in our market?

A. There still will remain an advantage of twelve or thirteen per cent. in favour of the Irish manufacture.

Q. State in what manner?

A. By an advantage of twenty per cent. which he derives from the low price of labour on the common articles, and an advantage of thirty per cent. on the fine articles, which added to the advantage he derives by not employing more than two-thirds of the capital required by the English manufacture to the same quantity of business, I reckon it to be at least from twelve to thirteen per cent.

Q. Will not this burthen upon the capital affect in like manner the Irish manufacture, from the time that the duty is paid on importation, to the time of sale?

A. So far different, that the English manufacturer is in advance for part of the duties, nine months before the goods are ready for the market; and the other part of the duties, at least six months; and the Irish manufacture is ready for the market when imported into this country.

Q. Whether the cotton goods of this country have not always been subject to a duty of ten one-half per cent. on the importation into Ireland?

A. Ever since I can remember.

Q. Has there not, during that time, been a great importation of our cotton goods into Ireland?

A. Of printed cotton goods.

Q. Whether not of fustians?

A. I am not in that manufacture, and therefore can't speak to it.

Q. Have not the Irish, during that time had full liberty of manufacturing cotton goods for their own consumption, or for foreign markets, if they choose it?

A. I believe they had for their own consumption; but it is only of late date that they have had an opportunity of supplying foreign markets with them.

Q. How

Q. How has it happened, that if the Irish can manufacture so much cheaper than we can here, they have for so long a period, at so great a disadvantage of duties and freight, taken the cotton goods of this country, and have not manufactured them for themselves?

A. They have only taken our printed cotton for a reason I have already assigned, that printing is done better in this country than in Ireland.

Q. Will not the same skill, if it exists operate equally in favour of the other parts of the manufacture?

A. I think not, because the success in printing depends, in a great measure, on taste and ingenuity; but in the manufacture of cotton, nothing is required but common manual labour.

Q. Have we not a superiority in our cotton manufactures over all foreign countries?

A. The superiority, if we have it, is of that nature, that it can be easily removed into a neighbouring kingdom; and so much am I satisfied of it, that since the Irish resolutions came before this House, I have wrote to a principal house in Ireland to have a connection with it for the purpose of supplying the consumption of this country.

Q. Do you not know that the French have tried to establish the cotton manufacture in France?

A. I have been informed, that they not only have tried, but are increasing that manufacture very fast.

Q. Don't you know that the only manufacture they have is supported by the King of France?

A. I am not acquainted with that subject.

Q. Is there not a very great exportation of cotton goods from Great Britain to most foreign countries?

A. There is a considerable export of cotton goods abroad.

Q. Have you reason to believe that the French manufactures in cotton have ever rivalled us in foreign markets?

A. I believe they have not been carried on yet to that extent to rival us abroad.

Q. How long have they been established; don't you know an Englishman that went to establish them?

A. I don't know how long, nor the Englishman that went.

Q. Can you inform the Committee, with respect to the actual state of the cotton manufacture in Ireland?

A. With respect to that part of the cotton manufacture in which I am concerned, I believe there is a considerable quantity

quantity made; and from persons conversant with it, I am informed the price of goods is much lower in that country than the same kind of goods sell for in England.

Q. Do you know the prices paid to the labourers either at Prosperos or Balbrigen?

A. I don't know the prices paid at either place.

Q. Have you not been informed there are men spinners there who are paid from six shillings to twelve shillings per week?

A. I never heard that circumstance mentioned.

Q. Have you ever heard that there are printers paid such high wages as a guinea per week?

A. Yes; I believe they have paid that price for printers.

Q. Don't you know that the manufactures have been upheld by liberal grants from the Irish Parliament?

A. I have repeatedly heard that they have been established by bounties, and that the bounties still continue in many branches of the manufacture.

Q. Don't you know that these manufactures would have fallen to the ground but for those bounties, from the great length of credit which the English merchants are able to give?

A. I am totally unacquainted with that matter; but from the low price of labour in that country, I should suppose they did not stand in need of many such aids.

Q. Do you personally, from your own knowledge, know what the price of labour is in that country?

A. I have long had connections with the principal house in Ireland; and my information I have gathered from them.

Q. Is not the English manufacturer of cottons more skilful than the Irish?

A. I don't believe it depends much upon the skill of the weaver, but upon his industry.

Q. In point of fact, is not more work done by an English, than by any Irish manufacturer in cotton in a day?

A. I can't speak to that.

Q. May not the difference of skill in a manufacturer, fully make up the difference in point of wages?

A. I think not; I observed before, that there was very little of skill in the manufacture; and I am so convinced, that the manufacture might be as well done in Ireland, that I could get the same quantity of pieces made in that country, which I now get made in England, in the course of three months, on the terms I have before stated.

Q. Do you believe that the exportation of cotton goods

M E R C H A N T S

to Ireland is diminished, since the power given to the Irish of exporting their own cotton goods?

A. The exportation of printed cotton goods to Ireland, has very much decreased, of late, owing, I suppose, to the non-importation agreement.

Q. Has it decreased since 1780, upon an average of those years?

A. I believe it has increased, from 1780 to 1782.

Q. Is the Committee to understand then, that you are of opinion that the cotton manufactures of Manchester have not suffered by the liberty of exportation granted to the Irish trade?

A. I believe they have already suffered, but not in any great degree.

Q. Is not the Irish capital employed in the cotton manufacture, comparatively very small, compared with the English?

A. I believe there are but few people of property contribute to carry on the manufacture in Ireland, owing to an aversion their people of property have, in general, to being employed in business.

Q. Can England, therefore, lose her cotton manufactory, but by the loss of her industry, or by the imposition of injudicious taxes?

A. I think she may lose her manufactory by the English manufacturer of property employing his capital in Ireland, as well as by injudicious taxes.

Q. Can you inform the Committee, whether Mr. Arkwright's machines are used in the cotton manufacturs of Ireland?

A. I believe at present they are used, but they are going to be used in a much greater degree, as Mr. Arkwright has the exclusive right to those machines in England, which does not extend to Ireland.

Q. What does Mr. Arkwright expect from the manufacturer, for the liberty of using his machine?

A. It depends on the number of spindles that he sells, and the time that he has in his patent.

Q. How many years longer has Mr. Arkwright's patent to run?

A. Five or six years.

Q. What on an average is a manufacturer obliged to pay Mr. Arkwright for a machine with 30 spindles?

A. About 60l.

Q. Whe-

M A G A Z I N E.

Q. When you stated that the manufacturer in Ireland would trade with an advantage of 13 or 14 per cent. Did you include the money that he was to pay Mr. Arkwright?

A. Yes; that was included.

Q. Should the Irish resolutions be adopted by the Parliament here, would you carry on the business to the same extent you do now?

A. I certainly should; but not in England.

Q. Where then?

A. In Ireland.

Q. Do you apprehend that any other persons concerned in the cotton trade would also remove to Ireland?

A. Upon the advantages held out, I should suppose a great number would carry the business to Ireland.

Q. Would not that, in your opinion, cause a great diminution of the revenue, by there being a less consumption of exciseable commodities in Lancashire?

A. I should think, in more parts than Lancashire, owing to decreased population, and the inability of poor people to consume exciseable commodities.

Q. Do you mean that the average price of labour you spoke of is taken from the piece work as well as the day work?

A. Yes; I mean that it is taken as well from the piece work as the day-work.

Q. Do you mean the same, from the information you have received of the price of labour in Ireland?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you then mean to say, that from the best information you can get from Ireland, you can there have the same quantity of labour performed for 5s. as you now pay 8s. for in Lancashire?

A. Yes.

Q. And in the same proportion by women and children?

A. Yes.

Q. Can you tell what proportion of the duties you pay to government as a printer, and what proportion as a manufacturer?

A. The last year I paid as a printer 19,000l. and as a manufacturer 1000l. But this year, if I was to carry on business to the same extent, which is not likely, should pay 19,000l. on the printing, and 6000l. on the manufacture.

Q. Whether the skill of making Mr. Arkwright's machine is now fully possessed by other people as well as Mr. Arkwright?

K 2

A. By

M E R C H A N T S

A. By every joiner in the country.

Q. Do you know enough of Ireland to form any opinion, whether the introduction of those machines there is likely to meet with opposition from the manufacturers or labouring people?

A. I should think the manufacturers, or labouring people, from what I know of Ireland, would have no objection to the machine working in that country.

Q. Do you know whether any of these machines have been sent to France?

A. I have heard so; but I am not satisfied about it.

Q. What are the different stages in the process of the manufacture, from its commencement to its completion?

A. Spinning, weaving, bleaching, and printing.

Q. What is the proportion of expence of each of those?

A. That would require some time to answer.

Q. Answer it generally, as near as you can?

A. Weaving would be nearly the same as the spinning, exclusive of the warp, which is made by Arkwright's machine; the expence of bleaching is considerable, and printing entirely depends on the nature of the pattern.

Q. In how many, and in which of those different parts of the manufacture, is machinery employed?

A. In the process of spinning.

Q. When you said that in the fine goods 7-8ths of the value arose from the expence of labour, whether those seven-8ths include the annual interest of money expended in machines, and the annual expence of keeping those machines in repair?

A. It includes the annual expence of keeping the machines in repair, but not the interest of the money employed.

Q. What proportion do you suppose the sums expended in the annual repairs of the machines, bears to the sums expended in labour?

A. The sums expended in machines bear no proportion at all, or a very small one, to the sums expended in labour.

Q. What do you apprehend to have been the expence of labour, compared with the total value of the compleat articles, before the invention of those machines that have been invented within these last twenty years?

A. I believe there was no such goods invented before the last twenty years.

Q. Do

M A G A Z I N E

Q. Do you then mean to say that the cotton manufactory did not exist in this country till within the last twenty years?

A. We distinguish the cotton manufactory from the muslin manufactory: what I said about the high priced goods are muslins, which I believe were not made in this county twenty years ago.

Q. Is the idea of going to establish the business in Ireland with a view to supply the English market, the forcing market, or both?

A. Both.

Q. Do you know of any other manufacturers that have it in contemplation to carry the business into Ireland, from an idea of the present proposed arrangements taking place?

A. I have heard many persons in the manufactory, declare an intention of carrying the manufactory into that country, provided these resolutions are formed into a law.

Q. Do you conceive that if these proposed resolutions were carried into effect, and the duty proposed on the import from Ireland stand a part of it, will it not be a strong encouragement to introduce the Irish manufactory by smuggling?

A. It will; I have declared that before.

Q. Is soap a considerable article in this manufactory?

A. I don't use much soap in this manufactory.

Q. Do you clearly understand the nature and tendency of the Irish resolutions; and the commercial regulations necessary to the carrying them into execution in both kingdoms?

A. They are far above my comprehension to understand them: but in the manner they have been explained to me I believe they will be very prejudicial to the cotton manufactories of this country.

Q. Whether it is not a general opinion, by the manufacturers of this country, that the art and industry of the English manufacturer, is more than a counterbalance for the lower price of labour in Ireland?

A. I believe it is far from being a received opinion of the manufacturers of this country, that the art and ingenuity of the manufacturer in England, would counterbalance the advantages of the Irish manufacturer; because, many of the manufacturers that will be injured by these resolutions, neither depend on art or ingenuity, but industry.

Question repeated as to industry, not ingenuity?

A. I think the English manufacturer cannot reckon any thing

thing on the industry of his work people—If I may be allowed to judge from the produce of labour in the Irish linen manufacture.

Q. In what manner have the Irish resolutions been explained to you?

A. That they are to be allowed to come into this country, free of all duties, except such as are paid, on the exportation of the same English manufacture to Ireland, and the internal duties in Great Britain.

Q. Was there no provision mentioned of a certain compensation for such allowance?

A. None to depend upon.

Q. Whether at the present rate of labour, and with a brisk trade, you have found that the manufacturers, employed by you, have in general, worked six days in a week?

A. Those that have large families work six days in a week.

Q. To what places do the manufactures go?

A. Great part are consumed in Great Britain: We send considerable quantities to America and the West Indies.

Q. Who pays you for the articles you send to America and the West Indies?

A. The English merchant, when they are for exportation; unless, which is sometimes the case, we execute an order from those countries.

Q. Do you know how the merchant is paid in return for those goods?

A. I believe, in general, by the produce of the countries to which the goods are sold.

Q. Is that produce to supply the consumption of this country?

A. Part of that produce to supply the consumption of this country, and another part to supply the manufactures.

Q. If the merchant of Ireland is to supply this country with the produce of the colonies, whether you will not send the manufactures of Ireland, and not the manufactures of this country, to purchase that produce?

A. I believe not only the Irish merchant, but the English merchant would be glad to take the manufactures of that country, as they may have them on much lower terms.

Q. Are you not aware that the merchants of this country may now send the manufactures of Ireland to the Colonies, in order to purchase the produce of those countries, and bring that produce either to Ireland or this country?

A. I am

A. I am so little acquainted with the business of a merchant, that I am not able to speak to that question.

Q. You have stated that the price of labour of a man at Manchester, is eight shillings per week, how long has he earned at that rate?

A. Ever since I have been in business.

Q. Did he earn it seven years ago?

A. That was reckoned a very moderate price seven years ago, and I believe he earned it.

Q. Whether the cotton manufactures of Ireland have hitherto been in so flourishing a condition, as to induce the merchants of Great Britain, to take part of the Irish manufactures in his cargo to America?

A. I do not think that the cotton manufacture of Ireland has been so long established as to supply foreign countries.

Q. Whether the want of the capital has not been a greater impediment to the prosperity of the cotton manufacture in Ireland, than the want of industry or skill in the people of Ireland, or any other cause that has hitherto been assigned?

A. I always understood that it was rather owing to people quitting trade in that country, when they became possessed of a small property.

Q. Whether the permission proposed to be given by the resolutions now under consideration, of importing Irish manufactures into Great Britain, will not induce people of great capital in Great Britain, either to settle in Ireland, or form connections which may give the advantages arising from cheapness of labour, and habits of industry, their full effects?

A. I have not a doubt but that will be the case with respect to myself; I mean to employ a very considerable capital in that country, and others will undoubtedly do the same.

Q. Whether the employment of English capitals in the manufactures of Ireland, will not tend so much to their prosperity, as to enable them to supply the British merchant with a considerable part of the cargo he may make up for America and the West Indies?

A. It certainly will.

Q. Whether under the advantages you have already stated, the English merchant will not prefer the cotton manufactures of Ireland to those of Great Britain?

A. It will certainly be his interest to take the Irish manufactures of cotton.

Q. In

Q. In forming the calculation of the advantages attending the Irish manufacture, and the disadvantage attending similar ones in Great Britain, you took into your consideration the bounties granted from time to time by the Irish Parliament on their manufactures?

A. I did not make any allowance for bounties granted on the Irish manufacture.

Q. Did you not consider the bounties granted on the Irish manufacture imported into Great Britain, disadvantageous to the British manufactures?

A. Undoubtedly any bounties granted on the manufactures of that country, will give a still greater advantage to the Irish manufacture than what I have before stated.

Q. Do you consider sums of money granted to manufacturers, in consequence of erecting mills, or incurring other expences, as operating in the nature of bounties?

A. I certainly consider that they will have that effect.

Q. Do you know that bounties have been granted by the Irish Parliament, on the sale of the manufactures in Ireland?

A. I have heard of it, but not sufficiently acquainted to speak.

Q. Do you consider that if a bounty of five per cent. on the sale of a manufacture is granted in Ireland, and that a duty of five per cent is charged on the importation of the same manufacture into Great Britain, that such import duty compleatly balances the bounty given on the sale?

A. I don't see that any great advantage would from thence arise to the manufacture of Ireland.

Q. Whether such bounties on sale, not drawback, will not operate against the British manufacture in foreign markets?

A. They certainly will, unless England allows a similar bounty on the same manufactures.

Q. Since the difference of the price of labour is so great an inducement, as to engage you to remove to Ireland, why have you not formed connections, and removed your capital to Scotland, where labour is cheaper than in England?

A. Because I understand that though labour is cheap in Scotland, yet it is a great deal more cheap in Ireland; besides there are very heavy duties on the cotton manufacture in Scotland, which would acquire an increased capital, that the Irish manufacture is not burthened with.

Q. Whether

Q. Whether you believe that the intended regulations will enable the cotton manufacturer of Ireland to export his goods to foreign countries, and to receive any different returns from thence than what he can now do?

A. I don't know with respect to the foreign trade, that the just manufacturer will derive any additional advantages from those resolutions.

Q. What computations have you made of the charges and commission attending the delivery of these goods in England, on which you have stated so large a profit to the Irish manufacturer?

A. I computed that the charges of sale and delivery of those goods from Ireland, and sold in the London market, would be very little more than the sale and delivery of the Lancashire goods sold in the same market.

Q. Do you not apprehend that the freight and insurance, and longer disburse of money, must considerably increase that charge?

A. I don't consider that the Irish manufacturer does pay much more for his carriage from Dublin to London, than the country manufacturer pays for land carriage to London, and that the Irish manufacturer can get a return in money as soon as the Lancashire manufacturer.

Q. Whether the act of 1780, for opening the Irish trade, has had any effect in any manner detrimental to the English cotton manufacture?

A. The time is so short that the bad effects of it are not yet so sensibly felt, but I can speak so far with respect to my own business, that I sold many Irish linens printed for exportation, before the passing that act, and I have now totally lost that trade.

Q. Was you or the cotton manufacturers in general, apprized of the passing that act in its progress through this House?

A. I believe the whole country were apprized of it.

Q. Did they oppose it by petition or otherwise?

A. The manufacturers of cotton did not oppose it to my knowledge.

Q. Has the cotton trade upon the whole increased or diminished since that time to your knowledge?

A. I can't speak to that.

Q. Do you believe that the passing these resolutions would be more detrimental to the cotton trade than the passing that act?

A. Ten times more detrimental in my opinion.

Q. Do you believe that it would be for the Interest of the Irish manufacturer of cotton, in case these resolutions were to pass, to send his cottons to the English market, under a considerable duty, before he had beat the English cottons out of every other market in the world, where they might meet upon equal terms?

A. I believe it would not only be the interest, but the Irish manufacturer will certainly send his goods to the English market, and raise a capital upon those goods, to enable him to beat the English manufacturer at foreign markets.

Q. Whether you believe that it is more for the advantage of any merchant of any country, to send his goods to market, where there will be a heavy duty on them; before he would send them to an equally good market where there is a much less duty, or none at all, charged on the said goods?

A. With respect to the duties charged on the Irish manufactures imported into Great Britain, I apprehend the Englishman will have to pay for it, and it will be natural for them to send their goods to a market, where they can draw for a great part of the amount immediately, rather than give a long credit at a distant market.

Q. Are you sure that the resolutions have been properly explained to you?

A. I can't answer for that:—Mr. Pitt explained them to me.

Q. Whether in your comparative view of the advantages and disadvantages to arise to the two kingdoms, on which you have grounded your reason to remove your capital from hence to Ireland, you have taken into your calculation, the dislike and aversion to labour in the Irish common people, compared with the steady and habitual industry of the English manufacturer?

A. I never considered, and I don't recollect that I stated to the Committee, that the common people of Ireland are averse to labour. I stated that the manufacturer retires from business with a small fortune, and I attributed to that, that but few people of large property carried on the cotton business in that country.

Q. Have you turned your enquiry to that object, whether the common people in Ireland are, or are not averse to labour?

A. The only judgment I have formed on that subject has

has arisen from the produce of labour in the Irish linen trade; and as I have found that they are manufactured much lower than we can manufacture them in England, I have been led to believe that the poor working people in the North of Ireland are as industrious as the poor working people in Lancashire.

Q. Have you never heard that excepting the linen manufacture, almost every other Irish manufactory is chiefly carried on either by English or Scotchmen?

A. This is the first time I ever heard any thing of the kind.

Q. Have you ever been in Ireland?

A. I never was.

Q. Have you by agents in Ireland, or other people, made any enquiries there?

A. I answered before, that the information I got, was from principal tradesmen in Ireland, but I was never there.

Q. Whether if the Irish were to export the same quantity of manufactures to foreign countries, it would not have the same tendency to increase the price of labour in Ireland, as if that quantity was exported to this country?

A. With respect to the increase of the price of labour I always considered it to arise from the increase of the prices of the necessaries of life, more than from any other circumstance. When the people of that country are so little burthened with taxes on the necessaries of life, I cannot suppose that an increase of trade would bring labour to the same price that is paid in this country.

Question repeated.

A. I do not deny but that it might have the same effect on the price of labour, but I can never suppose that it can occasion labour to be as high in that country as in this, unless the labour of this country should be very much reduced indeed, owing to the loss of her trade to Ireland.

Q. Whether a capital will not be increased fastest by selling in that market, where there will be the greatest profit?

A. No. I think a capital will be soonest acquired where the manufacturer gets a speedy return for his manufacture, and not to employ his capital in a foreign trade, with which he must give a very long credit.

Q. Do you not imagine that a difference of 10 l. per cent in profit, may more than compensate for some delay in the return?

A. I think a difference of 10 per cent will not be an object sufficient to make the manufacturer sell his goods to a distant

distant market, with which he will be obliged to give a credit of at least eighteen months, though the profit should be 30 per cent. if he can send his goods to the English market, and draw for the money immediately, though the profits should not be more than 7 or 8 per cent.

Q. Whether, in this country, all the cotton manufactures are paid for in ready money?

A. I am not paid for my manufactures in ready money; but if I may judge from the transactions I have had with Ireland, they will draw for their goods, before they arrive in the English market.

Q. Whether you imagine it will be a temptation to persons in this country, to take goods from Ireland, instead of from the home manufacture, that he must pay for them in ready money in the one case, as soon as the goods arrive, or before, and that he may have a credit in the other?

A. The Irish manufacturer having an advantage over the English manufacturer of 12 or 13 per cent. as I have before stated, he will be enabled to offer his goods on such terms to the English dealer, for money, as will induce him to take them in preference to goods charged by the English manufacturer, at a credit price, with a consideration upon those goods, for that credit.

Q. Whether you are not of opinion, that in many cases, an advantageous trade may be carried on where the return is made, not in money or by bills, but in commodities from the country, to which the exportation has been made?

A. I believe there may.

Q. In printed goods, what is the proportion of the expence of printing, to the expence of manufacturing?

A. If it is meant to know what is the proportion of the labour in the printing, to the labour in the manufacture, it may be only about one tenth part of the expence, because that trade requiring ingenuity and taste, the people are generally paid higher wages.

Q. What is the proportion of the expence of the materials employed in printing, to the expence of labour in printing?

A. I never calculated the difference of expence, because the expence of printing depends so much on the kind of pattern that is put upon it, that it is impossible to form any estimate.

Q. Can you tell nearly what proportion the whole expence of printing, on an average, bears to the whole expence of manufacturing?

A. I

A. I cant' possibly tell, the reasons, that in my business, I may pay three times as much as my neighbour. If I confine my business to a higher priced work, the materials are of a superior quality, and the expence of labour more considerable.

Q. What is the proportion in the higher branches, and the lower branches of your business, or of any business with which you are acquainted?

A. Some of the higher courses of work, exceed in value the price of the plain manufacture. Some of the lower courses of work are not equal to the price of the other manufacture.

Q. Whether you know, or have calculated, what probable difference there would be in the expence of printing in Ireland, and the expence of printing in England?

A. I believe the expence of printing in Ireland, approaches nearer to the expence of printing in England, than the expence of the Irish manufacture, does to that of the English manufacture.

Q. Do you mean, that upon the whole, the expence of printing in Ireland, as far as you know, is lower than the price of printing in England?

A. I believe the expence of printing in Ireland, is rather lower than the expence of printing in England, on account of the superior taste and execution in England, the work done is preferable in this country.

Q. Whether you think our manufacturers could carry on any competition with the Irish, in their own market, under a disadvantage of near forty per cent?

A. If you will take into consideration, the quality of the article sent into that country; and if it is not superior in any respect to their own manufacture, I should think such a trade could not exist.

Q. Whether if your calculation be just, that the Irish would have an advantage of 13 per cent. on similar articles in this country, after paying 10½ per cent. duty, and two per cent. which you calculate as the charge of freight from Ireland, it does not follow that the goods which we send to the Irish market, and which paid a duty on importation there of 10½ per cent. and two per cent. in like manner for freight, must have sold in the Irish market under a disadvantage of 38l. per cent.

A. When I stated the expence of bringing goods over here at two per cent. I did not mean to say that there was an advantage

advantage besides that of 13 per cent. but I stated, that the expence of bringing the goods from the country to London, was equal to the expence of bringing goods from Ireland to England. It is impossible for a plain manufacture which has neither taste nor ingenuity to recommend it, under such unfavourable circumstances to exist. But with respect to the printing business, the value consists in the taste of the pattern, and execution of the work; and with that advantage upon them, the higher classes of women in Ireland, would wear English goods, though at an advance of 38 per cent. above their own manufacture of prints.

Q. Whether considering as you have stated, that the price of printing in Ireland, is also, upon the whole, somewhat cheaper than the price of printing in England; you don't imagine, that that circumstance, together with an advantage of 38 or 34 per cent. would have been a sufficient encouragement to ingenuity and taste in the printing business in Ireland?

A. I think the printing business being a fancy trade, has an ideal value put upon it; and that the wearer estimates it more for the place it comes from, added to the taste of the pattern, than from any other consideration. My reason for saying so is, that there are a great many goods smuggled into this country from Flanders, and other parts of Europe, that have not apparently more merit than our own manufactures; and yet they are sold 100 per cent. higher than English prints.

Q. Whether you really entertain such serious apprehensions of the passing these resolutions, as to be determined to remove those manufactures, or the capital with which you carry them on, immediately to Ireland, on that event, without waiting at all to experience the effect of them?

A. I mean to remove part of my manufacture, and employ part of my capital immediately; and afterwards I mean to remove a greater proportion, if it proves, as I have good assurance that it will, an advantageous change.

Then at the request of the witness, the minutes of this evidence were read over to him.

Withdrew.

Counsel withdrew.

Veneris

Veneris 18 die Martii, 1785.

C O M M I T T E E

O F T H E

W H O L E H O U S E, on the TRADE between
G R E A T B R I T A I N and I R E L A N D.

Further minutes of evidence in support of the petition of the callico manufacturers and printers of the county Palatine of Lancaster, and counties adjacent.

Mr. GARROW called in.

Mr. JOSEPH SMITH, called in and examined.

Mr. J.
Smith
examined.

Q. What is your business?

A. A callico manufacturer and printer.

Q. What number of persons do you employ, distinguishing those employed in the manufacture from those in the printing?

A. We employ, in the callico manufacture, many thousands, but I can't accurately state the number; but in printing we employ generally from about seven hundred to one thousand.

Q. What is the amount of excise duty paid by your house, per annum, on the manufacture?

A. The last year it was about 20,000l. this year, if we continue to do the same business, in consequence of the additional tax imposed the last session, it will amount to between 20,000 and 27,000l.

Q. Whether there are any duties paid on the manufacture, or the printing of cotton goods in Ireland?

A. There are, I believe, none.

Q. What is the proportion of the price of labour, to the price of the raw material in the manufacture?

A. In the goods most commonly made, the proportion of the price of labour to the raw material exceeds one-half; on the higher sort of goods, it will be as much as seven-eighths, and in intermediate qualities in proportion.

Q. What is the common price of labour paid by you in your manufacture?

A. The common price of labour is about eight shillings per week.

Q. Do

M E R C H A N T S

Q. Do you know what is the common price of labour paid to the working people in the linen manufacture in Ireland?

A. From the best information I have been able to obtain on that subject, it is about four shillings per week; but I take it to be between four or five shillings per week.

Q. Is not a considerable part of your capital employed in the advance of the excise duties?

A. There certainly is, about fifteen per cent.

Q. What is the increase of capital required by the English manufacturer, on account of the advance of duties, and the difference of the price of labour in this country and Ireland?

A. It will be from thirty to forty per cent.

Q. Whether a cotton weaver can be employed in weaving linens, and can do it with equal facility?

A. I am certain he can, because the linen weavers in this country make the best callico weavers.

Q. In what proportion the difference of price of labour in England and Ireland, will affect the goods when manufactured?

A. On the common sorts it will be about twenty per cent. and on the finer sorts it will be more.

Q. If the cotton manufactures of Ireland are made subject to a duty of ten one-half per cent. on importation into Great Britain, do you apprehend the Irish manufacture will be able to supply the English market, to the detriment of the cotton trade in this country?

A. I have no doubt of it.

Q. If the resolutions of the Irish Parliament should be adopted by the legislature of Great Britain, do you suppose that the price of labour in Ireland will increase, so as to remove the inequality you complain of?

A. As I have no apprehensions that the resolutions, if adopted, can possibly, on the whole, increase the consumption of both kingdoms; and the price of labour in Ireland should advance, I apprehend it would be in consequence of the transfer of the manufactures of this kingdom to that; but although the price of labour may increase in Ireland, yet, until they have the same internal taxes as are paid in this country, I think the price of labour cannot increase to be equal with that of this country.

Q. Do you apprehend that a transfer of the manufactures

M A G A Z I N E.

tures from this country to Ireland will be one of the consequences of adopting these resolutions?

A. I have no doubt of it, so far as relates to our own trade—the cotton manufacture.

Q. Under the circumstances you have stated, do you expect to carry on your trade to the same large extent you do at present?

A. Not in this kingdom.

Q. What place would you choose to carry it on with more advantage?

A. Ireland.

Q. Do you believe that other persons, concerned in your manufactures, would likewise be induced to transfer it from this country to Ireland?

A. I think they would find it necessary.

Q. If a duty should be imposed on the importation of Irish printed goods, do you apprehend that the payment of it would be evaded, and that the goods would be clandestinely introduced into this country?

A. I think there is no doubt of it, because the duties would be on the importation of Irish printed goods from 25 to 30 per cent.

Q. If Ireland has hitherto possessed the advantages you stated, how has it happened that large quantities of printed goods have been exported from Great Britain to Ireland?

A. I can only account for the exportation of large quantities of printed goods into Ireland, from the superiority in the execution and taste that this country has hitherto maintained in the printed branch. The goods exported to Ireland by our own house, and as I am informed by other houses in the trade, have principally been the higher priced goods. The common people in Ireland, who wear printed goods, have been supplied by linens printed in Ireland.

Q. Whether persons employed in your manufacture, and in those of your neighbours, to the amount of many thousands, as you have stated, contribute to the revenue of this country, by a large consumption of exciseable commodities?

A. Most assuredly they do; in candles, leather, ale, soap, and other commodities.

Q. Whether, after all the consideration you have given the subject of these resolutions, assisted by all the explanation which you have had the honour to receive, you have been able to discover any advantage offered to the British manufacturer

nufacturer in his commercial intercourse with Ireland, which you do not at this moment enjoy?

A. As far as it relates to our own manufacture, I discover none that we did not enjoy before the non importation agreement in Ireland.

Examined by MEMBERS of the COMMITTEE.

Q. Whether the price of eight shillings per week for labour, is for men only, or for men, women, and children?

A. For men only; and the average price of labour which I before stated for Ireland, is also the price of men's labour; and the price of women's and children's labour in both countries, I understand, to be in proportion to the men's.

Q. What is the average price of women's labour in this country, and of children's also?

A. The price of women's labour, I understand to be about four shillings, or from four to five shillings per week; the price of children's labour about two shillings and sixpence.

Q. On your manufacture, what is the proportion of women to men employed in it?

A. The proportion of women is rather less than men and of children also.

Q. Do you know whether, in the linen manufacture in Ireland, there is the same proportion of women and children employed?

A. I am not fully competent to answer that question.

Q. Is there not a great part of the labour in the cotton manufactures performed by machines?

A. There is a great part; but it is that which relates only to the spinning of the cotton warp.

Q. In the value of the labour, in each particular manufacture, what is the proportion of that which is done by the machine?

A. It is but small; but the precise proportion I can't say.

Q. Has not the invention of machines, and particularly Mr. Arkwright's, been esteemed of great advantage to the manufacturer who uses them, so as to give a greater profit on his manufacture?

A. There has been a considerable advantage derived from the invention of machines; one is, that the manufacture has been carried on to a much more considerable extent than

than it would otherwise have been carried to; but in point of profit, the manufactory at large, though they may have derived some, yet not a very great advantage.

Q. Has not the expence of manufacturing cottons been diminished considerably by the invention of machines?

A. The expence of spinning the warp may have been diminished, but not considerably; I mean that it has not been diminished considerably with respect to the manufacture at large.

Q. Has it not been diminished with respect to those who employed those machines?

A. Certainly it has.

Q. Has the price of labour, in any other respect, within these last twenty years, been increased?

A. I am not competent to speak to the price of labour for twenty years; but within my memory, there has been little variation I believe.

Q. Whether machines are used to the same extent in the linen manufacture; they are in the cotton manufacture?

A. I believe not.

Q. Whether the price of cotton, the raw material, is the same in Great Britain and Ireland?

A. I don't know the price of cotton in Ireland; but I have reason to think there is no great difference, if any.

Q. Is the raw material of the linen manufacture cheaper in Ireland than in England?

A. I am not acquainted with the price of the raw material of the linen manufacture, either in Ireland or England.

Q. Are not great quantities of flax and linen yarn imported from Ireland into England, even to Manchester?

A. I believe there are great quantities of linen yarn imported from Ireland into England; but in the manufacture in which I am concerned it is not used.

Q. Do not you know that there is a very great and increasing linen manufactory in this island?

A. With respect to a linen manufacture in England, as far as I know, it is but very small. With respect to Scotland, there are considerable quantities of linen manufactures, principally, I believe, for the purpose of printing handkerchiefs.

Q. Do not you know that there is a great and increasing manufacture of table linen in this kingdom?

M 2 A. I know

A. I know that there is a manufacture of table linens in this kingdom; but I know not to what extent, nor whether increasing or otherwise.

Q. If it should appear that there is a great and increasing linen manufacture in this country, notwithstanding the low price of labour in Ireland; the cheapness of the raw material in Ireland, compared with that in England; the less use of machinery in the article of linen than of cotton; and that linen is allowed to be imported from Ireland duty free: all those circumstances together, would not diminish your apprehensions with respect to the cotton manufacture?

A. I know not from what circumstance the manufacture of table linen in this country has an advantage over Ireland; but with respect to the manufacture of plain linens, of which the part consumed is by very far the most considerable, neither England nor Scotland can bring them to this market on terms equal with Ireland.

Q. Will you take upon yourself to say, that of the common linens used in this country, the quantity of that made here is not greater than that brought from Ireland?

A. I know not how far the term common is meant to apply. If by common is meant the average, I believe the quantity of linens imported from Ireland is considerably greater than that made in Great Britain.

Q. Will you take on yourself to say, that the quantity of linen of all sorts, made in Great Britain, is less than that which is imported from Ireland?

A. I will not take upon myself positively to say it is; but I have always understood that the quantity of linens imported from Ireland has exceeded the quantity made in Great Britain. I beg to say, that what I know of the linen trade, is particularly confined to that part of it which immediately relates to our own trade of printing. We have frequently purchased very large quantities of Irish linens, more particularly at the time when cotton was at the highest price; and I have frequently looked at quantities of British linens, but could never purchase them so cheap as I could those from Ireland.

Q. Is there not a considerable exportation of corn, potatoes, and beer, from Lancaster into Ireland?

A. I am not competent to speak to that question, as I reside in London.

Q. If there is such an importation into Ireland from this country, whether the low price of labour there is not rather

rather to be imputed to the manner in which the Irish live, than to any other cause?

A. I imagine that the low price of labour in Ireland may, in part, be owing to the low manner in which they live; but principally to the low price of provisions in general, and to their exemption from the taxes, with which the labouring people of this country are burthened.

Q. If the Irish import provisions from this country, must not the price of those imported provisions be dearer there than here?

A. If provisions were universally imported into Ireland from this country, there is no doubt but that those provisions must be dearer there than here; and whatever part may be imported from this country, must be dearer in that country than this.

Q. Are not the principal manufactories in Ireland carried on in those parts of Ireland nearest to Great Britain?

A. I am not fully competent to answer that question. I understand that the manufactories in Ireland spread over the north of Ireland.

Q. If the manufacturers of this country were to remove to Ireland, will they not expect to live there as well as they do here?

A. I can't answer for their expectations.

Q. Have there not been attempts to establish the cotton manufactories in foreign countries, where labour is cheaper than in Great Britain?

A. I understand there has; and that they have succeeded, and that they are now succeeding.

Q. Have the cotton manufacturers of Great Britain found that any foreign manufactures in cotton have materially rivalled them in foreign countries?

A. I can't speak positively to any part of the cotton manufacture, but that in which I am concerned. With respect to printed calicoes they are rivalled, and are now almost beat out of every market, by the introduction into this country, and re-exportation of India goods.

Q. Have our manufactures been rivalled by any cotton manufactories established in any European countries in the foreign market?

A. These are not only rivalled, but excluded in many parts of Europe. I speak now with respect to printed goods.

Q. Has the exportation generally of the cotton manufacture increased or decreased of late years?

A. I have

A. I have formerly stated to the Committee, that I am not fully competent to speak with respect to the cotton trade in general; but only to that part in which I am concerned.

Q. Whether the manufacture of printed goods in general has not lately increased in this country?

A. It has certainly increased, but I beg to state the occasion: in the year in which it principally increased, there was a very great scarcity both of India whites and printed goods, and, in consequence of that scarcity, the orders that were received in this country from America, for East India printed goods were executed with British printed goods. It is also to be added, that there were also very considerable quantities of British goods exported on speculation, which have overstocked, according to the best advices, the American market very considerably.

Q. Whether the trade, in printed goods, has not gradually increased for many years past?

A. I believe there has been a gradual increase of the consumption of printed goods in this country till within the last two or three years; since which, if there has been any increase, it has been inconsiderable.

Q. Whether the Irish have ever manufactured any great quantity of cotton goods?

A. I believe not, as far as relates to that part of the manufacture in which I am engaged.

Q. Whether there has not been a large exportation of those goods from Great Britain to Ireland?

A. There has been a considerable export of those goods to Ireland.

Q. Whether those goods were not burthened with a duty of ten one-half per cent. on the importation into Ireland?

A. They were.

Q. Whether they were not also charged with a freight of two or two one-half per cent. and port charges?

A. They were, freight and charges from two to two one-half per cent.

Q. If we have sent, therefore, so great a quantity of printed goods under these burthens from Great Britain to Ireland, assign your reasons why you apprehend that the Irish will send those goods to us loaded with the same burthens; and with a duty equal to the excise and inland duty paid on those goods?

A. I beg, on this question, to divide the manufacture from the printing. Callico goods manufactured in the plain state,

state, have been prohibited from being imported into this country. The middling and the lower sort of people in Ireland having approved of the fashion, the execution, and the taste of our printed calicoes, have encouraged the importation of them into that country, under the disadvantages of freight and internal duty. If the resolutions before the House pass into a law, I don't apprehend the immediate transfer of the printing trade from this country to that; but I have strong reasons to apprehend, that Irish cotton goods being manufactured at a less expence in that kingdom than in this, they would be imported into this country not only with a view to have them printed here and re-exported to Ireland, but for the supply of the consumption of this country in that article.

Q. Are there not many parts of Great Britain in which labour is much cheaper than in the neighbourhood of Manchester?

A. I am not certain of that.

Q. If there are parts where labour is much cheaper, is it not as probable that the manufacturers of Manchester would remove there on that account as to Ireland?

A. If there are parts of this country in which labour is as cheap as in Ireland, and the people in those parts are used to the weaving of goods, it would be as probable.

Q. Is it probable that the Irish linen weaver will quit his linen loom to which he has been used, and with respect to which his goods have a free importation into this country, and apply himself to weave cotton goods, in order to import them into this country, under the burthen before mentioned?

A. If the linen weaver in Ireland can, by turning his hand to the manufacture of calicoes or cottons gain six-pence a week more than he at present does, there is not a doubt but he would.

Q. Can you assign any reason to induce the Committee to believe, that the linen weaver will by that change of occupation, gain six-pence a week more?

A. Certainly. If the Irish, as I have stated, can, at present, manufacture cotton goods 20 per cent. lower, or even 10 per cent. the employer can afford to pay the weaver 6d. a week more, if necessary, and yet sufficiently underwork the manufacturer of this country to export his goods from that country to this. I beg leave to have it understood that I do not state, that an advance of 6d. a week is necessary.

Q. Do

Q. Do you apprehend, by the intended regulations, the manufacturer of Ireland will be able to undersell the English manufacturer in Great Britain or in foreign countries?

A. My evidence all along has gone, that the manufacturer of Ireland will undersell the manufacturer of Great Britain in this country.

Q. State the difference of terms in which the manufacturers of the two countries will meet in the English market?

A. I believe one of the earliest answers I gave goes to that question.

Question repeated.

A. The manufacturer in Ireland, in the most general articles of our manufacture, will have an advantage of twenty per cent. on the goods when manufactured before the importation into Great Britain. There is, I understand, to be a duty of ten one-half per cent., consequently the manufacturer of Ireland, or rather the importer of the manufactures of Ireland, will derive an advantage in this market over the British manufacturer of nine one-half per cent.

Q. Will not the freight from Ireland to England be two per cent. which you have stated to be the freight from England to Ireland; and will there not be other charges, as insurance and commission, besides a longer disburse of money, and further difficulties in obtaining payment?

A. I stated that the expences of freight and other charges, would amount from two to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and to this $10\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. I readily admit it ought to be added; but there are advantages on the part of the English manufacturer and printer, much more than sufficient to counterbalance the $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The disadvantages to which I refer, are in the first place the increase of capital to provide for the duties payable, and the increase of capital on account of the price of labour. Those two disadvantages are, in my opinion, very much more than sufficient to counterbalance the $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. but there is a further disadvantage, which is, that if Ireland can with her manufactures, supply this country cheaper than the English manufacturer, she must inevitably draw the ready money trade of this country. The English manufacturer will then only have left him that part of the trade in which long credit is required; consequently his capacity for continuing his manufactory to the same extent he now does, if there were no other reasons against it, would be considerably diminished.

Q. Whether

Q. Whether the disadvantages you have now stated, are not reckoned as a part of the 20 per cent. which you stated to be the preference of the Irish manufacturer over the English; and upon what priced goods you have made the computation now given in?

A. They were not included in the 20 per cent. I before stated; and, if you refer to that part of my examination, you will see they were not. The computation that I have made is, upon goods which stand the manufacturer in twenty-eight shillings a piece, or one shilling a yard; and the articles of our manufacture go from one shilling a yard to four shillings a yard.

Q. Are you prepared to shew, that the allegation in the petition, "that the Irish are in a great measure free from taxes," is well grounded?

A. I cannot be prepared to shew what the taxes of Ireland are; but it is notorious, that the people of Ireland are taxed in a much less degree than the people of this country.

Q. Do you mean that they are lower taxed in proportion to the ability to pay?

A. I am not competent to speak of their ability to pay?

Q. Have you never heard of the hearth-money being paid by the manufacturers in Ireland?

A. I have heard there is a tax called by that name.

Q. Have you not also heard, that beer, spirits, leather, and tobacco are excised in that kingdom?

A. I have heard there are various taxes of Excise in that country; but cannot state particularly what they are.--- The occasion of my mentioning the difference between the taxes in this country and in Ireland, was to shew the Committee in what manner I account for the very great difference in point of labour.

Q. Do you know the prices paid to manufacturers in the cotton works near Dublin?

A. I do not.

Q. Have you not heard that the lowest price paid to spinners there is six shillings a week?

A. I have not; but I understand that very great encouragements have, in various ways, been given to that manufacture, for the purpose of introducing and establishing it in that kingdom.

Q. Have you not heard, that if those public grants were withdrawn, the manufacture would fall to the ground?

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A. I have

A. I have not ; but I beg to have it observed, that the manufacture of cotton goods near Dublin, as I understand, has been turned generally to what is, by way of distinction, called, The Manchester Fustian Trade ; and that it does not apply to the manufacture of calicoes.

Q. Does not Ireland import a large part of the cotton it uses from this country ?

A. Ireland may probably, frequently import quantities of cotton from this country, owing to the fluctuations in price, which are very considerable. When Ireland can import from this country, cotton at a lower price than she can import from the West Indies, she will certainly take it from this country ; and also, England may, under the contrary, but similar circumstances, import it from Ireland.

Q. When Ireland imports cotton from hence, is not a second freight, commission and other charges to be added to the original price of the material ?

A. Certainly it is ; but I beg to add, that in the importation of cotton from England into Ireland, the manufacturer, or the importer, considers those charges ; and unless, with those charges, he can import the cotton from England at a lower price than from the West Indies, he will not do it.

Q. If Ireland imports cotton directly from the West Indies, is the freight as high as to England from the West Indies ?

A. I do not understand that it is, but I cannot speak decidedly upon that subject.

Q. Do you know of any other advantage enjoyed by Ireland in the cotton manufactory, except the low price of labour ?

A. There are advantages by bounties, but I don't apprehend that those would apply generally to the manufactory. The articles of our manufactory are divisible but into two parts ; the one is the raw material, the other, the manual labour.

Q. Do you not think, that as Ireland became a manufacturing country, the price of labour would naturally rise ?

A. I do not think it would ; but as I have stated before, I apprehend the increase of the price of labour in Ireland, would be in consequence of the transfer, and the decline of the manufactures of this country.

Q. Do you think, that manufactures always follow cheap labour ?

A. I will

A. I will not state, that in all cases they follow cheap labour ; but I believe our manufactures would follow cheap labour.

Q. Did you ever know or hear, that raw cotton was imported into this country through Ireland ?

A. I never did ; but if there is a great consumption of cotton, and consequently great encouragement to the importation of that article into Ireland, it is far from improbable, that this country might import cotton from Ireland.

Q. Do you know, if in Ireland, the master manufacturer does not sometimes pay his workmen by the piece ?

A. I understand he does ?

Q. Do you know how much per week the manufacturer, when paid by the piece, earns on cloth of that sort, which is made in what is called, a goo reed ?

A. I don't know what he may gain per week in the manufactory of that sort of cloth made in the goo reed ; but, from the best information I have been able to obtain, the weaver, in manufacturing the goods that are about of a similar fineness and quality, to the most general articles of our manufactory, gains or earn about four shillings per week.

Q. Of what nature is that information ; and upon what evidence do you ground your opinion, that the price of labour in Ireland is four shillings per week.

A. From conversation with persons of that kingdom who have had opportunity of knowing that manufactory.

Q. Do you imagine, that the quantity of cloth made in Ireland, and imported into Great Britain, for the consumption of this country, of a value not exceeding fourteen-pence per yard, exceeds the quantity of cloth of a similar price made in this kingdom for home consumption—this question is with regard to linens ?

A. With respect to linens, though I am not competent to speak precisely on the subject, I apprehend the importation of goods, costing the Irish manufacturer fourteen-pence, and under, exceeds the quantity manufactured for similar purposes in this kingdom.

Q. Is it not a considerable advantage to the Irish manufacturer, Mr. Arkwright's patent not extending to that country .

A. If Mr. Arkwright enjoys an exclusive right to the spinning of cotton in his mode in this country, there cannot be a doubt but that the advantages Ireland would derive from the information and use of those machines would be very considerable.

Q. Can you inform the Committee, if any agreement has been made with Mr. Arkwright since that verdict was given in his favour by any of the manufacturers, and what sum has been offered for the liberty of working with his machine?

A. I know nothing positively on the subject; but I have heard that there have been such agreements made at the rate of five shillings per spindle per annum. This is merely from report.

Q. Do you not know, that a great quantity of provisions are imported from Ireland into Lancashire for the use of the Manufacturers of that country?

A. I have understood that they are.

Q. Do you know that the exportation of provisions from Ireland, is the next trade in point of consequence to the exportation of linen?

A. I have always understood that it is; and lately I have been particularly informed, by a very large contractor for Irish provisions, that it is.

Q. Is it not your opinion that the flourishing state of the linen manufacture in Ireland arises chiefly from the liberty which they have of importing it duty free into this country?

A. The flourishing state of the linen trade in Ireland, is certainly very much occasioned by the free importation of it into this country, and the preference it has in this market is, I apprehend, to be accounted for in the manner in which I have before stated it from the low price of labour.

Q. Is it not your opinion, that the duty on houses, windows and lands, and the parish rates in this country, do greatly exceed what is levied on the manufacturer in Ireland under the name of hearth-money?

A. I apprehend the duty on land, and the parish-rates, do considerably exceed that hearth-money, as I have understood it; but I don't know that the duties on houses and windows in this case applies, because the cottages in which the manufacturers reside, are I believe, exempt from both.

Q. Do you think the manufacturers pay either land tax or parish rates, more than they do the duty on houses and windows?

A. The first mentioned rates they will frequently be exempted from. The tax on land I rather think will frequently apply.

Q. What is the whole expence per cent. of bringing goods from Ireland to the London market?

A. I am

A. I am not certain, not being concerned in the importation of Irish goods into the London market; but the average of the expences attending the importation of Irish goods into Great Britain, will not, I believe, exceed $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

Q. What is the expence of bringing goods from Manchester to London by land carriage?

A. The expence of land carriage on our articles is about $1\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.

Q. When you stated, that you employed many thousand people in the manufacture, and from 700 to 1000 in the printing business, did you mean to say, that they worked for you alone?

A. The weavers employed in the manufacture, many of them frequently work for more than one house. Those in the printing, are constantly employed by one house.

Q. Can you inform the Committee of the average price which West-India cotton bore in the British market for the year 1784?

A. I can't precisely speak of the average price: there was a considerable fluctuation in the price.

Q. Do you know the average price it bore in the Irish market for the same year?

A. No.

Q. When you stated the expence of bringing Irish goods to the British market, did you mean to include in that the inland carriage from the place of manufacture to the place of exportation?

A. I did not.

Withdrew.

Mr. Garrow informed the Committee he had no more witnesses to call.

He was heard

And then he withdrew.

The evidence in support of the allegations in the petition being closed, the Chairman directed the Counsel to proceed to observe upon it. Mr. Garrow requested the Committee (as a personal favour to himself and justice to his clients) to indulge him to another day; alledging, that he had been suddenly called from the circuit to attend the House, on a subject as new as it was important, that he felt himself too much fatigued after an attendance of many hours at the bar, to do justice to the subject. But the Minister and his friends still per-

persisting in the call to go on; Mr. Garrow proceeded in substance as follows.

Mr. Chairman,

I am now by the kind indulgence of the Committee, for which I shall ever retain the most grateful memory, at this late hour to solicit their patience while I trouble them on a subject, which calls for the best attention of the most enlightened minds, which has indeed challenged the anxious deliberations of the ablest politicians in the two kingdoms for months past. If ever there was a cause in which it was not improper to solicit particular indulgence to the advocate, the present is that cause; for I find myself in a situation not unlike that of a very young and rash mariner, who, encouraged by the success of a few coasting voyages, ventures to launch his small and ill-stored bark, to the billows of a boundless and unfathomable ocean, without the compass of experience to direct his course, and destitute of the ballast of matured discretion; but when I consider that I have a freight to-night entrusted to my care, richer than ever yet was committed to the conduct of any man; when I reflect that the dearest privileges of all the people of this country are in the most imminent hazard, and that I have the honour of attending at this bar, the first man in this country, who has been publicly and professionally called upon to oppose a system pregnant with ruin, I tremble for myself, but called upon as I am, I should but ill discharge my duty as an advocate, or as a citizen of this free country, if I should from any motives of personal convenience shrink from the task assigned me; and now, Sir, having troubled the Committee but too much with respect to myself, permit me to say a word of those for whom I have the honour of attending you. They are not a set of insignificant persons, fond of raising unnecessary alarms; they are not actuated by any factious or malevolent intentions to impede public business, or to obstruct the operations of government; they are men whose minds are enlarged by the liberal sentiments which an extensive commerce inspires; men who have a very considerable interest in the welfare of the country, who contribute in a very large proportion with cheerfulness to the common burdens of the state; that they are men such as I have described, I could prove by appealing to very high authority in this House; and I might ascertain the fact by the circumstance of their having abstained from all public opposition to the measures, until they found that they had been misled into security, or long since the table of the House would have groaned under the weight of earnest

earnest petitions, and the avenues to your doors would have been thronged with attendant crowds of witnesses to support their complaints. Such, Sir, are the persons who claim your attention; and now permit me to bring to the recollection of the Committee, the situation in which they themselves stand as to the present question. The House will, I am persuaded, consider the subject not as an order of superior beings, raised far above the state of humanity, and holding the balance of the fates of others, in which they are not themselves concerned; not as mere speculative reasoners employed in the formation of a splendid system, which is not ever to be submitted to the test of practice; they will not fancy themselves unconcerned theorists, nor disinterested mediators between contending parties: but they will remember, that they become the judges upon this subject, by virtue of a delegated trust placed in their hands for the benefit of the whole community, and for the faithful and honest discharge of which they are bound by the most sacred ties, responsible to their consciences, to their country, their constituents, and to posterity, for whom they are the guardians. They will do well to remember too, that what they do now they do for ever: your vote of to-night is not a temporary expedient, which if it fails in trial may be repealed; it is not a declaratory resolution of municipal law, the mischiefs of which may be removed by retreating from the error on which it stands—the resolution of to-night is *eternal* and *unalterable*, the basis of an union between two countries bound by laws perfectly independent, enacted by legislatures equally independent of each other. The Committee then will pause before they pass those limits from whence there is no return. It has been said, that the propositions now on your table, are a foundation for “a very pretty building,” which you are called upon to lend your hands to erect; beware, Sir, how you assist in the undermining the substantial and valuable edifice of the grandeur, wealth and commerce of Britain, for the distant gratification of erecting a gewgaw Temple of Vanity on its venerable ruins.

I will now, Sir, proceed to examine the pretences on which some weak advocate (without doors) may attempt to defend this curious newfangled system: It will not, I imagine, (*on this side of the channel*) be stated, that this country is to transfer to Ireland all her trade and manufactures, as an act of mere generosity on the part of this country, or of wanton prodigality in his Majesty's ministers, nor will it *here* be very much pressed

pressed as a recommendation of the system that "it abolishes the preference which Great Britain has, with such constant solicitude, guarded for herself in the navigation laws." It will not in this House be urged as a defence of the system, that it has for its object to transfer to Ireland the British market for the sale of all the productions of the colonies of Britain, as well as of foreign nations, to make Ireland, from her happy situation, the emporium of trade. It will not *here* be gravely insisted, that Britain must, from the adoption of this wise system, resort to Ireland to supply herself from her market: As little do I expect that it will be openly and boldly stated, that the English manufacturer elated with that success, which has crowned his earnest and unwearied labour, and active ingenuity, soars above calamity, and bears up under the pressure of national burthens, which have grown to an enormous and increasing size; that he is insolently tenacious of that freedom, which he possessed as his birthright—that his saucy notions of manly independence are inconsistent with the courtly doctrines of imperial controul, that the turbulence attendant on liberty must be restrained by new pressures, before any considerable strides can be made with safety to invade his rights. These are arguments which, however well adapted they may be to other occasions, however well suited to the temper of other auditories, I am persuaded it will not be thought prudent or safe to hazard in this assembly.

It may be attempted to defend the system, as discharging a debt of justice due from this country to Ireland, to compensate for inconveniencies under which the trade of that country had been oppressed by the superior advantages possessed by this country. This argument I am rather inclined to believe will not be very much insisted upon; we shall however examine a little the grounds of this claim of justice, by taking a view of some exertions of Great Britain in favour of Ireland.

I need not state to this Committee, that the linen manufacture of Ireland is the most important article of her trade; this manufacture has grown to its present extent under the fostering hand of Great Britain, and under the protection of bounties granted to it out of the revenues, raised by taxes imposed upon the subjects of this country.

It appears from authentic documents on the table of the House, that the total export of linens from Ireland in the year 1743, did not amount to half a million, and in 1783, in consequence and by the influence of the bounties given by

by England, the export has been increased to the amount of two millions sterling in value; such in a period of twenty years has been the effect of the liberality of this country. We give a bounty on the exportation of Irish linens; Ireland does not give any upon the export of any produce of the Manufacture of Britain. We receive into this country from Ireland annually, linen to the amount of a million and a half sterling free from the payment of any duty; and in order to give the Irish merchant a preference in our market, over the importer from other countries; we lay a duty upon linen of the manufacture of foreigners; this operates as a bounty on the importation of Irish linen for our internal consumption, and it is obvious that it subjects the English consumer to the payment of a considerably higher price for the commodity than he would be obliged to pay, if the system of favouring the manufacture of Ireland was not attended to, but the duty now imposed exclusively on foreign linen was to be divided between them and the produce of Ireland. But the increase of price to the consumer of linen is not the only inconvenience to which this system subjects us, for as we impose duties on the importation from foreign markets, we compel Russia and Germany to impose countervailing duties upon the importation by them, of the produce of our own manufactures, so that we feel the effects of our encouragement to the Sister Kingdom in every article of foreign commerce as well as in our internal market. This is the relative situation of the two countries as the law stands at present, the concessions, therefore, now proposed are not necessary on the score of retributive justice; I am aware that for the purpose of fostering an infant manufacture in a kingdom connected as Ireland has been with this country, these sacrifices might have been expedient and wise, but by the propositions now before the House, Great Britain is called upon to preclude herself *to the end of time*, from laying any the smallest imposition on the linen of Ireland, in any possible circumstances of the two countries, even though such an imposition should be absolutely necessary to the preservation of the trade of Great Britain; and, as if this was not sufficiently preposterous, you are called upon to continue eternally all the restrictions, all the disadvantages under which you at present carry on your trade with foreign countries, in order to "afford an effectual preference

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“ to articles of the growth, product, and manufacture of “ Ireland.”

If, Sir, it shall be found, (as I trust I have shewn it is) impossible to defend the measure now pressed upon parliament, as being a measure dictated by justice. It will be said to be highly important to the general interests of the British empire, that the intercourse and commerce between great Britain and Ireland, should be finally settled, regulated on permanent and equitable principles for the *mutual benefit of both* countries, and to secure permanently a full participation of commercial advantages. And perhaps some person may be found hardy enough to call the present system, “ a system established upon the firm basis of reciprocal advantages, which will compleatly strengthen and cement the common interest and mutual affection of both kingdoms; and which will indissolubly unite the efforts of all his Majesties subjects of great Britain and Ireland, in maintaining the strength, increasing the resources, and extending the power and credit of the British empire.”—I shall now proceed to examine this argument of equality, upon which this notable system is to depend; before Ireland can be reduced to the situation of this country, with respect to commerce, she must change that local happy situation, which has been stated to point to her as the emporium of trade, she must communicate to us her advantages in the importation of the raw materials, of which her manufacture is composed, and the same advantages in exporting the commodity when finished to the foreign market. She must impart to us the means of victualling the ships employed both in the importation and export trade, at the same easy rate, at which Ireland is able to supply the necessaries of a voyage. She must pay taxes to the amount of FOURTEEN MILLIONS ANNUALLY interest, on a debt incurred in the defence of Ireland, as of Britain; above all she must draw the greatest part of this annual imposition from her manufactures. She must subject herself to a full and certain participation in all future burdens that may arise for the exigencies of the whole of the empire, she must impose equal duties on the import into Ireland of the merchandise of all foreign countries; and must feel the payment of countervailing duties imposed by foreign states. She must pay almost double the present price of labour in the several branches of trade and manufacture, and on the various necessaries of life. This and more than this Ireland must do before it can become even decent to talk of equality.

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But, Sir, if I am called upon to prove that the price of labour is in favour of Ireland, I shall refer, (in addition to the evidence which you have heard at your bar) to the most incontestible proof, the report on your table from the lords of the council, who state that the price of wool in Ireland is ten pence half-penny per lb. In England, the price of wool is six pence; and yet the British manufacturer can purchase the yarn which has been manufactured by the labour of the Irish spinners, 6 l. per cent. cheaper than he can manufacture it in England, even after paying the freight, insurance, and all other incidental charges; such is the difference of the price of labour in the two countries. Another considerable article by which to illustrate the equality of advantages, which this new system holds out is *Iron*. Britain pays on the importation of this article 56 s. per ton, Ireland pays only 10 s. per ton; now as the price of labour in Ireland is so inconsiderable when compared to the price of labour here, and as no drawback of the duty is allowed on the exportation of manufactured iron, it is manifest that Ireland can undersell us in that article to such an amount, as entirely to monopolize that trade. *Silk* in its raw state is imported into Ireland for one third of the duty paid on its importation into this country. From the low price of labour, it is manifest that the Irish merchant can afford to sell the goods, when manufactured, cheaper than the English merchant, in the proportion of eight to five. *Tallow* and *leather* are very considerable articles in the trade of Ireland. Need I state to the Committee, that as it is the policy of every state, rather to employ the industry of the citizens in manufactures, than to export the material in its raw state, the commodities made of these articles will be supplied, even to the markets for our home consumption from Ireland. But supposing for a moment, merely for the sake of the argument, that the capacity to undersell us would not, as it must operate as a natural bounty on the importation from Ireland to this country of all these articles; is it of no importance that Ireland has not only full liberty, but strong inducements to supplant you, in all foreign markets; and to do this, she has the power of adding to the advantage of the increased profit, the further inducement of any bounty which Ireland in her wise policy may think fit to grant for the promotion of her *foreign* trade. She likewise reserves the right of granting bounties on the *internal* consumption of all articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Ireland, which will operate as effectually as the

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most rigid non-importation agreement. Thus by the wisdom and liberality of this curious system of reciprocity, Great Britain will be shut out from every foreign market in the universe, and undersold in her own markets. There is another circumstance of infinite importance in favour of the Irish manufacturer, which (by some strange fatality attending those whose duty and interest it is to defend this ruinous system) has been stated as a circumstance in favour of the propositions, I mean the use of patent machines, the machines of Mr. Arkwright, Mr. Taylor and others, used in the cotton manufacture, if they are employed *in this country*, burden the manufacturer with a considerable payment to the patentee. In *Ireland* the manufacturer has the free use of them all without being subject to any the smallest payment whatever for them; I am sure that in this Committee, I should deserve censure if I should set about to prove that this is a considerable advantage in favour of the sister kingdom, one could hardly suspect any man without doors to be so ignorant as to suppose that this circumstance could be wrested into an argument on the other side. But, Sir, I am aware that all the argument which I have stated to shew the absurdity of talking of *equality*, as having any connection with this subject, is to be answered by saying, It is true *Ireland* stipulates for a right *at all times* in future to the end of time, to send to Britain her staple commodity, *linen*, duty free; but what right have you to complain of, that *Ireland* gives Britain leave to send all her linen, (knowing that she has none to send) to *Ireland*, duty free. The Committee probably know that the care of negotiating commercial treaties with *Russia*, *France*, *Spain*, and *America* is intrusted to those whose wisdom has produced the system of equality now on the table. Let us suppose the negotiators for these several states to argue for equality upon the ground of this treaty with *Ireland*, the argument will stand thus, *Russia* will stipulate to send to *England* in all future times her *flax*, *hemp*, *iron*, *timber*, duty free; and if the claim should be resisted (as at first sight by shallow politicians, it probably would) as monstrous, it might be answered.—Oh! to put this stipulation upon a footing of perfect equality, *England* is welcome to send all the *flax*, *hemp*, *iron*, and *timber*, the produce of *England*, duty free into *Russia*; but as to your broad cloth and every thing else which Great Britain may be able to send *Russia* begs upon the score of equality to reserve to herself a right to tax them, even to the amount of a prohibition.

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The negociator for *France* may argue, It is perfectly right that the *wines* of *France* shall in all future times be imported duty free into the British dominions, but as a return to constitute a perfect equality, *France* will receive all *Burgundy*, *Claret*, and *Champaigne*, the produce of the warm climate of *England*, so long famous for the flavor of its wines, duty free. *America* will contend for the privilege of importing into Britain for ever *Tobacco*, *Rice*, *Tar*, and *Furs*, duty free; but in order to establish a *just equality*, *America* binds herself to receive duty free all the *Tobacco*, *Rice*, *Tar*, and *Furs*, the produce of *England*, which Great Britain can spare after supplying her internal market.

If in the common concerns of human life, a man was to argue so absurdly, and to tell his neighbours that this was treating with him on a footing of equality, would not he be suspected of offering him a deliberate insult? Yet this is the equality by which these propositions come recommended.

I shall now proceed to examine some of the arguments that have been used to coax the manufacturers of this country into an acquiescence in the present plan, and to cajole them into an opinion, that they can not be injured by adopting it. Some of these arguments have been artfully enough addressed to the commendable pride of the manufacturer who feels a consciousness of his superiority.

It has been more than insinuated, that there is a want of ingenuity, and a distaste for industry about the Irish, which will ever prevent their becoming formidable rivals; and it is said that the superior ingenuity and industry of the British manufacturer will always keep them at a distance. I am happy to observe that the liberality, the generous enthusiasm of an English manufacturer, goes very far in supporting this opinion! and I pray to God that neither the wickedness of bad men, the impolicy of ignorant men, nor any concurrence of measures and circumstances may ever be able to extinguish this noble flame: the language of my friends at your bar upon this subject is remarkable—it ought never to be erased from the memory of a British Senate. “Undamped, unchecked, untaxed, the British manufacturer will be superior to any in the world.” But is the Committee ready to say that this is the situation of the British manufacturer, does he not in truth afford a melancholy reverse of the picture? his ingenuity and industry are miserably damped, his spirit of enterprise and patriotic exertions dreadfully checked, and the exigencies of the state have sunk him low indeed in
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the gulph of taxation. Under circumstances so cruelly oppressive, is it not to be dreaded that the manufacturer of Ireland with all the advantages that have been stated; with the encouragement which policy will in the infancy of manufactures afford to foster them, and above all with a trade and a spirit not depressed by heavy impositions; will become a formidable rival indeed.

But, Sir, the argument which supposes that the British manufacturer is protected by a superiority in respect of ingenuity and industry, is not founded in the evidence; for it has been proved that all this superiority may easily be transferred to Ireland; success in *printing* does depend on taste and ingenuity, and admitting that in these we might for a short time remain superior, this branch employs only one person for twenty that are employed in the manufacture of cotton, in which nothing is required but manual labour, which the Irish weaver of linen can perform with equal facility as the English weaver; it is therefore not possible that we should longer supply Ireland with our manufacture, and when we view the perfection which the Irish linen has attained, we shall not think ourselves warranted to conclude, that want of industry is the distinguishing character of the Irish manufacturer. It has been asked whether Great Britain can lose her manufactures while she preserves her habits of industry? to this it has been answered (and I trust the Committee will remember the answer) that Great Britain may most effectually lose her manufactures, if those who are engaged in them shall be driven by gross impolicy to transfer their capitals to Ireland, and the witnesses have told the Committee that the adoption of these propositions would necessarily drive them, and many other considerable houses, to carry on their business in Ireland, but no longer in England, and one of these gentlemen has stated, that he has actually written to Ireland to establish a house there, in order from thence to supply this country if this system should be adopted. But it is admitted that there will be some risk of a rival in Ireland, but then the British manufacturer is desired to be comforted, for that Ireland can only become his competitor in the goods of a low price and inferior sale; but, Sir, my Clients are not ignorant enough to be imposed upon by so absurd an argument, they have too much experience of human nature, and of the manufacture in which they are engaged, not to know that men do not start up artists by instinct, or become skilled in a manufacture by intuition, they are

are convinced that if the *present* competition should be confined to the goods of low price, even that would in the end ruin their trade, since it is upon these that the young are employed, by these they are instructed, and formed for the future manufacturers of the more valuable branches, which require more skill, so that in destroying the manufacture of the goods of low value, you extirminate the manufacture altogether.

It is asked with an air of triumph, bordering as it seems to me a little upon insolence, if Ireland has possessed all the advantages which have been stated, how has it happened that you have exported large quantities of cotton goods to Ireland? The answer to this is so obvious, that one is induced to wonder how any body should for a moment be betrayed into a triumph so miserably supported. The Irish are inferior to us in *taste in printing*, at present they are prohibited from sending their cotton goods here to be printed, and have consequently been supplied from England; this prohibition is now proposed to be removed, the consequence of which will be, that Ireland will, till she rivals us in taste and fancy, send her cotton goods here to be printed, not only for her own consumption and foreign trade, but likewise for the supply of our own market; so that for a time we may keep the printing, if we will tamely part with the manufacture, and we are to think ourselves happy in having any thing left to us. But supposing the question was not capable of this answer, the argument will stand thus, "you have borne up under every calamity, you have conquered every disadvantage, your trade has flourished in spite of every opposition, you are not yet ruined, try this little more, possibly your hardy spirit, and vigour of your trade may bear this too, if not, why then you will have leisure to see what has completed your ruin." Need I ask whether such an argument is decent? Need I enquire whether this House will adopt such reasoning?

Another argument has been pressed upon the manufacturers, to convince them that their apprehensions of any rivalry in Ireland were ill-founded, for that the Irish were *too poor* to become formidable; and it is said that the English manufacturer shall be protected by a duty of 10 and a half *per Cent.* on the importation into Britain, which will effectually drive the Irish merchant to the foreign market, and that the price of labour in Ireland will encrease as the trade encreases. In answer to all this the Committee have had evidence before

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fore them; first, that the present propositions will immediately furnish the Irish manufacturer with all the capital which he can want, by forcing the English manufacturer to withdraw his trade from this country, and to engage with houses on the other side of the channel; that negotiations for this transfer of capital, are actually depending, that the Irish being from the circumstances stated, able to undersell us in the markets, will of course draw away all our ready money, by which the may form a capital to undersell us every where; but it is supposed that we shall only be undersold in foreign markets: if this were so, is it of small consideration? But the fact is otherwise, and is proved to be so. If the Irish manufacturer trades to foreign markets, he must give long credit, to the amount of eighteen months; if he supplies the British market, he has ready money or quick returns, after paying the duty of 10 and a half *per Cent.* it is in proof that he can undersell us 12 or 13 *per Cent.* he will therefore sell his commodity to us, till he has exhausted us of our ready money, and thereby acquire a capital which will enable him to trade to advantage to all foreign markets; it is in evidence, that the Irish manufacturer with one third less capital, can do two or three times more business than the English manufacturer; and that from the circumstance of quick and frequent returns, he will find such an inducement to supply the British market, that an advantage of 30 *per Cent.* would not tempt him to prefer the foreign trade.

As to the argument that the price of labour in Ireland will increase to the level with the price of labour in England, the witnesses have told the Committee, that the prices may indeed be equal in a certain event, but it can not proceed from the increase of the foreign trade of Ireland, but from Britain having no trade at all, by which the price of labour may sink to the level of the price now paid in Ireland.

I come now to a very essential objection to the proposed system, which is the monstrous encouragement, and the enormous temptation which it holds out to the illicit trader. I trust that after the practice of Parliament in its last session, I need not consume much of the time of the Committee to prove, that every encrease of the burdens imposed upon the fair trader, operates as an additional advantage in favour of the smuggler; upon this opinion Parliament have acted, and have ventured upon an experiment certainly of considerable hazard. I intreat the Committee to reflect what licentious tongues without doors may say of their consistency, of their

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fairness and propriety, and after professing so anxious a desire to depress and extirminate the pernicious practice of smuggling but a few months ago, Parliament should now adopt a system for the fostering a new species of legalized smugglers; and of protecting a *sanctified illicit commerce.* It seems as if it was not thought enough to transfer the manufactures of this country to Ireland, and to establish her in the advantages of supplying our markets in the course of fair trade, but we are to make them the smugglers of Britain. The Committee know very well that by existing laws, vessels of certain dimensions, with commodities on board of certain qualities, or in certain packages, are liable to seizure if they venture to approach the coasts of this kingdom; and no pretence that he meant to enter the goods and pay the duties, or that he was bound elsewhere, can save the owner from the consequences of condemnation; but the *Irish smuggler*, I beg pardon, Sir, for the expression, *the legalized merchant of Ireland dealing in illicit goods*, will not be subject to these disadvantages, he may come to anchor in your very ports, in the view of your Custom-house, in vessels of any built, with any commodities on board, if he can run his goods on shore unobserved, he has the advantage on the commodity in question of 24 or 25 *per Cent.* and if he should have the ill luck to be prevented from defrauding the revenue, he has nothing to do but to enter his goods, and must content himself with the satisfaction of being able to undersell the British merchant (after paying the duty) 12 or 13 *per Cent.* in goods the produce of British labour. * This is indeed a new system unknown to our jealous ancestors; and under its auspices we shall certainly be supplied by our Irish friends, with French wines, French gloves, French silks, French stockings, and every other article, either the produce of Ireland or of other countries, for which we may have occasion.

In all the observations with which I have fatigued the Committee, I have presumed that the witnesses who have been called, are persons deserving of credit. There was a time, when these witnesses were described by the highest authority in this House, as men of the most enlarged minds, of the nicest honour, and in whom the most implicit confidence might be placed; they were then understood to be persons respectable in themselves, and representing a very important and considerable body of manufacturers. Times and circumstances however, I am aware, are with respect to them now altered; they have dared to appeal to the sense of Par-

* The Commissioners of the Revenue Boards, have expressly stated this in the Report, which they since made to the House of Commons.

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liament; but it is some consolation to me, that the only charge against which I am called upon to defend gentlemen whom I think it an honor to call my friends, is one which is common to them with their advocate, they have been obliged to confess, that the Irish propositions are far above their comprehension; and they will not venture to be sure, that the explanation which they have received, certainly from very high authority, is such as they ought to rely upon, in the blame of all these charges, I am willing to take my share. But there is one fact respecting these gentlemen, which perhaps may be worthy of attention, namely that Mr. Peele only employs in his manufacture, 6,800 persons, and pays to the revenue on his manufacture alone 20,000l. annually. Mr. Smith employs, and pays more. To those who knew the gentlemen, it would be ridiculous for me to say one word of the unblemished reputation, the high estimation of which they are possessed; to those who have the good fortune to have heard them indeed, not observe that men of more enviable commercial knowledge, never were called before a Committee of Parliament. But, Sir, it seems, that I have been wandering in error, when I have supposed that it is proposed to give any thing to Ireland; it seems Ireland gives to England a permanent security for a just and equitable equivalent for all the past and present concessions of this country. I am anxious to draw the attention of the House to this curious equivalent, upon which the intercourse and commerce of this country with Ireland, is to be eternally and unalterably established. The terms of the resolution, [the 11th resolution of the Parliament of Ireland] are remarkable, "For the better protection of trade, whatever sum the gross Hereditary Revenue of Ireland, (after deducting all drawbacks, re-payments, or bounties granted in the nature of drawbacks) shall produce, over and above the sum of 656,000l. in each year of peace, wherein the annual revenues shall be equal to the annual expences, shall be appropriated towards the support of the naval force of the empire, in such manner as the parliament of Ireland shall direct."—In common life when a man talks of conferring a benefit upon me, by giving me something, I understand him to intend to put me into the possession of, and to give me the absolute dominion over something which before belonged to him; and to which I had not any claim. Now what is this hereditary revenue, which has such magic powers belonging to it? why something belonging to the crown, and subject to its disposal; over which the Parliament of Ireland has not any controul,

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so that we must first confer on Ireland the right of giving, before we can receive it from Ireland; but we will admit that Ireland has the power of giving, does this resolution contain the other requisite of a gift, namely, that the person receiving, acquires a dominion over the thing given? no, we find it is to be applied for the protection of such trade; (not as the Parliament of Britain, but) as the Parliament of Ireland shall think fit to protect, whether it be the trade of Ireland to France, or America, or to Chester; and this thing which is given to Great Britain, is to be appropriated towards the naval force of the Empire, how? as the Parliament, (not of Great Britain,) but of Ireland shall direct. A man of common sense would conclude, that this just and permanent equivalent was eternal in its duration, and certain in its values, how then will he be astonished to learn, that it is the most fluctuating thing of imaginary value, he will conclude, that it will always yield a surplus above the sum specified, how will he be surprised to hear that it has never equalled that sum. He will assure himself, that those who receive it as a permanent security, have taken care that those who give it can neither lessen its amount, nor dispose of its produce; how very difficult then will it be to convince him that the Parliament of Ireland reserves the exclusive right of saying, whether it shall ever be equal to the annual expences; and has likewise the uncontrollable power of reducing it as low as they please by drawbacks, repayments or bounties, all of which it will be their policy to give, to encourage their trade and manufacture. Is there, let me ask, a single gentleman in the Committee who would not feel himself most grossly outraged and insulted, if any man was to make him this proposal. "Be so good as give me 20,000l. and as a just and permanent security for an equitable return, I will pay you so much annually as my trade shall produce, (provided it yields more than my annual expences) over and above 500l. which I reserve to my own use; but I must reserve to myself a discretion, as to the extent of my trade, and the amount of my expences, if it does not exceed 500l. you are to have nothing, if it does, you shall be at full liberty to apply it towards improving the road, which is common to both our estates; but you must not assume any judgment as to its application, but must lay it out, as I shall direct; would you suffer any man to finish such a proposal, or if you did, would not you conclude, that either he was mad himself, or supposed that you was so. Mr. Garrow have treated these to-

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pics

pics at great length, drew to a conclusion, he observed that no man in this country, awake to his own interest, could remain an unconcerned spectator; the *manufacturer* would be ruined, the *merchant* would no longer send his commodity to distant markets, the navigation of the kingdom would droop, the inferior orders of labouring manufacturers, to the amount of many thousands, must go into exile, universal emigration, ruinous depopulation must be the consequence, the *landholder* would be unable to procure any produce from his estate; and the *public creditor* must feel dreadful alarm for the security of that debt, the interest of which could not be paid, if those who paid the taxes were driven to other countries where the spirit of enterprise was alive, unchecked by mistaken policy. Mr. Garrow apologized to the House for having taken up so much of their time, and said he had too much reliance on their wisdom and justice, to feel much apprehension, that they would adopt a measure equally dangerous and absurd; but whatever might ultimately be their decision, he should enjoy the satisfaction of having offered his very feeble opposition to a system pregnant with ruin to the grandeur and existence of Great Britain.

Lunæ, 21^a die Martii, 1785.

Committee of the whole House, on the petition of the Gentlemen, Clergy, Landowners, Merchants, Manufacturers, Dyers, Bleachers, and others, interested in the fustian trade, in the towns of Manchester, Salford, Bolton, Leigh, Warrington, Rochdale, Oldham, Ashton, Bury, Chorley, Stockport, Macclesfield, and Chapel en le Frith, and in the boroughs of Wigan and Newton, and of the respective neighbourhoods of those towns and boroughs in the counties of Lancaster, Chester, and Derby, against the act passed last session for granting certain duties on cotton stuffs, dyed or bleached, in Great Britain.

Mr. BLACKBURN in the CHAIR.

COUNCIL CALLED IN.

Mr. PIGOTT,
Mr. GARROW, } for the petitioners.

Mr.

Mr. PIGOTT heard, and called
Mr. THOMAS WALKER.

- Q. What trade do you carry on?
- A. I am a manufacturer and exporter of fustians.
- Q. Whether that trade has been subjected to any great inconvenience, in consequence of the tax of last session, on fustians and cotton stuffs?
- A. Very great, from our inability to carry on our trade; and by preventing us from executing, in a great measure, our orders, either for the home or foreign trade; by exposing us not only to the risks of the loss of our property, but in many instances to forfeitures greatly exceeding that amount, without the least intention to defraud the revenue on our part.
- Q. Whether, before the passing that act, the fustians were subject to the payment of any duty on exportation?
- A. None; either for exportation or home trade, except those that were printed.
- Q. What proportion of the fustian manufacture is exported?
- A. At least two thirds.
- Q. What is the amount of the expence to which the late tax subjects the fustians in foreign markets?
- A. Five per cent.
- Q. Explain how that five per cent. arises?
- [The witness refers to a note of his own making.]
- A. The extra expences of dying, which the act occasions, is one and an half per cent. It will require an extraordinary number of servants, as well to make entries as to see to the obtaining the drawbacks, and which will amount to three quarters per cent. The necessary expences attending our obtaining the drawback will amount to one and one-half per cent; the diminution of capital will be one and one quarter per cent. this in the whole makes five per cent.
- Q. What do you mean by the diminution of capital?
- A. The sum it will require for the manufacturer to advance to pay the duty, and the delays which will necessarily be attendant upon subjecting our manufacture to the excise laws.
- Q. Whether the act subjects the trade to any other burdens and inconveniencies, and what they are?
- A. Very

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A. Very considerable one from delay, the obliteration of marks when the duty may be charged again and again; from risk of seizure either by the obliteration of those marks, or by their being rent off by accident; by the injury the goods sustain from being unpacked at the ports to obtain the drawback; from the danger of robbery on the road, by which if a single piece is deficient the whole chest is forfeited.

Q. Whether the Committee are to understand that all these expences are incurred, and all these burthens imposed on the manufacture, in cases where from the drawback being allowed on exportation, the revenue derives no advantages?

A. Certainly.

Q. What is the proportion of the fustian manufacture exported, to the home consumption?

A. Two thirds of the whole fustian manufacture is exported.

Q. Whether the duty operates as a tax upon labour?

A. Certainly; being a tax *ad valorem*.

Q. What proportion does the labour bear to the raw materials employed in the manufacture?

A. Upon the average three times the value of the material.

Q. What number of persons do you employ in your manufacture?

A. From the most accurate calculation I have been able to make, at least fifteen hundred.

Q. What is the common price of labour paid to men in your manufacture?

A. Eight shillings per week.

Q. Is there any manufacture of fustians established in Ireland?

A. I have been very confidently told that there is

Q. Do you apprehend that the tax will contribute to the advantage of the Irish manufacture over the British, in foreign markets?

A. Very materially, and I have no doubt it will give it a decided advantage over the manufactures of this country.

Q. Will you assign your reason for that opinion?

A. From the low price of labour, the exemption from taxes and duties upon various articles, essential to the manufactures of this country, and from their freedom from the burthens, restrictions, and embarrassments of the excise laws in their manufacturés, which cannot possibly fail to establish them upon the ruins of the manufactures of this country.

Q. Do

Q. Do you think that if the British and Irish manufactures in the cotton trade were put on the same footing, respect to bounties and taxes upon the manufacture, without being put precisely on the same footing, in respect to all relative circumstances, that all dread of competition of the Irish manufacture to the British would be removed?

A. *I do not, nor ever did.*

Q. Did you ever consent to its being stated to be your opinion, that such dread would be removed?

A. *No.*

Q. What expence is the home consumption of the fustian manufacture burthened with by this tax?

A. Six and one half per cent.

Q. State the particulars how you make that out?

A. The extra expences of dying occasioned by the act I state at one and one half per cent; the duty on the average at three per cent; the diminution of capital at one and one half per cent. and one half per cent. for extra servants.

Q. Do you apprehend that the tax will be such a burthen on the trade for the home consumption, as to prevent the manufacturing low priced fustians?

A. In my opinion it will, as it will be six per cent. upon four of the low priced articles, and by that means give a preference to the German, Russian and Irish lincens.

Q. Would that be a means of destroying the school for weavers, and therefore affect the manufactory of higher priced goods?

A. Undoubtedly, as it is upon those articles that children are taught.

Q. Are persons advanced in years likewise employed in manufacturing the lower priced fustians?

A. Yes, for when the infirmities of age come upon a man, he is obliged to return to the same kind of work on which he began.

Q. Whether this act imposing the tax would in your opinion lessen the importation of cotton wool into this kingdom?

A. Beyond all doubt, for as the cotton trade decreases, of course so must the importation of cotton wool.

Q. You have stated that two thirds of all the fustians manufactured are exported, consequently the duties are drawn back; is it your opinion that the remaining one third after deducting

deducting all the charges of collecting, the whole duty will produce any considerable sum to the revenue?

A. I am of opinion it will not; for the expences of the whole being to be deducted out of the one third for home consumption, it is my firm opinion that it cannot possibly be productive.

Q. Have you reason to believe that the duties have been paid on any large quantities of goods, which have been afterwards exported, but on which the duty has not yet been drawn back?

A. I am of opinion that considerable quantities of goods have been exported without the duty being drawn back.

Q. Has that happened from the difficulty in ascertaining the claim to the draw back, or from what other cause?

A. The difficulty has arisen from the obliteration of the marks, and of course from the impossibility of receiving the draw back: I do not take on myself to say but there may be some claims not yet made.

Q. Do you believe that the many grievous objections to this tax will be removed satisfactorily to the manufacturers, and the other persons interested, by the establishment of a Custom-house at Manchester?

A. I can take on my self to speak very confidently to that—that they would not.

Q. Have you heard that there have been endeavours to establish wool manufactures in France and other foreign parts?

A. I have.

Q. Have you heard that those manufactures have been encouraged by royal bounties?

A. I understand the manufactures of Rouen have received some support, but I don't know to what amount; but there are other manufactories that have received no such support, and yet I am told they are encreasing rapidly.

Q. Have you heard of any recent solicitation to the persons employed in the manufacture at Manchester, and neighbourhood, to leave this country and to assist in carrying on those foreign manufactures?

A. Almost daily applications are making for that purpose, and for procuring models of our machinery.

Q. Have you heard that in some instances the temptations held out to emigrate have been successful.

A. They certainly have.

Q. Do you believe that the continuation of the present tax, with all the alarming consequences you have stated to result

result from it, would operate so strongly on the manufacturers to leave this country, and to accept the offers lately made by foreign countries?

A. I have not the least doubt but they would; and was this tax to be persevered in, I am well authorized in saying, that numbers of people would emigrate, and those not only of the lower classes, but men of property, integrity and ingenuity, would likewise go.

Q. Can you form any guess of the number of persons sustained by their employment in this manufacture?

A. At least eighty thousand.

Q. Has it been in contemplation since the last session of Parliament, to abstain from working in consequence of this tax?

A. It never was the intention of the fustian manufacturers, in any degree to fly in the face of government, but to conform to the law of the land, as far as it was possible, consistently with their own existence.

Q. Has there been any period during which persons employed in any part of this manufacture, have ceased to work in consequence of the tax?

A. There has, near ten weeks from the 1st of October, when the act commenced, to about the 13th of December.

Q. Was that cessation occasioned by the imposition of the tax?

A. Undoubtedly.

Q. What induced the manufacturers, in December, to resume their work?

A. A firm belief that at the meeting of Parliament the act would be repealed, and strong assurances that the act should not be carried into execution; for had the law been enforced, the cessation would have remained still.

Q. Whether the Committee are to understand that the employment of this vast number of persons, to the amount of eighty thousand, is now going on, on the footing of those promises to which you have alluded, and on the humble hope that the wisdom of the House will relieve the manufacturer from those burthens?

A. I wish it to be understood as an amendment to my former answer, that the whole number of people were never unemployed. The weavers and spinners were kept constantly in employment, to the great detriment and great loss of the manufacturers; but when I left Manchester, numbers of very considerable manufacturers were begun to discharge their

their weavers and spinners: the numbers unemployed I cannot take upon myself to say.

Q. Whether you have from time to time communicated to those who have intrusted you with the concern of their interests, sanguine hopes that the act would be repealed?

A. I undoubtedly have.

Q. Upon what grounds have you communicated those hopes?

A. From the repeated conferences that I have had the honour to have with the minister, and from which I considered myself well grounded, in giving assurances that he would be favourable to the repeal.

Q. Whether you believe the continuing the tax would increase the number of those manufacturers, who were discharging when you left Mahchester, and revive the cessation from labour?

A. It is not impossible but that they may meet with some temporary employment, but was the act to be continued, I have not the least doubt the number unemployed would soon be very considerable indeed.

Q. Whether the fustian manufacture has grown to its present maturity, without the assistance of any Parliamentary aid?

A. I never heard that they ever received or solicited any Parliamentary aid.

Q. Do you know the quantity of cotton imported into this country?

A. I believe it has been about ten millions of pounds per ann. for these last two years.

Q. In what manufacture is cotton consumed?

A. In the manufacture of cottons and calicoes, fustians, stockings, candle wicks, and various mixtures of silk and cotton, and linnen and cotton, and silk, linen and cotton, which not being either dyed, or bleached, are not subject to this act.

Q. What proportion is used in calicoes and printed cottons?

A. Five Millions.

Q. What quantity is used in the fustian manufacture?

A. From the most accurate calculations I have been able to make, three and one-half millions.

Q. How much per yard is paid by the printers of cottons and calicoes, and how much does the duty amount to?

A. Three pence per square yard, and fifteen per cent.—

The

The duty upon cottons and calicoes, I am informed, is 120,000l. per annum.

Q. What will the tax on fustians produce?

A. If the tax on cottons and calicoes which consume five millions of cotton, at three pence per square yard, amounts to 120,000l. the tax upon fustians, at one penny per yard, consuming three and one-half millions, will amount to 28,000l.

Q. How many operations do the goods manufactured in your branch of business undergo?

A. Some of them undergo twenty three operations.

Q. Are all the operations performed at the same place?

A. By no means; but at miles distant from each other.

Q. Whether the demand for the articles are equal at all seasons of the year?

A. By no means; very much otherwise; very irregular.

Q. Is it at any one time greater than the other?

A. The months of November and December, with the early part of January, is usually taken up in preparing goods for the foreign spring trade.

Q. At what hours of the morning do the bleachers and dyers begin working; and at what hours in the evening do they leave off?

A. The bleachers generally begin about four o'clock—the dyers at five, and leave off about seven in the evening; but, as the trade for exportation is very irregular, they sometimes are obliged to begin much earlier; frequently to work all night, and sometimes even upon Sundays.

Q. At what hours do the Excisemen come in the morning?

A. It has not yet been their custom, I am well informed, to come before nine in the morning; and they are of necessity obliged to go away at four o'clock in the afternoon, having their accounts to settle, and their books to make up.

Q. What is the proportion of business you have done in your home trade since the 1st of October, the time of the act taking place?

A. The proportion of home business I have done since that time, is not as one to a thousand compared to the foreign.

Q. What drawback have you received for goods exported since the time of the act taking place?

A. Not one shilling; nor do I understand, from my people, that I shall be able to recover any.

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Q. Have

Q. Have you exported any considerable quantity of goods since the act took place?

A. I have not exported, in any degree, the quantity I exported before the act took place, in the same length of time.

Q. Whether the manufacturers in foreign kingdoms are carried on to any extent?

A. I am afraid they are.

Q. Have you ever suffered any degree of rivalry from the French or foreign manufactures?

A. Yes, very considerably. I have had some of my commissions diminished in the proportion of three parts out of four; and the exportation of the article of quiltings, which at one time was very considerable, is now nearly lost. I mean to the continent of Europe.

Q. Are your goods exported to all parts of Europe?

A. Not to all: in some countries they are prohibited; in others there are very heavy duties charged; and I am afraid the restrictions are increasing.

Q. If the duty was not demanded, what difficulty was there in recovering the drawback?

A. Either I am misunderstood, or I have very ill explained myself. It was not that the duty has not been regularly demanded, and as regularly paid; but had the letter of the law been enforced, the rehas not been either a day or an hour since the commencement of the act, in which the dyers and bleachers have not been exposed to absolute ruin; and what has been the case, is at this moment the case.

Q. Whether the goods are more exposed to robbery now there is a duty, than before there was duty upon them?

A. They are not now more exposed to robbery; but the manufacturer is infinitely more exposed to loss. In the course of eighteen months, previous to the passing of the act, my brother and myself had, between Manchester and Hull, and Manchester and Liverpool, goods pilfered, i. e. cafes broke open, by which we lost 142l. 17s. Had the act then been in force, we should have lost 1,563l. because, when the goods had arrived at the port, and we had demanded the drawback, there would have been a deficiency in our goods, and which the law would have interpreted as an attempt to defraud the revenue, consequently the whole property would have been forfeited.

Q. Do you mean to say that the dyer, since the passing of the late act, has demanded an increased price of 1 1/2 per cent.

cent. and that the manufacturer has submitted to pay it, thinking the dyer well entitled to it?

A. When the dyers first begun to work, and for some time afterwards, they demanded an advance of dying, not of 5l. per cent. on the prices, but of 5l. per cent. on the value of the goods; but from the greater facility in which the business was transacted, and there being then no seizure made of any consequence (I believe none), and from the confidence they had in the act being repealed, they reduced those prices to 1 1/2 per cent. and which is not on the advance of the prices, but on the value of the goods, and which I believe, they are very honestly entitled to.

Q. What is the average price of dying 100l. value in fustians?

A. The lengths, breadths, and value of the pieces vary so very much, it is not possible for me to answer the question with any accuracy.

Q. Can you explain to the Committee why the manufacturer thinks that he is entitled to 1 1/2 per cent. advance on the value of the goods for dying?

A. I have stated to the Committee the hours at which the dyers come before the Excisemen, that there is of course, frequently a great loss of time, and a waste of fuel, which I believe, fairly justifies the advance independent of the risk of seizures.

Q. Do you, or do you not think, if the act is persisted in, and it goes on, there will be a reduction in the 1 1/2 per cent. now paid in advance?

A. So far from it, that I have this day been informed, that was the act to be persevered in, the dyers would not dye even at the 5l. per cent. advance.

Q. Explain to the Committee why there is a necessity of the expence of extra servants, amounting to 3-fourths per cent.?

A. Since the commencement of the act, the fustian manufactory, which before the passing of it was, I believe, of as complicated a nature as any manufactory whatever, has been rendered infinitely more complicated; and the charge of 3-fourths per cent. will, I believe, by the Committee, be admitted to be a very moderate one.

Q. What is your returns in fustians annually?

A. If the Committee require me to answer this question, I certainly shall feel no difficulty in answering it.

Q. Explain how the one 1-fourth cost is incurred in obtaining the drawbacks?

A. By

A. By the expence of obtaining debentures, certificates, additional charges in opening and repacking the goods, extra portage, and in considerable loss of time in procuring the certificates.

Q. Explain how the one fourth per cent. is lost by the diminution of capital?

A. By the money which you are necessarily obliged to employ, first in the payment of the tax, next in the loss of interest upon the goods, which are so very considerably delayed, in finishing, by this act.

Q. Can you be more particular in this? How does the difference arise in the diminished interest of capital between foreign and home goods of $1\frac{1}{2}$ and $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.?

A. The difference is stated on a presumption, that the duty can be drawn back on exportation; and was this to be the case, there would consequently be a less capital required in the foreign trade than in the home trade, as likewise less risk, as the exporter of goods would take back the money, which the manufacturer in the home-trade would be obliged to give a credit with, and consequently to run a greater risk.

Q. Whether it is easy for a person, not particularly conversant in the manufacture of fustian, to distinguish between goods that are of the value of three shillings and upwards, and those that are under that value, according to the description of the 27th section of the act?

A. It is so difficult, that I, who have been twenty years in the business, and to which I have given some attention, am by no means competent to make so nice a distinction.

Q. If an Exciseman be diffident of his judgment, may there not be means of eluding with facility the correct payment of the tax imposed by the act?

A. I believe there is little danger of that; there is more to be apprehended from Excisemen making seizures of goods which are not near that value.

Q. If the Exciseman should take upon him to make such seizures, whether the litigation to which it may lead, will also be such as to make it easy for the manufacturer to obtain justice?

A. I presume it would be very difficult; and I beg leave, with permission of the Committee, to state my reasons; the value of the material, and the value of labour is seldom long at one fixed price; therefore, I may, myself, have goods at the beginning of a month, which may stand me in two shillings and elevenpence, of course will be marked under the value

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value of threepence; and before the latter end of the month, the same goods, of no better quality, may stand me in twopence or threepence per yard higher; of course will be marked above three shillings. The Exciseman contrasting these together, will naturally seize them; in which case, I should presume, it would be very difficult for the manufacturer to obtain redress.

Q. Whether between the purchasing of the materials, and the marking of the price, such a fluctuation may not happen as to render the duty unequal?

A. Certainly.

Q. Whether the temptation to seizure, and the consequent litigation may, or may not operate as a new duty on the capital, by which the manufacture is carried on?

A. It would certainly have this effect, that when goods approach to near the value of three shillings, the manufacturer would be induced to charge them with the higher duty rather than run the risk of litigation.

Q. Whether a good deal of a merchant's time would not be spent, and his reputation somewhat affected, if seizures, arising from the difficulty of valuing, you have stated, should become frequent?

A. Beyond all doubt; and would have the effect of driving such of them from the trade.

Q. Whether such a power in the hands of an Exciseman of relaxation, or strictness of so dubious an act, would be pleasant to persons of reputation and large property concerned in the trade?

A. Most assuredly not.

Q. Whether the duty of Excisemen in attending the manufacture, so as to prevent fraud, would be easy, from the nature and circumstance of that trade?

A. Under some circumstances it certainly would not.

Q. Explain those circumstances?

A. In all manufactories, there are men of different dispositions; and ill-disposed persons would certainly take every advantage that offered.

Q. Are there any particular circumstances in this trade, which, from the manner of carrying on this manufacture, renders it more difficult for the Exciseman to do his duty than in other cases of Excise?

A. I have stated, in the former part of my evidence, the complicated nature of this manufacture, in which I am concerned; as such, it would be more difficult for the Exciseman to

to do his duty, and more harrasing to the manufacturer, in many cases, to submit to it.

Q. Whether, in order to do the duty, it would require more or fewer Excisemen than in other branches subjected to the Excise duty?

A. It would certainly require a greater number; for the business being more at one season of the year than another, there must either be too many Excisemen at one time, or too few at another.

Q. Whether in fact you know that there are any; and what encrease of Excisemen since the laying this duty on fustians?

A. There is certainly a considerable encrease; but I can't say the number.

Q. What difference has this act occasioned in the state of your trade?

A. Since the 1st of October, it has decreased it in the proportion of seven to eleven.

Q. Do you impute this decrease entirely to the act?

A. With respect to my own trade, I do; but there are houses in the town of Manchester, who have suffered a decrease of trade, not only from that cause, but from the encrease of the fustian manufactory in Ireland.

Q. Will not this act, if it continues, tend to create a monopoly?

A. It will certainly, in some instances, have that tendency; as a young man with a small capital would, if it was persevered in, undoubtedly have much greater difficulties to encounter.

Q. Whether frequent attempts are not made to inveigle away the workmen, and to get models of the machines, and other improvements?

A. I have in some degree answered that question before. It certainly is the case; and such is the great value which other countries set on this manufacture, that whilst we are cramping and confining it, they are offering every possible encouragement to those who will leave this country.

Q. Have you had any advantageous offer of settling in France, or in any other foreign country?

A. I have not; but a very respectable friend of mine has been offered his own terms, if he would settle in Rouen, or the neighbourhood.

Q. Have

Q. Have you ever suffered any inconvenience from the goods arriving too late according to the order for them?

A. I have very materially.

Q. Specify the circumstances?

A. I have lost from that cause more than I ever did from any other cause since I have been in business. I had goods in the year 1779, which were destined for the fair of Salerno, carried into Cadiz; and there detained so long, that they arrived too late at the place of their destination, by which means my loss has already been above 10 per cent. on the amount of the invoice; what further loss it will be, I cannot yet tell, as I have not yet received all my money, though it is between five and six years ago.

Q. Whether this inconvenience of detaining goods, will not be encreased by this act?

A. Very materially, as I should presume that the effect will be the same from whatever cause the circumstance may arise.

Q. Is your trade to Ireland encreased or diminished lately?

A. Decreased—which, I believe, will be seen by referring to the evidence I gave before the Lords of the Privy Council.

Q. To what do you attribute that decrease?

A. To the encrease of the Irish manufactures.

Q. Whether the continuance of this act would not give the Irish still greater advantages?

A. In my opinion it would give them a considerable part of the fustian trade; some part would go to foreign countries, and some *small* part might remain here.

Q. Can you explain in what manner the Excise mark is put on bed quilts, and counterpanes?

A. On the corners of each, which defaces them very much—if for exportation, the duty must be wholly lost, or the Excise mark cut out; and the duty on the lower priced counterpanes, of which considerable quantities have been exported, is at least six per cent. I mean the duty only.

Q. In what manner do you make up pieces of goods?

A. In whole pieces; half pieces, and sometimes we cut them into thirds; but the bulk I think, is half pieces, and on which there would be a very considerable loss upon the pieces cut into thirds, there would be six Excise marks upon one piece.

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Q. What

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Q. What is the encrease per cent. on the price of the goods on the tax being laid?

A. To that I can fairly answer none.

Q. Do you mean that you sell your goods at the same price now as before the tax was laid?

A. I certainly do, and the whole loss goes out of my pocket; and I believe I am by no means singular.

Q. When you say that you make no advance on your goods, but that the loss goes out of your own pocket; do you mean for home consumption?

A. I have before stated, that my trade is the export trade. [Former part of his evidence read.]

Q. Whether every question put to you by the Committee of Privy Council after it was stated, was not distinctly read to you and Mr. Richardson?

A. Certainly.

Q. Inform the Committee whether every answer that was given by you and Mr. Richardson, was not read over to you after it was taken down by the clerk of the council?

A. It was; but I do now recollect a circumstance, and which did not till this day occur to me, which I mentioned, and which I do not see in the printed Report, though it was in the written one, which was, when I stated to the Committee of Council the encrease of the fustian manufacture in Ireland, I mentioned a circumstance that I had from the best authority of a gentleman from America, who I think, as my memory serves me, eighteen months ago, came to purchase manufactures, where he could meet with them, on the best terms, having the advantage of ready money: he bought but few fustians in Manchester, assigning for a reason, that he had been in Ireland, where he thought he could meet with them on better terms; but that he would take a few from Manchester, which he did, and the remainder he purchased from Ireland on his return to America, with which he was so much better satisfied, that as I am informed, he wrote his Manchester correspondent, he should want no more goods from Manchester.

Q. You will inform the Committee whether you was not permitted to correct your evidence if there was any omission or mistake, and whether you did not go with the clerk of the Privy Council into the room for that purpose?

A. I certainly did.

Q. Whe-

Q. Whether you was not permitted to have, and had a copy of your own evidence before the Committee of Council?

A. I had.

Q. Whether you did not send into the Committee of Council, corrections of your own evidence?

A. I did.

Q. Whether the following question was not put to you or Mr. Richardson, and whether you did not give the following answer? viz.

“ Q. If the cotton manufactures of Ireland are made subject to a duty of ten and a half per cent. on importation into Great Britain, do you apprehend the Irish manufacturer will be able to supply the English market to the detriment of the cotton trade of this country?”

“ A. If the cotton trade of this country was protected by a duty of ten and half per cent. upon the importation of cotton goods from Ireland into this country, we apprehend it would be a sufficient security to our trade for the home consumption?”

Certainly, but it had a reference to the former part of my evidence.

The witness then read that evidence from the printed report as follows:

“ Q. Have the Irish manufacturers any advantage over the British, in the price of labour?”

“ A. Manufacturers, we conceive that labour is much cheaper there than here; but in what proportion we cannot say, the Irish must have a great advantage in the cheapness of provisions, besides being exempt from land tax, and excise on soap, candles, leather, and many other articles, while we are burthened therewith; and in stamp duties upon bills, receipts, &c. &c. We know that they have many of our machines already, and we have no doubt they will soon have them all.

“ Q. Do not you conceive, that the art and ingenuity of the British manufacturer will secure to him an advantage in these branches of trade?”

“ A. Manufacturers, *undamped, unchecked, and untaxed*; we have not a doubt, but he will be equal if not superior to any other manufacturer in the world.

“ Q. If the Irish and British manufacturers in the cotton trade, were put upon the same footing, with respect to taxes and bounties, as well internally as upon export from

M E R C H A N T S

“ one country to the other, should you have any reason to apprehend a competition in the British or Irish market ?

“ A. If we were put in all these respects upon equal terms, we should not apprehend a competition at either market.

“ The committee think it proper, in this place to inform your Majesty, that the above witnesses sent the next day, and desired to correct their former answer.

“ A. Manufacturers, if we can in all respects be put upon equal terms, England and Ireland will naturally supply themselves with cotton goods, for their internal consumptions ; and in foreign markets we shall meet upon equal terms, except in America, and the West Indies, where Ireland will certainly have an advantage in freight and insurance, exclusive of the very great saving she will enjoy in the victualling of her ships.”

Then the witnesses proceeded.
My idea was, that if we were in all respects upon equal terms, ten r-half per cent. would be a protecting duty to this country.

Q. Did you ever apply to the council to correct or explain that last answer in the manner now stated, or in any other manner whatsoever ?

A. I did not.

Q. Was not Mr. Thomas Stanley, a member of this House, present at the examination before the Committee of Privy Council ?

A. Hewas.

Q. Did not you take it for granted before you quited the Committee of Privy Council, that it was perfectly understood by the members of that Committee, that this expression (in all respects) had a reference to the former answer ?

A. Undoubtedly.

Q. Do you recollect that the chairman of the Committee of Privy Council, desiring to have the words, (in all these respects) instead of the words (in all respects) ?

A. Perfectly well.

Q. Were the words taken as you desired to have them taken ?

A. I do not recollect the word (these) being part of my answer.

The question and answer again shewn him, printed report, pages 39, 40.

Q. Is not that taken in all respects as you desired it to be taken ?

A. I

M A G A Z I N E.

A. I do not recollect that the word these in the first answer in page 38 stood part of my evidence.

Q. Was not you afterwards allowed to correct it, and does it not stand in the answer as corrected (in all respects ?)

A. Certainly.

Q. Was Mr. Thomas Stanley present when you was examined the second-time ?

A. He was.

Q. Whether, when you gave your answer alluded to in page 40, you apprehended, after what previously passed, that it could be construed to mean ten and a half per cent. duty would be a sufficient protection to the English cotton manufacturer. England and Ireland not being put on an equality in the points you had before alluded to ?

A. I certainly did not apprehend that it could be construed into an idea that ten and a half per cent. would protect the home consumption of this country.

Q. Is the Committee to understand that if this house had proceeded on an opinion, that in your judgment the ten and a half per cent. would have been a sufficient protection without any other measure being taken to render the situation of the countries equal, they would have proceeded under a mistake of your real opinion ?

A. Certainly under a very great mistake.

Q. Have not you, and Mr. Richardson, been frequently in town since you last attended the Committee of Privy Council.

A. We have been into Lancashire since that time, where we staid a fortnight, and have been in London since the 13th instant.

Q. Was you not in town for some days immediately after you attended the Committee of Privy Council ?

A. We were.

Q. Did you ever apply to correct or explain your last answer ?

A. I did not.

Q. Had you ever the least idea, that that answer could be made use of in support of the propositions passed in the Irish parliament, and now under the consideration of a Committee of the House of Commons ?

A. I certainly had not.

Q. When you was before the Committee of Privy Council, was the object of your examination in any degree explained to you ?

A. Not

A. Not till I had been there some time, for I conceived that we were sent for upon the same occasion, on which I have now the honor to stand at this bar.

Q. Was it not explained to you before you corrected your evidence, and before you gave your last answer?

A. I can't pretend to say, whether it was not suggested to me after I had been examined for some time by Mr. Stanley, that the purport of the examination was not for the purpose of the repeal of the fustian tax, which I thought it was; but concerning the Irish business, upon which I remarked, that that was a subject of such magnitude, that I neither considered myself nor any other manufacturer competent to give evidence or an opinion on a question of such magnitude; upon which it was remarked, and I think by Mr. Jenkinson, that if we would attend that evening at the office of the clerk of the Privy Council, we should have a fair copy of our evidence to peruse and correct; but I did not wish my opinion to be relied on, without having a copy at home; which, whether it was sent to me at my request, or Mr. Jenkinson's offer, I can't say.

Q. Did you attend the Committee of Privy Council on an intimation, that questions relating to the intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland, were in agitation?

A. I did not.

Q. How happened you to attend the Committee of Privy Council?

A. In consequence of a note shewed to me by Mr. Stanley, on Sunday 30th January, which he had received from Mr. Rose, requesting that he would desire the manufacturers to attend at the Privy Council the next day at eleven o'clock: we were four, two manufacturers, and two printers. Mr. Stanley accompanied us, and presuming it was on our business, we went to the Treasury, and were then directed to go to the Council; but not one of the party had the least idea that it was on the Irish business.

Q. Are you sure that you did not voluntarily of your own accord, attend on the subject of what was going on between England and Ireland?

A. I am very confident that I did not, nor Mr. Richardson either. We sent on the 16th of February some information to Mr. Jenkinson, which we had received from Manchester, and which is inserted in the report, we were only there on the 31st January; and 5th February; and we were sent for both times.

Q. You

Q. You having specified certain exemptions from taxes and duties which the Irish enjoy, and which gave them an advantage in this manufacture above Great Britain, whether you do not think that the restrictive term of being put on equal terms, *in all these respects* was not a closer answer, and more just conclusion, upon which the Committee of Privy Council was to form their judgment, than the more general terms of *all respects*?

A. When we were examined the second time before the Committee of Privy Council, and objected to the word *these*, which Mr. Jenkinson strenuously contended for: we as strenuously contended for the word *all* which we then conceived, and do now conceive applies more strongly to the interests of this country than the word *these*.

Q. Did the want of excise officers between the hours of five and nine, and four and seven cause any interruption in the dyers work, and to what extent?

A. It certainly must, but I can't answer particularly. I am a manufacturer and not a dyer; but there is a manufacturer who is also a dyer ready to be examined.

Q. Does the late tax on fustians occasion any new trouble or embarrassment in the business?

A. I have stated that repeatedly in the former part of my evidence.

Q. Are you obliged to repack your goods?

A. In order to obtain the drawback that must be done.

Q. Whether it is not in the power of the excise officer, from prejudice or favour, to make a difference in the price of your goods?

A. A litigious excise officer may certainly create an additional trouble to the dyer and manufacturer; but where they are to have the redress I know not.

Q. Whether if a manufacturer were base enough to attempt to corrupt an excise officer, and the excise officer base enough to be corrupted, whether that would not alter the price of your goods?

A. It is very possible that two such characters might meet, by which the fair trader would be injured, and the revenue defrauded.

Q. Do you mean by the declaration (that a member of the Privy Council strenuously insisted on the use of the word *these*), that any member of the Privy Council had endeavoured to suggest to your expressions different from your own meaning and intent; or whether it was intended only to prevent

prevent your correcting any expression you had before made use of?

A. When we came to the Committee of Council on Saturday the 5th of February, Mr. Jenkinson mentioned the distinction between all and these; and upon our giving our ideas of what we mean by the word *all*, Mr. Jenkinson replied, you do not suppose it possible for Great Britain to impose the same taxes upon Ireland, under which she herself labours, which we readily admitted that she could not; but insisted, that unless Great Britain had an equivalent the *English* could not be upon *equal* terms with the *Irish* manufacturer.

Withdrew.

Counsel withdrew.

The witness was not discharged, but is to be further examined at the next sitting of the Committee.

Martis 25^o die Aprilis, 1785.

COMMITTEE of the Whole House on the Petition from Manchester, &c. for Repeal of the Cotton Duty Act of last Session.

C O U N S E L called in.

The same as before.

Mr. W A L K E R, again called in.

Q. What is the gross sum as you suppose, which the duty on the bleached and dyed fustians will raise?

A. The gross sum, I presume, is 28,000l. but two-thirds of the fustian being exported, the remaining sum will be 9,330l. 6s. 8d. out of which must be deducted the expences of collecting the whole 28,000l.

Q. Were any of the fustian goods charged with a duty before the act of the last session?

A. None but such as were printed.

Q. Can you tell what turn was produced by the duty on those printed fustians?

A. From the best information I have been able to obtain, about 10,000l.

Q. What part of those printed fustians was exported?

A. About one-half.

Q. Did the manufacturers in general receive the drawback on those fustians which were exported?

A. By no means; for the goods shipped were in general in such small quantities, that the expences of obtaining the draw-

drawback, frequently amounted to a larger sum than the duty came to.

Q. What are the nature of those expences?

A. As I have stated in my former answer, that the printed goods are shipped in such small quantities, that it is so far from being worth the while of the manufacturer to apply for the drawback, that four parts out of five of the printed fustians are exported without any drawback ever being asked for; but that if the tax is to be general upon the whole fustian trade, I then mean to say, that it will be an expence of one and a half per cent, to the manufacturer to obtain the drawback upon his whole exportation.

Q. What sum do you suppose the revenue is benefited by printed fustians being exported, on which the duty is not drawn back?

A. I presume 4,000l. per ann. or very nearly.

Q. Has the business ever been suspended since the passing the act of last session?

A. Very materially; from the 1st of October to about the 13th of December last, I mean the dying business, which was totally suspended.

Q. What was your particular reason in your own house, for suspending your business?

A. The reason was, that the dyers durst not carry on their business from the risk and dread of seizures, and ruin in consequence of such seizures.

Q. Have you resumed your business?

A. Yes.

Q. What induced you to do so?

A. The strong assurances that I had from the minister, that no seizure should be made, and from the great hopes that I conceived I was authorized to have, that he himself would be favourable to the repeal of the act.

Q. Did you convey these assurances to the trade at Manchester?

A. I did, as well by letter as personally.

Q. Have you a copy of the letter you wrote on that occasion?

A. Yes.

Q. Did the minister see a copy of the letter before it was sent?

A. He did not before it was sent, but he did afterwards, and approved of it.

Q. What were the contents of the letter?

A. It was wrote by myself and Mr. Richardson.
He reads a copy of the letter at the bar to the following effect :

“ Dear Sir,
“ IN the letter which we had the honor of writing to you upon the 18th inst. we informed you of our being to see Mr. Pitt, at eight o'clock last night, which we did, but as our conference did not end till near twelve, and as we have had another interview with him this day, we thought it better to postpone writing to you until we could inform you of the result of the whole, and we have the highest satisfaction in informing you, that there appears every real disposition in the minister, to afford us all the relief that is possible in our present situation, and that he seems so fully impressed with the great national importance of our very valuable manufacture, that as far as our judgment goes, we have the greatest reason to hope that it will in future receive from him every possible support and encouragement.

“ The first object of our delegation we conceive was, to solicit for relief till the meeting of Parliament, which we did by requesting that the act might be suspended; if not, that the excise-men might be withdrawn; our first request we were told (and believe) it is impossible for government to comply with; and to withdraw the excisemen, would in fact be to suspend the act; but we are assured, that until the meeting of Parliament every relief and assistance that it is possible for government to grant us shall be granted: many have been the ideas which government have suggested, though hitherto nothing has been absolutely determined upon by them; but we are in hopes that ere long it will be in our power to give you some more decisive information upon this subject.

“ Mr. Pitt has very strongly assured us, that our business shall be the very first that Parliament will take into its consideration upon its meeting, but which we are afraid it cannot do sooner than about the 20th of January.

“ Our next object was to attempt to obtain from the minister a positive assurance, that he would himself move for the repeal of our act at the meeting of Parliament, to which he made the following reply :”

“ That the inconveniencies which we have stated to him, have made considerable impression upon him, that it is impossible for him upon many accounts to give at this time
“ a posi-

“ a positive assurance of a repeal, but that if at the meeting of Parliament, it is proved that the trade must labour under material inconveniencies from the tax, he will be exceedingly desirous that we should be relieved from it.— Which, at our request, he permitted us to take down in writing, and we trust that the public, the Committee, and you will agree with us, that it was impossible for the minister to say more.

“ The very orderly and peaceable manner in which all the parties, who are so very materially interested in this unfortunate business have hitherto conducted themselves, has, we have infinite pleasure in assuring you, done them the highest credit, and our cause equal service, and by persevering in the same line of conduct, every thing we can wish is to be hoped for.

“ Should you have any thing more to communicate to us, we request you to do it as early as possible, as we hope that we shall be able to finish every thing that can now be done towards the middle of the ensuing week.

“ It now only remains for us to repeat to you, that nothing shall be left undone by us, that zeal, propriety, and perseverance can possibly accomplish, and to assure you, with how much respect and esteem,

“ We are, dear Sir,
“ Your most faithful humble servants,
“ THO. WALKER, Jun.
“ THO. RICHARDSON.

“ Mr. James Entwisle, Manchester.”
[Sent by express on Saturday evening, the 20th of November, 1784, at five minutes past nine o'clock.]

Q. Is it to the sum to be raised by this tax, or to the mode of collecting it that you object?

A. To both.

Q. Please to explain your reasons?

A. So far from the fustian trade being able to bear a tax, in any stage, I am very confident that was it to be put under the restrictions of the excise laws, and to receive a bounty equal in amount to the tax now imposed upon it, it would by no means be an equivalent, nor put it on an equal footing with similar manufactures established in other countries, where they are free from the restrictions, embarrassments and impediments of the excise laws.

Q. Why do you suppose those drawbacks will now be taken, which formerly were not taken?

A. If the present tax was to remain, they undoubtedly would be taken, because the whole trade is now under the excise laws, which before the passing of this act, was only upon the printing.

Q. Is the Committee then to understand that the reason why it was not taken before, was that cargoes being composed of some goods on which the drawback was due, and of others in a greater proportion, on which it was not due, it was not worth while to take it on a small part?

A. Certainly; because the printed fustians bore but a small proportion compared with the plain.

Q. Has any mark been yet used, not liable to be obliterated?

A. I have heard of none, nor do I believe there is any.

Q. If any such mark could be used would it remove your objection to the tax?

A. By no means; nor that of the country.

Q. Would it remove so much of the objection to the tax, as relates to the inconvenience to which the trade is subjected, exclusive of the pecuniary burthen of which you complain?

A. I do not conceive that it would have any other advantage, but that of preventing seizures.

Q. What would be the remaining inconveniencies of which you would complain?

A. Delay, and all the other inconveniencies and expenses I have before stated.

Q. Do you imagine that any modification of this tax, or alteration in the mode of collecting it, would remove the inconvenience complained of?

A. I am of opinion, and indeed am *very confident* that nothing but a *total repeal* of the tax on the *whole* cotton manufacture, can preserve a very considerable part of that trade to this country.

Q. On what reasons do you found that opinion?

A. On the impossibility of the trade being carried on under the restraint of the excise laws, with other countries, but particularly with that of Ireland:—I mean to say in any degree on *equal* terms.

Q. Are you of opinion that no way can be devised of collecting this tax, that will not be liable to the objection of laying

laying a much greater expence on the manufacturer, than the sum to be paid to the public?

A. In my judgment *none*; for the burthen to the manufacturers will be *great*, whilst the advantage to the revenue will be *small if any*.

Q. If any mode could be devised by which the manufacturer would be subjected to no other inconvenience or expence, than that of paying one penny per yard, as imposed by the act, upon such a supposition would you think this tax ruinous to the manufacture?

A. Admitting such a thing to be possible, *under the advantages which are at present held out to Ireland*, and from the great encouragement and perfection which other countries are arriving at in the cotton manufacture; I do not think it capable of bearing any tax.

Q. Is the Committee to understand that the trade which has gone on since December last, has gone on wholly on a supposition, that this tax was not likely to continue in its present form?

A. *Undoubtedly, and from a full confidence that it would not continue in any form.*

Q. Do you refer here to the whole of the trade, or the fustian trade only?

A. I speak only of the fustian trade.

Q. If a piece of goods is bleached in one part of the county of Lancaster, and removed to a dying-house in the other, and the excise marks are obliterated in the dye-house, whether an excise officer can replace those marks as the law now stands?

A. I understand not, and the piece is liable not only to seizure, but likewise to a penalty of twenty pounds.

Q. Do you know whether the excise officers refuse to re-stamp any goods which have not been originally stamped in their districts?

A. Certainly; for it is not in their power to do it.

Q. Must not in that case a seizure unavoidably follow, and can no oath arrest in such a case the progress of the law?

A. If the exciseman was to do his duty, I presume it could not.

Q. Does not this act then put it in the power of an exciseman, and a dyer, to injure a manufacturer very materially if they think fit?

A. Certainly,

A. Certainly, when the manufacturer's goods are found without marks on his premises, but whilst they remain on the premises of the dyer or bleacher, I don't understand that the manufacturer runs any risk from seizures, provided he marks his pieces of a proper value, and affixes his name at each end of the piece; unless the seizure should be more considerable than the dyer or bleacher could make good, which would be frequently the case, and then it would be the manufacturer's loss.

Q. Whether the master manufacturer is not liable to very great inconveniences, by the misconduct or misbehaviour of his servants, from the penalty of 200l. affixed to every act which may be construed, giving obstruction to the excise officer, when the master himself has not been privy to any such obstruction?

A. That cannot apply to the manufacturer, as *thank God* the exciseman has no business upon his premises, but it may apply very materially to the dyer and bleacher; but I beg leave to state, that the manufacturer may from the negligence of his servants, or if they should have any picque against him, do him very material injury, by either marking his pieces of an improper value, or omitting to put his name at the ends of each piece.

Q. Whether delay or hesitation in opening the dyers workhouse to the inspection of the excise officer, has not been construed to be an obstruction within the meaning of the act of the last Session.

A. I can't speak to that, from information I am in possession of.

Q. Has any seizure already been made under the act of last Session?

A. Yes.

Q. What was the event?

A. By permission of the Committee I will read some papers I received from Lancashire a few days ago.

Which he read to the following effect.

To the Delegates appointed to attend the Honorable House of Commons, on purpose to obtain a repeal of the tax on dyed and bleached fustians.

On the 29th of March, 1785, James Harrison, this deponent received a summons, signed S. Clowes and Michael Bently, Esqrs. two of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Lancaster, requiring his appearance before them,

them, on the 2d day of April, 1785, on the information of Cayley Johnson, gentleman, for the forfeiture of seven pieces of fustians, and demanding a penalty of 140l. to be paid by the said deponent, the said pieces being found in his custody, dyed or prepared for dying, without the excise marks upon them.

The facts are as follow:

On the 18th of February, 1785, it appears that James Partington, an under servant in the dye-house of this deponent, did bring into his premises, seven pieces of cotton stuffs without his knowledge, privity or consent, and without the knowledge, privity or consent of John Worley, the deponent's principal servant, who conducts the said deponent's dying and bleaching business, and it appears on the testimony of the said James Partington, and on the testimony of the other servants of this deponent, that the said seven pieces of fustian, which consist in length of about four yards, and an half each, and each piece consisting of various remnants stitched together, (and which said pieces or remnants are suspected to have been obtained in a fraudulent manner) never did undergo at this deponent's premises, any operation of bleaching or dying, (save drying) and that the said James Partington, previous to their being seized, did hang them up in the deponent's stove, without his own or his servant's knowledge or consent.

JAMES HARRISON.

Signed and Sworn in the }
Presence of me }

P. MAINWARING.

To the FUSTIAN COMMITTEE.

Gentlemen, Manchester, April 2, 1785.

WE the undersigned being manufacturers of cotton goods, beg leave to state to you some particular grievances, under which we at present labour, owing to the late oppressive tax on cotton stuffs, and to request your advice and assistance.

Having been regularly summoned by the supervisor, to attend the justices this day, for the determination of some illegal seizures made about *two months* since, of different goods, and on different *vexatious pretences*; we accordingly attended with our witnesses (brought with trouble and expence from the country) to defend our property by due evidence,

dence, when we were informed by the supervisor, that the determination of the matter was put off to a future day, when we should again be summoned.

The detention of our goods and loss of sale, (though we have repeatedly desired an earlier decision from the collector) is not the least evil we feel, for whilst every ignorant excise-man can at will seize our goods; and hold out to us pains and penalties; we are deterred from prosecuting our business, as the want or delay of justice may be to us and our property, in the event, nearly as fatal as injustice itself.

EDWARD GRANT and Co.
ROBERT KENYON and Co.
MATTHEW SHAW,
HARRISON and HOUGHTON.

- Q. What duty did you pay on printed fustians last year?
- A. One hundred and thirty-nine pound.
- Q. What drawback did you receive?
- A. Fifty-one pounds; so that government gained 881. and to obtain that 511. it cost me 191. 6s. or thereabouts.

Withdrew.

Mr. T. Richardson examined

Mr. THOMAS RICHARDSON called in and examined.

- Q. Of what trade are you?
- A. A manufacturer of fustians.
- Q. Have you been involved in any distress in the trade, in consequence of the act of last session?
- A. Very considerably, from my inability to finish my goods in consequence of the act, whereby I have had considerable orders countermanded.
- Q. Are you in the home or exportation trade?
- A. Chiefly in the home-trade.
- Q. What burthens is the home trade exposed to in consequence of this act?
- A. To a burthen of six and one-half per cent. on the average, and to other burthens certain in themselves, but on which no estimate can be made.
- Q. State how you make out the six and one-half per cent.
- A. To the tax itself three per cent. on the average; to the increased price I must pay for dying my goods one and one-half per cent. to the extra servants I must keep one-half per cent. to the diminution of my returns, which will be one month in twelve on my whole return; from the excise laws, and

and from the tax, the extra servants I must keep, will be found five per cent. deduction from my capital, which will make it necessary to charge one and one-half per cent. more, to make the same gain on my capital.

- Q. Has there been any advance of price on your goods, to reimburse the six and one-half per cent. or any part of it, to the manufacturer?
- A. Conscious to myself that the trade would not bear it, I have not made any advance on the goods, therefore the tax and its burthens have gone out of my own pocket.
- Q. Is the state of the trade such as to enable the manufacturer to bear that considerable diminution of the profits?
- A. By no means; but thinking the burthen could not last long, and willing to preserve as much as in my power, this valuable branch of manufacture to this country; I chose rather to submit to this loss, than give any other rival manufacture a preference.

- Q. Do you mean that if the tax should be permanent, you can continue to bear the loss?
- A. I should soon be ruined.
- Q. Will you state what sort the burthens are, which you said were not capable of a pecuniary calculation?
- A. The obliteration of the excise marks, whereby the duty on the same pieces has been charged twice or thrice over; by the risk I run of having my property seized, and having penalties imposed on me, when the marks were obliterated, and by an excise officer seizing my goods, from a supposition that he was a better judge of the value than I was.
- Q. Do you think the inconveniencies to the trade, in consequence of this tax would be removed by the establishment of a Custom-house at Manchester?
- A. I think not; but as I said I was chiefly on the home trade, I can't speak so fully to that fact, as those who are in the export trade.
- Q. How many excise officers has this tax created a necessity of employing?
- A. From the ebbs and flows of our business it is impossible for me to speak precisely to that question, but of this I am assured, to keep the business regular, it would require three or four times the number at one season of the year, to what it would at another.
- Q. Give an idea in your judgment, of the average number of excise officers employed to collect the tax?

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M E R C H A N T S

A. I have been informed there have been about an additional number of sixty excise officers sent down, but the business has been much retarded.

Q. Is that owing to there not being a sufficient number sent down?

A. Let the numbers be what they may, the business will be retarded, and for this reason, after the goods come from the weavers, before they are ready for the dyer or the bleacher, they undergo several operations, and these work people generally bring their goods in on Saturday afternoon. Previous to the passing of the act, they were scowered that evening, they were dried on Sunday, and came into the next operation on Monday morning. But as the excise officer must measure them before they can be scowered, and as he only begins his measurement on Monday, and the frame mark he puts upon them being wet, they cannot be scowered till Tuesday morning, and it is with difficulty they can now be brought into the next operation on Wednesday.

Q. Have any seizures been made in consequence of this act?

A. There have been several.

Q. For what particular cause?

A. From the Exciseman, judging they were above the value of three shillings a yard, when the manufacturer had marked them under three shillings a yard as the act directs.

Q. Is there any mode pointed out by the act to ascertain the value, when any such difference happens; or is it in all cases left to the Excise officer to seize?

A. I know of no such. It lies wholly in the Excise officer's judgment, or power.

Q. Have any goods been condemned that were seized?

A. I know of such goods having been offered to the Exciseman at three shillings per yard; and after having been detained a considerable time in the hands of the Excise officers to the detriment and loss of the manufacturer, as making part of an order destined for exportation; and in consequence of those goods, the whole were detained, were then returned to the loss of the manufacturer, and the disappointment of his correspondent.

Q. Was any recompence made to the manufacture for that inconvenience?

A. The Exciseman said he was mistaken; and I know of no law to compel him to make any other recompence; but if there was, I believe few of them are in a capacity to do it.

Q. Is

M A G A Z I N E.

Q. Is the loss occasioned to the manufacturer by that, or any similar inconvenience, comprehended in the general calculation of 6½ per cent?

A. No.

Q. Do you know whether there are similar manufactures established, or about to be established in any other neighbouring country?

A. There are such manufactures established both in Ireland, and the continent of Europe.

Q. Do you know of any late encouragement given or attempts made to induce English manufacturers to go abroad?

A. Several. There is now in Clerkenwell prison, a Prussian whose agent was taken up at Manchester some little time ago, for seducing the manufacturers, and purchasing the implements used in the manufactory.

Q. Do you think this tax will operate to the encouragement of emigration?

A. Most assuredly in my opinion.

Q. Have you seen any of the French manufactures?

A. I am sorry to say I have, and carried to an enviable height of perfection, of which I can produce a proof: a velvet suit—to shew the excellence they are arrived at; it is now in the house.

Q. Will this tax, if persisted in, lay the English manufacturer, under any difficulty or disadvantage in meeting rival manufactures at foreign markets?

A. From the specimens I have seen, and the prices at which they were quoted, it will lay them under considerable disadvantages; but the houses in the export trade are more competent to speak of this than I am.

Q. Do you know of any cessation of work in consequence of the tax?

A. I do, I have discharged several of my own work people.

Q. What was the reason for discharging them?

A. Having kept them on, (the weavers and spinners I mean) during the severity of the winter, and the unhappy cessation of business, by which I could not finish and bring my goods to market, I am now compelled, by necessity to discharge them; and in this, I am by no means singular.

Q. What sort of people are in general employed in weaving and spinning?

A. Men, women and children.

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Q. Had

Q. Had you formerly any encouragement given you to induce the workmen to resume the work?

A. I had.

Q. Was the resumption in consequence of the encouragement?

A. It was; for after Mr. Walker, and myself, in the month of November, went down to Manchester, in consequence of the assurance from the Minister, that every assistance which could be given to the trade, should be given, and in hopes, that at the meeting of Parliament the trade would be revived. The people were disposed on our representation to resume the work again.

Q. Will the continuance of the tax be consistent with the assistance and encouragement of the trade which was professed to be intended?

A. No.

Q. Was you privy to the writing of the letter mentioned by Mr. Walker, and dated the 26th of November?

A. I was.

Q. Was that letter shewn to, and approved by his Majesty's Minister?

A. It was. He said it met with his entire concurrence.

Q. What do you imagine would have been the consequence of not employing the work people during the suspension of the sale?

A. Want of bread; and I am afraid an insurrection in the country.

Q. What is the number likely to be out of bread in consequence of such suspension of work?

A. It is impossible for me to determine; I know there are numbers already discharged, and are discharging daily.

Q. What time are the Excisemen obliged to stay with the dyer and bleacher?

A. I know not how long they are obliged to stay; I have been informed they come about nine o'clock in the morning, and stay till about four o'clock in the evening.

Q. Do you conceive that attendance to be necessary in order to execute the act?

A. That will depend on the quantity of business which the dyer or bleacher does, or when they attend.

Q. How many operations does the manufacture undergo?

A. Twenty-three; and in some cases more.

Q. Are

Q. Are those processes at the same place, or at considerable distances from each other?

A. At considerable distances; some at the distance of twelve miles or upwards.

Q. Whether from that circumstance the act will not cause a great delay in the business?

A. It certainly will.

Q. In what stage do the Excise officers first visit the goods?

A. After the dyer and bleacher receives them.

Q. What is the first operation of the Exciseman?

A. To measure, enter, and mark them.

Q. Does the Exciseman require any person to attend him, whilst he is measuring and marking?

A. Four or five at least, and these are generally the principal servants; but the dyers can speak the best to this.

Q. Are the goods always dyed in whole pieces?

A. No; frequently in halves and thirds.

Q. Are these halves and thirds marked by the Excise officer?

A. I never understood they were; nor will they be without charging the second duty, which we are obliged to submit to, otherwise the goods are liable to seizure; and this brings to my recollection, a particular expence, which I beg leave to state. By this cutting into halves and thirds, we are obliged by the letter of the law, to have a frame mark and seal mark at the end of each of those halves and thirds. This upon the most moderate computation, will be a loss of a quarter of a yard on the average of each piece; but it frequently will be more; but one quarter of a yard is 3-fourths per cent. on the value of the goods, which is an expence, I believe, that has not been stated before.

Q. Are the marks likely to be obliterated?

A. In most colours, it has hitherto been found impossible to preserve them; and I believe, through the whole process, they are seldom otherwise.

Q. What loss of time, on the whole, is occasioned to the business by this act?

A. I believe I have stated that before, in saying one month in twelve, which is, I believe, the most moderate calculation: I have found it more myself.

Q. Is there not a rising manufactory of fustians in Ireland?

A. There

A. There is, which has very considerably encreased of late.

Q. If the Irish and British manufacturers in the cotton trade, were put on the same footing with respect to taxes and bounties, as well internally as upon exportation from one country to the other, do you apprehend a competition?

Counsel and witnesses withdrew.
Motion was made, and the question put, That the counsel and witnesses be again called in; and that the witnesses be directed to give an answer to the question last put to him.

It passed in the negative.
Counsel and witnesses called in, and acquainted therewith.

Q. What do you mean by the duty being charged twice or thrice over?

A. Fustians are obliged to be bleached white before they are dyed: preparatory to their being dyed, they must be passed through a strong acid, which instantly obliterates those Excise marks put on at the bleachers; and the Excise officer who surveys the dyer, will not measure and mark the goods again without charging a second duty; and if it should so happen, (which is frequently the case) that these goods come imperfect from the dyer, the colour must be discharged and re-dyed, when a third duty is charged: of this we have several proofs of such goods having been so charged. This will unavoidably load the home as well as the export trade, as only the last duty charged, can be drawn back on exportation.

Q. What do you apprehend will be the effect of this tax persisted in?

A. Destruction to the trade, and depopulation to the country.

Examined by MEMBERS of the COMMITTEE.

Q. You will state more particularly the reasons for thinking that the trade will not bear an advance in the price of the goods, in consequence of which the whole expence of the tax must fall upon the manufacturer?

A. We have so many rivals, which offer themselves as substitutes of various manufactures, both of foreign and of this country, that any attempts to raise the price would depress the major part of our manufactures.

Q. Whether this answer relates to goods both for home consumption, and the export trade?

A. It relates to both.

Q. Whether

Q. Whether there is any modification of this tax, or any alteration in the manner of collecting it, which you have heard or can suggest, that would induce you to think it compatible with the interest of the trade, and remove the objections to it?

A. I know of none; I think the trade so equally poised, that the least obstruction would throw it into the hands of our rivals.

Q. Can you inform the Committee what is the gross sum which you suppose that the duty on the bleached and dyed fustians will raise?

A. From the quantity of cotton consumed in fustians, and from the average weight which each piece takes, and the average value of each piece, from every calculation I have been able to make, it could not exceed 28,000l. and 2-thirds of this sum are to be drawn back on exportation, as 2-thirds of the fustians at least are exported.

Q. When you state, that the net produce of the tax upon bleached and dyed fustians will, in your opinion, fall short of 10,000l. do you take also into your consideration the expence of collection?

A. I do not.

Q. Are you apprized of any other deduction to be made from any immediate diminution of the revenue, affecting the duty at present authorized to be drawn back upon printed fustians exported?

A. I am well informed, that a very small part of the duty which was paid on fustians printed and exported, was drawn back, owing to the expences being in many cases equal to the duty.

Q. Have you heard the amount of the duties not drawn back?

A. From the accounts which I have collected from the printers of fustians, I find the duty is about 10,000l. per annum; half of which are exported; and from the best informed houses in Manchester, who have exported these printed fustians, I find they have not drawn back more than one fourth part.

Q. What is the tax on the low priced articles?

A. On four of the low priced articles, the tax alone is six per cent. to which will be added one and a half extra for dying, one half per cent. paid more for an additional number of servants; and the diminution of my return, added to the foregoing

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going tax, and those expences will be one and a half more, which makes nine and a half per cent. on the low priced goods.

Q. Are not those four low priced articles, the articles on which the weavers learn to weave?

A. Yes, they are the spring from which the manufacture flows; and to destroy them, would be the destruction of the trade.

Q. Are there any articles of foreign manufactures which can be substituted instead of these articles by which the sale can be reduced?

A. There are several, among which are German, Russian, and likewise Irish linens.

Q. Have you experienced any diminution of the articles from these substitutes?

A. Some few years ago, when cotton wool was very high, these articles were much substituted in lieu of ours; and when once a substitute is found, it is not an easy matter to bring an article back again, which I am afraid will be the case in foreign markets, owing to our manufactures not arriving in time for their fairs.

Q. Has the exportation of the fustian trade, from this country to Ireland, encreased or diminished of late?

A. Within the last four years it has very rapidly decreased.

Q. To what do you impute the decrease?

A. To the quantity which the Irish now manufacture themselves.

Q. Has the export of the fustians from Ireland encreased within the time you mention?

A. By the Irish accounts, it appears, that although the importation of fustians into Ireland from England, within four years, has decreased as twenty-three to one; yet in the same period of time, the exportation of fustians from Ireland to America, has encreased as forty-six to one.

Q. Has it happened frequently that the duty has been paid more than once from the marks being erased?

A. I believe it has; and when it is considered that all goods bleached white, and afterwards dyed, must pass through a strong acid before they are dyed; the mark is instantly obliterated.

Q. Do

Q. Do you know of your knowledge, that this has happened, and how often has it happened within your knowledge?

A. I do know that it has happened, and I believe it happens frequently; but the dyers can speak better than I can to that fact.

Q. Did it ever happen to yourself: have you ever paid a duty twice over on a manufacture of your own?

A. I have.

Q. To what amount?

A. As the quantity of business I have been able to dye, under the act, has been very small, the amount of this charge has been likewise small.

Q. Has any method yet occurred to you to prevent the inconvenience of paying the duty twice or three times over?

A. I know of none.

Withdrew.

Mr. James Hall called in and examined.

Mr. James Hall examined.

Q. What is your business?

A. That of a fustian dyer in Manchester.

Q. How long have you carried on that business?

A. Upwards of twenty-four years.

Q. When did you begin to do any business under the act of last session?

A. The 16th of December last.

Q. When did that act take place?

A. The 1st of October last.

Q. Did you then do no business as a fustian dyer from the 1st of October to the 16th of December?

A. I did not.

Q. Have you been involved in any distress in the business of a dyer in consequence of the provisions of that act?

A. Yes.

Q. State the nature of it?

A. From employing nearly one third part more servants under this Excise law in doing the same business as I did before the passing of the act; and from the Excisemen coming to measure and mark the goods, it has generally taken five or six of our principal servants to attend them, and assist them: in consequence of that, many other of our servants, from want of the principal servants, have been at times unemployed, together with fires burning to waste, for want of the goods,

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goods, in regular time for the first operation, as the processes of dying depend on each other; so that if they are hindered in the first process, they are consequently hindered in all the other parts that come after. We are also detained by manufacturers making application to us in order to get their certificates, that they may get their debentures or drawbacks. We also advance the duties every six weeks; and the duty on some articles is more than the dye comes to.

Q. Is it necessary for you and other dyers to have additional buildings in consequence of this act?

A. It is.

Q. Are you subject to any inconvenience from the obliterating of the frame marks in the process of scouring and dying?

A. Yes.

Q. State the nature of it?

A. In the first place, the pieces are first measured by the Exciseman; and if they are taken away immediately after the first operation, all the mark or nearly, will go out if taken whilst wet. The next process is that of scouring; then they are taken from off our premises about a mile or a mile and a half, to be dressed by various people whom the manufacturer employs, and not the dyer; there they undergo various operations, which will be too tedious to mention; they are raised by different machines, and then run over a red hot iron, from ten to twenty times. The dresser then carries them to the manufacturer; the manufacturer sends them into various parts of the town to be picked up by the fustian cutters; the fustian cutters return them to the manufacturer, so that on an average, we are three weeks and never see those goods; and during the whole of that time, they are in unentered premises; and we look upon it they may be seized by an officer of Excise; and we the dyers shall be accountable for the goods.

Q. Do you understand, that besides being liable to reimburse the manufacturer for his goods, the dyer would be liable to pay the penalties of the act of Parliament in case of such seizure?

A. Yes.

Q. Is the dyer frequently intrusted with large quantities of goods which, in case of such seizure, he would be accountable for?

A. Yes.

Q. Have

Q. Have you, from these reasons, increased the price of dying since the act took place?

A. Yes.

Q. In what proportion?

A. There are various proportions on various articles.

Q. Is the increase considerable?

A. Yes: it is.

Q. If the act of Parliament should continue as it is, would you continue to carry on the business, even at the advanced price of dying?

A. No: nor for three times the advanced price I have had.

Q. Whether you have not received fustians bleached at distant crofts, for which the duty has been paid, and the frame mark affixed, in order that you might dye them of various colours?

A. Yes: many, and in the first process of dying, the frame marks have totally come out.

Q. Are the goods in such case liable to seizure, tho' the duty has been paid?

A. I believe they are.

Q. Are fustians, when died black, taken from the dyers to the dressers?

A. They are various times.

Q. Is it possible on goods of that colour to preserve the marks which denote that the duty has been paid, so as to protect them from seizure?

A. I never could, nor could our officers that surveyed us.

Q. When the marks are obliterated, have you found it practicable to procure them to be remarked, without paying the duty a second time?

A. We have had none remarked till finished: I have asked the officers to renew the marks, in order that we might take them into town to be dressed at different dressers in their operation of working them; but they have refused, and in that situation they have been carried from our works to the distance of one or two miles without any mark at all, and they passed no less than three or four times from our house to different houses for the operation of dressing, during all that time that they are in the town, they are in unentered rooms, and we look on it they are liable to be seized by an officer of excise.

Q. Has the officer of excise with respect to those goods which have had the marks obliterated, any way of ascertaining

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ing whether the duty has been paid, so as to justify his remarking them?

A. No.

Q. Whether in the operation of dying, there are not various and distinct branches carried on by persons lying at a distance from each other?

A. Yes: one scours and prepares the piece for dying, and another dyer actually dyes the piece. There are two distinct officers, one surveys the scourer, and another the dyer; that is, there are two different districts, and in the first process of dying the piece the marks are all obliterated, and we know not what length or breadth some of the pieces were, nor can the officers themselves tell; but they and we judge to the best of our knowledge, but when the pieces are without frame-marks in our hands, we believe they may be seized by any officer of excise, and we must be answerable for the consequence; neither will they put their crown-mark upon these goods when they are measured in another district, except they are measured and charged, and the duty paid again.

Q. Can you state any calculation of your losses between the 1st of October and the 16th of December, when you did no business in consequence of the act?

A. Yes: upwards of 400 l.

Q. Were the persons employed under you, distressed in consequence?

A. Certainly they were.

Q. Do you know of any application having been made by agents of foreign manufactories to entice the dyers of fustian to go abroad since the passing this act?

A. I have been told by the persons themselves that application has been made to several; and I have also been personally applied to for that purpose.

Q. To go to what place?

A. I myself was applied to, to go to Ireland?

Q. Is there a manufacture of fustians established in Ireland?

A. I believe there is.

Q. Whether in your opinion the continuing this tax in its present force would operate as a strong inducement to the manufacturers to go into foreign countries?

A. I certainly would.

Examined

[Examined by the COMMITTEE.]

Q. What number of bleachers and dyers do you suppose were out of employ during the month of November?

A. As near as I can calculate about 2000.

Q. Whether the master dyers did not enter into a subscription to support those who were out of employ?

A. There was none entered into; but every master kept his own servants.

Q. Do you know of any hand-bill dispersed about the neighbourhood of Manchester, giving notice, that the men out of employ, if they would assemble at a coffee-house at Manchester, should receive money till they were employed again?

A. I don't remember any such hand-bills; but the master dyers, if they knew of any journeymen being out of work, assisted them with money.

Withdrew.

Counsel withdrew.

Mercurii 6^o die Aprilis, 1785.

COMMITTEE of the whole House on Petition from *Manchester, &c.* for Repeal of the Cotton Duty Act of last Session.

Counsel called in.

Mr. James Entwisle called in and examined.

Q. Of what trade are you?

A. A manufacturer and exporter of fustians, and a dyer of my own goods.

Q. Have you been involved in any distress as a dyer in consequence of the tax?

A. I have, from the impossibility of carrying on that part of my business under the restrictions of the act, without running a risk of seizures, and incurring large penalties, without the most distant intent to defraud the revenue.

Q. Have you been involved in any distress as a manufacturer in consequence of this act?

A. I have, from an inability to execute commissions received from correspondents; as a confirmation of which my account of sales for the months of October, November, and December, 1784, and January and February 1785, were decreased in the proportion of four to seven, with my account sales for those months in the years 1783, and 1784.

Q. When

Q. When did you commence dying under this act?

A. On the 13th of December last.

Q. What induced you to commence dying at that time?

A. The assurances given by Mr. Walker and Mr. Richardson in November last, as from the minister, that there would be no seizures made where there was no intent to defraud the revenue; from the promise he made them as I understood, that the business of the fustian tax should be the first brought in at the meeting of Parliament, and their great confidence from many conferences they had with him on the subject, that the act would be repealed. *

Q. Have you made any estimate of the expence of dying under the act?

A. I have, once, from the commencement on the 13th of December to the 15th January.

Q. What was the amount of that expence?

A. Five pound *per Cent* on the goods occasioned by the small quantity of work done during that period, and the increased expence which attended it.

Q. Do you mean then that those causes operated only from the 13th December to 15th January, which made the additional expence of 5l. *per Cent*?

A. I know of no other.

Q. What proportion of the fustian manufacture is exported?

A. At least two thirds; but a much greater proportion of my own manufacture.

Q. Were fustians before the passing of this act subjected to the payment of any duty or expence?

A. None, except such as are printed.

Q. To what expences are fustians by this act, subjected in foreign markets?

A. To a necessary expence to obtain a drawback, which I estimate at one and a half *per Cent.* an increased number of servants at three quarters *per Cent.* a diminution of return and decrease of capital, at one and a quarter *per Cent.* and an unavoidable increased expence of dying, of which I have made no other estimate, not being a dyer for hire, but am clearly of opinion it must amount in the course of a year, to at least one and a half *per Cent.* but I conceive, very probably may be more from the increased number of servants, additional buildings, extra expences, and the impossibility of doing

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so much business; which on the whole amounts to 5l. *per cent.*

Q. Is the trade subjected to any, and what other burthens in consequence of the act?

A. To many other inconveniencies occasioned by detention and restriction, by duty often paid on the same piece, from great injury done at the ports to the beauty and finish of the fustian manufacture, when opened and repacked to obtain the drawback; from drawbacks not being obtained, owing to the goods not corresponding with the certificates, and from robbery and loss, which prevent the drawback from being recovered, and, as I apprehend, subjects the remaining part of package to forfeiture under that act.

Q. Have you ever paid the duty twice over?

A. I have, in the month of January last, on forty pieces of fustians, which had before been bleached white, and charged with the duty at the bleachers; the marks were upon them when received into the dye-house, but in the process of dying were obliterated, application was made to the excise officer to have the frame marks and seal renewed, the drawback being intended to be taken as the goods were for America; the excise officer refused, and I paid a second duty for those goods, being apprehensive, that if I removed them from my entered premises without having the proper marks, they were liable to seizure under the nineteenth section of that act.

Q. Will the duty operate as a tax on labour?

A. Yes, being a duty *ad valorem.*

Q. What proportion does the labour bear to the price of the raw material?

A. The amount paid for labour in the fustian manufacture is, in my estimation, three times the amount of the value of the raw material.

Q. What number of persons do you employ as a dyer?

A. Forty and upwards.

Q. What number of persons did you employ in September last, in the manufacture?

A. More than 4,000, men, women, and children.

Q. What number do you now employ?

A. Not one fourth of that number.

Q. What has occasioned the reduction?

A. I am overstocked with goods, occasioned by the suspension of business, and for the reasons which I gave in my former answer respecting my sales.

Q. Is then the reduction the consequence of the new tax?

A. I do

A. I do not know of any other.

Q. What is the common price of labour paid to men employed in this manufacture?

A. I estimate it at 8s. *per week*.

Q. Will the fustian manufacture in consequence of these additional burthens, be obliged to meet the Irish manufacture at foreign markets to such a disadvantage, as will not fail to give the superiority to the manufacture of that country?

A. I conceive it will, as the Irish fustian manufacturer is not restricted by excise laws; his return is not diminished, nor his capital decreased to pay duties; labour and provisions I am informed, are much cheaper than in England; the raw material of linen yarn is the product of Ireland; he is exempt as I believe, from most internal duties; he is advantageously situated both for imports and exports, and is in possession of most of our improvements in spinning.

Q. With what expence will the home consumption be burthened by this tax?

A. I calculate it at six and a half *per Cent.* the tax on an average of the trade, I estimate at 3 *per Cent.* the increased number of servants at one half *per Cent.* the diminution of return, and decrease of capital, one and a half *per Cent.* and the increased expence of dying I am satisfied cannot be less than one and a half *per Cent.*

Q. Why do you calculate the diminution of return and decrease of capital at one and a quarter on the export trade, one and a half on the home trade?

A. Because the duty in the export trade may be drawn back on the goods being exported, with which in the home trade a credit must be given, and is in my opinion equal to that difference.

Q. Why is the extra expence of servants three quarters per cent in the foreign trade?

A. Because a house in the export trade must keep more servants than are necessary in the home trade, having to procure certificates, obtain drawbacks, and other business in consequence of this act.

Q. Will this trade so burthen the fustian trade for home consumption, as to cause the destruction of low priced fustians?

A. It will load them with a duty on the average six *per cent.* in low priced sorts, exclusive of the other expences, amounting to three and a half *per cent.* making together nine and a half *per cent.*

Q. Will

Q. Will not that deprive the aged of employ, and destroy the nursery for weavers?

A. They are absolutely necessary to the existence of the fustian trade, as furnishing employment to young beginners, and learners; and in the decline of life they furnish employment to the aged, who through infirmities may be disabled from working on articles of greater value.

Q. Will this act in your opinion have the effect of lessening the importation of cotton wool into this kingdom?

A. It cannot be otherwise in my opinion, for in proportion as there is a decrease in the fustian trade it will be found in the importation of cotton wool.

Q. Have the manufacturers of fustian ever received or solicited any Parliamentary aid?

A. I never heard that they received, or have solicited it.

Q. Do you apprehend that the annual return of the trade will be burthened by this tax, with a greater amount than it can produce to the public?

A. The fustian trade is as I before stated, burthened with at least five per cent. exclusive of the duty which is drawback on exportation; and the third part of the trade which remains for home consumption, being burthened with the expence of collecting the whole tax, it cannot as I apprehend be productive, at the same time, that it loads the whole trade with an average of five per cent.

EXAMINED BY THE COMMITTEE.

Q. What time do you begin to work at the dying business in a morning?

A. About 5 o'Clock.

Q. When do you leave off in the evening?

A. That depends on being full of business, or otherwise 7 o'Clock the usual hour.

Q. When do the excise officers come?

A. I don't remember seeing them at an earlier hour than nine in the morning.

Q. Is there any inconvenience which arises from your beginning earlier than the excise officer comes in a morning?

A. If no goods are on hand, frame marked the day before, none can be taken into work on the following day, till the exciseman has measured and marked them, and for some time afterwards; because if these marks are not suffered to be perfectly dry, they frequently are obliterated in the first process for dying.

NUMB. III.

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Q. Have

M E R C H A N T S

Q. Have you known any instance of this occasioning any delay or stop to the work?

A. I have.

Q. Is it not sometimes customary for the workmen to put small pieces of silk, and other things to dye without the knowledge of the master, and which the master winks at?

A. I do not as the master of my own work, connive at any such practice; but it is done at some other dye houses, I believe.

Q. Might not the master be exposed under this act to inconvenience from this sort of practice?

A. I know of no part of the act which protects him from penalty, if such things are found upon his entered premises.

Q. How often was it necessary for you to measure the goods before this act passed?

A. Never as a dyer.

Q. Are you obliged to measure them now?

A. They are measured by the excise officer; and in some colours must be done so four or five times, from the first process in dyeing, to the article being delivered, finished at the warehouse, if the act be fully enforced.

Q. How many excise officers attend your dye house?

A. I cannot ascertain the number; the changes have been so frequent; and I have two dye houses at a small distance from each other.

Q. Does the business give full occupation to one excise officer?

A. I have never known it put strictly to the trial; but I am persuaded, that at both places two excisemen would not do the whole of the work of measuring, and frame marking before dyeing, and of sealing, and renewing marks after dyeing, if they were constant from nine in the morning, to four in the afternoon.

Q. What do you mean by sealing after dyeing?

A. A stamp is put on at each end of each piece, by an exciseman. I think it is expressly directed in the 19th Section: it is called there a stamp or seal.

Q. Does that operation of sealing give any considerable trouble to the dyer?

A. It does give trouble.

Q. Does it cause much delay?

A. It does.

Q. How many pieces of goods have you ever known to be begun to be dyed in one dye house in one day?

A. In

M A G A Z I N E.

A. In my own dye-house I have not ascertained the quantity.

Q. Can you give any account of it, though not an exact one?

A. Not with any degree of correctness.

Q. How long do goods remain in the operation of dyeing before the dyeing is completed?

A. That depends on the colors.

Q. What are the colors of which the goods are chiefly dyed?

A. I know but of few, if any colours, but what fustians are dyed of.

Q. Do you know of any, two, or three or four colours of which fustians are dyed all of one colour in a greater proportion than of other colours?

A. The quantity in drabs, and olives is very considerable, and the quantity in blacks is very considerable.

Q. How long is each of those in the operation of dyeing?

A. From the first going out in the grey, some articles will be more than a month before they are completely finished, in most colours; inferior articles are sometimes not so long, and in black, some articles are finished in a month, and others are frequently ten weeks before they are completed: I speak of the general course of the dyeing trade.

Q. Are there more articles that take a month and upwards in dyeing, than a less time from your own experience?

A. I cannot answer fully to that, the manufactures are so various.

Q. Of the articles called velvets, do the greatest part of them take a month less time?

A. Generally more.

Q. Of the articles of different manufactures in general dyed black, do the greatest part of them take a month or less time?

A. The quantity of other articles dyed black is not so considerable as that of velvets, and they being mostly plain goods, come round in less time than the other.

Q. If velvets in general take more than a month; and the greatest part of the articles dyed black, are velvets, is it not to be supposed, that the greatest part of the goods dyed black take more than a month?

A. They do.

Q. What proportion are velvets of the whole fustian trade

X 2

A. I can't

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A. I can't tell.

Q. What is the least time which the goods take in dying?

A. I have never taken so exact an account of time in dying; some goods being compleated in much less time than others, which they were received with.

Q. Will you tell as near as you can, what is the least time any goods take in dying?

A. I beg I may have permission to inform the Committee, that my dying business is chiefly conducted by two principal servants; and that greater part of my own time is taken up in the manufactory, I have it therefore not in my power to answer so exactly in that particular.

Q. Do you know enough of the dying business, to say whether there is a difference in dying different articles of different colours?

A. There is.

Q. What are the particulars that make the whole expence of dying?

A. The dying ingredients that are used, coppers, vats, and many other articles.

Q. What proportion of the expence of dying consists of those dying ingredients, copper and vats; and what in the wages of persons employed in the processes?

A. It is not possible to ascertain their just proportions.

Q. Is there any considerable quantity of fuel used in the different processes of dying?

A. There is a considerable quantity used.

Q. Is there some consumption of fuel going on during the whole month for the purpose of that dying?

A. Little dying is done without a consumption of fuel at any time.

Q. Are you able to state what quantity of fuel is necessary for the dying a given quantity of any sort of goods?

A. I cannot with correctness, when in a constant course of work.

Q. How many servants do you employ as a dyer?

A. I have already answered that question, the number I mentioned is forty and upwards.

Q. Have you employed the same number, pretty nearly for some time?

A. I presume I have now more at work than I had three months ago.

Q. How many had you three months ago?

A. I cannot tell.

Q. Are

Q. Are you sure you have now more in pay than you had three months ago?

A. I do believe I have.

Q. Has your number on an average, been about forty for the last twelve months, or more or less?

A. I cannot be exact to the number, I have not my books to refer to.

Q. As near as you can?

A. I cannot reply.

Q. Do you say the number of servants alter in the course of a year, according to the quantity of business.

A. They don't remain at one number, the variation it is out of my power to ascertain.

Q. Do you know what you pay for wages to workmen dyers in the course of twelve months on the whole?

A. I dont know the exact sum.

Q. Do you know the quantity of yards you have dyed in twelve months?

A. I can't reply to that with correctness; they are matters I have not attended to minutely.

Q. Do you know the value of dying materials you have bought in the course of twelve months?

A. That I can't tell.

Q. Do you know your expence of coppers, and vates in the course of twelve months?

A. That must depend on the quantity bought.

Q. What are the other articles of expence in dying which you did not specify?

A. Servants wages, rents, cooperage, and other articles.

Q. What other articles?

A. Grinding the dying materials, horses, and carts.

Q. Do you pay your servants by the week, or by the work done, or in what otherway?

A. By the week.

Q. How much a week do you pay now, that you have forty servants or upwards?

A. I have not the sum in my mind which I have paid.

Q. Do you know whether you have now a greater or less number of servants than you had at this time last year?

A. That I do not.

Former part of evidence read. [See * reference, page 134.]

Q. Upon what grounds did you make your estimate, when

when you said the act increased the expence of dying five per cent.?

A. Because I had betwixt the 1st October, and 13th December, (during which time I had no dying done) taken an account of the stock then on hand.

Q. How was you enabled to judge of the expence of dying, by taking an account of the stock in hand, during a time that you did no work?

A. From an estimate which was made by my servant of the work done, and the expences which had been incurred.†

Q. What work done do you allude to in your last answer?

A. From the 13th December, to the 15th January.

Q. At what time did you make the estimate you speak of?

A. Very soon after the 15th of January.

Q. Is the Committee then to suppose that you thought an increase of five per cent. in the price of dying, from the 13th December to the 15th January, necessary in order to make up for the loss sustained by your having done no work from the 1st October to the 13th December?

A. I could not possibly do that.

Q. In what way then did the account, which you say has been taken during the time no work was done, enable you to estimate the increase of price for the work done in the latter period, from 13th December to the 15th January?

A. I have already answered a question similar to that.

† [See reference above.]

Q. Are you satisfied in your own mind, that if the present tax continues, there must continue such an increase on the price of dying as you have mentioned?

A. The calculation I then made went no farther than for that space of time; and the fact was that from the commencement on the 13th December, to the 15th January, my men in that dye-house, from whence the estimate was made, did me no more work than the value I estimated.

Q. Did you compare the expence of the work done in that period, with the expence of the same quantity of work done in any former period?

A. I did not, the quantity of work was decreased through the operation as I judge of the excise law.

Q. Did you compare the quantity of work done in that period with the quantity of work done in any other equal period of time?

A. I don't

A. I don't recollect that I did; but this I know, that I had less work finished than I ever had before in any such time.

Q. How much less than in any other equal period?

A. The work my men begun upon was on pieces that were in part dyed before the 13th December; and of those I had very few that came finished on the 15th January.

Q. What became of those goods in part dyed on the 13th December, (between 1st October, and the 13th December), were they then in the process of dying?

A. They were not in the actual process of dying.

Q. Was the dying of those goods then begun before the 1st October; and was the operation suspended from thence to the 13th of December?

A. They were.

Q. Have you any other reason for thinking the increase of five per cent. in dying necessary than the estimate you have mentioned?

A. I have made no estimate since that time what the expence may really be.

Q. Do you think that an estimate made without comparing the work done in that period, with the work done in any former equal period; or the expence of the work then done, with the expence of the same quantity of work done in any former period; or without examining the proportion of the different articles of the expence of dying, can in any degree be relied upon?

A. The number of pieces delivered out during that period, and the process they went through, in order for finishing, were estimated at the advanced prices.

Q. Do you think an estimate formed as stated in the former question can be relied upon?

A. I should doubt it.

Q. Was not the estimate so formed?

A. The estimate, I have said before, was made according to the different processes the pieces went through in the course of finishing.

Q. Do you mean that the expence of each of those processes was separately estimated?

A. I presume they were according to the account brought me by my servant.

Q. Have you actually charged five per cent. advance on the price of goods dyed during that period?

A. I did not dye one piece of them for hire.

Q. Whether

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Q. Whether persons who did dye for hire, made that charge during that time?

A. I have not, that I know of, a piece of black of my own manufacture dyed by any other person whatever, nor do I dye any but on my own account.

Q. Question repeated?

A. My reply was on a supposition, that it had a reference to the estimate before spoken of.

Q. Question again repeated?

A. I presume they did.

Q. Have you had any reason for thinking so, except the estimate made on your own work?

A. A list of prices I saw which was delivered by dyers to their employers on those terms.

Q. Whether you have yourself charged the persons to whom you sold your goods with the increased price of 5 per cent.

A. I have not to my knowledge.

Q. Do you then mean to say that you would receive on this account 5 per cent. less profit on the goods than you would have received on the like goods one or two years ago?

A. I have no doubt there must be that difference on the goods on which I made the estimate.

Q. What do you on the whole think the increase of expence to be on goods exported?

A. I have already replied to that question in the former part of my evidence.

Q. Question repeated?

A. The whole was mentioned to be on an average of 5 per cent. on the goods exported.

Q. How much of the duty was drawn back on exportation?

A. The whole ought to be; but I have been seldom so fortunate in my applications.

Q. What part of the whole drawback is returned net?

A. The whole is returned, but it is attended with an expence.

Q. What is the amount of that expence?

A. An average calculation may be made, but I think it difficult to put a precise value on each package.

Q. Mention the average as far as you can, in proportion to the duty? What proportion to the duty does the expence of obtaining the drawback bear?

A. The

M A G A Z I N E.

A. The proportion which I reckon, is to an average value on packages exported.

Q. How much per cent. on the value of the goods do you reckon the duty?

A. I have always calculated the duty as amounting to 3 per cent. on the trade.

Q. Do you reckon the expence attending the getting the drawback, 1 per cent. or more, or less?

A. I reckon the expence incurred to obtain the drawback, would on an average of the whole export trade, be at least 1½ per cent.

Q. Do you know of any other expence exclusive of the tax brought on the exportation of the manufacture, except the 5 per cent. advance on the dying, and the expence you have now mentioned attending the obtaining the drawback?

A. There was 5 per cent. exclusive of the tax to be found in my reply.

Q. Question repeated?

A. I reckon a further expence from the increased number of servants which a house in the export trade will be obliged to keep in order to secure the drawbacks.

Q. At how much do you reckon that expence?

A. The whole expence of servants, I reckon at 3-fourths per cent. increase upon that trade.

Q. Do you reckon any other expence?

A. I do; a further expence of one and a quarter for diminution of the annual return under the restrictions of the act, and the unavoidable decrease of capital which it will occasion.

Q. On what ground has the expence of 3-fourths per cent. for servants been calculated?

A. In my judgment it is chiefly accounted for in the restrictions which every manufacturer is laid under in having the 27th section of the act fully enforced on his trade; but exclusive of that, it will require servants in a warehouse to attend to the Excise accounts, prepare accounts for certificates, and attend to the correspondence of shipping, besides others being obliged to go to the distance of many miles to obtain those certificates, and have them attested before a magistrate.

Q. What quantity of goods are generally shipped at one time for exportation?

A. That is uncertain.

Q. What on an average?

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Y

A. If

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A. If only half the number of packages were subject to those expences, it would nearly amount to that average; and it will very often happen that only one package, and that may be of less value than 105l. may be shipped on board one vessel.

Q. Do you suppose taking one time with another, that there are not more than two packages shipped on board one vessel at the same time?

A. With some houses, particularly young beginners, it would very likely not amount to that number.

Q. Was you under the Excise survey from the 1st October to the 13th December, as a dyer?

A. I was not. I don't recollect I was even surveyed by any Excise officer.

Q. Did the Excise officers survey you between the 13th December, and 15th January?

A. I have no doubt they did.

Q. Did they mark the pieces you dyed during that time?

A. I have been sometimes present when they have gone through such a form.

Q. How many at this form did they measure and mark in an hour?

A. The number of Excisemen, I presume, has not always been the same; therefore I can't say what number they have measured in an hour.

Q. How many could one Exciseman measure in an hour?

A. Witness asks, whether the quantity is intended to be of those pieces which were in part dyed on the 13th December.

Q. Question repeated in general?

A. That I can't ascertain.

Q. Did it take longer or less time to mark those that had been in part dyed on the 13th December, or those that had not?

A. In my opinion it took the Exciseman longer time to measure and mark those goods that were in part dyed than it would have done if they had not been so.

Q. Can you tell how many of those that had been in part dyed, were measured and marked in any particular period of time?

A. I cannot. I must observe I was not told enough to make my remarks on the conduct of the Excisemen.

Q. When you talk of an increase of 5 per cent. in the price of dying, as necessary to compensate for the loss sustained by the operation of the tax, do you refer to calculations made

made by yourself, or to information and estimates furnished to you by your principal servants?

A. I refer in part to information given me by my principal servants, the quantity of work that was done during that period, and the expence which attended it.

Q. Do you then believe that your additional expence in your business resulting from the operations of the tax is equal to 5 per cent.?

A. Such were the consequences attending the operations of the tax during that period.

Q. When you say, that during that period, you did not add the 5 per cent. to your price of goods; do you mean to be understood, that if the tax should be continued, you should not add the 5 per cent.?

A. I did not add the 5 per cent on those goods; and if I attempt it now, I cannot flatter myself with much decrease of the heavy stock now by me.

Q. Explain why it will not decrease?

A. My trade is almost wholly or a great part of it in Germany and Russia. The duties on our manufactures are already very heavy in those countries; and it is very difficult to keep the fustian manufacture at the prices the different articles bore before they were in any degree affected by the tax.

Q. Have you experienced any material inconvenience in your business as a dyer from the frame marks not standing at the dye-house when the estimate was made?

A. I have delivered many hundred pieces to be dyed black; and do believe, that there has not been as many single pieces received but what were obliged to have the frame mark at each end renewed.

Q. Do you then mean to say that the principal difficulty was the frame mark not standing?

A. Not the only one.

Q. Was it the material one?

A. I have had goods ready and finished to bring from the dyers, which were to be packed and forwarded the same day, that they might get to port in time to save ship; and not having Excisemen to renew the marks, have been prevented forwarding them at the proper time, which of itself on some branches of the fustian trade, has been a greater detriment and inconvenience to the manufacturer and exporter than the drawback would compensate.

Q. When did you take out your licence as a dyer?

A. The 13th December.

Q. Do you mean that you employ more men now than you did before the passing of the act?

A. I can't be certain of the number; but I am of opinion, it was greater before the act took place than what it has been at any time since.

Q. Can you in the same time do the same work now with the same number of men as you could before?

A. That I think impossible.

Q. Whether the suspension of dying pieces from the 1st October to 13th December, was not solely owing to the passing this act?

A. To that and that only.

Q. Is not this the fason when most goods are dyed?

A. This is reckoned for the most part the busiest time; the quantity done depends much on the weather.

Withdrew.

Mr. JAMES HALL again called in and examined.

Q. Are you a master dyer of fustians?

A. Yes.

Q. What are the several articles of expence which attend dying?

A. Various articles of dye stuff made use of; cash paid to servants for wages, rents, grinding of dye woods, and various other things.

Q. What are those other things?

A. It is impossible to enumerate them.

Q. Are those then the most material?

A. That of coals is no little matter.

Q. Can you state what proportion each of those articles bear to the whole expence of dying a certain quantity of goods?

A. I cannot.

Q. How many men are employed in the process of dying a certain quantity of goods?

A. That is impossible to tell for this reason; for some sorts of colours will take ten times as many servants as some other colours will.

Q. Have you any objection to say what quantity of goods you have dyed in any one year?

A. I have no objection, but it is not in my power.

Q. What number of men have you employed in any one year?

A. That I can't say.

Q. What

Q. What quantity of fuel have you consumed in any one year?

A. I can't say that without looking in my books.

Q. Can you tell the expence of the dying stuff in any one year, or the proportion of the expence of the other articles?

A. Not without referring to my books, which I have not now here.

Q. Do you know of a necessary increase of the expence of dying in consequence of the act?

A. Yes.

Q. In what way did you calculate the necessary increase of price?

A. After I had worked one month under this Excise law; that is, from the 16th December to 16th January, that we weighed up all our materials, and took our stock, and found us to be a great deal deficient, from what we were when we first began to work under this Excise law; and, if the Committee chuses that I should refer to particulars I can do it as I have memorandums of my own making with me.

Q. Refer to them?

A. From the 16th December to 16th January 1785, cash paid to dyers, &c.

	£.	s.	d.
Labourers in this month, - - - - -	58	16	11
Coals consumed, - - - - -	8	11	2
Rents, buildings, &c. - - - - -	9	16	0
Keep of horses, - - - - -	3	4	0
Wear and tear of utensils, - - - - -	5	0	0
Dying ingredients, Indigo, woods, and other materials for that purpose, used that month, - - - - -	44	15	6

£. 130 3 7

Contrary side is the work done by amount of dying and scouring in that month, - - - - -

£. 78 11 10

So that we lost - - - - -

Q. Did you use a greater quantity of dying materials in proportion to the work done in that month than in any previous to the tax?

A. Certainly we did.

Q. Explain why?

A. For not having a regular quantity of business as we used to have before the act took place, we were under the necessity of keeping all our various works going, fires regularly burning

burning then as well as if we were in full employ ; and we could not work our dye stuff so well to the very extent of it, as if we had had work to succeed in a regular manner ; and no man can be a proper judge of this matter so well as the dyers themselves.

Q. Has it ever happened to you before the tax took place, the ballance against you at the end of any one month ?

A. No such thing.

Q. Then always in every month you have made more by the sale of your goods, then you have paid for labour, dye-stuff, fuel, rent, and all the other particulars which you have mentioned ?

A. I never made any exact calculation but once a year except it was upon particular occasions such as this ; but I believe, we are as careful and as correct in our accounts as most common dyers are.

Q. If you never made a calculation but once a year, how are you sure, that at the end of one month in the year the balance was not against you ?

A. We frequently have run over accounts in a slight manner to see how we stood ; I believe, I may say, generally from month to month ; and we never found it, excepting it was on account of severity of weather, but that we were on the favourable side before this act took place.

Q. Does the severity of the weather interfere materially with carrying on your trade ?

A. Certainly it does, as a dyer.

Q. Does it not generally happen that the trade goes on more steady and constantly at one season of the year than another ?

A. Business is brisker at one time of the year than another.

Q. Is it ever entirely at a stand ?

A. I never knew that till this act took place.

Q. What are the times it goes on most briskly ?

A. February, March, April and May.

Q. If a greater quantity of goods had been brought in between the 13th December, and the 15th January, could you have finished them ?

A. Some we could, and those that we could not, we could in part finish ; for some colours require more time than that they can be done in a month.

Q. If you had had a greater quantity of goods brought in

in so as to have gone on more steadily with your work, could you not have executed the whole cheaper ?

A. Somewhat cheaper, I believe.

Q. Was you not in part interrupted by the severity of the weather in that month ?

A. No more than had been in former years, at the same time of year.

Q. Had you not in former years a larger quantity of goods brought in at a similar period ?

A. Perhaps we might ; but we should have had more at this time, had it not been for the act which prevented us.

Q. Do you mean that the act prevented the manufacturers from sending in the same quantity of goods which they would otherwise have sent in ?

A. I am no manufacturer ; but had it not been for this act, I should have expected more work to come in to have been done at this time.

Q. What part of the operation of the act is it that you find most inconvenience for carrying on the trade ?

A. As to my part, I am but lowly learned as to understand the nature of acts of Parliament ; but I have seen so far into them, that there is scarcely any part in it but what threatens ruin to the dyers to the last degree. I believe I am possessed of a small property ; but if I worked long under it, I am afraid it will all be gone. There are various dyers in the town and neighbourhood of Manchester, that I believe are possessed of a small property, and I have a great feeling for them ; for when they receive goods from the manufacturers, and that to a far greater amount, when seized, according to the letter of the law, than they are really worth, and then what must ensue ?

Q. Do you apprehend one of the great inconveniences to be the danger of seizure from the marks being effaced ?

A. That is one, but there are others perhaps as bad as that.

Q. What are the others as bad as that ?

A. When we have any servants or boys that have any pique against us, they may lead us into very great errors, and cause us to be subject to great penalties as well as that of the goods being removed from off our premises, as I have before mentioned to the distance of one or two miles into different workshops employed by the manufacturers, which cannot be otherwise ; and as they are frequently without their frame marks, any officer of Excise may safely seize them.

Q. Have

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M E R C H A N T S

Q. Have your servants ever remained idle in consequence of waiting for the Excise officer to measure the goods?
 A. Very often.
 Q. Does not the dye liquor grow worse if the goods are not ready to be put into it at a proper time?
 A. It certainly does.
 Q. Is not that attended with a considerable loss?
 A. It certainly is.
 Q. Did you ever change the advanced prices fixed in the printed lists delivered by the dyers to the manufacturers?
 A. Yes.
 Q. What was that advanced?
 A. About 5 per cent.
 Q. Did you charge that advanced price in the month in which you lost the 78l. 11s. 10d.
 A. I did.
 Q. Have you ever had a larger quantity of goods in a feasible state since the passing of the act?
 A. When I left Manchester we had upwards of 500 pieces in that state.
 Q. Has this frequently occurred?
 A. Yes.
 Q. Supposing the tax should continue, would you dye goods at the prices contained in the printed list?
 A. No. I answered that before. Not for three times that price.
 Q. If this act should continue, would you carry on your business as a dyer?
 A. Not in this country, but I would carry it on in Ireland.
 Q. You have stated a period from 13th December to 15th January in which you took an account of the profit and loss in your trade. You will inform the Committee whether the large unfavourable balance of that account is to be attributed in any material degree to the severity of the weather, or substantially and really to the operation of the tax.
 A. It is on account of the tax, and not the weather.
 Q. Do you know of any alterations or modification of the tax which would remove the inconvenience which you have felt in your trade from the tax as it now stands?
 A. I do not.
 Q. Having suffered so much in that month, ending the 16th

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16th of January, have you an account what were the profits and expences of the following month?
 A. I never looked it over so minutely as I did at that time; but I have just run it over slightly, and find myself no gainer.
 Q. Have you in your memorandum book the account of the profit and expences incurred in any one month except that you have before stated?
 A. I have no such memorandum with me, but I have referred to the former month at the same time of the year in 1782 and 1783; and in those months I found we were gainers.
 Q. What quantity of work did you put out of your hands in the month between the 13th of December and 15th of January?
 A. I have not that account at present.
 Q. Was the weather particularly mild in that month?
 A. I believe it was much like what it has been in former years, at the same time of the year; and as I not only referred to the years 1782 and 1783, in the same month, I found in those months we had gained some money; but this month was materially to the contrary, and owing as I believe to the tax.
 Withdrew.
 Mr. WALKER again called in and examined.
 Q. Does your calculation of 80,000 persons employed in the manufacture, include women and children?
 A. It does.
 Q. Do you include the manufacture of printed cottons in that calculation?
 A. I speak of the manufacture of fustians only.
 Q. What was the whole proportion of printed fustians exported, to the whole of the plain fustians exported?
 A. I have stated that the duty upon them amount to about 10,000l. *per Annum*, but of the proportion they bear to the value of the plain goods, I have made no calculation.
 Q. How many sorts of printed goods are cottons distinguished into?
 A. Fustians and calicoes; there are likewise linen handkerchiefs, and some silks, printed.
 Q. In what does the distinction between fustians and calicoes consist?
 NUMB. III. Z A. Fustians

A. Fustians are in general the wear of men, the calicoes are of a thinner substance and are worn by women, and are used for various kinds of furniture.

Q. What is the price of labour of women and children?

A. From one shilling per week to five shillings.

Q. On an average?

A. About four shillings.

Q. What proportion does the number of women employed, bear to the number of men employed in the manufacture?

A. I can't answer that question with any degree of accuracy.

Q. Is it one half more or less, as far as you can guess?

A. I suppose the women and children might be more than one half, but as I said before I can't say exactly.

Q. Are there any other purposes to which plain fustians can be applied besides what you have mentioned, and what are those purposes?

A. I don't recollect any other at present, besides the consumption of men, women, and furniture.

Q. In what articles of wear are they used?

A. For men principally in waistcoats and breeches, and for women in gowns and petticoats.

Q. What priced articles are used by men in waistcoats and breeches?

A. From nine pence per yard to three shillings, and some as high as five shillings.

Q. And what price for women?

A. With respect to the calicoes, I am not at all concerned in that trade, nor do I mean that a great deal of my manufacture is consumed by women.

Q. Has it not been the practice of the trade to vary the prices according to the circumstances of the trade, and the difference of expences attending the manufacture?

A. In some degree that has been the case, owing to the fluctuations in the price of cotton, but I know of no instance where the manufacturer has been able wholly to reimburse himself for the advance that has been in that article.

Q. Has it been the custom to raise or lower the price on account of casual alterations of the price of labour?

A. Since I have known any thing of the trade, every advance either in the price of labour or the material, has been to the disadvantage of the manufacturer.

Q. Has

Q. Has not the manufacture on the whole been an increasing one, since you have been acquainted with it?

A. It certainly has, but (when any of the fluctuations before mentioned have happened) it has in some degree been owing to the sacrifice which the manufacturer has made of his profits.

Q. What quantity of cotton wool is necessary to make a piece, according to the different degrees of fineness?

A. From the most accurate state I have been able to make, the average weight of a piece of fustian 36 yards long, and 18 inches or 18 and a half wide, is about twelve pounds.

Q. Does that mean that twelve pounds of raw cotton is all that is necessary to make such a piece?

A. Yes: I am speaking on the average, some take more and some take less.

Q. Of what priced goods are you speaking?

A. The average price I state to be twenty-one pence per yard.

Q. What proportion of the fustian trade is on articles of above 2s. per yard?

A. I can't speak to that precisely; but I conceive very inconsiderable, one twelfth, one fifteenth, or more.

Q. Is not twenty pounds of cotton necessary to make a piece of velveret of thirty-six yards?

A. On an average I do not think it will be so much.

Q. What is the difference of the average price of cotton now, and what it was during the war?

A. I have not lately bought any cotton; but during the war it was considerably higher than what it is now.

Q. Do you imagine that in the finer sorts of cottons there has been a difference of eight pence per pound during the war, and since the war?

A. Undoubtedly, and more considerably.

Q. What do you apprehend to be the difference in the coarsest sort during the war, and since?

A. More than eight pence.

Q. Do you apprehend that previous to the commencement of the war, cottons were still cheaper than since the war?

A. Cotton has been cheaper before the war than what it has been since.

Q. Can you say what proportion of finer wool and of coarser wool is used?

A. I cannot say.

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Q. Do

Q. Do you recollect that there was a period during the war that cotton was very greatly higher than even the average price during the war?

A. I do; and at the same time I very well recollect, that tho' provisions were remarkably cheap, the *poor people* were very *greatly distressed* in consequence of the *high price of cotton*; that the trade received very *material injury*, and that the manufacturers lost *considerable sums of money*.

Witness and Counsel withdraw.

Called in again.

Q. Whether the trade was not at this short period involved in much greater difficulties and embarrassments than it was generally during the war?

A. It certainly was in great difficulties on account of the high price of the material.

Q. Whether on the whole the trade was not very successfully carried on during a great part of the time of the war?

A. I beg leave to object answering that question.

Q. Why?

A. Because I am speaking as well for other people as myself; and I hope the Committee will not expect me to explain the peculiar losses I suffered at that time.

Q. Whether the trade was not carried on during some of those years of the war to as great an extent, or nearly so, as it has been previous to the war?

A. I should presume not.

Q. Do you mean to say, that not at any one particular period, but on the whole time during the war, the trade was carried on to a much less extent than previous to the war?

A. Is it meant by the question, that the trade, during the continuance of the war, diminished or increased, compared with the same number of years previous to the war?

Q. The meaning is, that without exception to the one particular period in which the trade laboured under that particular difficulty the trade was in the other years of the war carried on to a less extent than it had been previous to the war?

A. I can't answer the question with any degree of accuracy.

Q. You are not then sure that it was in any remarkable degree diminished?

A. Speaking generally, I am not.

Q. Are you sure that it did not in part of the time considerably increase?

A.

A. I can't speak with certainty whether it did or not.

Q. Have you not stated that, on an average in the trade, the price of the labour is about three-fourths of the price of the goods?

A. I believe there is an error as the answer is taken: I meant to say so; but it is taken down as three-fourths of the materials: Whereas I mean, that the labour as to the materials is three to one.

Q. In the lower priced goods was it not stated, that the price of the labour and materials is nearly equal?

A. I believe it is.

Q. On what ground is the calculation made, that three million five hundred thousand pounds weight of cotton is used in the cotton manufacture?

A. It is understood, I presume, that this refers to the two last years of the trade, when the importation of cotton wool into this country was, I am informed, ten million of pounds weight, one half of which I have heard the callico printers say they consumed. The fustian manufacturers presumed, that taking three million and a half is as much as it is possible for them to consume; when it is considered, as I before stated, the quantity there must be consumed in candlewicks, stockings, mixtures of silk and cotton, and linen and cotton, and silk linen and cotton, which being neither dyed nor bleached, are exempt from the tax.

Q. Is the ground then of this calculation of three millions and a half consumed in this manufacture that five millions is consumed in the printing trade, and that it is imagined that there can't be less than one million and a half consumed in the other articles you have mentioned?

A. Yes.

Q. Are you on any other ground certain of the justness of the calculation?

A. I have every reason in the world to be convinced in my own mind, that that is nearly the quantity consumed.

Q. Are there not some periods in the year in which the fustian trade is carried on more briskly than at others?

A. Yes.

Q. What are they?

A. With respect to the general trade, I should presume the Spring. With respect to my own trade I have, before the passing of this act, sent away more goods in the month of December than I ever did in any other month.

Q. Does

Q. Does this variation extend to all the stages of it, as well the spinning and weaving, as to bleaching and dying; or do the two former go on pretty regularly all the year?

A. By no means, for there are as many more goods wove from the end of the harvest to the spring, when people go out to work, than in the whole course of the year besides.

Q. During the summer then there must be fewer persons engaged in the trade than during the winter months?

A. There are.

Q. In the calculation mentioned before of the number of persons employed in the whole of your trade, have you allowed for this difference, and calculated it upon an average throughout the whole year?

A. I have made the calculation on the greatest number employed.

Q. Then the Committee are to understand, that the number of eighty thousand is to be taken from the end of the harvest towards May?

A. Yes.

Q. What number are employed in the harvest months?

A. I cannot say; and I hope the Committee does not consider me as standing pledged that there are eighty thousand people at any one given time employed, as that is at best a matter of opinion, and I wish a proper distinction always to be made and understood when I am giving my opinion, and when I am stating a fact.

Q. Whether, during the war, other manufactures did not labour under equal disadvantages from the high price of cotton wool with your own?

A. They certainly did, for cotton was equally high all over Europe.

Q. Is not the Committee then to understand, that the disadvantage which you felt during the war was a disadvantage which you shared in common with other rival manufactures of cotton, whereas that of which you at present complain tends directly to turn the scale against the manufacture of Great Britain?

A. It certainly was; it was general, *now* it is partial.

Q. Would not then any attempt in the British manufactures to repay themselves, by increasing the prices of their goods, necessarily send their customers to their rivals?

A. Beyond all doubt; and was I confident that the information which I am in possession of would never go beyond

yond these walls, I could prove it to the clearest demonstration possible.

Q. Whether, during the period of the war, the annual importation of cotton was not considerably less than for some years before, or subsequent to the war?

A. I can't speak with equal certainty to what was the case previous to the war, but the importation during the war *less* considerable than since the war.

Q. Was not a considerable number of your manufacturers employed abroad during the war?

A. They certainly were, in the navy, army, and militia.

Q. During the period when cotton wool was at the highest price in the kingdom, was it not also at the highest price, and equally high in every other manufacturing country of Europe?

A. Certainly.

Q. During the period of the high price, did your wages continue at a settled price?

A. By no means.

Q. How did they vary?

A. I believe in some instances as twelve to thirty, and the poor's rates at that period in some parts of Lancashire were, I am very credibly informed, twelve shillings in the pound.

Q. When cotton was at the highest price, notwithstanding the very low price of provisions at that period, and the sacrifice you stated yourself to have made of the profits, was not the quality and reputation of your articles very much diminished in the opinion of your correspondents, and in fact from the nature and proportion of the materials used in the fabric?

A. They were; and the manufacturer at this moment, in some instances, feels the discredit his goods were at that time brought into from the reasons before stated.

Q. Could goods of a similar description as those sent during the war be now sent into the foreign markets with any prospect of success?

A. Certainly not.

Q. When you stated the average price of women and children to be from four shillings per week, did you mean that four shillings per week was the average of women and children?

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A. I mean, admitting eighty thousand men, women, and children, to be employed in the manufacture, that four shillings per week be the average of the whole.

Withdrew.

Council informed the Committee they had closed their evidence.

Veneris, 8 Aprilis, 1785.

M A N C H E S T E R.

The order of the day was then read, for going into a committee on the petition of the fustian manufacturers; and Mr. Blackburn took the chair.

Mr. Garrow was called to the Bar, as counsel for the fustian manufacturers of Manchester, and the adjacent towns; he spoke for upwards of two hours.

We cannot, in the short time allowed us to write this sketch, attempt to follow him through the whole of his argument, but think it our duty to the public to state some of its leading features.

Mr. G A R R O W ' s S P E E C H.

Mr. Garrow began by stating, that when he looked at the immense body of evidence which lay on the table, and considered that he had the honour of attending the Committee on behalf of many thousand persons employed in a most extensive and important manufacture, and reflected on the defect of his powers to do them justice; he felt a trembling anxiety which almost deprived him of the powers of utterance; but, added he, if by any strange accident, if by any unhappy fatality, the earnest wishes of my clients shall not be complied with, I shall have the pleasure of informing them that their complaint, and the full merits of their case, have been attended to by as full a senate as ever listened to any subject; that the House have on every occasion, when the case of my clients has come before them, manifested the most patient and anxious attention to afford them relief. If they fail, therefore, they must ascribe it to their injudicious choice of an advocate. All his anxiety, however, was confined to himself personally; for it had been stated by the very highest authority in the House on subjects of finance, that if the petitioners could substantiate one half of their allegations against the tax, then it must be admitted to have been impolitic, and ought not for one moment longer to continue to

to depress the manufacture, he pledged himself to shew, that not only every tittle of the complaint was proved, but proved with considerable aggravation. When he considered himself as addressing the whole congregated wisdom of a British Parliament, eminent for wisdom, and remarkable for their just conception of every question, in the most remote manner, connected with the subject of finance; he felt, that it would be extravagant presumption in him to suppose, that he could state any maxims on the subject, though drawn from the highest sources of authority, with which every individual of the Committee was not intimately conversant; since to suppose they could be ignorant upon such a topic, was to suppose they acted in the most important branch of the legislation, the management of the resources of the country, without being acquainted with the rudiments to enable them to act either with ability or integrity. It would, he believed, be admitted to him by every man blessed with a moderate share of common sense, "That the fundamental principle of taxation was to aim at wisdom and moderation, not only in granting, but also in the method of raising the necessary supplies, by contriving to do both in such manner as may be most conducive to the national welfare, and, at the same time, most consistent with oeconomy, and the liberty of the subject." He proposed to examine the tax of the last session of parliament by this principle. He said it had been stated by an eminent theorist, treating of this subject, that taxes may be so contrived, as to promote, in a high degree, the prosperity of a state; and, without much contrivance, they may do much mischief; by rendering the sovereign odious, and the people miserable, they effectually eradicate patriotism; no other cause is more fruitful of rebellion, and no other cause reduces a country to be a more easy prey to an invader. Whether all these effects might be produced without much contrivance, he would not discuss; but the act of the last session had proved, beyond controversy, that there was a mode of contriving to produce all the consequences enumerated in the theory. No body of men in this country had given, upon a variety of occasions, such unquestionable proofs of steady attachment, unshaken loyalty, and spirited patriotism, as the persons now before the Committee. Content to bear, in common with the rest of their fellow subjects, all the pressure of a calamitous war, they had voluntarily contributed to the increase of the national force, by raising a regiment at their own expense

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pence, whose eminent services, during the memorable siege of Gibraltar, placed them high in the esteem of their fellow citizens. Whether the painful recollection that their merits had marked them as the objects of oppression, and the consideration that their generous exertions had invited the hand of power to crush those manufactures, the produce of which had enabled them to be generous; and the dread that those to whom the government of the country is entrusted, had by the imposition of this tax aimed at the extirpation of those very men, from the flower of whom the army had so lately, and so importantly been recruited; whether these considerations had operated upon the manufacturers of Manchester, to abate something of their loyalty, to weaken their attachment, to eradicate their patriotism; he knew not: but if his clients were not actuated by these considerations, they must be superior to other men, or infinitely degraded below the ordinary standard of men. Such consequences were the natural result from such treatment. In arguing for the repeal of a tax, he said, he was aware that he had to contend against a natural, perhaps a laudable prejudice of the Committee; certainly against a laudable anxiety in his Majesty's Ministers, not to part with a productive tax already imposed; it would therefore be his business to convince the Committee, that the tax in question was not of that description; and he reminded the Committee, that taxes, exorbitant in their demand, or unwise or impolitic in the manner of their imposition or collection, were well compared to a voracious monster, which, after swallowing up the whole riches of a kingdom, leaves in the end nothing to satisfy its own cravings; this, he stated, to be the description of the tax upon fustians, which, by destroying the manufacture upon which it was imposed, would destroy the source from which it flowed. There was no operation of finance (Mr. Garrow contended) so diametrically opposite to every sound principle of policy, as by the manner either of the imposition or collection of any tax, to impose a greater burthen upon the subject than the amount of the tax itself, or to suffer the sum lost to the manufacturers to exceed that which the revenue derives from the tax itself. If this be admitted, said Mr. Garrow, the arguments will be very much shortened, as I shall shew to the Committee from the evidence, that though the tax itself, supposing it to come entire into the Treasury, without any part of it being drawn back, and without deducting any thing for the expence of collecting and management, would

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not produce more than 3 per cent. on the value of the commodity; yet the burthen upon the manufacturer is in some cases $9\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in none less than $6\frac{1}{2}$; so that the mode of collecting adds a burthen of twice as much as the tax itself. This was even supposing the tax was not subject to any deduction, such an objection must be fatal to any tax, against which it could be alledged.

Mr. Garrow said, that in all that he had to offer, he should confine himself to the evidence given at the bar; and in talking of that evidence, he should consider every thing which it contained, as proved so as to be incapable of contradiction; for though it had been intimated, that witnesses might be called to invalidate parts of their testimony, he believed no such attempt would be made; he challenged and defied all attempts to contradict them by any man of equal probity and honour. If such an experiment was intended, he should have been happy to have had an opportunity of examining those witnesses, and observing upon their testimony; but he should console himself in the reflection, that they would find themselves in the hands of persons infinitely more able than he was, who would neither suffer them to impose upon the Committee, nor permit them to pass without observation. But, he said, before he was authorized to assure himself, that Mess. Walker and Richardson were persons deserving of credit, he felt that it was necessary for him to undertake the task of rescuing their characters from calumny and traduction, a task, God knows, not very difficult, and certainly unnecessary with respect to those who had the happiness to be acquainted with them. It had formerly been stated by very high authority in that House, that they were men of the very first honour, and of the highest integrity; men most extensively and accurately informed upon the topics of the commerce and manufactures of this country, and to whom the House might safely look up for information upon those topics: whether these witnesses deserved this character which they formerly received, he would leave to the Committee to decide; but he was aware that his friends would not now receive the same character from the same quarter; they had for some weeks past been the subject of a great deal of abuse, in a certain description of newspapers and pamphlets (certainly without the privity of any persons connected with his Majesty's Ministers) in which they had been described as persons contradicting now what they had formerly said upon the same subject. This he stated to

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be a subject affecting the privileges of the House; and the honour of some of its members, as well as of the members of his Majesty's Privy Council, under the sanction of whose authority, and with a title page falsely purporting to be a report of the Council, and which the world had been taught to believe was a copy of an authentic document laid upon the table of the House, a most gross, scandalous, and libellous fabrication had been published, stating, that these gentlemen had given it as their opinion, that the manufactures of this country would be protected from all dread of competition from the Irish manufacturers by the imposition of 10 and a half per cent. upon importation into England; this had been proved at the bar to be a gross and wilful misrepresentation, a scandalous falsehood, the witnesses having both declared that they had never entertained such an opinion; that they had never stated it to be their opinion, nor ever consented to its being so represented. The House he had no doubt would find an early opportunity of punishing the authors of such attacks upon witnesses, while under the examination, and entitled to the protection of the House; but, thank God, these slanders carried their own refutation on their front; for the ignorant author of the pamphlet, who must have written it in his sleep, had made those gentlemen say over and over again, that so far from the duty of 10½ per cent. affording any thing like a protection to the British manufactures, it was their opinion that, in the present situation of the two countries, the British manufactures must be ruined by the proposition stated; and yet this awkward libeller has the audacity to state, and that in the same breath, and with the former answers staring him in the face,—these gentlemen so accurate, so well informed, and so intelligent, stated, that *ruin* and *protection* were terms in politics perfectly synonymous.*

Mr. Garrow having stated this in a way which the House could not fail to understand, said he would now leave the libeller to the pleasant feelings of his own conscience, and to the just vindication of the House.

Mr. Garrow then proceeded to examine the several clauses of the act of parliament: His first objection was, that it was a tax upon labour, being laid upon the value of the commo-

* See the evidence of Messrs. Walker and Richardson in the Report of the Lords of the Committee of Council, published by Almon.

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dity manufactured. The intrinsic value of the raw materials he stated to be equal to one fourth of the value of the goods when manufactured; consequently, as they derived their value from the labour employed upon them, the tax was a heavy burden upon labour. It was a tax too upon ingenuity, since the taste of ingenuity displayed in some of the finer goods, was the circumstance which gave the value to them; the act required the manufacturer to mark the price of his goods, which by exposing the value, prevented the manufacturer receiving the just price of the ingenuity and taste of his invention. Another ruinous consequence of the marking the price, he stated to be, that if the goods should be manufactured of raw materials, purchased at a bad market, or at a time when their price was high, the goods would consequently be marked at a high price; and, if from the circumstance of their being delayed by the operation of the tax, in coming to market, until the fashion and taste of the pattern should have diminished in its value, or from the reduction in the price of the raw material; the manufacturer will be obliged to sell his commodity at a price considerably below that at which it was originally marked; the purchaser will conclude that the person who shall be reduced to this necessity, must be induced to sell under value on the eve of ruin; his credit, *the dearest possession of a merchant*, will be blown upon, and his ruin completed, purely by the mode of imposing this tax. He then pointed out the absurdity of the provisions of the 27th section, which not only subjects the goods to forfeiture, but the manufacturer to heavy penalties, if they should be marked by the manufacturer as being of a value, inferior to the real value; a more absurd, impolitic, and oppressive provision, it was impossible for any man to devise.

Who was to be the judge of the real value? and how was it to be ascertained? It was to depend upon the judgment of an exciseman; ignorant; interested. Persons selected but too often from the lowest orders of society, utterly uninformed of every circumstance which can assist them in forming a judgment. But suppose the exciseman to act honestly and fairly, how is he to form a judgment? It is in evidence from Mr. Walker, that after near twenty years experience, he is unable to form an estimate with the nicety which this clause requires; it depends upon a variety of circumstances, which are out of the reach of the exciseman's knowledge. But suppose he forms a comparison of any goods,

goods, with others of the same appearance and quality manufactured by my neighbour; this will not furnish him with the accurate means of judging; he may, indeed, out of my own stock, convict me of an intention to act contrary to the provisions of this clause, by comparing goods marked as of a value under three shillings, with others marked as of a higher value, tho' to appearance of equal quality, and of the same value; but the value obviously depends upon the price actually paid for the raw material; if, therefore, the raw material has been purchased at a good market, the manufacture of course will be marked of a value lower than the same commodity made of materials purchased to less advantage; but the Excise Officer, without any means of judging of the value, is authorized to seize the goods marked of a value inferior to its real value.

Another circumstance, which, at first view, might not appear to be of great importance, he was instructed to state as a matter worthy the attention of the Committee. By the tax laid last year, the maker's name was obliged to be on every piece; and it frequently happened, that when large orders were sent to be executed in a hurry, one manufacturer was obliged to buy of another, which by the name being on, discovered to the purchaser, that the person of whom he ordered the goods was not the manufacturer, but pointed out another place where he might be supplied cheaper. The tax operates as a burden of 9 and a half per cent. upon the low priced fustians, which would infallibly prevent their being manufactured in future, by which a great number of persons would be reduced to beggary and want; and those too of a description who possessed the strongest claims to the care and protection of parliament, the infant, the aged, and infirm. The manufacturing of goods of an inferior value, afforded a nursery for one, and a resource for those who are declining to the grave, and who can alone obtain their bread by their employment in this branch of the manufacture. But if the Committee can be hardened against this argument, if their feelings could be proof against the miseries of such a body of industrious manufacturers, ruined by their mistaken policy; if they are prepared to turn a deaf ear to their temperate, but earnest complaints; if the House can be supposed to tell them that they must seek refuge in a parish work-house, which, God knows, will not be sufficient to contain a twentieth part of their number, or to wander without a habitation, or the means of subsistence, till expiring nature sinks a melancholy

choly sacrifice to famine, cursing the authors of their calamities.

If these considerations could be ineffectual to awaken the most anxious attention of the House, the sense of their own interest, and the interest of the whole public intrusted to their care, will surely found the alarm, and induce them to comply with the wishes of the petitioners.

It was well worthy the consideration of the Committee what proportion the burden imposed by the tax bore the revenue produced; it imposed a duty of full 9 1-half per cent. while the tax itself amounted only to three pounds per cent. of course, the subject was burthened 6 1-half per cent. more than the revenue was benefited; and another material point for the Committee to consider was, that if the burthen was laid so heavy on the low priced fustians, Irish, Russia, and German linens, would be substituted in their stead.

It may, perhaps, in the present situation of opinions with respect to Ireland, be no great objection to the tax that it has a tendency to introduce the linens of that country in the place of the fustians manufactured in this country; but it has not yet been avowed that there is a design to give Germany and Russia an equal degree of advantage over the British manufacturer; but it is not alone from the introduction of the linen manufacturers of other countries, that the extinction of the fustian trade in this country is to be dreaded. Similar goods of the manufacture of other countries, will immediately supplant the English trader. The French had established a manufacture of this species of goods, of which he would say no more than in the language of one of the witnesses, that they had attained a very enviable degree of perfection. Ireland too had rival manufactures.

The 19th section contained a more dreadful and alarming clause than all the rest; it prevented goods from being moved, and obliged them to be kept in places that were duly entered. The witnesses at the bar had proved, that during very many of the various operations in the course of the manufacturing the goods, they were in unentered premises, at a considerable distance from each other, and it was impossible to carry on the trade in any other way, and the goods in all these several stages were subject to seizures, although the duty had been really and *bona fide* paid; for it was well known, that in the first act of dying and bleaching, the mark was frequently obliterated; and in the course of the great number of operations which the fustian was obliged to undergo, the mark

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mark was totally lost ; and seizures had frequently been made where there was not any intention to defraud. In fact, after the act passed, the manufacturers would not have began their work, had not promises been made, that they should not be treated rigorously ; but they were so exposed, so liable to imposition from pique, contrivance, or caprice of a servant, that they might be ruined by transactions of which they were totally ignorant ; and to shew that what he was saying was literally the fact, he instanced a case, where a servant in a dye-house, without the leave of his master, brought in some remnants which were seized by the excise officer, and the owner of the dye-house, into which they were thus introduced without his privity, was liable to the penalty of 140l. It was not stretching the supposition too far to say, that a man might wish to build his trade on the ruin of his neighbour, or either by bribe or other illegal means, entice the exciseman to drag the manufacturer before a distant magistrate, and stamp him with the odious name of a smuggler of a new impresson ; and after the manufacturer had been taken from his family and business, perhaps at a very critical period, and detained at great expence many days, he might be dismissed, and the only recompence which he could expect for all his trouble, expence, and anxiety, and for the imputation which an information affixes on the character of a fair dealer, would be an awkward apology from the exciseman, who would say, he followed the directions of the legislature, and was sorry he was mistaken. It had been stated that the act would be grievous in its operation in case of the robbery of packages ; upon which it had been asked, with what propriety he would leave to others to determine, whether the act would occasion more robberies than would have happened without it ; the meaning of the evidence was obviously this, that as packages of goods on the road for exportation were liable to robberies, the only loss before the tax took place which this occasioned to the owner, was the value of the goods lost ; but now if such an accident should happen, and the merchant should claim the drawback at the port at which he meant to export his goods, the package would be found not to correspond with the certificate of the payment of duty, and consequently, instead of obtaining any drawback, the merchant would, in addition to the loss of the goods stolen, be liable to the forfeiture of the remainder, and to penalties for attempting to defraud the revenue. It was in proof, that it had happened to Mr. Walker to lose goods of the

the value of 142l. which, if it had happened after the act took place, would have subjected him to penalties to the amount of 1500l. and if the known integrity and honesty of excisemen did not remove all grounds of suspicion, they knowing that a large parcel was going to be exported, might employ some of their friends to rob the parcel, in order to make the seizure valuable.

Mr. Garrow then adverted to the evidence given by James Hall, of whose credit, he said, he would trouble the Committee with a word. The manner in which he gave his testimony, and the good sense conveyed in it had prevented any attempt to confound his untutored honesty, if any of his friends of the profession had been on the other side of the bar, they would have acted with the same discretion which had prevented the advocates for the tax asking him a question, as he had baffled every hope of obtaining even the momentary exultation which, in other places, an advocate sometimes felt on confounding an adverse witness, but which was beneath the dignity of any member of the House to feel, whose only object was to obtain information, and to administer justice. But it had been thought expedient to call him again, and the evidence given by that honest Quaker, with his strait locks, had made an impresson upon his mind, which he believed no time would be able to efface, and which afforded a lesson which no gentleman of the Committee need be averse to profit by. Upon being asked what was his opinion of the probable effect of the tax, he had answered with a modesty and ingeniousness which stamped a man of the highest credit and good sense : " I am but lowly learned to construe acts of parliament ; that I leave to others ; but I have seen so much of this, as to be sure that the trade cannot exist under it. I believe (said the witness, with a caution which this law has rendered but too necessary) that I have a little property of my own ; I know I had when I left Manchester ; but whether since I have been attending here, on a subject which concerns the well being of me and all my neighbours, some unhappy mistake, or some fraud of my servants, may not subject me to ruin, and stripped me of all I had, God only knows ; but, says he, I know that if I was to carry on business under this act, it would soon be all gone ; and, added the honest man, there are many other dyers whose property is small, and who are daily liable to seizures under this act, which must ruin them utterly ;—for them I feel very much." Will the House come short of this plain

plain honest man in anxiety for their fellow citizens?—No, no; the House will resound with the cry of repeal! repeal! and the struggle, dictated by virtue and wisdom, will be, who shall have the honour of proposing to recede from former error, and to afford the only relief which the petitioners can receive. It appeared too from the evidence of this truly respectable witness, that the objections stated to the act, are not the result of speculative surly reasoning, they are deduced from woeful experience; he has himself made the trial, and in one month that he carried on his trade of 130l. 3s. 7d. the amount of his work, he found so far had he been from increasing his property, that he had lost the monstrous sum of 78l. 10s. 11d.—This appeared to be an argument in its nature irresistible, but the advocates for this odious measure, determined to fight even on their stumps, had asked, “might not this loss have been occasioned by other means than the act? are not all trades subject to loss? This appeared to be a pretty safe question, an advocate the least hardy would have, perhaps, risked it at *Nisi prius*. Most unfortunately, however, for the argument, but most happily for his clients, and the cause of truth and justice, this witness was one of the very few fortunate persons who could answer, that though the amount of his profits certainly varied, *he had never before been without some profit*; he had never at the end of a month found that he had laboured in vain, till this horrid tax had robbed him in four short weeks of near 80l. Do the Committee ask for stronger argument? Do they seek more convincing proof, that the act, if continued, must produce the utter ruin of the manufacture? But, Sir, another attempt has been made to weaken this tower of strength which my argument derives from this fact proved by the witness:—He is asked, does not the *first* affect your business? might not your loss have been occasioned by the severity of the weather?—This was an injurious suggestion, and there was a chance that it might have turned out as the querist wished; but most unluckily again the witness answered, that there had been frosts in all those preceding years in which his industry procured him a profit; and those too much more severe and more lasting than in that period in which this tax started up in every answer that was given, and will, I trust, deter the House from continuing its cursed operation. Such is the impression which the persons concerned in this manufacture entertain of the influence which the subjecting them to the visitation of Excisemen, and the other consequences

consequences of the system of Excise laws will have upon them, that I am persuaded from the best information I am able to obtain, that even if parliament was to grant bounties on the manufacture, and for the purpose of obtaining those bounties, was to subject the manufacturer to those laws, it would be the ruin of the trade. The Committee heard, that very much depends on the getting early to market, while the pattern is new and the fashion valuable; that much depends on the beauty of the commodity on its first appearance in opening the packages; of all these advantages the manufacturer would be robbed by the delay, and by packing and re-packing, which diminishes much the beauty of the goods. If, Sir, I had not had the good fortune to lay before the Committee the proof which they have received of the real and substantial mischiefs which result from this tax, if instead of submitting to your observations drawn from practice and experience, I was now in the situation in which, indeed, the practice of Parliament does not permit any advocate to be, namely, that of opposing the imposition of this tax, I should have thought that I might, without much impropriety have asked, whether the Committee were mature to say, that it would be wise and politic in them totally to disregard the fears and alarms of 80,000 persons engaged in a very important manufacture, who had ever been exempt from the operation of Excise laws? I should have ventured to ask, whether some attention was not due even to the prejudices of so considerable a body of his Majesty's subjects? I should have enquired whether these are times in which it is consistent with legislative wisdom to outrage the feelings of such persons, to destroy the spirit of enterprize and adventure in the heads of the manufacture, and to depress the energy of industry in the laborious artizans employed in it. I should have been bold enough to have challenged any man to the task of proving, that it was reconcileable with the principles of good government and policy, to force these miserable persons to fly from your government, and to seek refuge in more happy climates, where a spirit of enterprize is fostered, where arts are cultivated, not checked, where industry is encouraged; is it wise to drive them to these countries, to carry your arts and manufactures with them? Your wise ancestors thought and acted otherwise, and you have now on your statute books many salutary provisions to prevent the emigration of manufacturers by severe penalties, shall you now compel them to a con-

duct which the law says is highly penal, and shall you enforce this conduct by inflicting the penalty of starving on the manufacturer if he shall dare longer to continue in this country. The Committee will do well to recollect the history of Excise laws in this country. In 1642, the temper of the people on the subject was such, that the House of Commons of that day, found it necessary to resolve, that " aspersions had been cast by malignant persons upon the House of Commons; that they intended to introduce *Excises*; the House for its vindication, declare, that these rumours were false and scandalous, and that their authors should be apprehended and brought to condign punishment;" and they ordered the authors of these *gross calumnies* to be prosecuted by his Majesty's Attorney-General. What would such an House of Commons, so jealous of their honour, have said if it had been imputed to them, that they had not only imposed a duty of Excise, but that they had imposed it upon one of the most important manufactures of the country; and that the tax, and its consequences, would extirminate the manufacture. If I had appeared at the bar of such an House, they would have sent me to Newgate, and my friend Mr. Attorney-General would have been ordered to prosecute me *sed tempora mutantur*; and I may now make these declarations with impunity since they are unhappily founded in fact. Of this same system of Excise laws, speaking in the general, and not foreseeing their application to the ruin of manufactures, the late Mr. Justice *Blackstone*, an author much more eminent for his great abilities than remarkable for his aversion to prerogative, says, that the rigour and arbitrary proceedings of these laws are incompatible with the temper of a free nation. He describes the power of Excisemen, to enter by day or by night into the peaceful habitation of the subject, as an alarming violation of private security. The proceedings for transgressions, (which under the present act, may be perfectly innocent and involuntary) are so sudden and summary, that a man may be convicted in two days time before two Commissioners, who are appointed by the Crown, and interested in the forfeiture in penalties to the amount of many thousand pounds to the ruin of himself and family, upon the testimony of an Exciseman, who is to receive the price of that testimony in the amount of the penalty, without appeal to any superior jurisdiction, in disregard of the ancient common law of England; and to the total exclusion of the trial by jury, the bul-

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wark of freedom, the palladium of the liberty, and all the benefits of the subjects of this envied country. A considerable part of the public have, from some recent events, been induced to entertain very serious alarms for the preservation of this inestimable privilege; a privilege which has emphatically been called the birth-right of the inhabitants of Great Britain: at such a period can it be wise to increase and confirm these alarms by the imposition of an odious system of revenue laws, on an extensive manufacture, which to this day, has escaped its destructive influence. If an attentive observation of the introduction, growth and progress of the Excise laws, warranted the learned judge, whose admired work I have cited, in treating it as an institution, which, while it professed to be designed for the greater ease of the subject, by doing him speedy justice; and by not harassing the freeholders with frequent and troublesome attendances to try every minute offence, had in his time, been so far extended, as if a check was not timely given, to threaten the disuse of our admirable and truly English trial by jury. If the able commentator was warranted in observing, that (in his time) the power of the revenue officers of the Crown over the property of the people, was increased to a very formidable height; and that the list of commodities subject to Excise, was (in the year 1753, when he delivered his *Commentaries*) so enormous, that *no friend to his country* could wish to see further extended. If all this be so, what would the learned author have said if he had viewed the addition which the exigencies of the State has made to that list, would he have numbered those among the friends of their country, who should have proposed to include one of its most considerable manufactures in the ruinous catalogue! Mr. Garrow then proceeded to comment on the drawback which the act professed to give the manufacturer upon exportation. He said, that from the information which his situation had communicated to him, he was convinced, that those who had imposed the bill upon Parliament, were utterly ignorant of the subject; for a more complete chaos of nonsense had seldom presented itself; it was adding insult to injury to tell the manufacturer that he should receive the drawbacks. The duty is imposed upon the goods in the first stage of the manufacture before it is dyed or bleached; and in this state it receives the mark, which denotes that the duty has been paid; and it is in evidence, that the first of the very numerous operations through which it must necessarily pass in the progress

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progreſs of the manufacture, totally obliterates this mark. Now what are the terms upon which the exporter is entitled to receive the drawback? He ſhall receive it "if the frame mark ſhall remain diſtinct and plain thereupon, and not obliterated nor defaced;" it is in evidence, that this can very rarely happen ſince the mark is obliterated by the operations through which the manufacture muſt neceſſarily paſs. But I may be told, that the act has provided a remedy for this, by directing the officer to renew the mark: the proviſion is ridiculous; it is in proof, that the commodity is meaſured and marked by the officer of one diſtrict and obliterated in a diſtrict under the ſurvey of another officer; and when the mark has been obliterated, there is nothing by which the officer can poſſibly renew it: he has no means of diſcovering whether the duty has been paid; and conſequently refuſes to certify that which he does not know; and it has in point of fact happened, that in the ſeveral ſtages of the manufacture, the duty has been paid over and over again; and at laſt the exporter has been obliged to ſubmit to the loſs of the whole, leſt when he ſhould apply to drawback one payment, his goods ſhould be ſeized as forfeited for want of the mark. Mr. Garrow then entered very fully into the advantages which other countries enjoyed over the manufacturer of this country, and dwelt upon the advantage which the Iriſh manufacturer poſſeſſed. He wanted only a capital; and that it would be the intereſt of the Engliſh manufacturer to furniſh in order to carry on there a trade, which could no longer be purſued with advantage here. He contended, that to perſiſt in the tax, would be to drive many thouſand perſons to ruin, beggary, and perhaps to dangerous acts of deſperation. He cautioned the Houſe againſt putting the delegates of the petitioners into the ſituation of being obliged to ſay to thoſe whom they repreſented. We have been faithful to the truſt repoſed in us: we have laid your complaints before his Ma- jeſty's miniſters; we have truſted to their wiſdom and juſtice to afford you relief; we have appealed to the Houſe of Commons; we have ſubmitted your caſe to that Auguſt Aſſembly; they in their wiſdom, have doomed you to ruin; we pity you; we have employed you longer than in wiſdom, in care for ourſelves and our fortunes than we ought to have done; we muſt now diſmiſs you for ever; and the only comfort we can offer you is the reflection, that there are other countries where the ſame unhappy policy does not exiſt, where you may find an aſylum; there we ſhall probably meet ſevered indeed

indeed from our native country, but removed too from its miſeries. Mr. Garrow urged, that innumerable emigrations, the utter ruin of this extenſive manufacture, and the loſs of many thouſand laborious and moſt valuable ſubjects would ariſe from perſiſting in the tax; and therefore relied upon the juſtice, the wiſdom and diſcretion of Parliament, to reſolve to relieve his clients by an immediate repeal.

COMMITTEE proceeded on the Petition of the *Merchants*
Manufacturers, &c. of GLASGOW.

Counſel called in.

Mr. Dallas. Counſel for the Petitioners.

Petition read.

Mr. Dallas deſires to call his witneſſes firſt, and to be heard afterwards.

Mr. Alexander M'Alpine (manufacturer of the light fabrick of lawn and muſlins at Glaſgow.

Q. Do you know whether there is any manufacture of printed goods in or about the city of Glaſgow?

A. I do.

Q. Is that manufacture conſiderable?

A. In that narrow country commodity, conſiderable.

Q. What particular fabricks are peculiar to Glaſgow?

A. They are chiefly handkerchiefs for the pocket, and neckarchiefs for the neck, with a proportion of garment work for womens wear.

Q. To what extent is the trade carried on?

A. I cannot exactly aſcertain; but the Excife duty is the beſt and only criterion by which it can be aſcertaind, which I am not at preſent in poſſeſſion of: on that account I cannot ſtate.

Q. Does this manufacture employ a great number of people?

A. A very great number in the various proceſſes of ſpinning, weaving, bleaching, printing, &c.

Q. Can you ſpecify what number, or nearly?

A. I can't ſay.

Q. What is the amount of the preſent duty on the prime coſt on theſe printed goods?

A. I eſtimate it about 20 per cent. on the fabricks manufactured in Scotland.

Q. Can

Q. Can you state how you make out that estimate?

A. I deem the average value of a square yard to be about twenty-pence, exclusive of the Excise duty, and the present Excise duty amounting to something more than fourpence each square yard; it therefore follows, that it cannot be less than twenty per cent.

Q. Can you state what is the duty paid by the consumer on those printed goods?

A. It is impossible for me to do that; but I should suppose it must be greatly increased, perhaps not less than 15 per cent. more.

Q. Do you mean that the 35 per cent. would not exist if the whole duty was taken off?

A. I certainly do.

Q. Do you know whether this duty has had any effect in diminishing the consumption of these printed goods?

A. I cannot exactly say that it has yet greatly diminished the consumption; but this I know, that it has occasioned the invention of the manufacturers to be exerted to discover various substitutes in articles from which no revenue is produced, which is very likely to operate considerably in future.

Q. Can you state what those substitutes are?

A. Of various sorts; mixtures of worsted, silk, cotton and flax; specimens of which are now ready to be produced, if desired.

Q. Has the printed handkerchief trade been an increasing manufacture?

A. It certainly has for the time passed.

Q. Do you impute the introduction of these substitutes to the late duty?

A. I will not take upon me to say, that the duties have been the sole cause; but it is a little remarkable, that it is only since the duties have been increased, that these substitutes have made their appearance.

Q. From your knowledge of the trade, do you apprehend a demand for these substitutes would increase if the tax continues?

A. I can only say, that in the course of my business, I feel a very increasing demand for these articles; and I believe, the same increasing demand is universal.

Q. Are these articles to which you allude, subjects of taxation at present?

A. I apprehend I have answered that already, when I stated that such articles were used as substitutes for the printed

ed manufacture; and that they yielded no revenue to government.

Q. Do you know whether any substitute has been introduced in the market for garments for the common people.

A. Several attempts have certainly been made in that line: more are making; and I have little doubt of their success.

Q. Do you know whether there is a manufactory of muslins in Glasgow, and its neighbourhood.

A. I do know there is.

Q. Is it considerable?

A. Yes.

Q. How long has it existed?

A. I believe not exceeding three or four years, but not to any great amount for above two years.

Q. Was it at the time of the late tax being imposed in any increasing state?

A. The chief extension of it has been within the last twelve months; and it was advancing with very hasty steps.

Q. Does this manufacture employ a considerable number of people?

A. Yes, very considerable. Many thousands.

Q. Does it employ many women?

A. Yes, and children also, more than any other manufacture I know.

Q. If this manufacture was to fail, do you know of any other in Scotland in which those women and children could be employed?

A. At present I know of none, especially since the lawn manufacture (a great staple in Scotland) has suffered so great a decline.

Q. Has this muslin manufacture been brought to any perfection in point of quality?

A. It certainly has; and I have no doubt but this Committee will have great pleasure in having an opportunity of seeing and judging of it with their own eyes if they will suffer me to produce a specimen of it, which I have brought with me.

[Produces it.]

Q. Have the manufacturers of these muslins, since the imposition of the late tax, been able to charge an advance equal to the tax?

A. I believe not; for myself, I can say, certainly not.

Q. Supposing that inability to continue, will it not hazard the loss of the manufacture?

A. It certainly must.

Q. Are the regulations of the Excise annexed to this tax, in any and in what manner oppressive and inconvenient to the manufacture?

A. They certainly are.

Q. Specify in what manner?

A. In as far as any good arguments have been adduced at this bar on the same subject, with regard to cottons, they will apply in every instance to this branch, and in several others, peculiar to this branch, which I will enumerate. The extreme delicacy of those fabrics requires more delicate hands than are generally possessed by Excisemen, to prevent the creasing and tumbling, and otherwise rendering them unmarketable; which joined to the clumsy manner in which the stamps are frequently affixed to the cloth, renders the manufacture liable to deductions to be made for these defects—often to an amount greater than all the profits: there is besides an actual charge of at least one per cent. entailed upon the business, to make good the loss occasioned by the end of the piece being rendered useless in consequence of the stamp. Another very great inconvenience, as well as loss, arises to the manufacturer, from his not having it in his power to obtain the Excise officer at all hours, which in this particular manufacture, more than in any other, is necessary; because so quick is the operation of finishing these fabrics, that it frequently happens, an order shall come in the morning, on the arrival of the London post, for goods, that at that time may be lying on the grass; and yet the manufacturer has it in his power to finish such goods; pack them; and they may even travel thirty or forty miles before night; but for want of the Exciseman, at the particular moment, the customers will be disappointed not for a day only; but it may even happen for weeks, when the ships for London may happen to be detained so long. Instances of which have frequently happened.

Q. Do you know of any method to avoid these inconveniences under this act?

A. I really do not; they seem to me to be unavoidable, by the natural operation of the Excise laws.

Q. Will you be able to charge on the muslins you may send to market an advance of price equal to the duty?

A. I am

A. I am afraid I shall not, owing to the competition with which we are met in the market by the foreign fabrics, and with which the market can be supplied in great abundance at the former prices, and even at reduced prices.

Q. Can you state any other detriment that arises to the manufacturer than you have mentioned from the stamp affixed to the muslins?

A. There may be others, but at present I don't recollect them so sufficiently as to state them.

Q. Can you, from the knowledge of the trade, state, whether, if these muslins were known in the market to be British and not India, they would fetch the same price?

A. That is a very material one. The partiality in favor of all foreign fabrics is well known to operate powerfully on the consumers; and so long as the consumer imagined that he was purchasing a foreign commodity, which the perfection of the manufacture would justify, so long the British muslins found their way in the consumption which by the bye was the best proof of the improvement of the quality, but now that the Excise stamp is obliged to be affixed to the ends of every piece, the shopkeeper cannot avail himself of that circumstance in his favour, as the stamp publishes to all the world that it is a home fabric, and to that I impute, in conjunction with the circumstance of the tax, a late decline in the demand.

Q. If these stamps were not affixed, could these muslins be distinguished from those of India?

A. I think in general they could not; and the improvements to be expected in future, if this branch is not checked, would seem to place that matter beyond a doubt, when it is considered the rapid progress it has already made in so short a time.

Q. Of what yarn are these muslins made?

A. They are now made wholly of yarn produced in this country; but previous to the late improvement in spinning the fine yarn in this country, the India yarn was used.

Q. Do you know of any other purpose to which the fine yarn spun in this country could be applied than to this manufacture?

A. I do not, as they are much too fine for any of the other manufactures of this country that are at present known, and are only adapted for the fine light fabrics of muslin.

Q. If the manufacturer should not be able on future sales to obtain an advance of price equal to the late duty imposed, will not the manufacture of muslin decline and perish?

A. That must follow as a natural consequence, for the manufacturer's whole profit at present is not in general equal to the tax.

Q. Does not the late tax require an increase of capital in the manufacture?

A. That appears to me self-evident.

Q. In what stage of the manufacture is the tax to be collected?

A. In a very early stage of it, previous to the bleaching, and consequently long before it can come to market.

Q. Does not the bleacher's being obliged to take out a licence, for which he pays 40s. operate as a discouragement to experiments being made?

A. It certainly must, and does so; for as all improvements must ever depend on experiment, the bleacher even of a single piece must be subjected to make that experiment at an expence of 40s. and as the bleachers in Scotland are very much limited in the extent of their business, it becomes a serious object to them, although it could not be felt in a larger scale of business, supported by an improved manufacture.

Q. Is the lawn manufacture in Scotland actually declined?

A. It certainly has, and in a very great degree.

Q. Do you know, suppose the muslin manufacture to be on the decline, of any other employment for the labour of the people?

A. I apprehend I have answered that question before, but if not, I am ready to say, I know of none.

Q. Is the linen manufacture of Scotland peculiarly connected with the printing trade?

A. Undoubtedly it is.

Q. Has the linen trade increased in the last twenty years in Scotland?

A. In many of the light fabrics it certainly has; but if the question means that species of linen applied to the purposes of shirting, bed and table linen, I have great doubts that it is not increased.

Q. Have the manufacturers of the linens in Scotland, similar to those of Ireland, increased of late years?

A. I

A. I have not the best access of knowing that, because at Glasgow and the neighbourhood, though by far the greatest value in the linen manufacture is produced, yet there is none of those fabrics constitute any part of them; but I am well informed the manufacture of the particular fabric alluded to has increased very little, if any thing; and I further know, that the whole amount of linens said to be exported from Scotland into Ireland, and which is said to be to the extent of 30 or 40,000l. per year, there is not a single piece, the whole of that amount being the fabrics known by the appellation of plain and figured lawns.

Q. Can you state why the manufacture of linen in Scotland, similar to those of Ireland, has not increased within the last twenty years?

A. I can impute it to nothing but the perfection of the Irish manufacture of that article, which has driven us almost out of the market, so much so, that I do believe the imports of Irish linens into Scotland may be nearly equal in value to the whole of Scotland's exports in those particular fabrics.

Q. If the muslin manufacture were to fail, could the persons now employed in it be employed in the manufacture of linens similar to those of Ireland?

A. They certainly could be trained to it, but from the powerful competition already mentioned, they could not be employed with any hopes of success.

Examined by the Committee.

Q. Whence does the additional amount of 15 per cent. to the consumer of certain goods which you mentioned before proceed?

A. I apprehend that it may be accounted for from the natural operation of all taxes when laid on, in the early stage of the manufacture, and the unavoidable advances which are ever made upon all taxes by the time they come to the consumer, so that I have no doubt if the original tax was to be levied in the same manner as the hat tax for instance, that it would unavoidably make a difference equal to what I have stated.

Q. What is the average price of the finer goods of the manufacture in which you are concerned?

A. There is a very small quantity of fine goods made in Scotland in the printing branch.

Q. Of those fine goods which are stated in the petition? —the muslin manufacture?

A. That

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A. That part of the muslin manufacture at present in Scotland may be averaged at about 2s. 3d. per yard wide goods, and about 4s. the broad goods, or six quarters wide.

Q. Are the fine muslin goods now subject to a stamp, exposed to suffer in any other part of the web, except where the stamp put on them?

A. The part on which the stamp is affixed has already been stated to be rendered useless, and the piece may suffer in many other respects, particularly from the liquor with which the stamp is put on, smearing the piece which frequently happens, and also from the erasing and injuring the goods as I have before mentioned: I can best elucidate what I mean by a piece I have here. [produces it.]

Q. Whether the broad muslins do not pay 3d. per yard instead of 2d. and how that happens?

A. They certainly do pay 3d. when the value is 3s. because the act declares that value is to be estimated by the running yard, but the duty is to be levied by the square yard and consequently the difference of the width is the reason of the difference in the duty.

Q. Would this happen if the value was estimated by the square yard, as well as the duty collected by the square yard?

A. Certainly not.

Q. Whether the gauze manufacture has not increased in Scotland in proportion as the lawn has decreased?

A. The lawn manufacture has decreased, and the gauze manufacture has not increased; not only so, but one of the first manufacturers in that line in Great Britain assured me within these two days, that he had given orders to reduce and turn off not less than four hundred hands—weavers I mean.

Q. How long has the muslin manufacture been established in Scotland?

A. Not exceeding three or four years; but at any rate the great advance made in it has been within these two last years.

Q. At what price per yard is the piece of muslin you produced?

A. This piece which I have now produced, not being my own manufacture, though certainly a British one, it is not in my power to say; indeed, I did not ask; but I should suppose it may be about 6s. per yard; I speak of the finest piece which I produced.

Withdrew.

Evidence

Evidence here closed on the petition of Glasgow, and Mr. Dallas was heard to observe thereon.

Mr. Chairman,

The Committee having now heard the evidence of the only Mr. Dallas, witness the petitioners mean to call, it becomes my duty, ill prepared as I am upon the occasion, to recapitulate that evidence, and to make such observations upon it, as the nature of the case may seem to me to require.

In doing this, I shall have occasion to take up very little of your time or attention. From the clear, distinct, and pointed manner which the witness lately at your Bar has answered the several questions put to him, he has left me nothing to explain or enforce, and his evidence is too recent in the minds of the Committee to require a minute and exact recapitulation.

The several facts which in the course of his examination the witness has proved, are undoubtedly of a nature, admitting that evidence to stand uncontradicted, which must necessarily induce the House to comply with the prayer of the petition on the table. It can require no argument to prove the necessity of repealing a law imposing a tax upon any manufacture, which, from its exorbitant, vexatious, and oppressive nature, must prove the ruin of the manufacture itself, inasmuch as such a law not only defeats its own purpose, which would of itself be a sufficient reason for repealing it, but by destroying the subject of taxation, deprives industry of its labour, and ingenuity of its reward; and either reduces those who were employed to a state of idleness and want, or drives them to other countries, where the same restraints do not exist.

That the tax in question is of this nature I submit to the Committee, is incontrovertibly proved by the evidence they have just now heard: the several facts proved by the witness lately at the Bar, pointing out in the strongest light the exorbitancy, vexation, and oppression thereof; and leaving no room for doubt, that the ruin of the manufacture out of which it is to arise, must be the certain consequence, if it is not repealed.

It is certainly true, in general, that wherever burthens are imposed, they will excite a disposition to complain; and individuals or particular classes of men being more immediately affected by their own private and personal interest, than by a necessity of providing for the public wants, to which all are bound

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bound to contribute in proportion to their respective capacities, will often act accordingly, and complain against a particular tax; not because it is in its principle unjust; in its extent disproportionate, or in its tendency ruinous; but merely because it happens immediately to affect themselves, and attach upon their property. To all complaints of this nature, the House always has, and ought to listen with a jealous ear, because there is an obvious interest to prefer them: nor shall I now contend, that if the evidence given, consisted of mere conjecture and opinion; and of speculation as to the future effects of this tax, however plausible it might appear, that it should induce the House to go the length of repealing it. But on the other hand, when from the mouth of an intelligent and respectable witness, it is proved, that the manufactures in question, prosperous and flourishing when the tax was imposed, are now actually on the decline; that the manufactures have had recourse to other substitutes, not the subjects of taxation, it becomes the indispensable duty of the legislature to interpose, not merely in favour of the individuals, who most immediately must suffer, but for the sake of the public revenue, of which the streams are thus diverted from the channels through which they ought to flow.

The tax from which the petitioners pray to be relieved, is the additional duty imposed by the act of last Session upon printed linens; and the new duty which the same act imposes on dyed and bleached cottons and muslins.

By an act passed in the reign of Queen Anne, an original duty was imposed on printed linens, which were then considered chiefly as a luxury, and worn by the higher classes of people. But since that act passed, considerable improvements have been made in the manufacture; and by ornamenting a coarser article, and a reduction in the price of printing, this manufacture is become the common wear of the middle classes of people of both sexes throughout Scotland; and till of late was in general use and demand. From this increased consumption, an additional revenue has of course been drawn; ingenuity excited, and industry diffused. Before the late act passed, the price of these printed goods had been reduced to its lowest degree, so as to leave any profit to the manufacturer, in order to bring the manufacture within the reach of the common people, and consequently incapable of supporting the additional duty, which, by the time the goods reach the consumer, is beyond what any article of general consumption can bear.

The Committee have heard from the witnesses at the bar, that the manufacture in question, actually pays a duty of 20 per cent. upon the prime cost; but which, by the different hands through which the manufacture must pass, is increased to 35 per cent. before it reaches the consumer.

The consequences of a duty so exorbitant, must be obvious to the House. The temptation which it holds out to illicit practices, is too powerful for resistance; and it is impossible, that the fair trader can sell his commodity, while he has such practices to contend against it. The consumption must therefore unavoidably decline; and such, even as it may be, will afford little or nothing to the public revenue.

These consequences which were plainly to be foreseen from the operation of such a tax, have already in a degree taken place, and will undoubtedly every day increase. The ingenuity of different manufactures has been employed, and perhaps at this moment is busy, in devising means to defeat this tax, by substituting other articles in its place, upon which no duties are chargeable. The demand which there will naturally be for these substitutes, will stimulate the manufacturer to fresh improvements; and the consequence of these improvements, will be a reduction of the price, and of course an increase of the consumption, to the total ruin of the former manufacture. That these are not vain predictions and visionary evils, is sufficiently proved by the substitute already devised, and which the witness has produced to the House.

But the advance upon the prime cost, before the manufacture can reach the consumer, proves in the strongest manner, the inexpediency and impolicy of this tax, which in this respect obviously militates against the first and most established principles of taxation.

Every tax is unjust in its principle which takes out of the pockets of those who are to pay it, more than is absolutely necessary for those public exigencies, for the supply of which it is imposed. In like manner every tax is absurd in its policy, which, while it produces to the public revenue but a sum equal to those exigencies; yet from the manner of collecting it, or the time when it is paid, takes out of the pocket of the consumer more than the tax itself, and the necessary and unavoidable expences of collecting it. Every tax should be so framed as to take out of the pockets of individuals as little as possible, beyond what it yields into the public treasury. But the present tax being imposed on the manufacture in an early

stage, the manufacturer must have a profit upon the sum advanced equal to the interest of his money; and which, from the necessity of encreasing his capital, will most frequently exceed it; this profit necessarily encreases in the progress to the consumer in proportion to the number of hands, through which the manufacture must pass; and supposing that the law did not defeat its own object, the consumer would ultimately pay fifteen per cent. beyond what the law intended.

Admitting, therefore, (but which is not the fact, that the manufacture could bear that duty which the legislature meant to impose; and the public should receive, with the necessary expences of collection, the duty ought to be collected in the hands of the consumer, by which means, the tax would not operate upon the consumption, beyond what the law intended.

I flatter myself, Sir, more need not be said by way of remark upon the evidence given, to prove the absolute necessity of a repeal of this additional duty on printed linens, is absolutely necessary to the existence of the manufacture, which must otherwise sink beneath its weight.

It remains for me now to solicit the attention of the Committee to that part of the petition which relates to the manufacture of muslins, and the evidence given upon this subject.

An opinion had, till of late, generally prevailed, that the manufacture of muslin could not be carried on in this country, but must remain peculiar to India. But by the recent improvements made by the uncommon ingenuity of them concerned in the machines for working cotton, a fine yarn has been produced fit for the purpose of manufacturing muslins. This ingenuity, seconded by a similar spirit in the manufactures of Glasgow, a manufacture of muslins has within the last three years been established in that neighbourhood, which gives employment to several thousand persons; and has attained to a degree of perfection of which the Committee are able to judge from the samples the witness has produced.

To this manufacture, as yet but in a state of infancy, and requiring aid and protection, the tax of the last session of Parliament, as it affects dyed and bleached cottons, perhaps unintentionally extend, and unless speedily repealed, must inevitably destroy.

It has been proved to you, Sir, by the witness, that before the passing of the late act, to such perfection had this manufacture arrived, that muslins made in the neighbourhood of
Glasgow,

Glasgow, could not be distinguished in the market from those imported from India; and, in compliance with the prejudices of the consumer, were actually sold as such, notwithstanding the importation of foreign muslins by the East India Company, formed a most powerful competition to contend with. This will undoubtedly appear to the Committee an almost incredible effort for the ingenuity of these manufacturers to have accomplished in so short a space of time; and will induce the House, not only to extend to them every possible protection from their own title thereto, by the benefits they have derived to the country, in establishing such a manufacture; but will make the House seriously reflect upon the advantageous consequences that may follow to other countries, if this manufacture should be lost to Great Britain, and the ingenuity employed in it, transplanted thither, which must be the necessary consequence of continuing this burdensome and ruinous tax.

For since the passing of the late Act, the witness has informed the Committee, the manufacturer has not been able to charge an advance of price upon his muslins equal to the duty imposed, or indeed any advance whatever, as the muslins imported by the East India Company, and now in the market, are not liable to the duty. It has of course hitherto operated as a tax upon the manufacturer, and not the consumer; nor is there any prospect, while this competition continues, of being able to charge at any future time, an advance of price equal to the duty, so that the manufacture must necessarily fail. Is it possible the House can adopt, or having adopted, can adhere to such a tax, when on the contrary, it ought to be extending bounties, and nourishing by the prospect of extraordinary returns, the growth and expansion of what may be rendered so valuable a branch of trade?

Besides, that the tax itself is too weighty for the manufacture to support, there are many circumstances attending the manner of ascertaining and collecting it which operate with considerable detriment and loss.

I have already stated to the Committee, that these muslins have been brought to such a state of perfection, as not to be distinguishable in the market from foreign muslins, and upon which circumstance, their sale in a considerable degree depends. The prejudices in favour of foreign manufactures, are too notorious to require my pointing out; and there can be no doubt, that of two pieces of muslin of equal qualities, the one British and the other Indian, and offered at similar
prices,

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prices, the latter, merely, on account of its being foreign, would be infinitely preferred. To guard against this prejudice, the manufacturers have been hitherto industrious in discovering methods of making the British muslin wear the appearance of Indian manufacture. The imitation has been attempted, and successfully, in the most minute circumstances. But the act requiring a stamp to be impressed upon all muslins of British manufacture, destroys this ingenious and laudable deception, upon which the sale so much depends; and though it does not alter the intrinsic worth of the commodity itself, yet materially affects its value, in as much as it depends upon the prejudices of the consumer.

The loss which the manufacture actually sustains by the allowance which he is obliged to make for the part defaced by these stamps, the witness has informed the Committee, he computes to be equal to one per cent. an allowance which he has himself been obliged to make since the passing of this act, besides, that the muslins are very frequently materially damaged, from the manner in which they are handled by the officers of Excise, in order to affix the stamps, being goods of a fine and delicate texture, and susceptible of injury unless handled with great circumspection and care.

There is also another circumstance, the witness has stated to the Committee, as operating with considerable detriment to these manufactures. Before the late act passed, being of a light nature, it would often happen, that the goods would be upon the bleaching ground, in the morning, when the order for them was received; and, in the execution of that order, be several miles from the town before the evening. On this dispatch and facility in executing the different orders they received, the success of their business in a great degree depended. But, from the difficulty of obtaining an Excise officer to attend to make the measurement, and affix the stamp; this can no longer be done, and delays daily take place extremely prejudicial to the trade.

The necessity which this act imposes upon every person to take out a licence at the expence of 40s. and to renew the same annually before he can bleach a single piece, is a considerable discouragement to invention and improvement, as it prevents those who cannot be at the expence of such a licence; and whose ingenuity might be daily employed in making experiments, from turning their attention to the subject.

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But without troubling the Committee with every particular of the evidence given at the bar, it will be sufficient to state, that the result of that evidence clearly is, That if this tax is suffered to continue, the manufacture of muslins will be entirely abandoned. This is the evidence the witness has given, grounded upon certain facts, and incontrovertible reasons; and it will be for the House to decide what effect such evidence ought to produce.

The witness having stated, that thousands of the laborious poor were employed in these manufactures; and that they had diffused an universal spirit of industry, it was natural he should be asked, Whether he knew of any other method of giving labour to those people if the muslin manufacture should fail. The answer, I have no doubt, is in the memory of the Committee. The witness has explicitly declared, that he knows of no other method; for, that the lawn manufacture, formerly the staple of Scotland, being now in the lowest state of decline, could not afford them employment; and from the decided advantages which the Irish linens had in the British consumption, it would be impossible to turn their industry to that branch against so powerful a competition. The inevitable consequence, would therefore be, that the greatest number of these persons would be reduced to idleness and want, while those who were able, would most probably emigrate to other countries.

Such, Sir, is the evidence given in support of the different allegations contained in the petition; on behalf of which, I am now addressing you, and which proves their allegations in their utmost extent. It is impossible for me to doubt what line of conduct the House will pursue.

The alternative is plain and simple. The House must either, in repugnance to every principle of private justice, and public policy, suffer this tax to remain, and thereby completely root up those lately flourishing and extensive manufactures, out of which it is expected to arise, to the utter ruin of the greatest number of those ingenious and industrious manufacturers, whose prayer you will reject, to the great injury of the public revenue; to the benefit of foreign nations; and to the lasting reproach of this country; or, by repealing the additional duty on printed linens, the new duty imposed on cotton, preserve the advantages those manufactures afford to the public at large, and continue to the individuals concerned therein, the fair fruits of their honest industry, and ingenious discoveries, giving them confidence in the public

public protection, which will operate as one incentive to fresh improvements, from which the nation must ultimately derive the most solid and lasting advantages.

I retire, therefore, Sir, from your bar, in the full confidence, that the prayer of this petition will be accepted, and that the duties in question will be repealed.

REPORT from the COMMITTEE of the WHOLE HOUSE, to whom it was referred to consider of so much of his MAJESTY'S most gracious SPEECH to both HOUSES of PARLIAMENT, upon the 25th Day of January, 1785; as relates to the Adjustment of the COMMERCIAL INTER-COURSE between GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND.*

Irish Resolutions.

I. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, That it is highly important to the general interests of the British Empire, that the intercourse and commerce between Great Britain and Ireland should be finally regulated on permanent and equitable principles, for the mutual benefit of both countries.

II. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, That a full participation of commercial advantages should be permanently secured to Ireland, whenever a provision, equally permanent and secure, shall be made by the Parliament of that kingdom towards defraying, in proportion to its growing prosperity, the necessary expences in time of peace, of protecting the trade and general interests of the empire.

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* It will be necessary to point out to the public the progress of the Irish resolutions, that they may see how they have been altered, amended, and re-amended, since they were first sent over to Ireland.

The English Privy Council, without evidence before them, formed a string of eleven propositions, which they sent over to Ireland. The next step taken, was to examine evidence to justify that system; and, in the mean time, the English Secretary in Ireland, moved the propositions, and they were agreed to, and sent over here as the resolutions of the Irish Parliament. Mr. Pitt then moved them in the British Senate, and it was mere accident they were not agreed to without debate; however, a small postponement took place. The next step taken, was an application, by the manufacturers, to the Minister, for a greater length of time to consider them; a refusal was the answer. The same persons then prayed that some alterations might be made; they were told "no alteration whatever can take place, as they must stand or fall together." Petitions then came from every part of the

III. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, That, towards carrying into full effect so desirable a settlement, it is fit and proper that all articles, not the growth or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, except those of the growth, produce, or manufacture of any of the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, to the Streights of Magellan, should be imported into each kingdom from the other reciprocally, under the same regulations, and at the same duties (if subject to duties) to which they would be liable when imported directly from the country or place from whence the same may have been imported into Great Britain or Ireland respectively, as the case may be; and that all duties originally paid on importation into either country respectively, except on arrack and foreign brandy, and on rum, and all sorts of strong waters not imported from the British Colonies in the West Indies, shall be fully drawn back on exportation to the other; but, nevertheless, that the duties shall continue to be protected and guarded, as at present, by withholding the drawback, until a certificate from the proper officers of the revenue, in the kingdom to which the export may be made, shall be returned, and compared with the entry outwards.

IV. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, That it is highly important to the general interests of the British Empire, that the laws for regulating trade and navigation should be the same in Great Britain and Ireland; and therefore that it is essential, towards carrying into effect the present settlement, that all laws which have been made, or shall be made in Great Britain, for securing exclusive privileges to the ships and mariners of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British Colonies and Plantations, and for regulating and restraining the trade of the British Colonies and Plantations, such laws imposing the same restraints, and conferring the same benefits on the subjects of both kingdoms should be in force, by laws to be passed by the Parliament of that kingdom, for the same time, and in the same manner as in Great Britain.

V. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, That it is further essential to this settlement; that all goods and commodities of the growth, produce, or manufacture of British or Foreign Colonies in America, or the West Indies; and

the kingdom, stating the mischief that was likely to befall this country, if they passed into a law. When the petitioners had been heard, the Minister brought forward 16 new propositions, coupled with the old 11; and, together, forming an entire new set of 18. Those were offered to the British Senate, and great debates ensued; at the close of which, the Minister, every time the Committee divided, carried his point by a majority of upwards of 120; yet, on the final closing of the Committee, those 18 propositions, are grown into 20 resolutions, in which very little of the old 11, or new 18, make any part.

the British or Foreign settlements on the coast of Africa, imported into Ireland, should, on importation, be subject to the same duties and regulations as the like goods are, or from time to time shall be subject to, upon importation into Great Britain; or if prohibited to being imported into Great Britain, shall be prohibited in like manner from being imported into Ireland.

VI. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, That in order to prevent illicit practices, injurious to the revenue and commerce of both kingdoms, it is expedient, that all goods, whether of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, or of any foreign country, which shall hereafter be imported into Great Britain from Ireland, or into Ireland from Great Britain, should be put (by laws to be passed in the Parliaments of the two kingdoms) under the same regulations with respect to bonds, cockets, and other instruments, to which the like goods are now subject, in passing from one port of Great Britain to another.

VII. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, That, for the like purpose, it is also expedient that when any goods, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the British West India Islands, or any other of the British colonies or plantations, shall be shipped from Ireland for Great Britain, they should be accompanied with such original certificates of the revenue officers of the said colonies as shall be required by law on importation into Great Britain; and that when the whole quantity included in one certificate shall not be shipped at any one time, the original certificate, properly indorsed as to quantity, should be sent with the first parcel; and, to identify the remainder, if shipped within a time to be limited, new certificates should be granted by the principal officers of the ports in Ireland, extracted from a register of the original documents, specifying the quantities before shipped from thence, by what vessels, and to what ports.

VIII. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, That it is essential for carrying into effect the present settlement, that all goods exported from Ireland to the British colonies in the West Indies, or in America, or to the British settlements on the coast of Africa, should from time to time be made liable to such duties and drawbacks, and put under such regulations, as may be necessary, in order that the same may not be exported with less incumbrance of duties or impositions than the like goods shall be burdened with when exported from Great Britain.

IX. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, That it is essential to the general commercial interests of the empire, that, so long as the Parliament of this kingdom shall think it advisable that the commerce to the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan, shall be carried on solely by an exclusive company, having liberty to import into the port of London only, no goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the said countries should be allowed to be imported into Ireland but through Great Britain; and that it shall

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be lawful, to export such goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of any of the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan from Great Britain to Ireland, with the same duties retained thereon as are now retained on their being exported to that kingdom, but that an account shall be kept of the duties retained and not drawback on the said goods exported to Ireland, and that the amount thereof shall be remitted by the Receiver General of his Majesty's Customs in Great Britain, to the proper officer of the revenue in Ireland, to be placed to the account of his Majesty's revenue there, subject to the disposal of the Parliament of that kingdom; and that the ships going from Great Britain to any of the said countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan, should not be restrained from touching at any of the ports in Ireland, and taking on board there any of the goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of that kingdom; and that no ships be allowed to clear out from Ireland for any of the said countries, but such ships as shall be freighted by the said Company, and which shall have sailed from the port of London: And that, whenever the commerce to the said countries shall cease to be so carried on solely by such an exclusive Company, the goods, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the said countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan, shall be importable into Ireland from the same countries from which they may be importable into Great Britain, and no other.

X. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, That no prohibition should exist, in either country, against the importation, use, or sale of any article, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other; except such as either kingdom may judge expedient, from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits; and except such qualified prohibitions, at present contained in any act of the British or Irish Parliaments, as do not absolutely prevent the importation of goods or manufactures, or materials of manufactures, but only regulate the weight, the size, the packages, or other particular circumstances, or prescribe the built or country, and dimensions of the ships importing the same; and also, except on ammunition, arms, gunpowder, and other utensils of war, importable only by virtue of his Majesty's licence; and that the duty on the importation of every such article (if subject to duty in either country) should be precisely the same in the one country as in the other, except where an addition may be necessary in either country, in consequence of an internal duty on any such article of its own consumption, or an internal bounty in the country where such article is grown, produced, or manufactured, and except such duties as either kingdom may judge expedient, from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits.

XI. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, That in all cases where the duties on articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, are different on the importation into the other, it is expedient that they should be reduced, in the kingdom where they are the highest, to an amount not exceeding the amount payable in the other; so that the same shall

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not be less than ten and a half per cent. where any article was charged with a duty; on importation into Ireland, of ten and a half per cent. or upwards, previous to the 17th day of May 1782; and that all such articles should be exportable, from the kingdom into which they shall be imported, as free from duties as the similar commodities or home manufacture of the same kingdom.

XII. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, That it is also proper, that in all cases where the articles of the consumption of either kingdom shall be charged with an internal duty on the manufacture, the said manufacture, when imported from the other, may be charged with a farther duty on importation, adequate to countervail the internal duty on the manufacture, (except in the case of beer imported into Ireland, as far as relates to the duties now charged thereon;) such farther duty to continue so long only as the internal consumption shall be charged with the duty or duties to balance which it shall be imposed; and that where there is a duty on the raw material of any manufacture in one kingdom, greater than the duty on the like raw material in the other, such manufacture may, on its importation into the other kingdom, be charged with such a countervailing duty as may be sufficient to subject the same, so imported, to burdens adequate to those which the manufacture composed of the like raw material is subject to; in consequence of duties on such material in the kingdom into which such manufacture is so imported; and the said manufacture, so imported, shall be entitled to such drawbacks or bounties on exportation, as may leave the same subject to no heavier burden than the home-made manufacture.

XIII. Resolved, That, it is the opinion of this Committee, That in order to give permanency to the settlement now intended to be established, it is necessary that no new or additional duties should be hereafter imposed, in either kingdom, on the importation of any article of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other; except such additional duties as may be requisite to balance duties on internal consumption, pursuant to the foregoing resolution, or in consequence of bounties remaining on such articles when exported from the other kingdom.

XIV. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, That for the same purpose, it is necessary, farther, that no prohibition, or new or additional duties, should be hereafter imposed in either kingdom, on the exportation of any article of native growth, produce, or manufacture, from the one kingdom to the other, except such as either kingdom may deem expedient from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits.

XV. Resolved, That it is the opinion of the Committee, That for the same purpose, it is necessary, that no bounties whatsoever should be paid or payable in either kingdom, on the exportation of any article to the other, except such as relate to corn, meal, malt,

malt, flour, and biscuits, and except also the bounties at present given by Great Britain on beer and spirits distilled from corn, and such as are in the nature of drawbacks or compensations for duties paid; and that no bounties should be payable on the exportation of any article to any British colonies or plantations, or to the British settlements on the coast of Africa, or on the exportation of any article imported from the British plantations, or to the British settlements on the coast of Africa, or British settlements in the East Indies, or any manufacture made of such article, unless in cases where a similar bounty is payable in Great Britain, on exportation from thence, or where such bounty is merely in the nature of a drawback or compensation of or for duties paid, over and above any duties paid thereon in Great Britain; and that, where any internal bounty shall be given in either kingdom, on any goods manufactured therein, and shall remain on such goods when exported, a countervailing duty adequate thereto may be laid upon the importation of the said goods into the other kingdom.

XVI. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, That it is expedient, for the general benefit of the British Empire, that the importation of articles from foreign countries should be regulated, from time to time, in each kingdom, on such terms as may effectually favour the importation of similar articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other; except in the case of materials of manufacture, which are, or hereafter may be allowed to be imported from foreign countries duty free; and that, in all cases where any articles are, or may be subject to higher duties on importation into this kingdom, from the countries belonging to any of the States of North America, than the like goods are, or may be subject to when imported, as the growth, produce, or manufacture of the British colonies and plantations, or as the produce of the fisheries carried on by British subjects, such articles shall be subject to the same duties on importation into Ireland, from the countries belonging to any of the States of North America, as the same are or may be subject to on importation from the said countries into this kingdom.

XVII. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, That it is expedient that such privileges of printing and vending books, as are or may be legally possessed within Great Britain, under the grant of the Crown or otherwise, and the copy rights of the authors and booksellers of Great Britain, should continue to be protected in the manner they are at present, by the laws of Great Britain; and that it is just that measures should be taken by the Parliament of Ireland for giving the like protection to the copy rights of the authors and booksellers of that kingdom.

XVIII. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, That it is expedient that regulations should be adopted with respect to patents to be hereafter granted for the encouragement of new inventions, so that the rights, privileges, and restrictions thereon granted

and contained, shall be of equal force and duration throughout Great Britain and Ireland.

XIX. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, That it is expedient that measures should be taken to prevent disputes, touching the exercise of the right of the inhabitants of each kingdom to fish on the coasts of any part of the British dominions.

XX. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, That the appropriation of whatever sum the gross hereditary revenue of the kingdom of Ireland (the due collection thereof being secured by permanent provisions) shall produce, after deducting all drawbacks, re-payments, or bounties granted in the nature of drawbacks, over and above the sum of six hundred and fifty-six thousand pounds in each year, towards the support of the naval force of the empire, to be applied in such manner as the Parliament of Ireland shall direct, by an act to be passed for that purpose, will be a satisfactory provision, proportioned to the growing prosperity of that kingdom, towards defraying, in time of peace, the necessary expences of protecting the trade and general interests of the empire.

SHORT REMARKS on the preceding RESOLUTIONS.

The absurd principle of equalization, so often pointed out in the original propositions, is still continued; that is, Irish linens, (the staple article of Ireland) of which Great Britain imports annually to the amount of near a million and a half sterling are to be duty free; and, to equalize this, British linens, to the amount of 20 or 30,000l. only, are to be admitted duty free into Ireland; but all other articles of British manufacture are to have duties laid upon them. It is to be hoped, that this species of equalization will not find its way into any other of our commercial treaties; that the clarets and wines of France will not be equalized by the clarets and wines of England, &c. &c.

The same inroad continues to be made in our navigation-laws; and Ireland is to have the British market open to her for the sale of all the productions of our colonies, as well as of foreign nations. She may still therefore become the emporium of trade, and Great Britain herself may be supplied from the Irish market.

The United States not being mentioned in the Fifth Resolution, Ireland may import any produce or manufacture of those States on what duties or regulations she pleases, and thus obtain the monopoly of the tobacco trade, and engross to herself the chief market for all the productions of those States.

A very great number of British manufactures continue liable to the interference of Irish ones of the same kind, in our own market; a very insufficient security against this being held forth, in lieu of a much higher and better one, which is wrested out of our

our hands; that is, we are to exchange a high protecting duty for a low and inadequate one.

But much worse still is the situation of those manufacturers who have now the highest of all protections, an absolute prohibition. For the prohibitions which, at present, exist against the importation of more than a hundred different species of manufactures from Ireland into Great Britain, are still to be taken off, without any equivalent at all being given in return, and this contrary to their reiterated prayers and petitions.*

The duties on the importation of raw materials into the two kingdoms remain unequalized. Foreign bar iron, for instance, is to pay nearly six-times as high a duty on being imported into Britain as into Ireland; by which means the iron manufacturers of this kingdom will be obliged to migrate into Ireland.

We have received a paper on this particular subject, which we have marked (A)

The silk manufacturers, soap makers, glass makers, cotton, and linen manufacturers, with several others, will be very materially injured by this partial and unreasonable regulation.

There is a slight alteration in what is now the Sixteenth Resolution, which in the First and Second editions stood thus:—

“ That the importation of articles from foreign states should be regulated, from time to time, in each kingdom, on such terms as may afford an effectual preference to the importation of similar articles of the growth, product, or manufacture of the other.” In the present, instead of effectual preference, it stands “ on such terms as may effectually favour the importation of similar articles; &c.”—As this Resolution is of the utmost consequence to both nations, it should have been perfectly clear, explicit, and easy to understand; for it confers (if it confers any thing) very singular favours upon Ireland, and lays Great Britain under disadvantages equally singular, and to a much greater degree; as it tends to close all the European markets against her manufactures, and prevents her from being ever able to open them again by a liberal and advantageous treaty of commerce with any of the European states. It seems as if the minister, after being brought clearly to see, that the essential interests of Great Britain could not permit effectual preference to remain in this Resolution; and that his Irish friends would not be content without something like it, purposely adopted the ambiguous term

* The manufacturers in the following branches, the products of which are now prohibited to be imported from Ireland, will be particularly injured if those prohibitions are taken off—English Books, reprinted; Buttons of every kind, not particularly rated; Embroidery; Gloves and Mits of leather or silk; Gold and Silver Thread, Lace, Fringe, and every work made of those articles; Gold or Silver Wire or Plate; Salt; Silk Ribbons; Silk Lace of all sorts; Wrought Silk; Alamode for Lutestrings; Wrought Silks flowered, or mixed with Gold or Silver; Silk Stockings; Silk Velvet; Woolen Cloth of all sorts; Stuffs of all sorts; Cotton, Cotton and Linen mixed, and Linen printed; Cotton Stockings; Thread Stockings; Leather manufactures; Tallow Candles; Starch; Soap, hard and soft; Cheese; Chocolate, &c. &c.

effectual

G. C. J.

effectual favour, which neither he nor any one else can foresee to what extent either nation may hereafter contend to interpret in *its own favour*. But, is it fit or proper that two nations should be left in a situation which must necessarily tend to undermine that peace and harmony, which these Resolutions, it is pretended, are to create and render permanent? Or is it compatible with the wisdom and integrity of a great minister to open a door for such perpetual altercations between them? Great Britain will call out for perhaps an unreasonable degree of this *effectual favour* for her iron trade, &c. whilst Ireland is as loud in her demands for an equally unreasonable degree of it for her linens, &c. Each nation thus for ever playing, if the allusion may be permitted on so serious a subject, at the game of—*Neighbour, I torment thee*. Surely each has a right to call upon the Minister, for a full and specific explanation of this Important Resolution, and I hope they will have the courage to do so before it is passed into a law.

The Eighth Resolution remains still liable to the same objections as before. It provides, that goods exported from Ireland, to certain places therein mentioned, “should, from time to time, be made liable to such duties and drawbacks, and put under such regulations as may be necessary, that they may not be exported with less incumbrance than the like goods from Britain, are burthened with.” It may be asked, which of the two nations is to determine what duties, or impositions will be sufficient for those purposes? Insuperable difficulties, and perpetual animosities, must arise upon this subject. In short, this is another instance of the vanity of an attempt to put two *independent* nations, circumstanced as England and Ireland are, upon an *equal footing* in commercial affairs; which a real *union* under one legislature, would effectually accomplish.

It has been well observed, that the Ninth Resolution is a two-edged sword; that with one edge it cuts off Ireland from her promised intercourse with the East Indies; and with the other, severs British manufactures from British ships trading to the East Indies; and in proportion as it does that, makes the trade a losing one to British manufacturers. This blow will be felt very severely by our glass-makers and many others, whose manufactures are now exported by our ships to the East.

Many regulations are added for our security against *smuggling*; but where the temptation is so great, as it was made by the original resolutions, and is still left by the present,—in some instances not less than a gain of nine or ten shillings on a pound weight of manufactured silk, above three times the temptation there was for smuggling teas,—every one knows, and the minister himself has borne his testimony by the commutation act, that the evil is irremediable, or no otherwise to be cured than by taking away the temptation.

The objection to the entrusting of the executive power of our *revenue laws* to *Irish officers*, still remains in full force.

The moment of passing the Resolutions on export of fine sugars to Ireland must cease, as they will be subject to a duty equivalent

valent to a prohibition. (*See, on this subject, the paper marked (B).*)

Nothing at all is done to relieve the soap-makers, tallow-chandlers, silk manufacturers, mixed silk, or silk and worsted manufacturers, hosiers, shoe makers, manufacturers of wrought leather, hatters, sail makers, rope makers, paper makers, stationers, glass makers and sellers, &c. &c.

It appears clearly, upon the whole, that the manufacturing interest is made the sacrifice on this occasion; and that after all the participation given to Ireland in our commercial advantages, she does not yet touch any of our burthens with her little finger.

(A)

To all BRITISH MANUFACTURERS in IRON.

Foreign bar iron, on importation into Great Britain, pays a duty of 2l. 16s. 1d. per ton.

On importation into Ireland, it pays only 9s. 7d. $\frac{1}{2}$ per ton.

The principal exports of iron goods are to America and the West India islands. When liberty was given to Ireland (during Lord North's administration in 1778) to supply those markets with ironmongery goods, it was stipulated that all the Irish goods sent thither should pay a duty of 3l. 3s. 11d. per ton.—This sum being reckoned equal to the extra duty of 2l. 6s. 3d. $\frac{1}{2}$ per ton, paid by the British manufacturer more than the Irish, on importation of the raw material: because it requires about one ton eight hundred weight of bar iron, to make a ton of manufactured goods.

Had this duty been fairly collected in Ireland, the manufacturers of both countries would have been upon an equality.

A ton of rod iron sells in Great Britain for	£: 18 0 0
But can be sold in Ireland for	15 15 0
A ton of iron hoops sells in Britain for	22 0 0
And can be sold in Ireland under	20 0 0

Nails, which are made of rod iron, can be made proportionately cheaper in Ireland than in Britain.

These are incontrovertible facts,—and can it be doubted that Ireland will soon supplant us in this valuable manufacture? A manufacture which employs above 200,000 men.

Mr. Pitt, in the debates on the Irish resolutions, mentioned, That when England and Scotland were to be united, it was argued by the former, that Scotland being the poorer country, and having labour cheaper, would deprive England of its manufactures; and exultingly asked if this had been verified in the event. But this argument does not by any means apply; as Scotland became bound by the union to pay the same duties and excise with England (except the excise on malt) and the superior capitals and knowledge of England, of course had their full effect in keeping the manufactures here. Had the treaty of union given to Scotland the privilege intended to be given to Ireland, of importing bar iron at a duty of 9s. 7d. $\frac{1}{2}$, instead of 2l. 16s. 1d. per ton, it cannot be doubted but that the whole of the Iron Manufacture would long before this time, have been transplanted into Scotland.

The Iron Manufacturers only ask, That Ireland may pay the same duty on the importation of bar iron, as is paid in Britain. Unless this equalization of duties be made a part of the regulations, the iron manufacturers here will be obliged to remove with their capitals to Ireland, where they can carry on their manufacture ten per cent. cheaper than they can here.

(B)

To the SUGAR REFINERS.

In the debate of Thursday, upon the Irish Propositions, Mr. Eden repeatedly explained and urged the peculiar situation in which the resolutions, as they now stand, will place the Sugar Refiners of the two kingdoms, contrary to the spirit, and every principle, of the intended system; and with consequences immediately very injurious to the Sugar Refiners of Great Britain. He admitted, however, that it was difficult, on the sudden, to propose any amendment that might not in other respects be exceptionable; and the farther consideration of this point was accordingly postponed to the Report. The grounds of Mr. Eden's remarks were as follow: Under the eleventh proposition, "Where the duty on any article is in the one kingdom higher than in the other, the lowest of the two duties is, upon any such article, to become the port duty in both kingdoms"—consequently, as there is a prohibitory duty on refined sugars imported from Ireland into Great Britain; but a duty of 11. 16s. on refined sugars imported into Ireland from Great Britain, the lowest duty will become the port duty in this article in both kingdoms. And Mr. Eden admitted, that the British refiners had little to apprehend from this lowering of the duty upon the import of sugars refined in Ireland.

But it was necessary to apprize both the Sugar Refiners and the House, that by the effect of the twelfth resolution immediately following, prohibitory restraints would take place upon the import of refined sugars from either kingdom to the other, contrary to the tenth resolution, and highly mischievous to a very valuable branch of British manufactures and British exports:—for it would appear in the papers before the House, that the average annual export of refined sugar to Ireland, even to the year 1784, inclusive, has not been less than 10,000 hundred weight. But according to his construction of the twelfth and fifteenth resolutions, that export must instantly and totally cease if the present plan should take effect:—for by those resolutions Ireland will be entitled to charge the countervailing duty adequate to what is paid by the Irish importer on the raw material; and, in consequence thereof, to double the duty on British refined sugar imported into Ireland; though that duty, by an improper and unjust addition in the year 1783, is already so high, that the trade is maintained with difficulty by the British refiner.

Martis, 12^{da} die Aprilis, 1785.

COMMITTEE on COTTON TRADE.

Committee informed that Counsel attended on the petition of the cotton and callico manufacturers and printers in the County Palatine of Lancaster, and counties adjacent.

The said petition being read, Mr. Garrow was called in, and he desired first to call his witnesses in support of the petition, and then to be heard to observe on the evidence, and he called

Mr. Thomas Kirshaw.

Mr. Tho.
Kirshaw.

- Q. What business do you carry on?
A. A callico printer.
Q. Do you print on your own cotton and callico, or do you print for other persons for hire?
A. I print my own goods.
Q. What is the average price of your own goods when they are printed?
A. About 2s. 2d. per yard.
Q. What was the amount of the duty to which those goods were subject before the act of the last session?
A. Three-pence per square yard.
Q. Was there any other duty on the goods before the act?
A. Three five per cents. have been added to that 3d. the amount of the tax of last session is 1d. and three five per cents on that 1d.
Q. What proportion does the amount of the duty bear to the value of the goods?
A. About 20 per cent.
Q. Since the tax of last session, have you been able to charge its amount to your customers in addition to the former price of your goods?
A. I have not.
Q. Have you or other persons in the trade attempted to do it?
A. Several of us have attempted to do it, but have found it in vain.
Q. What has been the consequence of making that vain attempt?
A. Those goods, which ought to have been sold for the winter trade, are now on hand, and no printers have sold those goods but those who have given up the idea of an advance.

vance, and have sold as formerly; many needy printers are obliged to sell from week to week to raise a sufficient sum to pay that duty and wages: This circumstance precludes a printer of more extensive capital from gaining any advance, as the printer who sells the lowest will always have the preference of trade.

Q. What effect has the act of last session had upon the trade in general?

A. It has been very injurious to our trade.

Q. In what manner?

A. It requires a very extraordinary advance of real capital to carry on the same extent of business.

Q. State what the amount of that increase of capital would be? how much per cent.?

A. About 5 per cent. on the capital, the quantity of goods being the same.

Q. Explain to the Committee how an increase of capital becomes necessary in consequence of this tax?

A. Because we pay in the first stage of the goods nearly 7 per cent. on the value of the goods as a duty on bleaching; this money is locked fast at the shortest period, does not return to the manufacturer under nine months, and at the longest period not sooner than eighteen months.

Q. Whether the payments of duties on the cotton trade are not frequently evaded?

A. They have been so frequently, and I believe are so now. There have been known printers who have evaded the duties to the amount of three-fourths of their whole duties.

Q. Will the tax in your judgment operate as an additional inducement to defraud the revenues by evading the payments of the duties?

A. There is no doubt of it.

Q. Are there any foreign printed goods brought into this kingdom?

A. Considerable quantities are smuggled from Germany, Switzerland, Ireland, and the East-Indies.

Q. Will that illicit trade in your opinion be increased by the additional duty on the like goods of the like manufacture?

A. I think it will, because the higher the duty on the home consumption, the greater emolument will be to the illicit trade of the smuggler.

A. Are there any East India calicoes printed for the consumption of this country?

A. Great

A. Great quantities of Cossa muslins which militate particularly against a manufacture of our own, called ell-wide superfine callico, inasmuch that they have almost extirpated that valuable manufacture, because they can be purchased at so low a rate as to pay the double duty of our own manufacture, and be vended lower for home consumption than we can possibly render our own. They have likewise a very great advantage in the export trade, for there is a drawback of ten per cent. upon those goods, besides the amount of duties double to our own, which puts it entirely out of the power of any manufacture in this kingdom to oppose them. There has been last year more of this kind of goods, and other East India goods, imported than for several years put together.

Q. In what part of the kingdom are those Cossa muslins printed?

A. Chiefly about London.

Q. Are those goods affected by the late tax imposed on goods manufactured at home before they are bleached, in the same proportion as the manufactures of this country?

A. I believe not; for as they are imported white, they don't appear to me to be under the tax imposed on the bleaching of goods.

Q. Does the importation of India goods materially affect the trade this year?

A. Considerably, as we have lost one valuable branch of our manufacture, and have a prospect of losing several more. We find a great deficiency in the employment of our workmen.

Q. Have the India goods which are imported been sold at prices so low as to affect the British manufacture?

A. They have.

Q. Has the importation of those goods affected the export trade of goods manufactured at home?

A. We should have had certainly a much superior export trade but from the immense quantity of India goods which were imported last year.

Q. Have the Cossa muslins, imported by the India Company and printed here, been substituted for the fine callico of our own manufacture for internal consumption?

A. They have, and can be rendered lower than our own manufactures to a consumer in this kingdom, although they pay double duty.

F f 2

Q. Have

Q. Have they been substituted in any considerable degree?

A. Infomuch that we have lost the trade of superfine calicoes in a very short space of time, and expect to see that part of the manufacture totally extirpated.

Withdrew.

Mr. John Orme.

Mr. John Orme.

Q. What is your business?

A. A seller of printed calicoes.

Q. What is the average price of goods when printed?

A. Two shillings and two pence per yard.

Q. What was the duty formerly paid on those goods?

A. Three-pence per yard, and three five per cents. on that duty; the additional duty of last session was one penny per yard, and three five per cents. on that duty, upon bleached or dyed cotton goods.

Q. What proportion does the whole of the duty bear to the value of the goods?

A. The whole of the duty on printed goods, and on bleached and dyed goods which are afterwards printed, amounts nearly to twenty per cent.

Q. Have you been able to charge the amount of the last duty to your customers?

A. Not in one single instance.

Q. Have you, or do you know whether other houses have attempted to charge it?

A. I, as well as many other capital houses concerned in that business, have in vain attempted to obtain an advance of one penny per yard on our goods, which is the amount of the duty lately imposed. There are many traders concerned in our business who are necessitated to sell on any terms that may be offered, in order to raise a sufficient sum of money to pay their duties and wages to their workmen: which has been a very considerable disadvantage to people who wait for a market to dispose of their goods in a proper manner; and they have lately been obliged to sell on disadvantageous terms, as the season of the year, and the fashion for the mode of their goods, has elapsed, or to keep their goods till the autumn season commences.

Q. In what stage of the manufacture does the printer advance the duties?

A. He advances the duty of one penny per yard on the bleached goods before they go to the printing-house. I now speak of those printers who bleach and print their own goods.

Q. What

Q. What influence has the tax on the capital of the manufacturer?

A. The new duty of one penny per yard requires an additional capital of near five per cent.

Q. How does that become necessary?

A. The goods are on an average sold at 2s. 2d. per yard, 4d. of that sum is the amount of the duty on yard-wide calicoes bleached and printed; there then remains 22d. per yard for the cost of the articles, and the profit arising to the manufacturer from the shortest period of the time from the payment of the duties to the receipt of the money for the goods in nine months; but if he gives credit for those, he will be at least eighteen months before he is in cash for the repayment of that duty, the average of which being at least thirteen months, the interest of one penny per yard, must at least amount to nearly 5 per cent.

Q. Is the payment of the duty of this manufacture evaded?

A. We have had variety of instances in which it is well known that government have been defrauded of considerable sums by fraudulent printers. I know one instance in particular where a printer has, by forged stamps, defrauded government of three-fourths of the whole duty he ought to have paid in a year. We have now great reason to suppose, from the very low prices that some printers sell their goods at, that these practices still continue.

Q. Will the continuing the late tax in your opinion increase those frauds?

A. Wherever there are great advantages offered to the unfair trader, he will find so many more opportunities to evade the payment of the duties.

Q. Are there foreign printed goods brought to this country?

A. There are very large quantities of goods smuggled into this country from Switzerland,—it is also believed, a great many low priced printed goods from Germany,—it is also plain to every person conversant with the printing trade of this country, that large quantities of East India goods are smuggled into this country.

Q. Will that illicit commerce be encouraged and increased in consequence of the late tax?

A. The advantage arising to the smuggler will ever be increased, when the duties on the home manufacture are increased.

Q. Are

Q. Are there any East India calicoes printed for the home consumption of this country?

A. There have been a very large quantity of calicoes imported into this country by the East India Company last year, which being entered under the name of Coffee muslins, do not go under the idea of prohibition, of which the calicoes were under; they nearly resemble a manufacture of the northern part of the kingdom, called fine calicoes, so that they have been substituted and used in their stead, so as to cause a very great decrease of a very valuable manufacture of this kingdom. Coffies, from the very low price they have been sold at, notwithstanding the additional double duty imposed on the printing of them, are brought into the market at least 4d. per yard lower than the manufactures of our own country of the same quality. There is also another species of India goods which have been imported this season to a very large amount, which have been substituted in the room of a kind of cloth, under the denomination of long cloth, or garas, which have totally abolished a very considerable manufacture in Lancaster. One house in particular manufactured two hundred pieces per week of that species of goods for the coast of Africa, and now they have not, for some months past manufactured a single piece.

Q. In what part of the kingdom are those India goods principally printed?

A. Chiefly in the neighbourhood of London.

Q. * Are they affected by the late tax in the same proportion with goods manufacture at home?

A. I believe not affected at all by the late tax; for I apprehend that any goods imported in the white state are not subject to the tax as goods which are to be bleached.

Q. Has the importation of India goods affected the trade this year in any considerable degree?

A. The extraordinary low price of the goods at the India sale has been such as to render it impossible to put the manufacture of this country in competition with them: We have printed many thousand pieces of India goods for exportation instead of the manufactures of this country, which a year or two ago we printed for that purpose.

Q. When you stated that you had not been able to charge the consumer with the amount of the duty, did you mean that the manufacturer would not bear such an advance to its price?

A. The

A. The manufacture, in its present state, will not, I believe, bear that advance of price; nor do I know that it has been obtained in any one instance.

Examined by the Committee.

Then the question and answer at this mark * in page 226, was read to the witness.

Q. Have you ever read the act of last session?

A. Yes, I have.

The 33d. Sect. of that Act.

And the said section being read to the witness he said,—I understand that in a different point of view to what I did before.

Withdrew.

Mr. John Whitaker, callico maker.

Q. For what purposes are your goods manufactured?

Mr. John Whitaker.

A. For printing in general.

Q. Do you bleach your own goods? or do you hire them to be bleached?

A. I hire above half the goods I make to be bleached; I let them out above half.

Q. How do you dispose of the remainder that you don't put out to hire?

A. I sell them to the printers in the brown.

Q. Have you been able to advance the price of those which you sell to the printers in consequence of the tax of last session?

A. No: I have been under the necessity of selling them rather lower than higher, and pay the duty myself on those goods that I have bleached.

Q. The question applied to those only which you sell in the brown?

A. I have sold those at the usual price as before the duty took place.

Q. Have you advanced the price on those which you bleach?

A. No; but rather the contrary, being under the necessity of selling them rather lower.

Q. What do you apprehend is the reason of being obliged to sell them lower than before the act took place?

A. The goods which I bleach I manufacture, principally for the London market. They are a fine article, which we call superfine calicoes; and I apprehend the reason why I can't advance them, is principally owing to many East India calicoes

callicoes being imported into this kingdom, which seem to answer the exact end that my goods did, and they are sold much lower.

Q. How much per cent is the duty of one penny per yard upon the goods manufactured by you?

A. The low goods which I generally sell in the brown to the printers, is nearly eight per cent. the fine goods which I bleach is about 6 1-half per cent. full that manufacture; very few that are sold plain, but principally those that are for printing.

Q. What is the proportion of the quantity in weight of cotton used in a piece of callico goods of your manufacture?

A. Of the superfine ell-wide, 6lb. 1-half of raw cotton; of the coarse kind 8lb. 1-half, or 8lb. 10 ounces.

Q. How many yards does a piece consist of?

A. The coarser articles 28 yards; of the finer 21 yards. Withdrew.

Mr. Garrow.

Mr. Garrow heard to observe on the evidence, and withdrew.

The Chairman of the Committee was directed to report a progress, and ask leave to sit again, and left the Chair.

And the Committee being again resumed,

Mr. Cooper.

Mr. THOMAS COOPER (General Surveyor of Excise) was called in and examined by the Committee.

Q. Do you know the amount of the duty paid, and charged on the cotton goods in the county of Lancaster by the act of last Session?

Refers to a paper.

A. Cash that has been paid, and is charged up to the 1st April, is 24,841l. 9s. 1d.

Q. What is the amount of the duty on goods taken on account of by marking and measuring over and above the duty actually paid and charged?

A. The amount of that up to the 8th April, is 21,470l. 12s. 2d.

Q. Whether the cotton mills and spinning business are going on as far as you know, throughout the country in your journey through the country within this week?

A. From the best enquiry I could make; and I enquired as much as I could; through the towns of Manchester, Bolton, Blackburn, Stockport, and many villages, I found that the cotton mills and spinning business was going on as usual accord-

according to the information I received from the persons I enquired of.

Q. Whether you know or learnt, that any weavers had actually been discharged?

A. I enquired very particularly betwixt Bolton and Blackburn, and thereabouts; and I could not learn that any had been discharged from working. They said, they had been told by the masters, that they would be discharged if the tax was not taken off, they were told in general, they would be discharged; but I did not hear that any were actually discharged.

Q. Whether you can form any estimate of the charge of management in proportion to the amount of the duty in the dying branch?

A. No very correct one.

Q. Or in the bleaching branch?

A. I think that one officer on an average, may charge upwards of 1000l. per annum, and his salary is 50l. per annum.

Q. Whether from your experience in your late examination in those duties in bleaching and dying, you are of opinion, the management will be considerably more expensive than many other branches of the Excise?

A. I am pretty clear it will be less expensive than some of the branches of Excise.

Q. Whether you ever had any suggestion for ascertaining the value of the goods in order to fix the duty?

A. I don't understand the Question.

Q. Whether you have ever had any suggestion for fixing the value in order to ascertain the rate of duty?

A. I have heard it said, it would be better liked, if it was done in the manner paper is.

Q. What is that manner?

A. That is, the paper manufacturer values his paper; and if the officer thinks it is undervalued, he has a power by law to take it and pay for it at the value the maker put on it, or some little more; 10 per cent. if I am not mistaken, agreeable to the paper act.

Q. Have you ever seen a mark which stood the black dye, and the dark blue?

A. I have only seen it in black, but I don't know whether it would stand the blue?

Q. Whether that has ever been tried?

A. It was only in black that I saw it.

Q. How often had the cloth been dipt in the black dye on which you saw the mark?

A. I was told it had been dipt several times, and every method taken by dipping to efface the mark, but I don't know how often.

Q. In what stage of the manufacture are the goods first measured in order to charge the duty?

A. Before they begin the process of dying and bleaching.

Q. Are they scoured after that before they are dyed?

A. I don't know of it, of my own knowledge; I have been told so by my surveyors, but I don't know.

Examined by the COMMITTEE.

Q. What office do you hold?

A. I am a General Surveyor of Excise.

[The former questions and answers, read page 228.]

Q. Whether is this 24,841l. 9s. 1d. clear of all drawbacks?

A. I know nothing about drawbacks in this case; the 24,841l. 9s. 1d. is all that has been returned to the collector paid and charged.

Q. Did you enquire whether this tax had exposed the persons who are the objects of it to any particular grievance or inconvenience?

A. I never heard of any inconvenience or grievance in the bleaching business, but I have heard of it in the dying business.

Q. Did you converse with any of the dyers on this occasion?

A. Never: the conversation I had, was chiefly with the people of the Excise in this respect.

Q. Were any of the Excise people you conversed with, those who had been put in office in consequence of this act?

A. Some of them were, and some were not.

Q. Were those the most likely people to complain of the tax who had received offices in consequence of it.

A. They had not received offices in consequence of it; they were now employed as surveyors, but had been Excisemen before.

Q. Do you think 50l. the salary of those Excisemen, is sufficient to maintain himself a wife and family?

Question objected to.

Withdrew.

Called in again.

Q. Upon

Q. Upon what authority did you say, that the piece of stuff that had been frequently through the black dye, retained the mark?

A. It was an experiment tried at a dye-house in London, and I saw it.

Q. At what dye house?

A. I don't know at what dye-house it was done; I only saw it after it was done.

Q. Do you know the name of the person who made the experiment?

A. Not the dyer.

Q. Who showed the stuff to you?

A. Mr. John Leece the General Inspector of the Excise.

Q. Did those two sums paid and charged which you before mentioned, arise on all the cotton goods in general?

A. Those two sums arose from the whole.

Q. Is there any money arisen in consequence of the act besides those two sums?

A. I have no doubt but there is considerable, but I can't tell how much, as I have had no opportunity of examining further than the Manchester and Lancashire collection; and there are two houses that I have no account of.

Q. Did you ever hear of the number of operations that the fustians go through while in charge of the dyer?

A. I have not heard with any exactness.

Q. Then you did not know what number of operations that piece of cotton goods had gone through which was shewn to you by Mr. Leece?

A. I did not exactly know, but was told that they had tried to do whatever they could to efface the mark by dipping.

Q. You have said, that you understood, that the trade would like it better if the duty was laid on as the duty on paper is. Was you told that by a manufacturer?

A. The valuing part I mean.

Q. Was you told that by a manufacturer?

A. Either by a manufacturer or a dealer in stuffs: I don't know very well which.

Q. If cotton goods were liable to be seized in the manner the paper is, would it not frequently prevent the manufacturer supplying his correspondents regularly, by the delay, which would be occasioned by that seizure?

A. If cottons were seized, it would delay the delivery of them;

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them ; for the manufacturer would lose them if seized lawfully.

Q. But suppose the seizure was made unlawfully, and the goods restored to the manufacturer, whether that would not occasion a delay in the execution of his orders ?

A. No doubt but it would, but he might bring his action and recover damages against the officer that seized them.

Q. When did Mr. Leece shew you the mark that had stood the black dye ?

A. I don't recollect the day ; but it was more than a fortnight ago.

Q. Was it ever shewn to any manufacturer at Manchester ?

A. I have no reason to think that it has.

Q. You have stated, that in the part you have seen, there are few of the cotton mills unemployed. Is it the opinion of that part of the country you have been in, that those mills will continue to be employed if this tax is not repealed ?

A. As far as I consulted any one on that head, I think it seemed to be their opinion, that the mills would go on the same.

Q. Whom did you consult ?

A. It is difficult for me to name names.

Q. Did you consult the manufacturers chiefly on that head, or the Excisemen.

A. Some manufacturers, where I thought I could meet with those who would give me fair answers, and the Excisemen in general.

Q. What part of the cotton business is carried on between Bolton and Blackburne ?

A. I believe chiefly what they call British calicoes.

Q. Do you know whether the dying business is not to be done at particular seasons ?

A. I have always been informed it could be done pretty regularly all the year round ; but bleaching principally in the spring.

Q. Whether in the dying trade, there is not the spring and the autumn ?

A. I can't answer the question, I have not heard.

Q. Are there always Excise officers at hand at the dye-houses to expedite the business, or does the manufacture lie there till they can attend ?

A. It being a new revenue, the commissioners did not know what officers would be wanted, but hereafter, I have no doubt

doubt the commissioners will supply sufficient number of officers to be ready in a moment.

Q. Do you know what quantity of yards you could stamp within an hour ?

A. I do not.

Q. Do you think that many Excise officers could pay the costs of an action and damage recovered against him ?

A. A great many could, and many more could not.

Q. Do you suppose that this power of recovering damages, would be a satisfaction for the delay and loss which the manufacturer must sustain in being unable to send away the remainder of his order, of which the goods so unlawfully seized made a part ?

A. I think it would be a sufficient satisfaction to deter the officer from doing so a second time if he had done so once.

Q. Do you recollect whether the manufacturers who told you, that the trade would go on equally brisk if the tax was not repealed, were manufacturers of callico or fustians ?

A. I don't know which, but one was a large manufacturer.

Q. Was he of Bolton ?

A. He was.

Q. How long have you been resident at Manchester ?

A. I never was there but a few nights ; about four or five nights on Excise business.

Q. What is the usual place of your residence ?

A. I live in Jermyn-street, St. James's, London.

Q. Have you been occasionally employed in surveying dyers and bleachers ?

A. No ; the act is so new, I could not have been much employed in it.

Q. How, as you have resided in London, do you know that the Manchester trade has suffered no great inconvenience from the late act ?

A. I know nothing but from my enquiries at Manchester when I was there ; and I don't recollect that I said they had suffered no inconvenience from the act.

Q. Is it then only from hearsay, and not from your knowledge that you speak of the Lancashire trade ?

A. It is only from my enquiries from the Excisemen, and the traders when I was there.

Withdrew.

Mr. JOHN

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Mr. JOHN FAULDER (Supervisor of Excise at Manchester.)

Q. How long will it take for two officers to measure 1000 pieces of fustian.

A. About four days.

Q. How much is the amount of the duty on those 1000 pieces of fustian?

A. On an average, I suppose about 62l.

Q. How many men does the most considerable dealer in your district employ to attend the measuring the goods by the Excise officer?

A. Two.

Q. How many pieces does that dyer dye in a year to the best of your knowledge or belief?

A. From the number he has already dyed, I suppose about 10,000 pieces.

Q. Can you form any estimate of the price of dying those pieces on an average?

A. I suppose about six shillings per piece, or more.

Q. State the highest and lowest price of dying a piece according to your belief?

A. I have heard from 10d. or 11d. per piece, to 24 or 25 shillings.

Q. Can you state the rate of wages of the two persons who attend the measuring of the Excisemen?

A. I suppose not more than sixty pounds per annum.

Q. For both or each?

A. For both.

Q. In dying any quantity of goods, how long do you suppose the dyer is hindered in the operation by the delay of measuring?

A. Not more than half a day, or a day sometimes.

Q. How long does the whole operation of dying last.

A. Some kind of goods may be dyed in a day or two; some take two or three months.

Q. At what hour in the morning do the Excise officers attend the dying houses?

A. About six, or between six and seven, and seven and eight.

Q. Have they ever been desired to attend earlier?

A. Not to my knowledge.

Q. Have you been ever desired to attend earlier?

A. No.

Q. How long do they stay in the afternoon?

A. They

A. They generally stay till the goods are all measured, and there is nothing more to do.

Q. How late to what hour have you known the officer attend?

A. Till eight or nine o'clock.

Q. In what stage of the manufacture are the goods first measured?

A. At the time of coming from the ware-houses in the grey state.

Q. Are they scoured after that before the dying?

A. The greatest part of them I believe are.

Q. As the goods are scoured in general after they are measured previous to the dying, is it probable that the dyer should be detained in their operations by the non-attendance of the Excise officers, so as to incur an unnecessary expence of firing, or risk the waste of dying materials?

A. I should suppose not.

Q. Whether fustians removed after frame marking, and before stamping and sealing, are, or are not seizable under this act?

A. They are seizable after being dyed, but not before.

Q. Are not fustians after frame-marking, and before stamping, necessarily obliged to be removed from the dye-house to the dressers several times?

A. I believe they are.

Q. Have you seized all the goods which you have seen liable to be forfeited under this act?

A. I never examined any goods which were removing from the dyers to the dressers; and therefore, I did not know whether they had the stamps or not.

Q. Question repeated?

A. Objected to.

Witness withdrew.

Called in again.

Q. Have you ever received any instruction to forbear a strict execution of the duty in seizing goods under this act?

A. I have not.

Q. If all the goods had been seized, which might have been seized under this act, would not the penalties and loss of goods have amounted to a very considerable sum?

A. I suppose it might.

Q. Do you think that the ruin of the dyers and bleachers must have been the unavoidable consequence if seizures having been made to that extent?

A. I really

- A. I really cannot say.
- Q. If you attend a dying-house in a manufactory, and find no goods ready, do you not immediately leave the premises?
- A. Yes.
- Q. If any goods comes in the evening, upon being sent to, do you attend?
- A. I don't personally attend; the officer does; I attend only on particular occasions; sometimes at one dying-house, and sometimes at another.
- Q. Are there not a greater quantity of goods brought on a Saturday generally than on any other day of the week?
- A. Never that I ever perceived.
- Q. Is not Saturday the market day at Manchester?
- A. Yes.
- Q. In surveying goods for bleaching or dying, are you competent to ascertain the value of the goods being under, or above three shillings per yard?
- A. Not being a manufacturer, I can't ascertain the value so well as a manufacturer may.
- Q. Did you ever make any seizure of goods that were given in as under three shillings per yard; and which you thought were above three shillings per yard.
- A. Yes, I have.
- Q. How did you form your calculation, or the value of those goods?
- A. From seeing other goods sent by other manufacturers of an inferior quality to those which I seized, which were valued at above three shillings.
- Q. Are you sufficiently acquainted with the manufacture, so as always to be able to make that distinction of the price, being worth more or less than three shillings per yard?
- A. I cannot.
- Q. Have you been obliged to return any goods which you seized?
- A. I have been obliged to return some after a hearing, though they were proved to be above three shillings per yard.
- Q. What delay did it occasion to the manufacturer between the time you seized the goods, and the time when you returned them?
- A. About six weeks.
- Q. Are there not various kinds of cotton cloth, which in the nature of the pattern, may vary the price, though the quantity is apparently the same?

A. I never

- A. I never make the comparison, but in goods of the same pattern.
- Q. What time of the day do the Excisemen make up their accounts?
- A. They only make up their accounts eight times a year.
- Q. Don't they enter an account of the day's work every day?
- A. They enter an account of the goods measured at the time of measuring.
- Q. When do they run up that account?
- A. It is never summed up till the goods are charged and stamped and sealed.
- Q. Is that the account which is made up but eight times a year?
- A. Those accounts of the goods charged, are made up daily; they are entered in a book.
- Q. At what time of the day is that daily account made up?
- A. After the Exciseman's business is finished at the dyers.
- Q. When is his business finished at the dying-house?
- A. When the officer has been at the dye-house, and measured, and charged all that there is, he returns home.
- Q. Is there not a particular hour when he thinks himself at liberty to quit the dyers?
- A. Not that I know of.
- Q. What is the latest hour you have attended?
- A. I have attended till seven o'clock.
- Q. Generally speaking?
- A. The common time of attendance is till the goods are finished, three, four, five, or six o'clock.
- Q. Is it more usual for the Exciseman to quit the dye-house at seven o'clock, or at four?
- A. There is no particular time.
- Q. Have you not more frequently quitted the dye-house at four than at seven?
- A. I believe I may.
- Q. At what hour do you attend in the morning? Is it more frequently at nine than at seven?
- A. I attend more frequently at seven.
- Q. Whether the goods that take the shortest time in dying, are a greater quantity than those which are longer in dying?
- A. There are goods that take up all the intermediate days from the shortest to the longest.
- NUMB. IV. H h Q. Whether

Q. Whether the great quantity of the goods dyed, are those which take up a longer, or a shorter time in dying?

A. I presume there are more goods dyed that take up under six weeks than more than six weeks.

Q. Whether the frame marks that have been used, have not been frequently obliterated in the dying?

A. In black and blue colours they have.

Q. Has there been as yet used in Manchester any mark that is not liable to be obliterated?

A. Not in those colours.

Q. When you left the dye-house at four o'clock, did not you leave it because all the business there, was then finished?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you ever refuse to stay after four when you was requested so to do?

A. I never did.

Q. Before whom was the hearing you spoke of, when you returned the goods you had seized?

A. Before two justices of the peace.

Q. Were the goods re-delivered in consequence of the price set upon them by you, not having been well founded?

A. No.

Q. Why are they re-delivered?

A. I can't say why the magistrates ordered them to be re-delivered.

Q. What is the time that the Exciseman leaves the dye-house?

A. When the business is all finished.

Q. Do not the Exciseman usually leave the dye-house at four o'clock?

A. Not to my knowledge: there is no particular time for their leaving the dye-house.

Q. How was it proved, that the goods restored by the justices, were above the value of three shillings.

A. By the calculation of the owner, who valued them himself, or his servant, they then stood him in upwards of three shillings per yard in the state they were sent to the dye-house.

Q. How long have you been resident in Manchester, or the neighbourhood?

A. A year last March, and a year three years before that.

Q. How long have you acted as Supervisor of Excise?

A. Since the latter end of January last.

Q. Do

Q. Do you believe many persons to be out of employ in consequence of the late act?

A. I have heard of some that are out of employ; for what cause, I don't know; but I am not personally acquainted with any out of employ.

Q. Do you not imagine, that if the act is not repealed, that any more will be out of employ?

A. I can't answer that.

Q. Was it not proved, that two pieces of velverets that were seized, and which were the property of Edward Grant, did not cost more than from two shillings and ninepence, to two shillings and elevenpence per yard?

A. I believe he produced some evidence who swore they did cost him more in manufacturing: I did not seize them.

Q. Whose goods were those you returned by order of the justices?

A. One piece of Mr. Shores; two pieces of Kenyon and Ditchfield; two pieces of Thomas Quimsey.

Q. Do you know any instance of a dyer being obliged to wait for a day or more before he could be attended by an Exciseman?

A. I do not.

Withdrew.

JONATHAN GULSTONE, (Assistant Supervisor at Bolton.)

Jonathan Gulstone.

Q. State how many pieces of calicoes can three men measure in a week?

A. About 900.

Q. How many pieces do you suppose the greatest bleacher in your district bleaches in a year?

A. I suppose about 40,000.

Q. How much a piece has the bleacher for bleaching?

A. I can't tell.

Q. How many men does that bleacher employ in attending the Excisemen in measuring?

A. Two in general.

Q. Does he ever employ more than two?

A. Not to my knowledge, he never did.

Q. Whether the whole time of those two men is taken up in attending the measuring?

A. No; I can't say it is.

H h 2

Q. What

Q. What wages have those men, employed in attending the measuring?

A. About 30l. a year, a piece.

Q. What delay is occasioned to the bleacher by the intervention of the Excise officer?

A. Not more than a day.

Q. What time does the bleaching take from the time of the goods brought in, to the time of their being perfect.

A. Some longer than another, but the best about a month or five weeks.

Q. How long have you been Assistant Supervisor?

A. Since the 17th November last.

Withdrew.

Mercurii, 13 die Aprilis, 1785.

COMMITTEE of the whole HOUSE on PETITION from MANCHESTER, &c. for Repeal of COTTON DUTY ACT of last Session.

Mr. Thomas Cooper.

Mr. THOMAS COOPER who was examined yesterday at this Committee, was again called in.

Q. Have you not said, that you was told by one considerable manufacturer at Bolton, that the fustian trade would go on as well under the act as it did before?

A. I said, that he said he thought it would, or words to that effect.

Q. Did you never hear any one say, that the trade would be materially injured if the act continues.

A. I have heard it said, that it was commonly reported in Manchester, but no one person ever told me, that he believed it himself.

Q. Have you conversed with any considerable manufacturer on that subject?

A. With some I have, but I can't recollect how many.

Q. How do you know, that those persons were considerable manufacturers?

A. From the report of the Exciseman, and other Persons who said they were.

Q. Have you any better authority for that, than that of the Excise officers?

A. No better.

Q. What

Q. What sort of goods did the considerable person at Bolton (whom you allude to) manufacture?

Question objected to.

Withdrew.

Called in again.

Question repeated.

A. I did not enquire what particular sort of goods he manufactured.

Q. Do you know the number of people he employs?

A. I do not know; I heard he employed a great many.

Q. Do you know the amount of the duty that that person paid under this act?

A. I believe he is a person that pays no duty at all; he is neither bleacher nor dyer.

Withdrew.

Mr. FAULDER (who was examined yesterday) was again called in.

Q. Have you renewed the frame marks every time they were obliterated or defaced in the processes of dying or bleaching as the act directs?

Question objected to.

Withdrew.

Act read—Section 28.

Called in again.

Q. Whenever you have removed the frame-mark agreeable to the act, has it not caused great loss of time to the dyer or bleacher?

A. Not much loss of time.

Q. Can you specify how much?

A. Perhaps an hour or two.

Q. Is it not necessary to have the marks renewed, so that the manufacturer may be safe from seizures?

A. The frame mark alone, without the seal, will not prevent them being seized upon removal.

Q. Can they be seized if found without the frame mark?

A. If in operation at the bleachers or dyers, without the frame mark, they are seizable.

Q. Have you seen the frame mark obliterated in other colours than blacks and blues?

A. Some particular times, in dark olives, I have seen it obliterated.

Q. If

Q. Have you not said, that two men only attended the officers of Excise at the dyers for measuring and marking?

Q. If goods are re-measured in consequence of the mark being obliterated, are they then of the same length and breadth as when first measured?

A. Great many of them run in a little; they are not so long.

Q. How then can you tell when you come to re-measure them, that they are the same pieces.

A. By taking down the private mark which the manufacturer puts on when he sends them to dye.

Q. Whether that private mark is never obliterated?

A. Sometimes the manufacturer puts a number upon them, and sometimes a figure may be broke.

Q. In that case, is it possible to know that they have never been measured before?

A. From the assurance of the dyer, we believe they have.

Q. You have said before that some pieces that were seized, from a pretence that they were undervalued and restored by the magistrates, were proved to be above the value of three shillings a yard, was this on oath and by whom?

A. Yes; on my oath, and the oath of the servant, whom the manufacturer produced.

Q. How came you to know they were above three shillings a yard value?

A. From the information I had from other manufacturers, and my own judgment.

Q. How came the owner, or other person, to make oath, that those goods were under three shillings a yard, and afterwards proved them to be above three shillings a yard.

A. They never do make oath to the value of the goods on marking them.

Q. What is the penalty on an Excise officer for making an improper seizure.

A. There is none that I know of.

Q. What recompence can the owner have from the Excise officer for such seizure; the detention of his property, and the vexation and expence occasioned by such seizure?

A. I don't apprehend an Excise officer will make an improper seizure. I can't tell what recompence an officer must make.

Q. How much time must often unavoidably be lost before goods seized, are restored to the owner?

A. Sometimes three weeks; sometimes six weeks.

A. Two

A. Two men commonly; sometimes none at all; and sometimes three or four; on an average not more than two.

Q. Have you not known at Hall and Butterworth's, as well as at other places, that four, five or six of the dyers servants have often attended such officers to bring the pieces to them—to take them away when measured and marked, and put them in the state they were when brought from the manufacturers, and a book-keeper always to enter them in the dyers Excise book?

A. I never attended at Hall's and Butterworth's.

Q. How long have you surveyed as a Supervisor under the act?

A. Since the end of January last.

Q. How many days have you generally attended in a week, to measure and mark at one dye-house?

A. Sometimes one at a time; sometimes two, and sometimes none at all.

Q. Are you sufficiently acquainted with the manufacture to make oath to the precise value of the goods?

A. I was sufficiently, I believe, to make oath to the value of the goods I seized.

Q. How much above three shillings might be the value of those goods.

A. I presume about 3s. 6d. or 3s. 8d. a yard.

Q. Can you distinguish between the value of the goods of 2s. 11d. a yard, and 3s. 1d. a yard.

A. I presume I could not.

Q. If you could not distinguish, should you think yourself authorized to take an oath on the opinion of others?

A. Not upon goods so nearly in value, I should not think it proper to take an oath entirely on the judgment of others.

Withdrew.

Mr. JOHN LEECE (Officer of Excise.)

Q. Have you ever made an experiment of any mark which would stand the dark blue or black dye?

A. I have had a colour tried which does stand the dye in black and blue. I have it here. Mr. John Leece.

Q. How many times was it dipped?

A. I marked it, and took it to a dyer to be tried, who informed me, that he first dyed blue then black; it was then dried; that operation was completed as in the common course of business: I then desired him to dye it a second time; and

and the next day he dyed it again as he told me. In the course of the dying twice, he told me it went through ten operations, or dippings; and he thinks it would stand if it was dyed twenty times more, as he informed me.

Q. Is the mark perfectly plain now?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you understand the dying business yourself.

A. I can't say I do, the whole of the business.

Q. Who was the dyer that made the experiment?

Question objected to.

Withdrew

Called in again.

Q. Do you know whether the person who made the experiment, understood the dying business?

A. I believe he understands it well.

Q. Did you see the experiment made yourself?

A. No.

Q. In what state was the piece of goods when the mark was put on it?

A. It was a piece of goods which had been dyed a light colour.

Q. Did you put the stamp upon it?

A. Yes.

Q. Whether the piece of goods on which you put the stamp underwent all the necessary operations to bring it to a state of perfection without the mark being effaced?

A. I believe it did.

Q. Did you see it after it was finished, and ready for the market?

A. I saw it after the first and second operation.

Q. Did you see it when it was finished and ready for the market?

A. I look on it as fit for the market when it is dyed; I don't know what is to be done to it afterwards.

Q. What species of goods was it?

A. Of the fustian sort; I think it was what is called a Jeanette.

Q. What length was this piece of goods?

A. About half a yard.

Q. How often was it dressed; and how often did it go over the hot iron?

A. I don't know that it was dressed, more than drying, nor that it went over the hot iron at all.

Withdrew.

Jovis,

Jovis, 7 die Aprilis 1785.

COMMITTEE of the whole House on the adjustment of the Commercial Intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland.

The Committee was moved, That the petition of the Callico Manufacturers and Printers of the County Palatine of Lancaster, and counties adjacent, might be read.

And the same being read accordingly;

The counsel was heard in support of the petition now under consideration.

Mr. Thomas Walker called in and examined.

Q. Was you examined before a Committee of Privy Council?—

A. Yes.

Q. On what day was you first examined?—A. The 21st day of January last.

Q. Had you notice given you on what subject you was to be examined?—A. I had not.

Q. On what occasion was you in London?—A. I was delegated by the town of Manchester to deliver a memorial to the Treasury, soliciting for a repeal of the act passed in the last session, imposing a duty on bleached and dyed cotton stuffs.

Q. Had you or your employers any knowledge of the Irish propositions?—A. I had not; nor did I ever hear that any one in the town of Manchester had.

Q. It appears by the report of the Committee of Privy Council (page 37) that you was asked, "Have the Irish manufacturers any advantage over the British in the price of labour?" and that you was also asked, "Do not you conceive that the art and ingenuity of the British manufacturer will secure to him an advantage in these branches of trade?" to which you gave certain answers.——You was then asked, "If the Irish and British manufacturers in the cotton trade were put upon the same footing with respect to taxes and bounties, as well internally as upon export from one country to the other, should you have any reason to apprehend a competition in the British or Irish market?" What answer did you then give to this last question?—A. That I conceived I had answered it by the answers I had given to the two preceding questions.

Q. Whether the same question was repeated to you after you had said, that you conceived you had answered it by the two preceding answers?—A. It was.

Q. Do you recollect the answer exactly which you gave to the question, when put again?—A. I do not remember exactly, but I am very much mistaken if the word *these* made any part of it.

Q. Who examined you?—A. Mr. Jenkinson.

Q. Do you recollect to have had any conversation with Mr. Jenkinson as to what you meant by *all respects*, as contradicting distinguished from *all these respects*?—A. I do. When I was examined some

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days afterwards, I told Mr. Jenkinson that by the words *all respects* I meant that Ireland and England should be on equal terms. He asked me, if I supposed that Great Britain could lay a tax on Irish windows, soap, and various other articles, which he enumerated; or, that I supposed that the duties could be taken off the same articles in England? to which I answered, that I had no such expectation, but that till that was done, or the countries were by some means put upon the same footing, the Irish and English manufactures would not be on the same footing.

Q. Was it not understood between Mr. Jenkinson and you, at the time of your last examination, that (when you said, that if the cotton trade was protected by $\frac{1}{2}$. 10 1-half per cent. it would be a sufficient security) you took into your consideration likewise an equality between the countries in all other respects?—A. I understood it in that light, and I have no doubt but Mr. Jenkinson understood it in the same light.

Q. At what time did that conversation of the taxed state of England, and the untaxed state of Ireland, take place? was it on the day of your last examination?—A. It was on Saturday the 5th of February.

Q. Has the fustian trade of Ireland increased or decreased of late?—A. It has decreased very considerably.

Q. To what do you attribute that decrease?—A. To the great perfection to which they have brought the fustian manufactures.

Q. In what parts of Ireland is the fustian trade carried on to the greatest extent?—A. At Prosperous, about eighteen miles from Dublin, where I am told, in the manufacture of Captain Brooke alone, there are at this time at least five thousand people employed.

Q. Do you know any other parts of Ireland where this manufacture is carried on?—A. I am told it is carried on at Belfast, Newry, and Balbriggan.

Q. How long has the fustian manufacture been established in Ireland?—A. They have manufactured fustians in small quantities for some time. I cannot say the particular time, but not in any degree to the extent they now carry them on, till within these last two or years.

Q. Do you know of any offers made to any manufacturers or principal workmen to leave this country and settle in Ireland?—A. I do; I know several principal manufacturers who have lately had very advantageous offers made them to leave this country and go to Ireland; and I have a letter in my hand, which, if I am permitted to read, will point out very strongly the advantages that country enjoys over this: It is signed Thomas D. Brooke, dated Prosperous, 9th December, 1783, and directed to Mr. R. Worthington, Garret, near Manchester, and is to the following effect:

Prosperous

Prosperous, near Naas, Ireland, 9 December, 1783.

S I R,

YOU may perhaps think it extraordinary to be troubled with a letter from a stranger; but as a brother manufacturer I have heard of you, and as it is not impossible but that you may have heard of my brother, Captain Brooke, I hope you will excuse the liberty I take.

The purport of my letter is to throw out for your consideration a proposal for a connection in the printing line; and to enable you to judge how far such a connection might be eligible, I shall just state a few circumstances.

1st. Excepting on coarse linens, there is very little printing done in this kingdom, our home consumption being chiefly supplied from your side; and the goods pay a duty of 10% per cent. and will probably have a heavier duty laid on before this session of parliament is over.

2dly. We have no printers here with any capitals worth naming, and therefore the business is very badly conducted.

3dly. Our factory is the only one in the kingdom in which any considerable quantity of good cottons or calicoes are made, excepting one or two others.

4thly. There is no Excise duty here.

5thly. There is the same freedom of export that you enjoy in England, linens much cheaper, and high bounties on low-priced printed goods.

Now from these premises I think the following conclusion may be drawn; viz. That a complete and well-conducted printing establishment here would turn out most advantageously. And to prove that greater advantages would be derived from attempting it in connection with us, than from any strangers attempting it singly, I shall mention the following circumstances.

1st. A ready market is established for the sale of all we manufacture, and the public tide is in our favour.

2dly. We are acquainted with the customs of the country, and the people in it.

3dly. Our capital, and the number of our looms, enables us to extend in whatever department of the manufacture turns to best account.

4thly. Our situation is convenient, only eighteen miles from Dublin; we have the benefit of water carriage by the canal; the land on which our factory is erected, and all the buildings, belong to my brother, so that there can be no combinations; and we might form what regulations we pleased, provided they were not unjust.

5thly. The water is uncommonly good for bleaching and dying; and firing is plenty.

6thly. Almost all the expensive work is done, the green complete, coppers, presses, stoves, callendars, &c. &c. &c. all in working order, so that we might start into the most extensive work even this spring.

7thly. We have some excellent hands in the machinery way, with all necessary tools and work-shops. We work Charles Taylor's patent

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tent machine to full yard-wides in perfection, infomuch as to execute narrower and neater Bengals than was ever done in any printing ground (to my belief) in Europe; and we have besides some other extraordinary machines, calculated for expedition. We have for some time printed our cottons, calicoes, and velverets; and although we can execute as good work as any in the kingdom, and although my brother has lately got a parliamentary grant of twenty-five thousand pounds, yet he wishes for a connection in the printing department, and for the following reasons: When we began the manufacture, we were obliged to do every thing, or nothing; and accordingly we now spin, weave, cut, dye, dress, finish, bleach, and print; to superintend and manage which is too extensive for Mr. Ogden and myself, who have the chief guidance of every thing; and besides, the length of time goods lie on hands, from the raw cotton till they are printed, sold, and paid for, demands a very powerful capital.—Having been thus explicit, I shall thus mention, that I would not wish to form a connection with a person who would not throw in at least 5000*l.* more if he pleased, and we should equal him, or not, as might be agreed. We should leave the general conduct of the business entirely to the partner, whom I would suppose to be master of it. I forgot to mention, that this is a cheaper country than your's, and that labour is cheaper accordingly; and I also omitted to mention, that there is a late act of parliament made here, which guards against the dangerous consequences which frequently used to attend partnerships. Respecting my brother's character and my own, I shall leave that to the world.

I am, Sir, your very humble servant,
 THOMAS D. BROOKE.

P. S. The printing business has been greatly kept down here by the printers following English patterns; so that the novelty, and good prices attending that novelty, was all over before the drapers could get their goods from the printers.—If one of your sons were fixed here, and a proper correspondence preserved, I will venture to say we should skim the cream of the Irish market.

Q. Whether, if the resolutions of the Irish parliament should pass into a law, do you think there would be danger of the manufacturers transferring their capitals to Ireland?—A. I am confident that the manufacturers of this country would transfer their capitals to Ireland; and from the letter I have just read, it appears to me that is all the Irish want.

Q. Whether the prohibitory duty upon cotton, which exists at present, is not one of the reasons why the Irish cotton manufacturer wants a capital?—A. I am greatly of opinion that it is the chief reason.

Q. Whether, if the cotton manufacturers of Ireland had the English market open to them at the *l.* 10 1-half per cent. they could not undersell the manufacturers at Manchester?—A. In the fustian trade, in which I am concerned, in many articles I have no doubt but that they

they could at this time do it; and I have every reason to believe, that in a short time they would undersell us in the other fustian articles: In the check trade, from the Irish having the raw material from *l.* 7½ to *l.* 10 per cent. or more cheaper, besides the advantage of labour, exemption from taxation, &c. the same argument holds good with respect to the small ware trade; and I have been told, by the first manufacturer in Manchester in the silk way, that if the Irish resolutions pass into a law, it will be impossible for him to carry on his trade in this country.

Q. Whether the Irish resolutions will affect the export trade of this manufacture?—A. I am of opinion, that the ninth resolution may very materially affect the export trade to Russia and Germany.

Q. In what manner would it affect that trade?—A. By securing to Ireland the eternal right of importing into England her linens duty-free, and by precluding this country at any time from lowering the duties upon those of Russia and Germany.

Q. As the linen yarn comes dearer to the English manufacturer than to the Irish, you will account for the difference of the price.—A. I have the copies of two invoices here*—By one of which it appears, that the expences are seven and a half per cent. and by the other thirteen—the reason why one so much exceeds the other is, that the latter is a coarser kind of yarn, of which the low-priced checks are manufactured, and on which the duties fall the heaviest.

Examined by MEMBERS of the COMMITTEE.

The Committee was moved, That the minutes of a certain part of the evidence given by this witness, on Monday the 21st of March last, before a Committee of the whole House, to whom it was referred to consider of the petition of the gentlemen, clergy, land owners, merchants, manufacturers, dyers, bleachers, and others interested in the fustian trade in the towns of Manchester, Salford, Bolton, Leigh, Warrington, Rochdale, Oldham, Ashton, Bury, Chorley, Stockport, Macclesfield, and Chapel en le Frith, and in the boroughs of Wigan and Newton, and of the respective neighbourhoods of those towns and boroughs, in the counties of Lancaster, Chester, and Derby, respecting his examination before a Committee of Privy Council, might be read to the witness; and the same was read accordingly, for which see page 115, from the words, do you think, &c. and ending with *no*, line 2.

The Committee was also moved, That the minutes of a certain other part of the same evidence might be read;

And the same was read accordingly, for which see page 126, line 13, whether every question, &c. to line 14, in page 131, ending with the word *these*.

* Copies of these Invoices are inserted at the end of this day's examination, marked (A) and (B).

The

The Committee was also moved, That the minutes of the last question and answer of the same evidence might be read; and the same was read accordingly, for which see pages 131, and 132.

Then the witness was asked,

Q. Was that the evidence you gave before a Committee of this House?—A. It was.

Q. Was not Mr. Fawkenor the clerk of the Privy Council, whom you attended on the night of the 31st of January last?—A. He was.

Q. How long was you with Mr. Fawkenor at that time?—A. Whilst I read over the evidence: how long that took I cannot say.

Q. Were not many corrections made in your and Mr. Richardson's evidence at that time, at your desire?—A. There were some, but I do not think there were many.

Q. Had not you and Mr. Fawkenor, at that time, some discourse on the words *these respects*?—A. Not that I recollect.

Q. Did not you expressly consent, at that time, that the word *these* should stand part of your evidence?—A. That I am very confident I did not; nor do I recollect its having been mentioned.

Q. Are you sure that the word *these* was not in the copy of the evidence which was then read to you?—A. To that question I must give the same answer that I have often done; that I do not remember its ever being part of my evidence.

Q. Do you know that any number of manufacturers in the cotton trade have yet gone from this country to Ireland?—A. I know some that have; and though without property, and not of the highest reputation, they have rendered essential service to Ireland; and done much injury to England. The Mr. Ogden alluded to in the letter which I received from Mr. Brooke, was in 1773, a servant of mine, at either six or eight shillings a week, but I am confident not more than eight; and that man has been a very principal means of bringing the fustian manufactory to the perfection it is now of in Ireland, though he has been there but a few years, I believe not above three or four.

Q. Do you know any of property or reputation that have gone from this country to Ireland?—A. I do not; but I know several that will go, if the Irish resolutions pass into a law.

Q. Do you know what are the prices that Mr. Brooke pays to his manufacturers, in the several branches?—A. I do not.

Q. Do you know whether, on the whole, they are greater or less than are paid at Manchester?—A. I should presume less.

Q. Do you know whether the prices of labour of carpenters, bricklayers, or other mechanics, are less in Ireland than in Great Britain?—A. I do not.

Q. Is not linen yarn a more important article in the manufacture of linen, than it is in the manufacture of any cotton goods whatsoever?—A. Undoubtedly.

Q. Do you know whether Great Britain has or has not a considerable increasing linen manufacture?—A. I do not know enough of

of the linen manufacture of this country, to answer that question with any certainty.

Q. What do you understand by the capital of a manufacturer, whether money only, or do you add to it buildings and credit?

—A. Money, and all the property he is possessed of after all his debts are paid.

Q. In carrying on his trade, do not you consider his buildings and credit as part of his capital?—A. I consider his buildings as part of his property, and his credit as a very great advantage to him.

Q. Do not many manufacturers trade to a much greater extent than their property after their debts are paid?—A. I have no doubt but they do.

Q. Is it in the power of a manufacturer to remove his buildings to another country, without great loss, or without affecting his credit?

—A. There must be some loss in the sale of his buildings certainly; as to his credit, if he is a man of property, I do not conceive how that can be affected by his removal elsewhere.

Q. Does not his credit depend on the knowledge which his friends and neighbours have of him, and on other local circumstances?—A. In some degree it may.

Q. Is there any part of the evidence, which is entered as having been given before another Committee of this House, on which you desire to make any remark, for the particular information of this Committee?—A. I was going to remark, that it is stated in the printed report of the council, "That Mr. Richardson and I sent the day after we had been first examined, and desired to correct the former answers," which I must take upon me to say is a mistake which I wish to have corrected, as we never sent at all.

Q. Did not you send at that time a corrected answer to the last question that was put to you on the first day you was examined before the Committee?—A. We sent a corrected answer, it is very true—we returned our evidence, that was the fact: but it is stated in the report, that we sent for it; which we did not.

Q. Whether it was not your and Mr. Richardson's desire, that the evidence should stand corrected in the manner in which you so returned it?—A. It was, as a note of ours to Mr. Fawkenor will, if it is referred to, explain:—therefore Mr. Richardson and I were very much surprized to see in the printed Report two answers published to the same question; particularly as the one was an incorrect one, and all our other answers were published in the corrected state only.

Q. Whether it was not your wish, that the evidence, as corrected by you, should be as fair and complete as you could make it?—A. It certainly was.

Q. Whether you think any of the circumstances stated by you, in answer to the examination by the counsel at the bar, as being omitted in the printed report of the council, are material towards understanding your evidence?—A. I should think that my evidence, having references to the former answers, very sufficiently explained itself; at least

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I understand it in that light. I wish to say, that when I mentioned the £. 10½ per cent. I meant to refer to the expression of "unchecked, undamped," &c. &c. understanding it in that light, I have no other explanation to give.

Q. Is the Committee to understand you, that the evidence, as stated in the Report of the Council, appeared to you, and still continues to appear to you, to contain all that is material towards understanding your opinion on the subject of the questions put to you?—

A. It is impossible for me to say what light other people may understand my evidence in; but I myself am perfectly convinced that £. 10½ per cent. cannot be, under all circumstances, a protecting duty to the cotton manufacture of this country, unless Ireland and England are upon equal terms in all other respects.

Q. Do you imagine that will be collected to be your opinion, from the following words of your answer at the Privy Council: "If the cotton trade of this country was protected by a duty of £. 10½ per cent. upon the importation of cotton goods from Ireland into this country, we apprehend it would be a sufficient security to our trade for the home consumption?"—If that answer was read alone, it would by no means convey my meaning.

Q. If you had thought there had been any circumstances omitted in your evidence, which rendered it not sufficiently clear or intelligible, would not you have thought it your duty to supply such omission; and had not you an opportunity of doing so when the evidence was sent to you to be corrected?—A. Had I conceived that any other construction could have been possibly put upon it but the one I myself meant, I most certainly should have desired to have corrected it; but I must beg leave to state, that this part of my evidence was never sent to me to correct; nor did I ever see it after I quitted the Council Chamber with Mr. Stanley.

Q. Whether it ever occurred to you, that the answer alluded to could be construed to refer to a part of what had preceded, and not to the whole?—A. I had no idea but what it referred to the whole of my evidence.

Q. Do you recollect whether you did not state the advantages against the English manufacture to be above double the £. 10½ per cent.?—A. I do not recollect that I did; but if I had, in some articles of the fustian trade, I should not have asserted more than what I can now prove.

Q. Is the Committee then to understand you, that when in your answer you said, "the protection of £. 10½ would be sufficient," it was on a supposition of the two countries being likewise on equal footings in all respects, with regard to internal taxes, as well upon other articles of consumption as the cotton manufacture, and with regard to the price of labour, and every thing else attending the expense of the manufacture?—A. It was.

Q. Is the Committee to understand that other answers of yours, containing your opinion of what might or what might not be

appre-

apprehended from the competition of Ireland, were also to be understood with a reference to the antecedent part of your examination?—

A. The witness says he does not understand the question.

Question repeated.

Then, the question being objected to,

The Counsel and witness were directed to withdraw.

Called in again.

Question repeated.

The witness asks, whether that question refers to any particular answer; and if it does, he desires the answer to be read.

Q. It does not mean to refer to any particular answer, but to ask in general, whether, as far as you recollect, you did, through the course of your examination, in the answers you gave, keep in your mind a reference as well to the preceding examination as to the particular question?—A. This is, I presume, speaking of the last examination before the council—In the last examination I certainly alluded to the evidence I gave at my former examination.

Q. In both the answers you gave at the last examination, had you the same reference to the answers you had given at your former examination?—A. In the last answer, I certainly had that reference; but I must beg leave to observe, that I had not the most distant idea that this examination of mine was to be printed, or that it was to be explained by any man but Mr. Jenkinson, who I considered as a gentleman who would have given my examination that interpretation that it was fairly entitled to, from knowing a number of circumstances which do not appear in the printed report.

Q. Question repeated?—A. The former answer, if I recollect it, refers to duties and bounties only in the cotton manufacture.

Q. Is the Committee then to understand, that the former answer does not refer, in all respects, to that equality which the latter answer is supposed to do?—A. I must beg leave here to observe, that I had no opportunity of correcting either of those answers; nor does it appear to me a matter of the least consequence to the public, whether I had either corrected them, or given them—if the Committee will only take into consideration what could be the possible use that could be made of them; for it surely cannot be supposed, that the opinion of a fustian manufacturer is by any means necessary to justify a matter of such great importance as the establishment of a commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland—for, if it has any meaning, it must be justification for its object, and not information, when my evidence was taken only forty-eight hours before Mr. Orde moved the propositions in the Irish House of Commons.

Q. When you speak of the opinion of a fustian manufacturer, do you mean opinion on the general question, or with respect to your own trade?—A. To the general question.

Q. During the whole period of the examination before the Privy Council, had you any knowledge whatever, or any information or conjecture, respecting the eleven propositions of the Irish Parliament,

relative to which you are now giving your evidence?—A. Not the most distant idea.

Q. Now that you have seen those propositions, and have considered them, do you, on the fullest deliberation, think, that £. 10½ per cent. will be a sufficient protection to the manufactures of this country?—A. I do not.

Q. In the conversation with Mr. Fawcener, for the purpose of correcting your evidence, was Mr. Richardson present?—A. He was.

Q. Was the evidence read to you and Mr. Richardson, or did you read it yourselves?—A. I cannot speak positively to that.

Q. You have stated that you believe great capitals will remove from this country to Ireland, if the propositions pass into a law—do you believe that skilful workmen will go with the capitals?—A. I have no doubt but that they will.

Q. Though the wages of inferior workmen may in general be low in Ireland, is it not extremely probable that high wages would be given to persons peculiarly skilful, to induce them to remove, and to take charge of the increasing manufactures?—A. No doubt but there would.

Q. In speaking of the removal of capitals, is it not probable that parts of capitals would be removed from particular houses in trade?—A. I am well authorised in saying that there would be.

Q. May not a part of a manufacturer's capital be removed, without exposing him to the expence of suffering loss by his buildings, and the other losses you before mentioned?—A. Certainly.

Q. In the fifth proposition, you will have observed, that when a duty is laid in this country on the manufacture, or the materials of the manufacture, that duty is to be countervailed by a similar duty upon the importation of the similar manufactures into this country; will then the duty of one penny per yard, to be paid on the importation of Irish manufactured cotton into this country, as the countervailing duty of the one penny per yard imposed by the act of the last session, be a compensation for the manufacture of this kingdom, so as in that respect to place the English and Irish manufacturer on an equal footing?—A. By no means, for the Irish manufacturer will only be charged with one penny per yard in the English port, whilst the English manufacturer, independant of paying the same sum in the first stages of his manufacture, will, by the Excise laws, have been subjected to various restrictions, embarrassments, impediments, risks, and expences, which the Irish manufacturer will have been totally exempt from, and which will operate as a bounty to the Irish manufacture in the same degree that it oppresses the English manufacture.

Q. How long has Mr. Brookes's manufacture been established in Ireland?—A. I do not know.

Q. Is it carried to any considerable extent?—A. I presume it is.

Q. Do

Q. Do you know, or believe, that the cotton goods are there manufactured cheaper than at Manchester or its neighbourhood?—A. If a judgment may be formed from the decrease of the fustian trade from Great Britain to Ireland within the last four years, and of the increase of the Irish export trade, during the same period, it is very reasonable to infer that the goods are made considerably cheaper there than in England.

Q. Have you any other means of forming a judgment that the goods are manufactured cheaper there than in England?—A. They are sold cheaper.

Q. Is that within your own knowledge?—A. It is from such information that I cannot doubt; and if the Committee will give me leave I will read an extract of a letter from a manufacturer in the town of Manchester, which will establish it beyond all doubt.—It is from Mr. Thomas Smith, dated Manchester, March 30th, 1785, as follows:

Extract of a letter from Mr. Thomas Smith, of Manchester, to Mr. Thomas Walker; dated from Manchester, 30th of March 1785.

THE number of hands employed in the small ware manufacture, I presume, may be three thousand, who must soon be compelled to emigrate, if these propositions take place.—For my own part, I cannot hesitate a moment to declare my firm intentions of going to Ireland, whenever they are confirmed.

About thirty years ago, this kingdom imported from Holland all the tapes they consumed, commonly called Holland or Dutch tapes; but a Mr. Cornelius Vansandford, a native of Holland, emigrated to this country, and established that manufactory here; and ever since we have been capable of supplying our own markets with those articles, and to export considerable quantities to America. If such consequences could arise from one man emigrating, how much more is to be dreaded from a considerable number!

So far relates to the small ware business.—With respect to the Irish manufactures of low priced fustians, they have made such a progress in those articles, that I have it from undoubted authority, they are now selling half-ell white jean, or lining fustian, from 16s. to 17s. per piece, of twenty yards long, equal in quality of those selling here at 21s.—the same proportion in pillow fustians, and low priced linen back corderoys.—I have this day with me a merchant from America, who has purchased all his low priced cotton goods from Ireland, and only purchased from me a few of the higher priced kind. These are facts I am ready to substantiate any way you chuse: and you are at full liberty to make use of my name, in proof of these assertions, at the bar of the House of Commons.

Your's, &c.

THOMAS SMITH:

N. B. The small ware manufacture consists of garters, bindings, &c. &c.

Then the Counsel and witness were directed to withdraw.

To report a progress, &c.

The following are the INVOICES before referred to in fol. 249.

(A)

8 Truffles Derry Yarn, No. 52 to 67 Bds. per Trufs.

454 Bds. or 2,270 Spangles, at 2s. 2 ³ d.	£.253	—	2 ¹ / ₂
Real Invoice and Laft	Exchange, £.7 per Cent.	—	16 11 1
W S R had	Prime Cost Sterling	—	£.236 9 1 ¹ / ₂

Irish Yarn is cheaper than any other.

Charges, viz. Infurance at 21s. per Cent. — — £.2 9 8

At Londonderry.

Bundling and packing, at 2s. 6d.	£.1	—	—
Loſs in the Wrappers and Ropes	—	10	8
Hay, Twine, Cartage, and Porterage, 8d.	—	5	4
Duty 265 Hds. 13lb. at 1s.	—	13	5 5
Quayage, Patts. and Landwaiters Fees	—	1	7 1/2
Part Entry	—	—	6 3
Commiffion, £.2 per Cent.	—	5	9 6
		22	4 2 1/2
Exchange £.7 per Cent.	—	1	9 1 1/2
			20 15 1

Charges at Liverpool.

Entry and Part Certificate, 2s. 2d. Town's	£.	—	6 2
Duty 4s.	—	—	6 8
Landwaiters 2s. Cartage 2s. Porterage 2s. 8d.	—	—	8 —
Commiffion	—	—	4 16 —
Freight on 8 Truffles, 12s.	—	—	5 16 10

Charges on Canal between Liverpool and Manchester.

Freight on 8 Truffles, at 2s. 3d.	—	—	18 —
Cartage at 5d.	—	—	3 4
		1	1 4
		£.	30 2 11

As near £. 13 per Cent. as possible.

(B) Trufs

(B)

Trufs 90 Bundles.

5			
450 Spa. at 2s. 3d.	—	—	£.50 12 6
Exchange £.7 per Cent.	—	—	3 6 3
At Londonderry.			—
		Sterling	£.47 6 3

Charges, viz.

Infurance — — — — — 9 10

Charges at Derry.

Bundling and Packing	—	—	£. 5. d.
Loſs in Wrappers and Ropes	—	—	2 6
Hay, Twine, Cartage, and Porterage	—	—	2 —
Duty and Fees	—	—	8 —
		1	19 —
		2	4 2
Exchange £.7 per Cent.	—	—	2 11
		2	1 3
			2 1 3

At Liverpool.

Entry and Part Certificate, 2s. 2d. Town's	—	—	—
Duty 6d.	—	—	2 8
Landwaiters 3d. Cartage 3d. Porterage 4d.	—	—	10 —
Commiffion	—	—	1 —
Freight	—	—	12 —

On Canal between Liverpool and Manchester.

Freight	—	—	—
Cartage	—	—	2 3
			5
		Sterling	£.3 10 3

£. 7 1/2 per Cent.

Lunæ, 11 die Aprilis 1785.

COMMITTEE of the whole House on the adjustment of the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland.

The Committee proceeded to the further hearing of evidence in support of the petition of the merchants, manufacturers, and others resident in the town and neighbourhood of Manchester.

The Counsel was called in.

Mr. Thomas Richardson was called in, and examined.

Q. Was you examined before the Committee of Privy Council? —A. I was.

Q. Was you previously acquainted with the object of the examination?—A. No.

Q. Upon what occasion was you in town when you was examined? —A. I was deputed by the town of Manchester and the neighbourhood, with Mr. Walker, to present a memorial to the Treasury, praying a repeal of the act of the last session imposing a duty on bleached and dyed cottons.

Q. Had you then any knowledge of the resolutions of the Irish parliament being intended to be proposed to that parliament?—A. No: not to my recollection.

Q. Was you prepared to speak on the consequences of such resolutions to the manufacturers of Manchester?—A. Certainly not.

Q. Was you present when the question—"Have the Irish manufactures any advantage over the British in the price of labour," was asked of Mr. Walker before the Committee of Privy Council?—A. I was.

Q. Did he give the answer which is stated in the printed report? —A. He did.

Q. Do you recollect the question that follows that answer being asked Mr. Walker, viz. "Do not you conceive that the art and ingenuity of the British manufacturer will secure to him an advantage in these branches of trade?"—A. I do.

Q. Do you remember the very words of the answer, that they were as stated in the printed report?—A. Perfectly well.

Q. You will inform the Committee, when the next question was put to Mr. Walker, what answer he gave to it? and does his answer appear upon the face of the report?—A. I do not see his first answer on the face of the report: His first answer, as near as I can recollect, was this—"I conceive I have answered that question already by my answer to the two preceding questions."

Q. Was the question, so stated by Mr. Walker to have been answered before, put again by the examiner?—A. It was.

Q. What answer did Mr. Walker give to it when so put again?—The question was this: "If the Irish and British manufacturers in the cotton trade were put on the same footing with respect to taxes and bounties, as well internally as upon export from one country to the other, should you have any reason to apprehend a competition in the

British

British or Irish market?—A. The answer, as it is stated in the printed report, is—"It we were put in *all these respects*"—I do not recollect that Mr. Walker said, "*all THESE respects*," but believe he said, "*in all respects*."

Q. It is said in the report, that "The Committee think it proper in this place to inform your Majesty, that the above witnesses sent the next day, and desired to correct their former answer in the following manner;"—did you send the next day, and desire to correct your answer?—A. We did not—the evidence was sent to us by Mr. Fawkener, as I suppose for correction.

Q. Was you present on the re-examination on this amended answer?—A. I was.

Q. Mr. Walker there said, "That if the cotton trade of this country was protected by a duty of £. 10½ per cent. upon the importation of cotton goods from Ireland into this country, we apprehend it would be a sufficient security to our trade for the home consumption;"—was it then understood to mean that the £. 10½ per cent. would be a protection, if Ireland and England were in all respects on an equal footing, as he had before said?—A. Certainly it was.

Q. How do you know it was so understood by the examiner?—A. When we were sent for a second time to the council, Mr. Jenkinson pointed out this answer: "If we can *in all respects* be put upon equal terms," &c.—Now, says he, we mean in *all THESE respects*.—To which we replied, we mean in *all respects* upon equal terms.—After we had contended some little time, Mr. Jenkinson said, you do not imagine we can tax Irish windows, soap, or other articles, which he enumerated, nor take off those of this country.—To which Mr. Walker replied, I have no such expectation; but unless Great Britain could have a full equivalent, we cannot be on equal terms.

Q. Did you suppose that this examination of your's was afterwards to be printed as evidence in support of the Irish resolutions, or that it was for the private information of the examiner?—A. I did not suppose it was to be printed; nor did I know for what purpose we were examined, till the examination was nearly completed, and then only from something which Mr. Stanley suggested.

Q. Did you ever mean to admit that £. 10½ per cent. was a protecting duty in the present state of England and Ireland, with respect to taxes and labour?—A. I did not, nor did I imagine any one else did.

Q. Have you not full reason to believe, that the direct contrary of the construction which has since been put on your answer, namely, that £. 10½ per cent. is a sufficient protecting duty in the present state of England and Ireland, was known at the time to be the true construction by the examiner?—A. I did not think at that time, situated as England and Ireland now are, that £. 10½ per cent. could be a protecting duty; and when Mr. Jenkinson put the question, I imagined he understood it so too.

Examined

Examined by MEMBERS of the COMMITTEE.

Q. Whether every question put to you by the Committee of Privy Council, after it was stated, was not distinctly read to you and Mr. Walker?—A. They were.

Q. Whether every answer given by Mr. Walker and you was not read over to you, after it was taken down by the clerk of the council?—A. I believe they were.

Q. Whether you was not permitted to correct the evidence, if there was any omission or mistake, and whether you did not attend the clerk of the Privy Council on the evening of the 31st January, for that purpose?—A. We did attend that evening, and made some few corrections; but in the course of the examination either Mr. Jenkinson offered, that we should have the examination sent to our lodgings; there we corrected it, and I must own I was very much astonished to see it published with every answer as we corrected it, except the one with the word *these* in it.

Q. Whether you and Mr. Walker had not a conversation in the clerk's room, on the evening 31st January, concerning the word *these*?—A. Not to my knowledge.

Q. Whether you and Mr. Walker did not there expressly consent that the word *these* should stand part of the evidence, and that you would leave it so?—A. That I am certain we did not; and what strikes me more is, that when the evidence came the next day to be corrected, the word *these* struck us forcibly.

Q. You acknowledge then, that the word *these* was in the corrected copy sent you by Mr. Fawkener?—A. It was then in, but I do not recollect it was part of the answer given.

* * Q. Was there in the copy that you afterwards returned, any other alteration or correction than the second answer, as it stands in the report, to the last question, at the first examination?—A. Yes, several.

Q. Did you continue in town any time after the second examination?—A. We did some little time.

Q. Did you ever apply to make any alteration or addition to the answer you gave to those questions?—A. No, I never saw the questions nor answers after we left the room.

Q. Were not the questions and answers read to you at the Committee of the Privy Council after they were taken down?—A. I think they were.

Q. Was not, at some period of the first day's examination, the general purport for which the Committee of the Privy Council sat, explained to you and the other witnesses who attended?—A. I had been there some time before I had the least idea of what we were sent for, nor did I perfectly understand what was the purpose when came away.

Q. When Mr. Walker began to state the amount of the taxes laid last year, was it not said to you all in the Committee of Privy Council, that the Committee were not sitting on the taxes of last year, but considering

considering of a commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland?—A. I do not recollect any such thing. The former question and answer, at this mark * * *, fol. 260, were read to the witness.

Q. What were the alterations to which you allude in that answer?—A. The whole stands now as we corrected it.

Q. Is it now your opinion, that £. 10½ per cent. besides a duty to countervail the duty laid on the British manufacture, would (all circumstances considered) be a sufficient protection to the British manufacturer?—A. It is not, nor was it then.

Q. By whom was it first suggested to you, that the Committee of Privy Council was sitting on propositions respecting the commerce between Great Britain and Ireland?

Q. Mr. Stanley first suggested it to me, that these questions could not relate to the tax, but that he imagined it was some Irish business.

A. Have you read the printed report of the Committee of Privy Council?—A. I have, as far as relates to ourselves.

Q. Have you read the introduction—the preamble to it?—A. I have.

Q. Is it there stated, that the Committee sat on the Irish resolution?—A. I cannot recollect.

Q. Was you apprised, that the Committee sat on two specific questions on which the Committee are stated to have been appointed?—A. No, I was not.

Q. Was you apprised, that they sat on the first of those questions?—A. I was not.

Q. Was you, at no time of your examination, apprised of those questions on which the Committee sat?—A. After our first examination, I was told that those questions related to a commercial intercourse with Ireland—I mean the questions to which we had given our answers before.

Q. Had you been apprised to what purport the questions related, should you have given any other answers than you have done?—A. I conceive I should not.

Q. Had you been apprised of the eleven propositions respecting which you are now examined, and that it was the ultimate object of the Committee of Privy Council to ascertain the expediency or expediency of those propositions, would you not have thought it right to inform the Committee of your opinion respecting them?—Certainly, in the best manner I could.

Q. Have you not already so done, to the best of your judgment?—A. To this Committee of the House of Commons I have.

Q. Did you mean to keep back any thing from the Committee of Privy Council?—A. No—Mr. Walker gave the answers there, and I am sure he gave them to the best of his knowledge.

Q. Did you not assent to the answers given by Mr. Walker; and were not the answers understood to be your joint answers?—A. I certainly did.

Q. Have you now considered the resolutions of the Irish Parliament?—A. In the best manner I can.

Q. Are you aware that under those resolutions the cotton manufacture of Ireland would be importable into this country, subject to a duty of £. 10½ per cent. besides the addition of a duty equal to any internal duty on the manufacture here?—A. I think they would.

Q. Do you apprehend that the cotton manufacture of this country would be affected, in consequence of those resolutions, in any other respect than from the Irish cotton being imported on those terms?—A. I do, from the preference given to the Irish linens over those of Germany and Russia, which might shut us out from that trade.

Q. Has there been any considerable export of cottons to Germany or Russia?—A. In the fustian trade, in which I am engaged, there has.

Q. Is there any other respect in which you apprehend the cotton manufacture will be affected by these resolutions?—A. In this country I think it would—for I think the people would go to Ireland.

Q. Is there still any other respect in which you think the cotton manufacture would be affected by these resolutions?—A. I cannot speak to that.

Q. When the last answer respecting the £. 10½ per cent. was given, mentioned in the report on the second day of your examination, had not Mr. Walker and you previous knowledge that the subject of the examination related to an arrangement of a commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland?—A. I do not recollect we then knew it.

Q. Are you of opinion that 1d. per yard on the importation of cotton goods would be a sufficient countervailing duty to balance the inland duty of 1d. per yard laid on by the act of last session?—A. By no means.

Q. Have you lately heard of any cotton wool sent from Lancashire into Ireland to be spun into yarn, and afterwards brought back, and used in the manufacture of Manchester?—A. I have—I was told so by a gentleman a day or two ago, who has bought several packs of cotton yarn spun in Ireland.

Q. Was that yarn, so spun, intended to be manufactured in Manchester?—A. I cannot say what use he intended it for—I supposed so.

Q. If that yarn was intended to be woven in Manchester, is it not a proof that the labour of weaving is cheaper at Manchester than in Ireland?—A. No—for it might be worked into twenty articles not made in Ireland—but it proves the lowness of spinning in Ireland, if the cotton sent from England, subjected to two freights, could afterwards be sold cheaper in Lancashire than the yarn spun there.

Then the witness was directed to withdraw.

Then the Counsel requested that Mr. Thomas Stanley (a member of this House) would be pleased to be examined on this subject.

And the said member consenting thereto, he was examined in his place accordingly.

Mr. THO-

Mr. THOMAS STANLEY, (a Member, in his Place.)

Q. Was you present at the Committee of Privy Council when Mr. Walker and Mr. Richardson were examined by the Board?—A. I was.

Q. Do you recollect the two questions, viz.

“ Have the Irish manufactures any advantage over the British in the price of labour? ”—

And,

“ Do not you conceive that the art and ingenuity of the British manufacturer will secure to him an advantage in these “ branches of trade? ”—

being asked of Mr. Walker, and the answers given to them?—

A. Yes.

Q. Do you recollect the next question being asked; and whether the answer he gave appears on the face of the report?—A. The answer which Mr. Walker gave was, That he conceived he had answered that question in his two former answers.

Q. Do you recollect the question being again put to Mr. Walker, and what his answer was?—A. His answer was, That if we were put in *all respects*, or, in *all THESE respects*; but, as far as I can charge my memory, it was in *all respects*, upon equal terms, they should not apprehend a competition at either market.

Q. Mr. Walker having first referred his examiner to his two former answers to the former questions, in which he had enumerated the difference as to labour, provisions, and taxes, between England and Ireland, had you the least doubt of Mr. Walker's meaning, conveyed by his answer given to that question?—A. I had no doubt whatever.

Q. On the subsequent examination, on the amended answer, on the 5th February, was you present?—A. I was.

Q. Do you recollect any conversation that passed between the examiner and Mr. Walker, explanatory of the meaning of Mr. Walker, on that occasion?—A. I do.

Q. Will you please to state it?—A. The Examiner said, “ You do not expect we can tax windows in Ireland, nor soap, nor candles, &c.” (enumerating several articles) “ or that we can take “ off those duties in England.”—To which Mr. Walker replied, “ till you can do that, or give us an equivalent, you cannot put the “ manufacturers of the two countries in all respects on an equal footing.”

Q. You having been present at all the intercourse between the examiners and Mr. Walker, do you believe it possible, that if the examiner had attended to the examination, he could reasonably suppose that Mr. Walker meant to admit £. 10½ per cent. to be a protecting duty, notwithstanding those various differences between England and Ireland, which he had repeatedly enumerated in the hearing of the examiner?—A. I did not think that £. 10½ per cent. was, in the opinion of Mr. Walker, an equivalent; and after what passed between

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Mr. Wal-

Mr. Walker and the examiner, I did not think that the examiner could be of opinion that $\text{£. } 10\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. would be an equivalent.

The evidence being closed on the petition now under consideration,

The counsel was heard to observe thereon.

And then he was directed to withdraw.

To report a progress, &c.

H O U S E O F L O R D S.

Martii, 21^o Die Junii, 1785.

Minutes of the Evidence taken at the Committee, on the British Propositions, concerning the Trade between Great Britain and Ireland.

LORD SCARSDALE, in the *Chair*.

Mr. THOMAS SMITH was called, and examined by the Honourable Mr. ERSKINE.

What do you manufacture?—Small wares.

What do you call small wares?—Garters, qualities, tapes, laces, bed-laces, and other small articles, which are universally consumed.

How many people do you suppose that manufacture employ?—In a letter I sent to Mr. Thomas Walker, of Manchester, who was then in London, dated the 30th of March, and which appears in the minutes of the evidence taken before the House of Commons, I then stated the number to be about 3000; but, upon further enquiry, I find that in the town and neighbourhood of Manchester, there is not less than 6000.

What sort of materials do you use in that manufacture?—Worsted, cotton, and linen yarns.

From whence do you procure those materials?—I presume nine tenths of the linen and worsted yarn comes from Ireland.

Does the prohibition of English wool or woollen yarn to Ireland, grant the same protection to your trade, as it does the other woollen manufactures of this kingdom?—By no means, as I have already said, we import that article from Ireland.

Is English worsted yarn dearer than the Irish?—Yes, eighteen or twenty per cent.

Do you mean in the Manchester market?—Yes.

I suppose you mean after paying freight, insurance, and sundry other expences?—Yes, I do.

Do you recollect how much the expence of freight, insurance, commission, and other charges, are upon the importation of worsted yarn?—Yes, I presume about 8 per cent.

Do you know the comparative prices of Irish and English wool?—I have heard the Irish is as much dearer than the English, as 10^{d.} is to 6^{d.} and upon referring to page 17, of the Lords Committee of Council, your Lordships will see the Norwich manufacturers have stated it so.

Irish wool being so much dearer than English, by what means is Irish yarn so much cheaper than English?—Owing to the price of labour being so much cheaper in Ireland than England.

Can

Can you procure linen yarn suitable for your manufactory any where so well as Ireland.—No.

What is the amount of the duty and other incidental expences on the importation of Irish linen yarn, for your manufactory?—The expences on some kinds of linen yarn, will be 18 or 19 per cent.

How much do you suppose on an average?—I presume from 14 to 15 per cent.

Do the Irish manufacture small wares?—Considerable quantities.

Are there any small wares sent from England to Ireland?—None, or next to none.

How much do you suppose goes there?—I think I may say, with safety, not more than 500^{l.} worth in a year.

Are they not mostly cotton small wares that go there?—I believe entirely.

Does the exportation of cotton small wares increase, or decrease to that country?—Decrease daily.

Does Ireland supply herself with worsted and linen small wares?—Yes, she does.

Do you suppose she will soon supply herself with cotton small wares?—No doubt of it.

Do the Irish export any small wares?—I have no doubt of it.

The Irish manufacturer possessing the raw materials on so much better terms than the English manufacturer—can you, under this disadvantage, meet the Irish in this or any other market on equal terms, if these propositions become a law?—I presume your Lordships must see the impossibility of it.

Do you think the manufacture of small wares can long exist in this country, under these circumstances?—I am convinced it cannot.

Is your manufacture of such a nature as to be easily transferred to another country?—Yes, it is.

Was there ever an instance of this species of manufacture being transferred?—Yes, about 30 years ago, one Van Sanford, a Dutchman, established the tape manufactory in this country.

How was this kingdom supplied with tapes before that time?—From Holland.

Do we manufacture sufficient in this kingdom to supply ourselves with that article?—Yes, we do.

How long has that been the case?—More than 20 years.

Is the small ware weaving easily attained?—If a man can turn a box organ, he can weave small wares.

Do you know what species of labour is cheapest in Ireland?—I believe the labours of the field.

Do you know the price of that labour?—I presume it is about 7^{d.} or 8^{d.} per day.

Can you tell the average price of your weavers' labour?—Nine or ten shillings per week.

How soon could you learn a plowman to weave?—In one day.

How soon could you make him a tolerable weaver?—In three or four weeks.

You say your own weavers, at present, get 9^{s.} or 10^{s.} per week; consequently you could afford to give a plowman in Ireland, sufficient wages to tempt him to leave the plow, and yet have your goods manufactured on much better terms than in England?—Certainly I could.

If

If you was inclined to go and settle in Ireland, do you think any of your workmen would go along with you?—No doubt they would; for if the trade goes, they must go.

Do you think the workmen which you could take over with you to Ireland, would be sufficient to instruct a number of people now employed in tilling the ground, to make such a progress in that manufacture, so as speedily to transfer a great part of it to that country?—I have no doubt of it.

Do you think that if you was to go and settle in that country, you could get manufacturing utensils furnished you gratis?—I certainly could.

How do you know that?—It is certainly done, and I have had some such offers made me.

Can you produce a statement of the duty, and different other incidental expences on the importation of Irish worsted, and linen yarn into this country?—Yes. [Then he produced a statement corresponding with this evidence.]

Pray, what may you suppose you and your family pay to the revenue of this country, exclusive of your work people?—Stamps on Bills is a very heavy tax upon me; I paid last year, for stamps, near 60l. The Land Tax, Window and House Taxes, Poors Rates, and other Parish Taxes; Soap, Candles, Tea, Sugar, Wines, Spirits, Beer, Malt, Servants, Horse Tax, Cart Tax, Post Tax; Leather, Silk, and Cotton; Paper, and several other taxes, including Marriages, Christenings, and to sum up the whole, the Burial Tax.* All this long train of taxes, my Lords, upon a moderate computation, stand me in about 140l. making in the whole about 200l. a year. To this incumbrance, my Lords, the Irish manufacturer is almost a stranger; and the only recompence I wish for this heavy burthen is, to retain the privilege of furnishing our own markets with our own manufactures. This, my Lords, I conceive is the only means left to enable us to pay these accumulated burthens. If these Propositions become a law, it is my firm opinion, that Ireland must, in a little time, supply this market with manufactures; the only hope I have rests in your Lordships wise interposition.

Do you manufacture any thing but small wares?—I manufacture fustians.

Are there any fustians made in Ireland?—There are.

Does that manufacture increase in Ireland?—It has increased rapidly.

Have you any reasons for saying so?—My trade to that country has decreased considerably; that I speak as one reason. I have heard repeatedly, from various reputable people, that it has increased; and Captain Brook, in his evidence at the Bar of the House of Commons, confirmed it.

How much did you export to Ireland in the year 1783?—I presume about 6000l. value.

How much in the year 1784?—I presume about 1000l.

How much in the year 1785?—When I left home, about five weeks ago, I had sent none; but my servant wrote me, since I left that, a small order was come.

Do the Irish export fustians?—They do, I believe.

How do you know?—An American merchant, now in the City of London, who lately returned from America, informed me within these fourteen

* When these last were mentioned, it created much laughter in the House.

fourteen days, that he had seen corderoys from Ireland on much better terms than England.

What species of weaving is allowed to be the cheapest in Ireland?—Linen cloth.

Can a weaver of linen cloth soon weave fustians?—A weaver of linen cloth would soon weave the best fustians.

Do you know how much a weaver of linen cloth could get in a day in Ireland?—I have been repeatedly told from 6d. to 8d. or 9d. a day.

Do you know what a woman can get with spinning linen yarn in a day in Ireland?—I believe 2d. or 3d.

Do you know what a man can get a day by weaving fustian in Lancashire?—I think 16d. per day.

Do you know what a woman can get a day with spinning for that weaver?—About 12d. per day.

What do you suppose makes weaving and spinning lower in Ireland, than it is in England?—Ireland having few taxes, consequently provisions are considerably cheaper. This is a very good reason why they can afford to work cheaper.

If you was inclined to set up a cotton manufacture in Ireland, what kind of situation would you chuse for that purpose?—Not Captain Brookes's situation, in the Bog of Allen, where I could have no choice of hands; nor yet in a dissipated metropolis, as other persons have done; but I should examine from the North to the South of Ireland, and fix on the place where labour was cheap, and where I could have the greatest choice of servants.

Do you suppose the prices you could afford to pay the linen weaver of Ireland, and his wife, for spinning cotton, would be a sufficient inducement for them to weave cotton?—I have no doubt of it. I presume 6d. per week additional would be an inducement to turn cotton weavers.

Do you suppose, on those considerations, that you could get your fustians made considerably cheaper in Ireland, than in England?—I think there is no room to doubt it.

Then do you think, under those circumstances, that 10½d per cent. will prove a sufficient countervailing duty, to protect the cotton manufactures of this kingdom?—I think it will not, without you countervail our heavy taxes likewise.

Do you know of any commercial advantages this kingdom is likely to experience by these resolutions?—None that I know of.

Do you conceive that Ireland will be benefited if these Propositions pass into a law?—Ireland must be very considerably benefited. If opening the first and greatest ready-money market in the world for her manufactures, is not an advantage of the greatest magnitude, then I have lost my judgment.

Is Ireland likely to export more fustians to foreign parts on account of those resolutions?—She certainly is: having this market open to her for ready money, that will enable her to export more.

Can Ireland import cotton wool from the West Indies as cheap as England?—I see no reason but she may, or cheaper.

Do you suppose Ireland has increased the importation of cotton wool lately?—Do you mean the importation from the West Indies, or her general importation from all the world? If you mean that, I conceive she has increased her importation.

Could

Could Ireland increase her manufacture, and yet not increase her importation of cotton wool in proportion?—She may; Ireland some time ago imported wool for the purpose of spinning only, and sending it, when spun, into England; instead of now sending it to England in the yarn, I believe they manufacture it into goods; consequently their manufacture must have increased, and so far their imports not have increased accordingly.

Do you know in what manner that cotton wool was spun in Ireland, that they could afford to pay two freights and other expences, and bring it to Manchester to sell at that market?—I believe the cotton was spun in Ireland by the single hand, and yet they could afford to pay two freights and other expences, and sell it as cheap as ours that was spun, by 40 or 100 spindles at once.

Do you conceive that the cotton manufacture, which has been established in Ireland, has been managed in a judicious tradesman-like manner?—I am sure it has not.

Have you any reasons for so saying?—The best reasons I can give your Lordships, on this head, are these: If I was to be placed at the head of the law, your Lordships must be convinced it would be retailed out miserably. If I was at the head of your armies, certain defeat would attend them. If I turned statesman, I should assuredly make a despicable figure. Thus, my Lords, the manufacturers of Ireland have been established, Baron Hamilton, who, I presume, your Lordships well know to be one of the heads of the Law, has turned manufacturer. Colonels and Captains of the army have turned manufacturers. Statesmen, I believe, my Lords, have turned manufacturers. What has been the consequence? Why; if they had not been supported by large pensions, I presume they would have made more miserable figures than I should have done in the law, in the army, or in the state.

You state that those Gentlemen you have just mentioned, was not proper judges in the manufacturing line; but, probably, the superintendants which they employed might be so?—They were not men proper to employ on so important an occasion.

Do you know the men employed by these Gentlemen?—I do.

What do you know of them?—This, my Lords, is a painful question: But painful as it is, I conceive it is necessary in the situation that we are likely to be plunged, to explain to your Lordships, my opinion why the cotton manufacture of Ireland has not flourished so much as it might have done. I have already explained to your Lordships, that the proprietors of the cloth works were ignorant of its process. I shall now, my Lords, touch a little upon the character of the superintendants that have been employed on that occasion. Baron Hamilton, I believe, first employed one John Lever, from Lancashire, who is now in Wood-street Compter for debt; and I know one of his creditors offered, since I came to town, to set him at liberty, if he would make an assignment; but he refused, expecting to be released by the Insolvent Act. Baron Hamilton has now with him, as a manager, one Smith, from our neighbourhood, who left Lancashire about two years ago; he was insolvent when he went; I know it from experience, as he owed me, at the time, more than 90l. and I have never yet got a farthing. He owes considerably to other people, near Manchester, to whom he wrote, not long since, offering 5 per cent. security, and 5 more upon his own note, payable at a long period. These, my Lords, are Baron Hamilton's superintendants.

Pray,

Pray, do you know who managed Colonel Talbot's manufactory?—I believe one Benjamin Greaves was the first English manager.

Pray, do you know Benjamin Greaves?—I do; I believe he was a bankrupt, two or three times, before he went to Ireland; and, I believe, he had not been long with Colonel Talbot before he fully convinced him of his error. I believe he was indicted for felony, for secreting goods to a considerable amount from the said Gentleman. I believe his next servant was one Clark, from Stockport, a man that has been bankrupt twice. The last time, I believe, was in the year 1780; his effects paid then only 3s. and his certificate is not yet signed.

Pray, do you know who managed Captain Brookes's manufactory?—One Ogden, from our town; I believe, my Lords, there never was a more dissipated man; I knew him personally, and he would have been one of the last men I should have employed in that situation. He once was Mr. Walker's servant; and he can speak fully to that, if your Lordships chuse to call him.

Pray do you know one Charles Chadwick that formerly lived in Manchester?—I do; I believe he manages a cotton manufactory, in which, I believe, Sir Lucius O'Brian is concerned.

Pray, what do you know of him?—Charles Chadwick, I believe, my Lords, broke two or three times before he left Manchester. He stayed, my Lords, with us as long as he could get bread fairly; or, I believe, unfairly. I can say it, standing here at your Lordships bar, on my oath, that I do not believe there ever existed a viler character than Charles Chadwick. Thus, my Lords, you see a Judge, a Colonel, a Captain, and, I believe, a Statesman, at the head of manufactures it is impossible they should understand, and employing superintendants to manage these weighty concerns that have neither honour, honesty, capacity, nor assiduity, to manage for themselves, much less for other people. I have always found, my Lords, from experience, that it is absolutely necessary for the proprietors of every manufactory to be a judge of every minutia of the trade he is engaged in; and, my Lords, if that trade must flourish, he must not only be a complete judge of each minutia, but that judgment must likewise be enforced, with the strictest attention and assiduity, otherwise that trade cannot flourish.

Do you suppose if the same proprietors, assisted with the same excellent servants, attempting to establish a cotton manufactory in this kingdom, could possibly have secured in this kingdom greater success?—It would be madness in the extreme to suppose it.

Do you suppose a person possessed of property, and that experience and assiduity you speak of, that he could establish the cloth manufactory in Ireland, so as to bring that manufactory to this market, notwithstanding the ten and a half manufacturing duty?—I have not the least doubt of it.

Do you suppose such people will emigrate to Ireland, if these propositions take place?—I have no doubt of it.

What part of your manufactory do you suppose to be most valuable?—That part which Ireland already makes; namely, the low and middle sorts, because they are of the greatest consumption, and are the nursery for our other manufactures.

Withdrew.

Copy of Mr. ERSKINE'S SPEECH, (taken in Short Hand, by permission) as delivered at the Bar of the HOUSE of LORDS, on Tuesday, the 21st Instant, on summing up the preceding, and other Evidence on the MANCHESTER PETITION.

MY LORDS,

I HAVE the honour to attend your Lordships, as Counsel on the part of ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY THOUSAND PETITIONERS; and I trust your Lordships will concur with me in opinion, that the Cause of England is pleading before your Lordships this day; and although the House is not full, yet it is a matter of consolation, that I am attended by some of the wisest, and, in my opinion, of the best and most interesting part of the House,—and that your Lordships have from day to day attended, in the course of these important examinations; however feebly, therefore, this cause may be pleaded by me, it will at least, in some extent, be felt and understood.

My Lords, it is a truth that I assert, that your Lordships, if you ultimately come to the resolution of passing these Propositions into a law, will come to the resolution also of abandoning at once all the present commercial system of this country. You will give up for ever the wisdom of your Ancestors, all the experience of past ages, and set up a new system, a wide scene of commerce, and of manufactures, as it strikes me, without chart or compass.

My Lords, I sincerely wish that this subject had been put into other hands than mine; for I do not affect to have the capacity that Providence has been pleased to bestow on the Author of these Resolutions: And I confess I do not feel myself very much humbled, when I consider that there are so many people that bear me company in that very same capacity.

My Lords, before you come to any resolutions touching the present Propositions, it would be well, I think, to look at what the former policy of Great Britain was, in her most prosperous days, at a time when Ireland was in no condition to rival her, when America, that is now emancipated, and become a prosperous and independent state, was subject to her; and when the most ancient Princes of the East were bowing at our feet, and suing for protection; when, in short, we were in a situation that no nation felt before us, and had a greater dominion than God ever intended for man: Yet in all the state of your prosperity and greatness, you hugged closer that which, in the present decline of your prosperity you are about, without any reasonable cause, to abandon.

My Lords, the policy of this Empire, in its great unrivalled state, strikes me in this manner:—And, from all the information which commercial laws give us, it appears to be this—to govern ourselves by a strict adherence to the Act of Navigation:—to secure to this country, that she only should be the mart and repository of trade, by requiring a direct importation of all foreign commodities from the particular port or place of its manufacture, and to secure us, so that each commerce should come into our own ports by our own ships.

Another principle of policy that governed our forefathers, was to secure to our own manufacturer our own interests, and to shut out all other nations from rivalling the manufactures of this country in its markets at home.

My Lords

My Lords, the third resolution, I believe, has never been touched upon from the bar; and it may be asked of me, How the third resolution affects my clients, in as much as the third resolution attempts to regulate the foreign commerce of this country, and has no sort of relation to the internal manufactures of Ireland?—To that question I shall answer thus, The interest and prosperity of every branch of manufacture in this country, must depend on the general interest and prosperity of the state; and if I shew, by the alteration of this third resolution, that this country will be depopulated, its navigation utterly destroyed, and the merchants trading to Ireland giving way, the manufacturers in this country must decline also. I know that particular inducements have been held to particular individuals, and to particular manufacturers, to seduce them; and that they have been told, that when these resolutions pass into a law, it shall be something to ease them: and I believe some of them have been weak enough to believe those insinuations; which is just as if an assassin should say to any limb of the human body that shrunk from his touch, "Do not shrink, I mean no laceration of you, by planting a dagger in that heart" "from whence all your motion is derived."

My Lords, if this country has a defalcation in its revenue,—if the sources of its commercial wealth are reduced, Will not this be the case with us? As the law stands at present, till you in your wisdom are pleased to alter it, none of the manufactures of the produce of the whole world, much less the Colonial produce, can be imported into Ireland, and landed there, and after that landing, exported from Ireland into this country: this is the plank to which we have held fast, which we would not part from when there was no storm, and much less should we part from it now.

In 1778, and 1780, when very large and liberal concessions were made to Ireland, I believe it was never asked on the part of Ireland, and not dreamt of on the part of England; and I am afraid the distinction is not well understood; because, when I consider how many persons in this country are evidently interested in her prosperity, with great capacities to judge of it, if that third proposition was well understood, it is impossible these propositions should have found their way to your Lordships bar. In the first place, while the concessions of 1778, and 1780, remained limited, as they were, although they contributed, and that greatly, to the prosperity of Ireland, they could not principally affect the prosperity of England; they might intrench a little on the witnesses; but I cannot even descend to this minutiae, they could not, much less on a sudden, have made that country the mart, repository, and emporium of trade. The great reason why Ireland could not, under the concessions of 1778, and 1780, make herself that mart and emporium, was, because she not only has no capital to enter into any such rivalry with England, but it never could be the interest of any persons to attempt it; and, whatever the progress of time might have brought forth, it certainly would not have been a probable effect of those concessions; for this reason, no merchant who understands the principles of trade, would ever place himself in a country where he was tied up to one market. Ireland has about two millions of inhabitants. In England there are from seven to eight. By the concessions of 1778, and 1780, it is extremely true that Ireland could export all her manufactures, even to our colonies, and take a return from all the ports of the world, and even from our own colonies; she could do more, she could invoice part, and proceed to England with the remainder; but she could not land any part of that cargo in Ireland, so as to avoid the duty on importation.

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portation. Any merchant fixing in Ireland could not have two markets if he did, he never could think to transfer that situation from this country to that; and, not having that opportunity, Ireland never could, under these concessions, have become the mart and repository of trade.

My Lords, the third resolution, (if I should make any mistake I shall be fet to rights, they are so wonderfully changed, since I saw them in the House of Commons, that I hardly know how to direct my eye to them, or to state their numbers) the third resolution, I say, will give an opportunity to Ireland to push her manufactures, and manufactures must ever follow upon trade; this makes a compleat revolution in the whole system of our commercial policy, and will as effectually and speedily bring about the emigration of our merchants, as the other resolutions will do that of our manufacturers; nay, more, Ireland's prosperity and wealth will be so increased that she will be able, more speedily, to push those manufactures, and rival us in trade. The trade of the whole world, some few parts of Europe excepted, enter into Europe by the British channel, at the mouth of which Ireland lays accessible to every way; not with the disadvantage of a crippled situation: I can speak from experience when I say that a ship can, in a few days, run into the harbour of Cork. Calculate the advantage of that, and what a lure it holds out to the merchant, rather to fix himself in that place, where he can go three voyages for two, where his capital is not subject to the fluctuations of public credit as in this country, where he can fit out his ship with all the advantages necessary, and where he can have all these advantages from living in a country not subject to those grievous and heavy taxes to which this is exposed. The merchant could not possibly import into any part of the world from Ireland, or the colonies of Ireland; he could not have the drawback; and could only have two millions of people to serve instead of nine millions. There was another advantage which would have kept the merchant here, there was a duty of ten per cent. upon all foreign commerce into Ireland; five per cent. which is customary, five per cent. which is internal excise; when the same produce as the law now stands is imported into England, and then exported from England into Ireland, there is a drawback of two and a half per cent. on that five per cent. Thus, while we opened the export trade to Ireland, it seemed to me a wise and just concession: God forbid we should cripple her industry, she has, most undoubtedly, a compleat, a full right to all her produce; but, when we give her the right of exporting to the colonies, we give her what neither nature nor art gave her; we put her upon a footing with ourselves; we suffered her to export all the colonial produce, and we now allow her, with all those advantages, to rival us; we preserved to ourselves that great importance which belongs to every other country; and our own market for the consumption of our own manufactures; these were the two greatest principles of our policy: it is most evident, you cannot expect from manufacturers, or from merchants, that they will prefer the great interests of their country to their own particular one; depend upon it, where it is in the power of any set of men, or of any individual, to transfer property to that country, they will do it. I expressed my surprise to one of the most intelligent persons of commerce, who is the first merchant of a great commercial city in Scotland, that while the Bar was daily attended by Manufacturers, the Merchants should be so quiet and not cry aloud; but I was told, it would have the effect of transferring the commerce of Great Britain to Ireland. He told me, and it is most evident he told me the truth, that the Manufacturers were not quite so abstract in their patriotism as to make any such application; they

they could not transfer their capitals to Ireland, so as to make that the capital and repository of commerce, although they might go three voyages for two; although the labour and employment would be much cheaper; yet, there wanted that which is the sinew of trade, without which all other advantages are weak; but the instant this kind of resolution passes, which allows a drawback on the whole duty that is paid upon importation; it undoubtedly gives the merchant his choice, meaning to deal in the English market; meaning to supply that, whether he would carry on his trade in this almost bankrupt country; whether he would chuse the one or the other: he might have that choice before; he might chuse within the two markets: but now you give him the same advantage in point of market, and you give the other advantage also. This is as certain almost as any thing in mathematics; if Ireland has the finest harbour in the world, where the merchant finds the labours of the seamen are cheaper, and where he is able to deal out his commerce so much quicker: There is a great disadvantage which arises to the English merchant here; sometimes the channel is blocked up, sometimes the market is glutted; an even market, a steady and regular market, is of immense importance to trade. When this third resolution passes, any merchant who settles in Ireland, will be able to bring over his commodities before ours; and whilst our ships are beating in the English Channel, which will make a great difference in the risk in the insurances, and which makes the hearts of those concerned to beat likewise; he can deal out all the commerce of the world with all the advantages annexed. This would not have been complete, but for another of the Resolutions which seemed to have been made for the benefit of England; for I do think these propositions have been very artfully contrived, and by persons, I believe, who know more of the subject than those concerned: but I am of opinion, that these advantages would have been defective, were not this giant nursed in its cradle. By the Eleventh Proposition, Ireland could not have made herself the repository of commerce. She has not capital enough; if the English Manufactures could not have been exported from Ireland, as if manufactured there; therefore, this third resolution is made, that in all such cases, all such articles, that is to say, articles of English growth and manufacture, shall be exported free from duty, &c. You have just now opened the Irish market to the commerce of the whole world; you have given the English merchant his choice of the market, and there can be no doubt which he will prefer: but where, without this 11th Proposition, after all this trade was brought into the port of Ireland, where was she to find the exports; how small the returns? No Englishman could propose this, however insidiously it appears to be calculated for the benefit of England, that there should be an opportunity of exporting from England the manufactures of this country: What will be the result, in consequence of your third Resolution? the ports of Ireland are crowded with the ships of the whole world, and the trade of the whole world is fixing itself there as in a centre. The Manufacturers will very soon follow the men of commerce; the Manufacturers will be able to supply the exports themselves; while they have no manufactures themselves they must take ours: and it is the real meaning of this proposition, to enable Ireland to avail herself of the advantages of the third Resolution, to give her an export trade, to let her borrow from you, till she grows of sufficient strength; then let me ask, not only your Lordships, but human nature, which of the two she will prefer? For a little while, shallow men would rejoice

rejoice and say, see the good of these Irish propositions; but in a short time, manufactures would follow trade; where trade fixes there will be wealth; where wealth is there will be manufactures; the export of your own would diminish, they would kick down the ladder that raised them: whenever they have completed that advantage which is withheld from them at present, you would derive no benefit on this 11th Resolution, and be subject to all the loss that arises, most evidently by increasing those advantages which she has by the hand of nature; but which, by that other hand of wise policy, if it does not counteract, may retard, so as to make it beneficial to the whole empire.

My Lords, I have not gone out of my way to explain this; I am of opinion it is the pit and foundation of all the objections that have brought me, this day, to your bar; because when there is an opportunity of giving her that wealth; the transfer and the capital, and all her advantages follow; therefore I put this in the front of my observations. There is a part of that third resolution which was not to be found when I saw them first in the House of Commons, but which has been added since, to prevent the immediate ruin that must follow to this country on the omission of it; it is that, nevertheless, the duties should continue to be protected and guarded, as at present, by withholding the drawback, until a certificate of the proper officers should be returned, and compared with the entry; this is undoubtedly a guard against receiving the drawback; when nothing is paid for it here, as much as the laws can make any thing binding; but how does this guard against the exportation of the manufactures into Ireland, without paying the duty? This secures that, after the duty has been paid upon any foreign produce upon coming into Ireland, that that duty so paid should not be drawn back, without a certificate that is to secure the duty that has been paid; but there is no security here, that a vast part of the produce of the world will not be smuggled into Ireland; and being so whilst we are paying duties here upon the importation of every foreign article, which we have no opportunity of evading from the great accuracy with which our laws are drawn, and the great vigilance of your Lordships; and it is patriotism in your Lordships to do so; it is patriotism in the Officers of the Crown; it is something stronger; it is self-interest in the country that must carry these laws to their full and beneficial effect; Attornies and Solicitors of the Crown will be watchful; Judges would think it the most sacred part of their office, not to wink at any part of the execution of the laws; but will it be so in Ireland? Will not the tide of the public current run against them? all those laws which answer the security of the Revenue in Ireland, will be more honoured and adhered to. Here it is the duty and interest of every man to throw in his mite of zeal for the interest of the crown; and I who conduct most of the prosecutions for the crown, in a great smuggling country, see that the lowest and most common juries are not blind to this, and that very few observations will be sufficient to obtain a verdict, tell them, that if these laws are not put in force, their taxes must fall upon themselves; but on the contrary, every man charged with the administration of justice, must feel that every opportunity of bringing these things into Ireland, only tends to encrease her wealth; he that is sick, has more need of a physician than he that is well. While this country was flourishing, you might make those regulations; at the end of the last war, our policy became so simple, that every man could understand it; it seemed to be this: Burthened as we are with an immense debt, which, by encreasing

ing the price of every article of consumption, cripples all the exertions of trade and manufactures; our policy was then by a watchful attention to that trade, to encrease our revenue, and by that to form a sinking fund for the reduction of that debt, which would presently decrease the price of labour, and the price of provisions, and bring every thing to the standard of other nations; and after the superiority of the English nation, to operate over the whole world, and offer to form nurseries for our seamen, by which you are no longer a nation; you are undone the moment you pass the third resolution; your sailors will shrink from your shores; they will run into Cork; they will put into Ireland to fill their markets with all the produce of the world, whilst the few remaining ships that make here, will soon follow the example, since they must meet in Ireland with all those superior advantages.

I have been told that the fourth Proposition is thought to be too favourable to this country, and ought to be amended; but without which, it is impossible that you can consent to any of the propositions. My Lords, without this, they would not be bound by the act of navigation at all.— They might purchase American ships, and the people of Ireland might avail of that most wholesome law altogether: How those laws are to be settled and adjusted, without constant disputes, is far above my comprehension, and far above my duty to state, if I had opportunity.

I am now come, my Lords, more immediately to the subject before your Lordships, which is the effect these resolutions will have on the manufactures of this country. In the eleventh proposition, which is supposed to comprehend in itself complete reciprocity, and equality; there is this observation to be made, that it supposes and must suppose, that the imports into England from Ireland, are not more, or not less, but are upon a footing with the exports of Great Britain into Ireland.

The Irish linens imported into England, amounted yearly to about 1,400,000l. British linens, exported, 30,000l. to the other produce of Ireland, which amounted to about 70,000l. making pretty near two millions, and which is near the present produce of Ireland, all duty free, in return for admitting 1,040,000l. of Irish linen, duty free, into England; upon any principle of reciprocity, Ireland should either admit other articles of England, the staple, for instance, of England duty free, to the same extent that we admit her linen, how otherwise can it be said to be equal? Is our linen trade ever likely to be so great as to make up for that difference? It is in evidence it was thought likely to be less, and in two years may be at an end; and the Irish linen may come to be double; so that while one is declining, and the other is advancing, the laws of reciprocity do not at all attach. We are not to be allowed to place the duty upon an article till we bring it upon a level with the other; it seemed that Ireland should admit, from this country, either her woollen, or any other of the articles of England, duty free: The whole export trade of England to Ireland, does not amount to much above a million; whereas, the trade of England to Ireland, in linen, only amounts to one million 400,000l.; so that we set out on this famous principle of reciprocity, with a balance of one million 400,000l. against us, we lay a heavy duty on the linens of Germany and Russia; the consequence of which is, that heavy duties are laid on our export trade, by which the country suffers; this is a breach of compact, I will not call it universal. I do not know that Ireland desired this, and I never heard that she did; but, if she did, it would be a breach of compact; for in consideration of that, the export of woollen

woollen not merely the importing into the country, but the importing of woollens, was shut out from Ireland. She was to export no woollens, but now the bread is to be torn from the mouths of the people of this country, for their woollens and all their manufactures are, notwithstanding, to be shut out. That they should not rival us in our sale at a foreign market, we have given a consideration, and received nothing in return: the revenue loses considerably by our export trade, it being crippled in the very same market. All this we give, and nothing are we to receive in return. There is yet another observation which must be placed to this part of the account.—What we did to the impost laid on the linens in Russia and Germany, we did voluntarily on principles of policy. Now we are to receive the law from Ireland, We are to surrender for ever our legislative capacity, and if the whole community was to come to your bar, you must ask leave from the people in the Irish Parliament; you must say you shall break through this, that there shall be an effectual preference given to the linens of Ireland.—Suppose Ireland was to lay a bounty on any of their own manufactures; it may be said she cannot do it by any of these resolutions, she cannot lay a bounty on any of her own manufactures; but how can you prevent her clearing out ships? How will you secure that? How will the revenue laws be effectual against that? How would you stop it? Take off the tax upon German and Russian linens, and you put an end to your trade here. You have the staff in your own hand, you have the power of doing that which the necessities of the times call for, but now you are about to enter into a permanent treaty which requires negotiation with another country, which may become hostile and independant; you have seen what a few years have brought forth? and after you have by this improvident (I call it) case, because it is not your Lordships Act, whenever it is I shall subscribe to it and bow to it, whatever the pressure may be, while I continue a subject of this country; but at present I call it base, and more gross than any which any age or country, in my opinion, has produced.

My Lords, there is to be a countervailing duty, and you observe the condition of the two states, and the condition has been noted by the Maker of the Propositions: they have been aware, that we are subject to Excises, and that the Irish are not; this originally stood a needful duty, and between the name and the substance there was no difference made; the eyes of the House of Commons, by the attendance of these manufacturers, were speedily opened; therefore there was the interference of another word which is, that they should be charged with a duty adequate; why? When this proposition passes into a law, the contention only begins; so far from being a commercial treaty, so far from bringing about any system, it seems there never will be any; what is to be the countervailing duty, if you should find some of the consequences that have been foretold you, if taxes should be unproductive? You must raise new ones; then the countervailing duty will be no longer a countervailing duty; even if you could fix it, there must be conventions, there must be quarrels. And I have always understood, that a treaty is the same between nations as a private agreement is between private men. Are there any of your Lordships that can see the end of this? Amongst all the intelligent persons that have been examined at your bar, can any one suggest, and point out what will be a countervailing duty? Suppose this resolution passes as a part of the law of England? Then we have still to settle what

what is the countervailing duty: How is that to be settled? You must again, and again, have all these manufacturers that you have had already; the people of Ireland has had the same. You see with what difficulty we are able to travel into the state of Ireland; what you call an adequate countervailing duty, with the same reason they say is not: It seems to me, therefore, that this proposition is defective in its principle, and not possible to be carried into effect; in this case there is nothing to countervail the different prices of labour, and the different prices of provision, the untaxed state of Ireland, and the taxed state of England. I am informed Ireland grows more prosperous and wealthy, and that she can not be saved till we become impoverished.

I believe it is found difficult to go on every year, in this time of peace, without borrowing money on the subject, and without funding. In the time of peace, our funds are found to be lower than they were in the course of a destructive war. Will your enemies, then, enter into a compact with you, in order to promote another war? If the people are to be further burthened, when now you are told by these intelligent men, that it is impossible the two manufactures can exist, How are you to answer? Let Ireland partake of the burthens; let her enjoy the advantages: If she does lay at the mouth of the English Channel, open to every point; if she has excellent ports, let her have them; Nature has said it, and let her enjoy them; but let her take upon herself a participation of the same burthens. Employ your wisdom in bringing about a perfect union with Ireland, then you will give perfect satisfaction. There are some bodies in chemistry, which cannot be brought together; so it is with two nations whose states of society are so very different, that it is impossible, on any plan, to unite them; and they never can certainly be allowed to assist us to repair those burthens which are cast upon us.

My Lords, the cotton manufacture stands particularly on this ground; it required that of encouragement and protection from government; and notwithstanding that a very large and beneficial revenue arose to the country in times of distress, yet, in the wisdom of his Majesty's government, they saw it stood in that critical situation, that it could not bear that burthen, and the tax was repealed; undoubtedly upon the principle, that the manufacture could not bear it. If the country could not bear the fustian tax, with the monopoly of our own markets, Will it bear the difference of the monopoly being taken away? This manufacture employs 300,000 souls, according to the evidence at the Bar: and one of the witnesses said, he would be glad to farm the revenue at 900,000l. sterling. With what horror then, must every Englishman hear of the extinction of this in England, by a means to make it flourish in another country, which, though a part of the Empire now, may at another day become hostile.

We have brought the first of the manufacturers, the most able, the most intelligent, the most wealthy, and they have not been contradicted in what they have advanced; I do not expect they will be contradicted here: But sitting here, my Lords, in your legislative capacity, without all the information you can possibly receive on the subject, if your Lordships have a serious doubt, would you go blindfold? I am persuaded you believe my witnesses mean to speak the truth; and all that I have, in the name of my country, and in the name of these numbers who have intrusted me with their cause, is to ask of your Lordships, and I beg it for God's sake, that you will at least deliberate; and unless you are sure that these facts, which have been so intelligibly stated at your Bar, can be contradicted, that you will

arrest the arm of legislation, and prevent utter, irrevivable ruin from falling on this country.

My Lords, I have not been able to prove, in so many words, to your Lordships, that the price of cotton-weaving in England is less, or has been less, than the cotton-weaving in Ireland; but think I have offered the strongest evidence that can be given to the human mind on the subject. It appears that worsted yarn in Ireland is, to worsted yarn in England, as 10½d. to 6d. I mean, that the raw material, *wool*, is so; and that the wool is worked up there into worsted yarn, and thus comes over here, burthened with a freight, and other incidental expences, and is, in the market of Manchester, sold 20 per cent. cheaper than the British yarn. I called on a former day upon your Lordships, to search into your own minds, and find any reason for the difference of labour: What is the consequence? If in the operation of labour in the raw material, they would not burthen themselves with eight per cent. How much cheaper would the operation of the same proceeding be in Ireland? There can be no closer argument. It might, indeed, be much better argued; but there is no proposition in Euclid plainer than this, that if beginning with a raw material, which is as 10½d. to 6d. what will they do when they begin to work on a raw material which is cheaper? that is the case of linen yarn. It was stated by Mr. Smith at 2l. 9s. upon 118l. 5s. It never occurred to any manufacturer to purchase English yarn in the market; the Irish linen yarn is so very much cheaper, that the other is never purchased at all. Give me leave, my Lords, to ask, What must be the inevitable consequence, if they work it up themselves? It is said there will be the difference of cent. per cent.

With respect to the cotton manufacture, there your Lordships know we have the materials from Turkey, from the Levant, and from the West Indies. Here the Third Resolution presents itself. At present, I believe, much of the cotton warp is by cotton taken from England; but will any man say, that after Ireland becomes a greater country, in consequence of her being the repository of commerce, when she becomes the seat of trade, which must one day do, upon what principle can it be said, that Ireland cannot import cotton cheaper than England can? She can make three voyages for our two. The Irish have likewise the advantage in navigation and trade; they want only a capital to compleat that advantage. Then why should not Ireland be able by a direct importation into Ireland, to have the cotton cheaper, I will venture to say 10 or 15 per cent. cheaper; if not, I will give up the argument. If this cotton manufacture is carried on to that extent, they will then import from the fountain-head. There is a duty on cotton; but it will be smuggled. How can you prevent the importation of that cotton which Ireland is bound to import by the same duty that you import into England? There, then, upon all Turkey cotton we could save the duty. Independent of the advantages in respect of situation with regard to the West Indies, they have advantages much greater; a ship will go three voyages from Ireland for two that would be made to and from London; the freight would be less, and the insurance would be less. Afterwards, upon the general calculation of commercial men, would it be possible to say that a merchant of Ireland could not have his voyage compleated for less expence than the merchant from England? for while the English merchant is under anxiety in his bed, for fear of his ships, the Irish merchantman is safe in port. I have shewn you, by evidence, that cannot be disputed, because it is not opinion, or speculation, what it must be, the spinning in the raw material; and I think I have proved to your Lordships, that it must be cheaper

cheaper than in England. Let us go on, and look at the raw material in its progress; the cotton manufacture was established in 1781, in Ireland. Mr. Brown said so in the House of Commons. — Mr. Smith has just now said, that in 1782 he sent, of Manufacture, 6000l. worth; in the next year, very little, and in this year, none at all. In page 61, the report, the Council states, that Ireland, in 1781, exported to America, in fustians, 1108 yards, and in 1784, 47237 yards; this is, my Lords, in four years from the infancy of the manufacture, they not only took from us less in the proportion of 23 to one, but they export more in the proportion of 47 to one.

The next goods are silk and cotton, and silk and linen, in 1784, 8319l. that is at the proportion of seventy to one, in five years, from the commencement of these manufactures.

My Lords, to hold out the precedent, which seems to be the object desired, if you were obliged, on great questions of state and empire, and were pressed to grant these matters to unwilling and indigent subjects who were resolved to take them whether you would grant or no, it would be a question too deep for me to discuss; but I understand, and my clients instruct me to say, that the Irish were contented, and found the benefit of them. I speak as a man, not living in a cloyster, but pretty much in the general world, and not altogether unacquainted with that country; they wished for a new representation; but, I am sure I never heard, and I believe none of the strictest enquirers of this country ever heard, that there was any discontent on the subject of these propositions in Ireland; I have a right to say so, because I have a right to beseech your Lordships not to sacrifice the right of my clients, and the rights of this country, unless you are pressed to it; all these advantages are stated to be nothing, and that these propositions did nothing. But, if they did nothing, give me leave to say it is the more rash, and the more indiscreet, to sow jealousies and discontents between the two countries; for nothing can convince the people of Ireland that they mean nothing, and that people will abandon them; but there must be better arguments than any I have heard, to convince the people of England that they are nothing. There remains but one point more, which is the price of labour; I have heard, from most intelligent witnesses, that the wages of a weaver of cotton, in this country, amounts to 8s. a week. You have heard, from the same witnesses, speaking from the declaration of Mr. O'Brien, that the linen weavers, in the north and west of Ireland, receive 3s. and 4s. a week; it is also in evidence, that a linen weaver may, in one week's time, be made a weaver of cotton; and it is said also, that there must be a certain proportion between the common hedger and ditcher, and that of a weaver; that it requires no skill, no taste, and that a weaver of linen may soon be made a weaver of cotton. If so, in order to enable the manufacturers to turn it, it is part of the duty of a state to settle the price of labour, and to prevent combinations. The people of Ireland, give me leave to say the Parliament of Ireland, consider that a weaver is altogether like a common labourer; and that it is not taxing his ingenuity, or faculties, but only his labour. What then should hinder the Parliament of Ireland from taxing the labour of the common labourers, in those manufactures? If they did equal to what it is at present, could you do so, unless the art of living upon air was to be added to the modern discovery of flying? Your Lordships know, perfectly well, if the price of labour was to be 6d. a day, you could not make such a law; and that it is very unnecessary to make such laws. Could you make the price of labour from the instance of a few ignorant bankrupts

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bankrupts settling in a Bog, fifteen miles from Dublin? But if as much cotton may be worked in a day, and there is neither ingenuity, nor taste, nor skill, nor any one thing in the world, which would prevent a weaver of the one from becoming a weaver of the other, and that 6d. a day will detach them from that, let me ask your Lordships, if that be the case, as common sense tells us it is, and it is unworthy of the superior understandings to which I am addressing myself, to suggest they will infer the contrary? When the price of labour appears as I have represented it, you must take the price of weaving, and you must see whether there be any thing to increase the price. Surely I am in possession of evidence that confirms all the general opinions, and suspicions, of my clients; that there must be an utter extinction of the manufactures of this country, if these propositions pass into a law; because, although you admit the principle, and that where there is a countervailing duty, the difference is upon propositions that have equality and reciprocity for their basis; if the difference arises from countervailing duty; if there is a difference which is still greater than any duty that is imposed on any internal article, is your Lordships to supply that deficiency? And is there any one principle that can support such an admission as that; though it is admitted on all hands, that the difference is to be compared and adjusted. There is an immense difference, the one being taxed and the other untaxed; and provisions in one place cheap, in the other dear: There is nothing in these propositions to settle them; if the raw material is cheaper in one country than the other, there it presses on the minds of the people; if the raw material be cheaper in Ireland, in consequence of a less duty in Ireland, the same proposition attacks against that; but if the raw material is cheaper from any other circumstance, the manufacturers of this country must be ruined and undone. My Lords, I have more reasons for saying this, and to beg your Lordships to deliberate, when it is recollected, how very little previous information is collected on the subject; these intelligent men, when they attended at the Privy Council, did not know what they were to answer; they were delegated for another purpose; yet, uninformed as they were, they stated that which they have stated to day, that the 10½ per cent. is not a *protecting* duty: It appears this country has suffered before on the same principles. The muslin trade would have flourished, but that the muslins of the East Indies, in consequence of the cheapness of labour there, prevented the industry and skill of the Manufacturers: Why have we denied to ourselves, all the luxuries of the East? Why forbid those ingenious fabrications from entering our houses? Why give them up, and burn the packages at the Customhouse, as if the plague was in the vessels that brought them? Yet, your Lordships are about to put an end to that policy upon no principle. The Manufacturers of this country expect to hear from you, or from the state, why they are thus deprived of their bread? they expect to hear what principle it is that has arisen in the minds of men on a sudden, working such a reverse; when it appears, that the difference of labour, and the difference of all the articles of living, and the difference between the two countries, are so great and striking. My Lords, it is impossible for you to pass these resolutions into a law; and it is ultimately impossible to settle and adjust them, but by that union to which the Petitioners have no objection; they would have the greatest pleasure to see them adopted, but which they must protest against seeing brought forward, without a just and equal participation.

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My Lords, I have very much to lament, from my many other avocations, and being so little acquainted with this subject, the feeble manner in which I have been able to address your Lordships, on the part of these numerous petitioners; but from what I have said, uninformed as I am, unable to give information, and engaged in so many other pursuits of a different nature you will easily perceive how much could have been said, if the subject had fallen into better hands.

Copy of Mr. GARROW's SPEECH, (taken in Short Hand, by permission) as delivered at the Bar of the House of Lords, the same day, on summing up the Evidence of the Witnesses on the MANCHESTER PETITION.

My LORDS,

I feel extremely happy in the reflection, that neither the interests of that immense body of men for whom I appear at this Bar, nor the necessity of communicating that information which your Lordships are anxious to obtain upon this important subject, require that I should enter very much at large into the discussion, in which men much more able than I am would engage with great disadvantage, after the exertion of the wonderful talents of my Learned Friend. If I had had the good fortune to have heard the whole of what he has addressed to your Lordships, I should probably have declined troubling the House; but I persuade myself I shall be forgiven if I venture to make a few observations; they shall be short, and I am conscious that their brevity will best recommend them to your Lordships. I shall not enter into the detail of all the facts which have been stated at your bar, but shall confine myself to one or two of those which struck me forcibly, as they were delivered by the witnesses; and which, I persuade myself, made an impression upon your Lordships suitable to their importance. I congratulate myself that the witnesses, upon whose testimony I have now the honour of addressing your Lordships, are men of the highest honour and integrity, and of the first importance in the country; I say, my Lords, of the first importance, nor am I disposed to retract that assertion; for I am at a loss, even when I am standing at your Lordships bar, and addressing myself to the hereditary representatives of the nobility and virtue of the nation, to find any character more important, or more respectable, than those witnesses whom your Lordships have heard; men with immense interests in the country, employing whole armies of manufacturers, and contributing, annually, in their individual capacities, towards the riches and revenue of the nation, in a proportion far exceeding the most ample fortunes of the most considerable subjects; men, who in addition to all these objects of consideration, possess the most enlarged understanding, the most unflinching integrity; such are the men who have been examined by your Lordships, and I thank God they have had an opportunity of delivering their opinions to your Lordships, under the most solemn sanction known to any human judicature. It had been industriously rumoured without doors, that these gentlemen would not trouble your Lordships, that all the objections which they had stated, with so much ability and force, in another place, were removed; and that they were reconciled to these ruinous propositions. This, my Lords, was the language of those whose object

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object is to delude, and who would have rejoiced (and with reason too) if they could have obtained even the tacit acquiescence of men so considerable and so intelligent: If, however, there had been the smallest pretence for such a report, the petitioners must have found other advocates; for neither my learned friend nor I should have troubled your Lordships, for men who but a short time since declared, in the face of the country, that they were conscientiously of opinion, that these propositions were pregnant with the most ruinous effects, and who should have shrunk from the investigation of this House. They have defeated the malicious slander which has been industriously attempted to be propagated, with respect to them; and I rejoice that many of your Lordships have taken so much pains to examine them your selves, as to the grounds of the opinions which they have delivered. I think I may venture to ask your Lordships whether they have not proved, in a way the most intelligible and convincing; by facts which no man can doubt, and by inferences to which no man of common sense, or common honesty, can refuse his assent, that your Lordships cannot give your sanction to those Propositions, consistently with the concern for the interests of this country, which it is your duty to feel. They have proved most explicitly, that these Resolutions afford to Ireland, the means not only of supplying the market of the whole world, with the commodities in the manufacture of which the Petitioners are engaged, and in which they employ immense capitals, to the utter exclusion of the Manufacturers of this country; but that Ireland will, in a short time, supply the internal market of Great Britain itself with advantages, which must produce the extinction of the Manufacturers entirely. They have stated, that 300,000 persons, including the aged and the infant, are supported by their labour in this most valuable Manufacture: they calculate, that besides the revenue drawn from the duties imposed on the manufacture itself, these persons contribute to the revenue by the consumption of exciseable commodities, the enormous sum of 900,000l. yearly; they have proved, that the advantages which these Propositions offer to Ireland, will induce the Manufacturers of this country to discontinue their business here, and to remove with their capital to Ireland; a measure, which must inevitably precipitate the miserable persons who depend on them for support, with beggary and ruin. Can it, my Lords, be necessary, that I should enlarge upon such facts? Need I remind your Lordships of the danger which threatens your Lordships, in common with the meanest subject of this country; need I press upon your care, the protection of the landed interest, in which you are so much concerned; or waken your attention to the revenue, at a period when it requires the utmost exertion to save it from the most alarming deficiency? Is it necessary, that I should caution your Lordships to deliberate, before you destroy a considerable source of riches; before you have projected some permanent and adequate fund to answer the exigencies of the state? No, surely, your Lordships go before me in all these considerations. But, my Lords, it is said, that this trade has suffered already by the imposition of burdens, and the decrease of the export; and that, yet, the Manufacturers is not ruined, its artificers are not yet burthensome to their parishes: One meets with such arguments in newspapers, that they are too ridiculous to be seriously urged any where-else. What! shall it be said to these Petitioners, "Your fears are all ill founded; you have borne up under the pressure of every burden; the calamities

mities which have almost ruined this country, have failed to ruin you. You have grown rich, and have been enabled, in addition to the burthens which you have borne in common with the rest of your fellow-subjects, to contribute to the public forces, by the princely present of a regiment drawn from the nursery of your Manufacture; have the goodness to wait with patience the result of one further experiment; let us take what little remains, and all may still be well with you:"—This is a language which decency will forbid to be publicly avowed; let not then the principle from which such language is drawn, be the rule of your Lordship's conduct. My Lords, I believe it to be true, that these Propositions will not drive the starving Manufacturers to their parishes for relief; but I believe, so only because no workhouses will be found to contain their melancholy numbers; because no parochial funds will be adequate to their support. In this gloom of despondency, where shall these miserable subjects look for relief? Perhaps they may be directed to Ireland; perhaps they may be invited to follow to that favoured country, those to whom a long course of encouragement in honest industry has attached them; there are, some, no doubt, if we may judge of them from their public conduct, who think that no injury would accrue to this country from the emigration of such an army; are your Lordships mature to declare it as your opinion that it is wise and politic, in these times to detach so much of your strength as a great commercial country? Are your Lordships sure that it would be an act of legislative wisdom to drive these men, in a state of despondency and desperation, out of the confines of your government, and to force them to carry the sources of your manufactures, commerce, and wealth, with them? I shall never persuade myself that these are the sentiments of your Lordships, until you proclaim them to the world, as you will do by adopting these resolutions, an event that I assure myself will never happen.

My Lords, I will not detain your Lordships longer, conscious as I am that I can add nothing to that impression which the evidence of these intelligent witnesses, and the extraordinary talents of my learned Friend, must have left on the minds of every one of your Lordships; and under the apprehension that my incapacity may injure my Clients, by weakening that impression. This vast body of persons, whose very existence is at stake, appeal to your Lordships as the barrier which the constitution has interposed between them and utter ruin; they look up to your Lordships wisdom for protection; they feel a consciousness that your Lordships will deliberate maturely on their humble complaints; they attend your decision with anxious solicitude, assuring themselves that in the exercise of the highest trust that the course of human events can repose in a legislative assembly, your Lordships will be regulated by those principles of honour and justice for which you are so eminently distinguished; and will eagerly embrace the glorious opportunity of transmitting your memory to future ages, by the endearing character of the Saviours of your Country.

The following Memorial and Petition from the Legislature of JAMAICA having been lately presented to the KING, were by his MAJESTY'S Command referred to a Committee of the Privy Council.—The report of the Committee thereon shall be published in a subsequent Number.

JAMAICA,

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JAMAICA, &c.

To the KING's Most Excellent MAJESTY in Council.
The Humble MEMORIAL and PETITION of the COUNCIL
and ASSEMBLY of JAMAICA.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Council and Assembly of Jamaica, most humbly implore your paternal attention to this our faithful representation of the many grievances and distresses under which the people of this your Majesty's colony of Jamaica now labour, and the consequential ruin in which they must be involved, unless speedily redressed. Conscious that we have, in every instance, endeavoured to render ourselves worthy of your Majesty's regard, and deserving of the utmost attention and favour of the parent state; and knowing, that some of our grievances can be removed only by the British legislature; we presume to request of your Majesty, to recommend to your Parliament a cool, deliberate investigation of our situation; not doubting that it will lead to such regulations as will afford us immediate relief, and establish this colony on such a footing as may tend to its further improvement, the benefits of which cannot but centre ultimately in the mother country.

The heavy taxes imposed during the course of the late unhappy war, for the purpose of building permanent as well as temporary fortifications; the great expence of martial law for a considerable space of time, whilst we were under perpetual alarms of invasion; the withdrawing the labour of the slaves, as well as the attention of the proprietors and managers, from the cultivation of the lands, have fixed such a load of debt on the property of this island, as will require many years to discharge, even under the most favorable circumstances.

The visitations of the Almighty, by three dreadful storms in the space of four years, having brought the deepest distress on many of the inhabitants of this colony, gave us reason to expect that our situation under these sufferings would have entitled us to the aid and assistance of the parent state.—We readily acknowledge the grant of Parliament, in January one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one, for the relief of the sufferers in the storm of one thousand seven hundred and eighty; but it was almost as a drop of water to the ocean, in comparison to the distress: besides which, in March immediately following, the commons of Great Britain remunerated themselves by a tax of four shillings and eightpence per hundred weight on our muscovado, which, with the former duties, amounts to about eight pounds sterling per hogshead, being nearly as much as the greater part of sugar, at present, nets to the planter. The additional drawback of eleven shillings and sixpence per hundred weight on exportation of

Refined

refined sugars, and five shillings and six pence on bastards, which is expressed to be by way of compensation for the above tax, we apprehend, has only the operation of making the planter the object of taxation and the refiner the object of relief.

We must further represent, That besides the calamities of storms, that sweep away in an hour the labour of years, a great part of the south side of the island is subject to long and severe droughts; which, though not so immediate in their effects, yet deprive the planter of the fruits of his labour, and often compel him to resort to a foreign supply for food for himself and his slaves. These natural evils we must submit to; and, as they are unavoidable, we are led to hope, from your Majesty's equal care for all your faithful subjects, and from the fostering hand of the parent state, which, we are bold to say, the people of this island deserve, that the burthens under which they labour will be so far alleviated as to afford a present comfortable subsistence, with a prospect of emerging from that load of debt which far the greater part of the planters have necessarily incurred.

With great submission, we beg leave to represent the distressing burthen of the heavy duties laid on our staples, particularly the last-mentioned, of four shillings and eight pence, imposed at a time when the island was struggling under the calamities of a war that perpetually threatened invasion, and whilst a great part of the island was suffering the dreadful effects of a desolating storm: And we cannot but observe, that the mode of collecting the duties increases the burthen, the importer being obliged to provide for the payment immediately; which forces the greatest part of the quantity imported into the market on landing, and consequently throws it into the hand of the monopolist, at his own price.

We are not unmindful of the late remission of two shillings per gallon duty on rum; but, we apprehend, the planter will receive very little benefit from it, as the remaining duties are still so high as to keep that article out of the reach of the people in general, and to leave the temptation open to smuggling of brandy. As the production of rum in the British colonies is more than equal to the demand in Great Britain, Ireland, and the British colonies in America, it is only an increase of consumption equal to that production, that can be of advantage to the planter.

Whilst struggling with these difficulties, the peace took place, and afforded some alleviation of our distress by the admission of American vessels; but this benefit we had enjoyed a very short time, when the Proclamation of the second of July, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three, arrived, prohibiting the Americans trading to the sugar colonies:—It is with astonishment we behold such a restriction, when, at the same time, the Americans are invited to trade, and enter into the ports of Great Britain Ireland, and the Northern British colonies. We can boldly say, such invidious distinction has not been merited; and will therefore flatter our-

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selves that it arose not from design : and, as we understand the regulations of trade with America are to be discussed in Parliament, immediately after Christmas, we beg leave to represent, that on the terms which may be adopted, depends the existence of this country as a sugar colony. The sugar islands have been settled, and have grown with their sister colonies on the continent of America ; their interests are so united, the reciprocity of trade is such, that perhaps, without it, neither would have arrived at their present consequence ; most certainly the sugar colonies could not ;—the locality renders navigation between them so easy and expeditious ; the productions of the former are so proper and well adapted for supporting and carrying on, with any prospect of advantage, the settlements of the latter, and so absolutely necessary, in cases of emergency, for the preservation of the inhabitants, that, without such an intercourse of trade, the sugar colonies must sink into ruin.

Far be it from us even to wish such an extension of that intercourse, as could in any way injure the advantages arising to Great Britain from the carrying trade, or the consumption of her manufactures. We are sensible that our protection depends on the superior power of the British navy ; and, though we presume it may be proved, that a permission of unlimited trade with the United States could not, in the present circumstances of things, in the smallest degree injure the interests of the parent state ; yet we only desire the permission, under such restrictions as will keep it within the compass of furnishing this island with such articles as the United States of America only can supply, on terms that will enable us to carry on our estates with a prospect of benefit equal to the support of our families ; and we can with confidence say, that, without this permission, there can be no other regulations of trade, that will prevent the throwing out of the line of sugar estates, a great part of the lands at present cultivated in canes.

Deprived of this trade, in all probability, such planters who have it in their power will emigrate with their families and slaves to happier countries ; and those who cannot, as honest men, take this step, of which the number is great, must remain unhappy spectators of their properties mouldering into ruin, themselves and families reduced to indigence and want ; and this must be the unavoidable fate of the proprietors of small sugar estates (the generality of which have been settled partly on credit) who, with the strictest economy, and a constant residence on their properties, and under the most favourable circumstances this island has ever experienced, have with difficulty supported and preserved them : many large estates also stand in the same predicament from locality, such as long carriage, sterility of soil, droughts, &c. and perhaps a heavy debt.

We beg leave further to represent, That the Americans did before the war, and no doubt will again, take, in payment for the supplies they import, the surplus of our rum ; we mean such part as Great Britain, Ireland, and the British Northern colonies, cannot

consume ;

consume ; which, unless thrown into the American market, must remain on our hands : it needs no argument to evince the ruinous consequence this must produce. During the war, we did not feel the want of that market ; the number of troops in America, and the great naval power Britain supported, created a consumption equal to the surplus. By the account of exports (No. 1.) taken from the books of the Naval Office, it appears that, before the war, the consumption of our rum was increasing considerably in America, but that of sugar very little ; and whilst the French can afford to *undersell* us, there is little probability of their taking more from our island ; consequently, neither the carrying trade, nor the revenue of Great Britain, can be injured by the revival of this intercourse with America, in any degree worth notice ; nay, we have shewn that the exclusion would very soon lower the produce of this island, much more than to the amount of any exportation that ever has been to America.

It has been asserted, that Great Britain, together with the colonies of Canada, Nova Scotia, and St. John, are able to supply the British sugar colonies with all such articles as they stand in need of from the United States, and that it was done during the war : We beg leave to represent, that the accident of American captures, for that period, afforded many of those articles ; that, notwithstanding there were sometimes large importations of flour from the parent state, it did not answer the purpose ; that article not keeping for any length of time in this climate : It has happened that the merchant importer has sustained a loss on the sales, and the inhabitants were not benefited by it ; at other times, flour has sold at fourteen pounds per barrel. And this must ever be the case with an European supply, as far the greatest number of ships in the trade take their departure from Great Britain, so as to arrive here just in time for the crops : it necessarily follows, that the importation will be as great at that season ; and if there should be a quantity of flour nearly equal to the demand for a year, a great part of it will perish before it is called for. It is, therefore, not in the least probable that we can have a regular and sufficient supply of that article, in good preservation, from Great Britain ; add to this, that it cannot be imported from thence at so low a price as the Americans can afford to sell it. With respect to packages for transporting our staples, experience evinces that they can be got from America, not only much cheaper, but of better quality ; those that come from Europe being very brittle, and apt to crack, so that great loss is sometimes sustained by the planter on that account. As to the colonies of Canada, Nova Scotia, and Saint John's being able to afford a supply of provisions, lumber, &c. we beg leave to refer to the annexed account of imports from thence (No 2.) with this remark, That soon after the arrival of the proclamation of the second Day of July, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three, the weather being very dry at the time of year we expect rains, created apprehensions

hensions of scarcity, which led the Assembly to address the Governor again to admit American vessels to entry for a certain time: his Excellency refused; but flattered us with hopes of a very plentiful supply from those colonies, as he had written to the several Governors, representing our situation: *the accounts referred to, will shew the benefit we reaped therefrom*; and that, with this promised plenty, we might have starved, had it not pleased the Almighty soon after to bless us with rains; which, continuing beyond the usual time, preserved and brought forward our crops of corn.

We have annexed an account (No. 3.) of the imports to this island from America for seven years preceding the war; also an account (No. 4.) of the imports from Canada, Nova Scotia, and Saint John: And we beg leave to point out, from comparing these accounts, how inadequate those colonies are to afford a supply equal to our demand:—We will not adduce any observations or arguments to shew that they never will; persuaded that it must be fully evinced to every unprejudiced mind. But supposing for a moment those colonies might *in time* be able to afford such supply, can it be the wish of the parent state that our operations should be suspended till that arrives? It is possible that we might get supplied with American articles from the French, and other neighbouring islands; but would Great Britain be benefited by obliging us to obtain them under the heavy charge of a circuitous voyage, double freight, insurance, commissions, and mercantile profit? besides the inconvenience of paying for them in cash, or bills of exchange, instead of our surplus sum. It would make but little difference to the subjects of the United States; they would find a vent for their merchandize; the *intermediate persons* would be benefited by the trade, and your colonies ruined. But these evils would only gradually undermine the interests of your Memorialists, and slowly, though surely, bring on the destruction of the Planters:—In cases of emergency, such as we have mentioned, and such as we have severely felt, our situation must be dreadful: it would be impossible for Great Britain to send us supplies in time to relieve our necessities; the great distance points this out at first view; but we will represent two striking instances, which our misfortunes afford, that will evince the difference between an exclusion of the American trade, and the permission:—At the time of the storm, in one thousand seven hundred and eighty, there was a great quantity of flour in Kingston, far beyond the demand; the greatest part of this, even a great deal that was spoiled, was immediately sent to the suffering parishes, and consumed: There was also a large quantity of provisions imported by government for the support of the troops intended for Pensacola; a great part of this was also humanely sent to those parishes by Governor Dalling. Notwithstanding those two great *accidental* supplies, a famine ensued, and a great number of slaves perished, before any supply could be obtained of the natural productions of the country, or from Europe, although immediately sent

sent for after the storm. The storm of the thirtieth day of July last, was nearly as destructive to the windward part of the island, as that of one thousand seven hundred and eighty had been to the leeward; and its consequences would, in all probability, have been infinitely more terrible, there being, at the time it happened, but a small quantity of flour in the country, had not the humanity and good policy of our Lieutenant Governor, with the advice of his Council, led him to permit all vessels, loaded with provision and lumber, to entry for a limited time, as soon as it was made appear to him that the provisions of the country were mostly destroyed, in those parishes that had felt the severity of the weather, and that a famine must have unavoidably ensued without such permission: this has given us a temporary supply.

Your Memorialists and Petitioners have shewn the distressed situation to which this island is reduced; we have pointed out the ruinous consequences that must inevitably follow the measure of a total exclusion of the Americans from trading to this island; and we have evinced, from two striking instances, grounded on the locality of the island, compared with that of Great Britain and the United States, that, in cases of emergency, the existence of the inhabitants of this colony must depend on an intercourse of trade with those states:—So circumstanced, we throw ourselves on your Majesty's paternal care, impressed with the highest degree of affection and loyalty to your person and government; but, having the feelings of men, we are driven to declare, That, although we have hitherto endeavoured to bear accumulation of taxation, and other hardships until lately unheard of, it may not be possible patiently to await the near approach of actual famine; we therefore humbly insist, that the justice of the British legislature will restore us to a reasonable participation in that trade which alone can, on many probable contingencies in future, avert ruin and death.

Passed the Assembly,
this fourth day of December, 1784,
S. W. HAUGHTON, Speaker.

Passed the Council,
the 11th day of Dec. 1784.
W^m DUNLOP, Cl. Con,

No. 1.

An ACCOUNT of all the SUGAR, RUM, COFFEE, and MELASSES, Exported from Jamaica to America, for Seven Years.

Taken from the Books of the Naval Office.

	Hhds. of Sugar.	Pun. Rum.	Casks and Bags of Coffee.	Casks of Melasses.	Nº of Vessels.
From January to December 1768	902	1,039	589	626	84
1769	1,407	4,443	971	2,265	149
1770	1,958	4,513	1,223	1,021	170
1771	1,421	2,545	1,030	938	141
1772	1,513	4,294	1,331	753	143
1773	1,513	7,438	1,001	1,003	184
1774	1,811	8,660	2,816	902	—

MERCHANDISE

No. 2.

An ACCOUNT of all IMPORTS from Canada, Nova Scotia, and St. John's, between the 3d Day of April, 1783, and the 26th Day of October, 1784.—Taken from the Books of the Naval Office.

FISH.		BLS. OIL.		BLS. RICE.		SHAKEN CASKS.		BUNDLES OF WOOD HOOPS.		CARS.		BUNDLES OF POTATOES.		MATS AND SPARS.		STAVES AND SHINGLES.		FEET OF LUMBER.	
Hhds.	Half Barrels	Barrels	Half Tierces	Tierces	Hhds.	Half Barrels	Barrels	Half Tierces	Tierces	Hhds.	Half Barrels	Barrels	Half Tierces	Tierces	Hhds.	Half Barrels	Barrels	Half Tierces	Tierces
753	37	457	39	45	10	710	20	100	180	21	301,334	510,088							

No. 3. An ACCOUNT of all IMPORTS into Jamaica from America, for Seven years.—Taken from the Books of the Naval Office.

FROM JANUARY TO DECEMBER	BLS. OF FLOUR.	BLS. OF BREAD.	BLS. OF RICE.	HDS. OF FISH.	BLS. OF FISH.	BLS. OF BEEF AND PORK.	BLS. OF OIL.	BLS. OF TURPENTINE.	SHINGLES.	FEET OF LUMBER.	BUNDLES OF ONIONS.	WOOD HOOPS.	HDS. SHAKES.	HORSES AND CATTLE.	TONS OF IRON.	CASKS OF HAMS.	PIRK OF BUTTER.	BOXES SOAP, AND SPERM. CANDLES.	BUTHERS OF CORN, PEAS, &c.	VESSELS.
1768	22,620	7,822	2,258	4,211	2,149	2,980	4,781	837	1,564	8,311,069	3,168,339	11,800	595	135	—	—	38	1,822	55,475	197
1769	28,749	10,175	2,468	4,862	3,340	8,028	5,894	863	2,527	8,879,810	4,275,894	2,237	12,000	1,149	—	—	53	385	37,853	249
1770	37,442	13,003	3,427	5,475	1,607	9,228	5,225	698	1,561	6,918,202	3,406,598	28,925	2,051	536	—	—	303	2,026	37,753	287
1771	27,103	9,152	3,858	5,744	2,414	9,673	3,930	368	2,903	6,405,282	3,369,570	107,150	2,203	548	—	—	301	2,211	37,120	264
1772	19,837	9,932	3,084	2,587	2,587	12,573	3,105	616	1,884	4,238,824	1,935,105	118,975	2,231	263	—	—	200	2,292	24,870	281
1773	30,815	9,430	5,111	5,219	4,152	12,801	2,811	801	1,995	13,980,641	5,224,562	41,600	3,231	648	—	—	497	2,761	42,315	323
1774	43,610	7,332	4,638	6,898	3,733	12,179	1,152	1,480	1,311	17,520,000	4,181,000	36,643	70,700	499	16,160	50,411	400	1,215	42,470	399

No. 4. An ACCOUNT of all IMPORTS into Jamaica from Canada, Nova Scotia, and St. John's, for the same Years, included in, and to be deducted from, the above Account, No. 3.

FROM JANUARY TO DECEMBER	BLS. FLOUR.	HDS. FISH.	BLS. OIL.	BLS. PITCH, TAR, AND TURPENTINE.	SHINGLES.	FEET OF LUMBER.
1768 to Dec. 1772	163	37	40	15	18,350	1,361,175
Annual Average	33	7	8	3	36,100	272,235
For 1773 and 1774	—	—	—	—	—	—

Have not been able to obtain a particular Account.

An ACCOUNT of all IMPORTS from Newfoundland, for the same Time.

FROM JANUARY 1768 TO DECEMBER 1772	HDS. OF FISH.	BLS. OF OIL.	MATS AND SPARS.
Annual Average	439	28	300
For 1773 and 1774	88	6	60

Have not been able to obtain a particular Account.

The REPRESENTATION of STEPHEN FULLER, Esq.
Agent for JAMAICA, to his MAJESTY'S MINISTERS.

THE agent of Jamaica, by the advice and approbation of the Right Hon. Lord Penryhn, Edward Long, and Bryan Edwards, Esquires, with whom he is directed, by the Council and Assembly, to consult, begs leave to submit to the consideration of his Majesty's ministers, the following observations and propositions, on the subject of such part of the memorial and petition of the Council and Assembly to his Majesty, of the 11th of December last, as relates to a limited intercourse between the British West Indies, and the United States of America, in American bottoms.

The said agent conceives, that it is no longer a question, whether the necessities of the British West India islands can be supplied by any other channel than that of the United States; the invisible law of absolute necessity (paramount to all other considerations) having lately induced the Lieutenant Governor and Council of Jamaica, to open the ports of that island to all American vessels of all descriptions, by proclamation. The said Memorialists have stated, that this measure was dictated "solely by motives of self-preservation;" for they solemnly affirm, "that nothing but a reasonable participation in a trade with the United States, can, on many probable contingencies in future, prevent them from ruin and death.

It is presumed to be a fact equally well established, that the necessities of the said islands cannot be supplied in any degree adequate to their wants, even from the United States, unless in vessels actually belonging to the said states. The West India islands have few or no ships of their own; and were it even true, which the said agent by no means allows, that British vessels from hence might, by circuitous voyages, profitably transport lumber and provisions from the United States of America to the said islands, and so return to Great Britain with freights of sugar; yet the planters would be wholly unable to pay for lumber and provisions thus obtained; not only from the augmented cost thereof, but also, inasmuch as their rum, their chief resource for the purchase of the necessaries, to the amount of upwards of half a million sterling, would still remain a dead weight on their hands: the consumption of rum in this kingdom, in the year 1783, not exceeding 505,150 gallons; altho' the quantity annually made in the British West India islands, for exportation, exceeds 7,700,000 gallons.

The agent, desirous of obviating all material objections, humbly offers to your consideration the plan of a future intercourse between the said island of Jamaica and the United States, of so strict and limited a nature, as, he presumes, will not be controverted, even by those who have hitherto appeared most zealous for confining the trade

trade of the West India islands to Great Britain and Ireland only.

First, The said agent humbly offers to your consideration, whether the intercourse requested by the West India Planters, in American vessels, may not be confined to sloops and schooners only, having but one deck, and not exceeding the burthen of sixty tons. And, to obviate all suspicions of fraudulent measurement, whether the number of mariners in each vessel may not be limited to three white seamen, and as many negroes, or people of colour, so as not to exceed six in the whole?

Secondly, Whereas, among the commodities formerly allowed to be imported into the British West India islands, the following were articles of considerable importance, viz. bar iron, wax and spermaceti candles, train oil, hams, tongues, herrings, butter, cheese, soap, starch, tallow, salted beef and pork; of the latter, viz. salted beef and pork, the import into all the West India islands, from the said states, in the years 1771, 1772, and 1773, was 44,782 barrels, worth at the ports of delivery, upwards of 110,000l. sterling money: It is submitted, that the planters in future be restricted to the supplying themselves with all these articles of indispensable necessity from Great Britain and Ireland only, trusting nevertheless, that in adjusting the commercial arrangements between Great Britain and Ireland, provision will be made by the Parliament of Ireland, for a reciprocal security to the West India planter, against the introduction of foreign West India produce into that kingdom, and against any augmentation of taxes, upon the export of salt provisions from thence to the British West Indies.

Thirdly, As it has been urged, that granting permission to the subjects of the United States, to export raw sugars from the British West India islands, may interfere with the commerce of Great Britain and Ireland; whether this permission may not be restricted, in future, to clayed and refined sugars only?

Fourthly, As to hides and skins, cotton wool, indigo, logwood, fustick, and other dyers woods; whether the export thereof to the United States, from the British plantations, should not be prohibited altogether?

Fifthly, In order that all reasonable encouragement may be shewn to the British settlers in our remaining provinces of North America; and to demonstrate that the sugar planters are sincerely disposed to give them the preference of their custom, whenever, by the increase of people, or the progress of cultivation, they shall be actually enabled to supply our wants, in part or in total; whether the measures now submitted to the consideration of his Majesty's ministers, if adopted by Parliament, may not be in force for a probationary period, to commence the first day of July next?

By means of a system of this kind, the imports from the United States, into the British West Indies, will be confined in future to working cattle, lumber, and provisions only; and of the latter, to

such species alone, as it is on all hands admitted that Great Britain, Ireland, and our remaining provinces, cannot immediately furnish, in a quantity by any means adequate to the demand. The American navigation, sufficient for this purpose, must, by the exclusion of so many articles, necessarily be in proportion diminished. It appears by the report of the Right Hon. the Committee of Council, that the number of vessels, both American and British, formerly employed in a direct intercourse between the West India islands, and North America, never exceeded 533, and the seamen employed therein 3,339; of which 1,000 at least, it is conceived, were negro slaves, or people of colour. On the plan now proposed, it is probable, considering the consequent diminution of the number of vessels, that the whole number of white seamen so employed in future, would not exceed twelve hundred. And what policy can be more dreadful, than that, which, in order to distress so insignificant a handful of people, should put the whole of the sugar islands, containing 500,000 inhabitants, to the risque of destruction?

It is not for the agent to suppose, that it can ever be deemed expedient, rather to connive at a *clandestine*, than authorize an *open* intercourse; but he will be allowed to express his most serious apprehensions of the mischiefs which seem to threaten his constituents. The French government, as he is informed, having lately established no less than seven free ports in their islands, for the admission in foreign vessels, of lumber and live stock of every species, salted beef and fish, he fears, that if the British planters cannot obtain their necessaries, in any thing like a sufficient quantity, by a licensed mode of intercourse in British vessels, they must procure them by illicit means, or discontinue the cultivation of their lands. And that as the vicinity of the French islands promises to facilitate a clandestine introduction of supplies, they will probably obtain them from the United States, for the most part, through the medium of the French islands, and in French bottoms. In this event, the French free ports may become the great emporiums for these articles, and gain a profit upon their customers, in proportion to the magnitude of the risque, and the demand; French seamen may be employed, (more formidable of the two than American;) the British planters become dependent on their rivals; the plantations, the commerce, and the marine of France, may derive from this fatal cause a rapid improvement and grandeur; whilst the British interests, in that part of the empire, are sinking with equal rapidity into annihilation*.

STEPHEN FULLER.

No. 28, Upper Harley-Street,
1785.

* Now that his Excellency Mr. Adams is publicly stationed in this country, as the ambassador of America, the topic of a commercial intercourse is revived, and gentlemen loudly urge the propriety of the measure, exhibiting the late clamorous proceedings at Boston as an argument for the intercourse. It is essential to men to enter into

0417

H O U S E O F C O M M O N S.

Mercurii, 13 die Aprilis, 1785.

COMMITTEE of the whole HOUSE on the TRADE between GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND.

Mr. RICHARDSON called in.

And the following Question and Answer, in his examination before this Committee on Monday the 11th of April, was read to the witness, as follows:

Q. "When the last answer respecting the ten and a half per cent. was given, mentioned in the report on the second day of your examination, had not Mr. Walker and you previous knowledge that the subject of the examination related to an arrangement of a commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland?—
A. "I don't recollect we then knew it."

Q. Explain

into the discussion of this point without prejudice. Let us enquire seriously into the fact, Is it necessary to the support of our West India islands, that the Americans should be suffered to carry supplies thither? The answer to the question is plain: No; for, by a petition to the House of Commons, signed by three hundred Captains and owners of ships, we find that they are ready to supply the West India market with American produce, and in addition to this we find the following proposals have been handed about to the planters, by respectable houses in London.

Proposals for supplying lumber and provisions, &c. from the States of North America to the Planters of the island of Jamaica, on contract for three, five, or seven years, viz.

1st. They will agree to deliver at the port of Kingston, to the order of such gentlemen as chuse to contract, every article that may be wanted from the States of America, from time to time, at the current cash price of said articles at the city of Philadelphia; adding thereto only the customary charges of commission, insurance, and freight, all at the same rate as paid before the war; in payment for which they will receive (on delivery of the goods at Kingston) rum at the current cash price, less than 5l. per cent. to be allowed for trouble, &c. &c. or in sterling bills of exchange at par, in the planters option.

2d. They will agree to ship from Philadelphia, at all seasons of the year (in their own ships) goods on commission at the rate of freight before mentioned, and in payment for amount invoice they will value on the planter in London at current rate of exchange; but the freight to be paid in rum, &c. on delivery of the goods in Kingston.

3d. They will agree to supply regularly, agreeable to any indent, for quantities, or times, i. e. for any quantity to be delivered at different times of the year, at the present Philadelphia prices (adding charges aforesaid) so that the planter at once may be on certainty, and not liable to the variation of markets. In order to explain this proposition more clearly, they have annexed a Philadelphia price current of the 8th of March last, and by way of example will select the article white oak hoghead staves, on which the following calculation is made, viz.

		Jamaica Curr.		
White oak hoghead staves, at				
8l. 10s. Philadelphia current				
cy per m. exch. 70l. per		l.	s.	d.
cent. is sterling 5l.	-	7	0	0
Wharfage, &c. (suppose)	-	0	8	0
Commission 5l. per cent.	-	0	7	3
Freight	-	4	10	0
Insurance to cover 7l. 15s. 3d. at				
2½ per cent.	-	0	3	10
Wharfage on landing	-	0	10	0
<hr/>				
Nett cost of M. W. O. staves at				
Jamaica	-	£.12	19	1½

P p 2

Fol.

Q. Explain what you mean when you wish the answer to that question to be corrected?—A. I understood it to be an answer to the last question of the first examination, which from the question being first differently put, I then misunderstood—at my second examination I certainly knew that there was to be a commercial regulation with Ireland. This was first suggested to me by Mr. Stanley; and on the evening of the 31st of January, when we went to Mr. Fawkeners Chambers to read over the evidence, I recollect Mr. Walker asking Mr. Fawkeners a question that Mr. Fawkeners could answer with propriety, whether our examination did not allude to some commercial treaty with Ireland? To which he replied, He did not think he was at liberty to speak on the subject, but gave it as his opinion that it was; and the next day, when our evidence was sent to us to be corrected, I then saw at the top of the evidence that it related to the trade with Ireland.

Withdrew.

WILLIAM FAWKENER, Esq. one of the Clerks of the Privy Council.

Q. Did you attend a Committee of Privy Council on the 31st of January last?—A. I did.

For which rum will be received in payment, &c. &c.

By this calculation it appears, that staves would come considerably higher than they used to be in Jamaica before the war.

It is true they are so—but it is owing to their having risen at Philadelphia nearly 100. per cent.—Of course the Jamaica price must be in proportion, for it would be unreasonable to expect goods at Jamaica at the old prices, when the prices in America have advanced so considerably. However, the planter having it in his option to embrace the 1st or 2d. proposition, will have the chance of a fall of markets entirely in his favour. The next calculation shews the terms on which an American house could do the same business, viz.

	American Cur.
White oak staves at Philadelphia	l. s. d.
	7 0 0
Must allow all the former charges	5 19 1/2
At the same time if the consignment was made for sale, the factors charges for sales and remittance, &c. is 12 1/2 per cent.	1 12 6
	L. 14 11 7 1/2

It is therefore plain that the Americans cannot afford to carry on that trade (even supposing it remained at their option to take rum or not) on terms so advantageous to the planter as contained in the foregoing propositions. To which the proposers will add another, viz.

4th. That any planter who may wish to have his supplies delivered at his own burgh (instead of Kingston) shall have it done without additional expence, provided they will deliver their indent early enough in the season, so that the ships may arrive before Christmas, and will agree to dispatch said ships with first of the crop to England, in preference to all other ships, and at current rate of freight for the time being.

And in order to shew that they are serious, and equal to any engagements that they may enter into, they will find unexceptionable security for the performance of covenants on their part, and at the same time requiring it from others.

London, June, 1785.

Q. Were

Q. Were all the questions that were put that day to the evidence first written down, and approved by the members of the Committee?—A. They were.

Q. Were all the answers that were given that day, written down and read to the evidence after they were so taken?—A. They were.

[The witness looks at the printed report of the Privy Council, on the first day Mr. Walker was examined.—Has read the last question and answer.]

Q. Inform the Committee, whether the answer given to the last question was the answer given by the evidence, and read to them before they left the room?—A. It was.

Q. Did you not take it down as such yourself?—A. I did, and read it to the gentlemen who were examined.

Q. Did any thing pass in conversation on this subject? if there did inform the Committee?—A. There did pass some conversation on the subject. The first answer was—in all respects, which they were told was much too general, and in fact no answer at all—that the question related to taxes internal, as well upon importation and to bounties; and that an answer to that question was wished in the affirmative or negative.

Q. Did they then give the answer, as it is now stated, in the report?—A. They did. I mean that what I have said was the substance of the conversation which passed—I do not mean to give every word.

Q. Can you recollect whether the evidence that were then present were told, at any time during the examination, that they were examined on the subject of a commercial intercourse with Ireland?—A. They were told so, to the best of my recollection, in the course of their examination. Upon their getting in the course of their examination on the subject of the tax of the last year, they were told that that was not a point referred to the consideration of the Committee of trade, but that they were under examination relating to some proposed commercial arrangements with Ireland.

Q. Did you see those evidences on the night of the 31st January, by order of the Committee?—I did.

Q. Was not the whole of the evidence then read to them, and were not many alterations made in it?—A. The whole of the evidence was read, and many alterations made.

Q. Was there any conversation at that time concerning Ireland, and to the best of your recollection what was it?—A. The whole of the conversation, which lasted a considerable time, turned upon Ireland; and it seemed to me to be fully understood that that had been the object of the examination in the morning.

Q. Had you any conversation at that time upon the words *al. respects* and *all these respects*?—A. We had: the conversation that had passed in the morning was repeated and enlarged upon rather; and this conversation passed not only between Mr. Walker, Mr. Richardson

Richardson, and myself, but between Mr. Walker and Mr. Richardson, and Mr. Philips and Mr. Kirshaw, who were likewise present, as they all four came together to my chambers in the evening.

Q. Did they then consent that the word *these* should stand part of the evidence?—A. I really think that they admitted *in terms* that it should; but I am quite sure they acquiesced in it.

Q. Have you in your possession the copy of the evidence which you so read to them?—A. I have.

Q. Look at it, and see whether the word *these* does not stand in that copy?

The witness looks at the paper, and says that is the paper we had before us in the evening, and the word *these* stands in the answer.

Q. Look over the paper, and inform the Committee whether there are not many corrections which you made at their desire?—

A. There are several corrections taken from their mouths on the night of the 31st.

Q. Did not you deliver to the Committee that evidence as settled with them?—A. I rather think, but I am not quite sure, that their amended answer had been received before the Committee met again.

Q. Did not you by the directions of the Committee send an additional question in writing to these evidences?—A. I did.

Q. Did they not return an answer to the question with a note?—A. They did.

Q. Have you that note in your possession?—A. I have it in my hand.

Q. Are you sure it is the same you received from Messrs. Walker and Richardson?—A. I am as sure as I can be of a thing of that nature. It came to me at the office.

Read it.

The witness reads it as follows:

“Mr. Walker and Mr. Richardson return their compliments to Mr. Fawcener, and send him their answer to the question, transmitted by him to them from the Lords of the Committee of Council. They likewise return him the copy of their examination, which they have revised and corrected, conceiving it to be their duty upon a matter of such great importance to the real interests of this country as the adjustment of a commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland, to answer all questions proposed to them with every degree of accuracy in their power.

“Mr. Walker and Mr. Richardson will be much obliged to Mr. Fawcener to return them the said copy so soon as it is done with.”

Bates's Hotel,
February 2, 1785.

“ Question

“ Question proposed to Mr. Walker and Mr. Richardson by Mr. Fawcener, by direction of the Right Honourable the Lords of the Committee of Council.”

“ Q. Whether the exportation of cotton goods, printed or otherwise, to other countries except Ireland, has increased of late or diminished?—“ A. With respect to the exportation of printed cotton and calicoes, we conceive it may be accurately known by referring to the Custom House books, as they are not entitled to a drawback of the duty, but we are likewise informed to a bounty of two-pence per square yard upon exportation.

“ The exportation of fustians previous to the year 1763, was not very considerable; since that time to the first of October last, it has upon the whole kept increasing, though not without fluctuations, notwithstanding that we are greatly underfold, and have almost wholly lost some articles for which we not long ago had a considerable demand; but that art, ingenuity and invention, which has hitherto so eminently distinguished our manufactures and workmen, had till that period supplied the deficiency.”

Q. Inform the Committee, whether you attended the Committee of Privy Council on the 5th of February?—A. I did.

Look at the printed report of the evidence then taken.

[The witness reads it.]

Q. Is the evidence there correctly taken?—A. It was read to the gentlemen examined, and is, I am persuaded, correctly taken.

Q. Did the evidence, in the course of the two days examinations, give any other answers to any question put to them, than what are stated in the printed report?—A. None that I understood were to be taken down as answers. In the course of the examination a great deal of conversation passed, but every question that was asked was admitted to be understood before an answer was expected to it, and every answer was settled, and agreed to, and read to the gentlemen examined before they were dismissed.

Q. Did they ever complain to you, that any thing was omitted?—A. Never that I recollect.

Q. Have you not reason to know that Messrs. Walker and Richardson were some time in town after the last examination?—A. I met them I think about ten days or a fortnight after.

Q. Did they then, when you met them, or at any other time, desire to make any alterations in the evidence taken on the last day?—A. They did not. It certainly would have been my duty to communicate it to the Committee of Council if they had.

Q. Had not you permission from the Committee, to send to any of the witnesses copies of their examination if they applied for it?—A. I had.

Q. Look to the question in page 37, in the printed report, beginning “If the Irish, &c.” and say, whether you recollect that Mr. Walker, when this question was first put to him, did not reply, That he conceived that question already answered by his two preceding

ceding answers to the two former questions?—A. I perfectly recollect Mr. Walker did not make an immediate reply to that question; but I really do not recollect that he answered it in that manner. I must here generally observe, that when I saw the gentlemen examined were getting into conversation with the Lords of the Council, I did not so exactly attend to what passed as when the answer was agreed upon, and ready to be taken down.

Q. Whether the whole of Messrs. Walker and Richardson's examination was intended to be sent, or was sent for their perusal, as well as that of the 31st of January?—A. Only that of the 31st of January was sent—if it had been applied for, the rest would have been sent. I was authorized to do it, without troubling the Committee upon it.

Q. Is the Committee then to understand, that the two questions on the 5th of February were not sent?—A. They certainly were not.

Q. Can you inform the Committee, whether the printed report is taken from the copy sent to Mr. Richardson and Mr. Walker, and which they amended, or from the copy taken at the Privy Council?—A. From the amended copy. The answer to the last question the first day are both marked in the printed report.

Q. Whether the conversation which passed between you, and Mr. Walker and Mr. Richardson, the evening of the 31st of January, and their revision of the evidence, was in consequence of their application?—A. I can hardly give you an answer to that question. They were told that they were at liberty to revise and correct their evidence; and I asked them, whether it would be convenient to them to come to me in the evening for that purpose.

Q. Had they the same information, or the same proposal made to them, by you after the evidence which they gave on the 5th February?—A. Not that I recollect, I rather think not.

Q. Had you any conversation on the subject with Mr. Richardson and Mr. Walker, subsequent to the examination of the 5th of February, relating to the business at any time after?—A. I had a conversation about a fortnight after with Messrs. Walker and Richardson on the Irish business in the Park, but none on that day, as they went out of the room, other business coming on.

Q. Did it appear to you, that if the intimation alluded to, which was made to Messrs. Walker and Richardson on the 31st January, and the proposal made by you had not been made, that the evidence of the 31st January would have remained without explanation, in the same manner as that of the 5th February does?—A. It is impossible to answer that question.

Q. Have you any reason to think they would have applied to revise the evidence on that day?—A. I had no more reason to think so on one day than another.

Q. When you met them in the Park, was their conversation on the subject of the evidence which had been given by them?—A. I think not, but on the Irish business in general.

Q. Whether

Q. Whether the two answers of the 31st January, both the incorrect and the corrected one were both published.—A. I obeyed the directions that I received from the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council. I understood it to be because it was the great point to which the examination was directed.

Q. Whether, in the second day's examination, you recollect Mr. Walker enumerated several advantages which Ireland would have over the country by taxes on windows, excise on soap, candles, and other articles, and stamps on bills and receipts?—A. Mr. Walker mentioned that frequently, and Mr. Richardson also; and I suppose on that day as well as in the first.

Q. Do you recollect the member of the Council who examined them, saying, You don't expect we can tax windows in Ireland, or lay duties on their soap, candles, &c. or that we can collect those duties in England by way of conversation?—A. I recollect in general, that it was said—that it would not be expected that labour and provisions could be made as dear there as here, or as cheap here as there. This passed in conversation, but I do not recollect the particular terms in which it passed.

Q. Whether you had any conversation with Mr. Walker and Mr. Richardson on the 31st of January, on the subject of the commercial treaty with Ireland, previous to their examination?—A. No, I had not.

Q. Were Mr. Walker and Mr. Richardson informed by the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council, of the purport of their intended examination.—A. I don't recollect they were previous to their examination—indeed I rather think not.

Q. Whether at any time during either of their examinations, the two questions referred to the Committee of Council by his Majesty's order in Council of 14th January, were ever read to them?—A. They never were read to them.

Q. Whether Mr. Walker and Mr. Richardson made any application to you to be examined by the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council?—A. They never did.

Q. Did you receive any directions from the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council, to order the attendance of Mr. Walker and Mr. Richardson previous to the first examination?—A. Certainly none.

Q. Can you inform the Committee, how Mr. Walker and Mr. Richardson came first before the Lords Committee of Privy Council?—A. I understood by the desire of Mr. Rose.

Q. Did Mr. Walker or Mr. Richardson, on their coming to the Privy Council, acquaint you that they came in consequence of such order?—A. As well as I recollect, a message came from the Treasury, to say that the Gentlemen from Manchester were attending there, and to desire that I would send for them when the Lords of Privy Council were ready.

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Q. Did

Q. Did you receive any directions from the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council, to write circular letters, or otherwise to give notice to the manufacturing and trading towns of Great Britain, of the object of their Lordship's enquiry?—A. I never received any such directions, nor ever wrote any such letters.

Q. Does it appear, that at any period of the examination of Mr. Walker and Mr. Richardson, that they had received any intimation from the Lords Committee of Privy Council, or had any knowledge of the Resolutions proposed a few days afterwards in the Irish Parliament, respecting a commercial arrangement with Great Britain?—A. *Of the specifick Resolution certainly not.*

Q. Does it appear that they had any intimation from the Committee of Privy Council, or knowledge of the general purport and spirit of those resolutions?—A. They certainly appeared to me in the evening of the 31st of January, fully to understand that *some* commercial adjustment with Ireland was then in agitation, and that part of that adjustment was to be the admission of Irish manufactures into this country.

Q. When you met Mr. Richardson in the Park a few days ago, after his examination, and when the Irish Resolutions were known, whether Mr. Richardson did not say to you, that labour being so much cheaper in Ireland than in England, and the value of their articles consisting three-fourths in labour, it was probable with all the other advantages of Ireland, that Ireland would immediately supplant us in our market?—A. I really do not recollect that Mr. Richardson used these words; it is very possible he might—because we argued the whole matter as well as we were able to argue it; and probably that was said in the course of that argument by Mr. Richardson.

Q. Did you ever understand, between the 5th of February and the examination of Mr. Walker or Mr. Richardson before a Committee of this House, that Mr. Walker or Mr. Richardson were dissatisfied with any part of their answers stated in the report of the Lords Committee of Privy Council?—A. I never heard that they were dissatisfied with any part of their answers. I did hear from report, that they had held a language which did not seem to me perfectly to agree with the answers, as stated in that report; but I took it for granted they had changed their opinion.

Q. How long after the examination had you the conversation with Mr. Walker and Mr. Richardson in the Park?—A. Ten days or a fortnight; but I can't exactly tell.

Q. Whether it did not appear to you, from that conversation of Mr. Walker and Mr. Richardson, that they then thought that the Irish Propositions would be very dangerous to the manufactures of Great Britain?—A. I really think that from this conversation much apprehension of danger did not seem to exist in their minds. I remember perfectly, that the last thing which passed was my asking

asking them, whether they did not, on the whole, think that the manufactures of this country had more to apprehend from non-importation agreements, from protecting duties, and from the high bounties and the great encouragement which the Irish would certainly give their own manufactures in case the Propositions were rejected than from the proposed adjustment.—A. I really do not recollect Mr. Walker and Mr. Richardson's precise answer, but their opinion did not appear to me to be decidedly against it, at least that is the impression which the conversation left on my mind. That conversation I have frequently mentioned long before I had any idea of being called to this bar.

Q. Is the Committee to understand, whether in that conversation one of the parties argued in favour of the Propositions, and the other against them?—A. Most assuredly.

Q. Whether Mr. Walker and Mr. Richardson did not argue against the Irish propositions?—A. They certainly did.

Q. Whether it appeared to you from any part of that conversation, that Mr. Walker and Mr. Richardson conceived that the opinion which they then delivered was inconsistent with the evidence they had before given to the Committee of Privy Council?—A. The evidence they had given made no part of the conversation at all. We talked in general on the subject.

Q. Is it your opinion that a person may not argue against the Irish Propositions without much apprehension in their minds of danger from the consequence of it?—A. I take it for granted they may.

Q. Whether a man may not argue for the Irish Propositions, without being thoroughly convinced that they may be very beneficial to this kingdom?—A. My opinion is, that there is nothing that a man may not argue for or against.

Q. Do you recollect in your conversation with Mr. Richardson and Mr. Walker in the Park, whether Mr. Richardson did not argue to you, if Ireland continued unreasonable in her demands it would be very easy to bring her to reason, by following her example, to enter into non-importation agreements, and prevent the importation of Irish goods into this country?—A. Yes.—My answer was, we should then be at declared war, which was hardly to be wished; to which Mr. Richardson assented.

Q. Whether from the several conversations you had with Mr. Walker and Mr. Richardson, you are or are not of opinion, that their objection to the Irish Propositions arose in a great measure from their dislike to the tax on fustians?

Question objected to.

Withdrew.

Question amended as follows:

Q. Whether it did or did not appear to you, from the conversation you had with Mr. Walker and Mr. Richardson, that their objection

objection to the Irish Propofitions proceeded chiefly from the operation of the tax on fuffians.

Witness called in and the question put to him.

A. They feemed to think the repeal of the tax on fuffians a very effential object, and had it much at heart, but their objections were on general grounds.

Q. Did Mr. Walker and Mr. Richardson ever by any means, or at any time admit that a repeal of the late tax on fuffians would take away their objections to the Irish resolutions?—A. The tax on fuffians was never mentioned in our converfation as coupled with the Irish resolutions?

Withdrew.

Veniris, 15 die Aprilis, 1785.

COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE HOUSE ON THE TRADE BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

The Committee being informed that Counfel attended on the part of the Petition of the Manufacturers and Dealers in British Manufactures of the City of London, and other Cities and Towns of Great Britain.

Counfell called in.

Mr. P I G O T T for the Petition.

Petition read.

The Council defires to call his witnessess first, and to observe upon the evidence afterwards, if he shall find it necessary.

He will call witnessess first as to the article of the manufacture of paper.

Mr. Pigott being called upon by the Committee to state all the manufactures upon which he meant to offer evidence to the Committee in support of this Petition, and the order in which he intended to produce the evidence on those feveral manufactures.

He faid he was not fufficiently instructed to answer either of thofe questions in the full extent; but could mention fome of them; they are manufactures of paper—manufactures of leather, and fope and candles.

And shall first begin with that of paper, then proceed to leather, and then to foap, and then to candles.

He fays, that as foon as he is further instructed he will immediately inform the Committee.

Q. Which of the petitioners are interested in the manufacture of paper?—A. Mr. Marsh, who is one of the petitioners.

The counfel then called,

Mr. WILLIAM GROSVENOR, (Stationer, in Cornhill.)

Q. Will the Irish Propofitions, if carried into a law, in any, and what degree affect the paper trade?—A. They will affect it very materially.

Q. The

Q. The duties now laid on---[The witness appearing to read from a paper.]

The counfel and witness withdrew.

Motion made, That the counfel and witness be called in; and that the witness be informed, that in giving his evidence to the Committee, he is not to refer to any memorandums but such as have been made by himself, or under his direction, of matters within his own knowledge.

Question put and agreed to.

Counfel and witness called in, and witness acquainted therewith.

Question repeated---[The witness fays he will give his evidence without consulting any minutes.]---They will affect it very materially, because the duties that are laid upon paper in this country, the Irish are not subject to. They therefore can greatly underfell us: they pay no Excise duties upon paper.

Q. Will the Irish be able to fupply the English market, if these Propofitions pass, at a lower price than the English manufacturer?

---A. They certainly will.

Q. Why?—A. Price of labour, provifions, and house-rent are considerably cheaper there.

Q. Are these all the reasons?—A. Twenty-five pounds per cent. duties upon the paper, though there is a drawback allowed, yet the drawback is not fo much as 25l. per cent.

Q. Will these Propofitions affect the trade in printed books?—A. Yes: the Irish can print cheaper: they buy the paper with the duty taken off; they also bind them with leather and vellum, which pays a very high duty here, and none in Ireland; this gives them a superiority in the market: at present they are prohibited being imported here.

Q. Will the introduction of Irish paper worked into account books and printed books into England, have any effect, and what, on our manufactory?—A. It will have this effect---if exported from Ireland to America and other parts when bound, as we have no drawback upon paper when manufactured, they will gain all this advantage: the Custom-house will not allow the drawback upon paper when bound; the same when printed upon: the quantity of paper of course manufactured here must be considerably lessened, as the demand will not be increased.

Q. Do you know any other reason why the Irish could afford paper, books of accounts, and printed books on lower terms than the English?—A. Several: one is, that the high duty on vellum and leather makes our books come higher to the foreign market.

Q. What reason have you to think that the Irish can make or procure paper lower than the English?—A. From the local situation and advantages, price of labour, they can export paper in small quantities, having recovered the drawbacks from here, or having made it themselves: whereas if we export it in small quantities, the trouble

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trouble and expence of the drawback amounts to as much as what we receive : the duties are so high, we often ship to the quantity of thirty or forty reams without attempting to get the drawback, of course it would go so much dearer to the foreign market. We receive about 27s. and often pay 26s. 6d. out of it.

Q. If a duty equal to the whole excise should be laid upon paper, account books, and printed books, will it sufficiently protect your trade?—A. I don't think it will; because the duty is paid immediately before the goods come to market, of course the paper-maker employing a larger capital, charges a higher price on the goods: the drawback is not received till six months after, so the drawback does not amount to so much as the duty originally paid.

Q. Will these regulations affect the export trade?—A. They will.

Q. How?—A. Because they can export from Ireland cheaper than we can from England.

Q. Is it your opinion that the Irish will undersell us in other markets?—A. Yes: I believe they will.

Q. Don't the Irish now export paper, books of account, and printed books to America and the West Indies?—A. They do.

Q. Will they be able to export those at a lower rate than the English?—A. Most certainly; for the reasons before given.

Q. Do you know of any other ill effects that these resolutions will have on the home consumption?—A. They will occasion those books that are bought in London to be imported from Ireland, as it will be worth our while to send paper there to be printed and bound.

Q. Are any English fine rags exported to Ireland?—A. Yes.

Q. Are there any orders for rags now in town from Ireland?—A. If they have not given the orders, they have wrote over to know the price, and whether they can be supplied with large quantities.

Q. Can they be supplied from other countries?—A. They can be supplied with coarse rags from Hamburgh and Ostend; fine rags being prohibited to be exported from Holland and other parts, they will naturally apply here for them; and there is no prohibition laid on here, though there is upon wool: there is also a severe penalty in Holland on persons exporting rags. Instead of our exporting rags, we are obliged to import above one third of what we manufacture here; and notwithstanding that, the mills were, in 1782, obliged to lie still above a month for want of rags; and since that the paper-makers have all come to a resolution to leave off the over work for a whole year, in order to reduce the price, and they have been obliged to continue that for 1783, 1784, and 1785.

Q. What is meant by over-work?—A. The demand was so great that they worked nine days to the week, and the rags being so high, they lost money by the business; several were ruined. The Irish

Irish can afford to give a higher price for rags than the English now do, on account of the labour and other advantages they have.

Q. Do you know, of your own knowledge, what the Irish paper-makers pay the men for the work?—A. I have enquired, and found it was about 8s. a week: I was informed by a person who traded there; except the foreman, whom they had from hence.

Q. What did they pay him?—A. I can't tell; but they made it worth his while to go.

Q. Had they then not paid him more than he got here in order to make it worth his while?—A. I think it was worth his while, tho' they paid the same wages, as provisions are cheaper.

Q. What do the paper-makers here pay the common workmen per week for six days in the week?—A. From 10s. to 12s. per week in Kent, the principal county for paper.

Q. Must not the Irish pay much more for the rags than the English do if they import them from this country?—A. I imagine not: one shilling per hundred would give the turn of the scale to any rag merchant.

Q. Do you know the expence of freight, insurance, and commission from England to Ireland?—A. Not exactly: I know that the freight and insurance are very low.

Q. Must not the expence of freight, insurance, and commission be charged on all rags which go from hence to Ireland?—A. The expence of freight certainly must: in summer time they do not insure, which is the time they want the rags; and as to commission they can buy them of the rag-merchants themselves without paying any commission.

Q. Have you not said that great quantities of paper are exported from hence to Ireland for the purpose of printing, and that there are now great commissions for it?—A. No: I don't recollect I did.

Q. Have not you said, that it will be worth our while to export paper to Ireland for the purpose of printing?—A. I think it will, when the prohibition of importing books is taken off when printed.

Q. If it is worth our while to export paper to Ireland, might it not be, because paper is cheaper in England than in Ireland, or that they do not make a sufficient quantity for their use?—A. At present the Irish do not make a sufficient quantity for their use: all the paper we print here pays a high duty, which is taken off on being exported to Ireland; and if printed and bound there, we can export cheaper from Ireland to America than from London.

Q. Do you understand that all books from Ireland are prohibited to be imported here, or whether it is confined to such books as where there is a copy-right?—A. I understand that all books are prohibited to be imported here.

Q. When you talk of books being prohibited from being imported here, do not you mean that they are under duties high enough

enough to operate as a prohibition?—A. I meant that ; but I meant more than that---that they were prohibited by act of parliament.

Q. Do you know what the duty is on books bound and unbound from Ireland?—A. About ten per cent.

Q. Do you know that the duty on books bound is 19s. 3d. per Cwt. and on books unbound 8s. 9d. per Cwt. except as to books first composed and printed?

Question objected to.

Witness withdrew.

Called in again.

Q. When you speak of books being in general prohibited, do you speak of books first composed and printed here, and reprinted in Ireland?—A. I mean that they are prohibited : all English books printed here, and reprinted in Ireland cannot be reimported into England.

Q. Do you mean that they are always prohibited, or only for a certain time specified in an act of parliament?—A. I can't speak to that.

Q. Whether, supposing the duties on unbound books imported into Great Britain from Ireland being at present 8s. 9d. per Cwt. the trade will suffer by the duty being reduced to 2s. 1d. per Cwt.?—A. Certainly it will.

Q. Do you mean by that, that a larger quantity will be imported from Ireland into Great Britain than at present?—A. Yes ; and of course will hurt the manufactures of paper-makers and printers ; and if bound, of bookbinders and leather-dressers, which trades employ a great number of hands.

Q. Do you know any means by which the importation of Irish printed books and Irish paper into this kingdom can be increased without a proportional decrease of the same articles of British produce and manufacture?—A. I don't see how it is possible ; the more imported the less must be made here.

Q. Do you know whether the introduction of Irish paper is prevented by positive prohibition or prohibitory duties?—A. It pays the same duty as from Holland, which is not a prohibitory duty.

Q. Is it so far an operating duty as to prevent the importation of any considerable quantity?—A. It has not been tried yet : there has been no considerable quantity as yet to import from Ireland.

Q. Do you know that under one of the Irish propositions upon importation of goods of the Irish manufacture, a duty is to be paid to countervail the duty paid here to the excise upon paper?—A. Yes, I observe so.

Q. Will the payment of that duty on the landing of that paper in Great Britain, being the same sum as is originally paid by the manufacturer here, be equivalent in its effect to the duty paid here in advance some months before?—A. Not quite I think.

Q. At what period of the manufacture is the excise duty paid here?—A. As soon as finished.

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Q. Is then the manufacturer in England, who is obliged to advance the duties imposed on finishing the paper upon the same terms with the Irish merchant, who does not pay till he comes into the British market?—A. Certainly not : the Irish has greatly the advantage, for the English paper producing a duty of 75,000l. per annum, there must be a profit upon that capital so advanced, and the Irish export to England without any duty all that they make themselves, and they have given a bounty for its encouragement.

Q. Considering the advantage you last mentioned, together with the other advantages you before mentioned, will 3d. per ream upon Irish printing paper imported be a protecting duty to the manufacturer of printing paper in this kingdom?—A. I don't think it will.

Q. Considering the several advantages will 10½ per cent. ad valorem on Irish writing paper imported into this kingdom be a protecting duty to that manufacture?—A. No, it will not : there is more than that difference.

Q. Have you any thing to state respecting stained paper?—A. The staining has the drawback on the staining of 1½d. per yard, but no drawback when shipped on the paper, tho' it pays 3s. and 5d. per ream duty ; so that the Irish can greatly undersell us in that article.

Q. Do you mean in foreign markets?—A. In foreign markets and this market : they smuggle it in at present at Liverpool and other places.

Q. Are you aware that the Irish have at present the same advantages of the foreign market, which they will have if the Irish Propositions pass into a law?—A. They certainly will not.

Q. In what respect will they have any advantage in the foreign market?—A. If they make the elephant paper themselves, they will save 3s. and 5d. per ream duty.

Q. Can't they do that now?—A. If our English rags are not prohibited to be exported they can't at present.

Q. Are the English rags prohibited now?—A. They are not ; but they ought to be, as wool is.

Q. Are you aware that the Irish will have no new advantage in the foreign market, if these resolutions pass into a law?—A. I think they will, as I before stated they will save 3s. and 5d. per ream duty.

Q. Whether, at the last regulation of the duties on paper, the duties on foreign paper were not considerably increased?—A. They were increased : not very considerably.

Q. Whether you think, upon the whole, that the consumption of foreign paper in Great Britain has increased or diminished since the late duties?—A. I believe much about the same : I don't think it has increased.

Q. Do you not think that any diminution upon the duty on foreign paper, would be the cause of a great additional consumption of foreign paper in Great Britain?—A. It would cause more to be imported.

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Q. Don't you understand that at present the duties on Irish paper are the same in general as those on foreign paper?—A. I believe they are.

Q. Whether the present Excise duties on paper are not laid variously on the different sorts of paper, according to the size of the paper and denomination—is it not so?—A. It is so.

Q. Whether you know if the Irish paper manufacturers manufactured their paper on the same sizes, and according to the same denomination as the British paper is manufactured?—A. All that I have seen were so; they have their moulds from England, and go under the same denomination.

Withdrew.

[For the Continuation of Evidence in the House of Commons, see p. 334.]

H O U S E O F L O R D S.

Die Lunæ, 20 Junii, 1785.

Committee of the Whole House, on the adjustment of the Commercial Intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland.

THE Committee, being informed that Counsel attended on the part of the Petition of the Merchants, Manufacturers, and others, of the town and neighbourhood of Manchester;

The Counsel (Messrs. Erskine and Garrow) were called in; Then the said Petition was read, as follows:

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled.

The Humble PETITION of the Merchants, Manufacturers, and others, of the Town and Neighbourhood of Manchester,

SHEWETH,

THAT your Petitioners, justly alarmed at the injurious tendency of the Propositions moved in the Irish House of Commons by Mr. Orde, humbly petitioned the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain, upon their introduction into that honourable House, that they would be pleased to reject the same, as *unjust, unwise, unreasonable, and impolitic*; not having either Equity, Equality, or Reciprocity for their basis; nor do they conceive, notwithstanding the many and great alterations which they have undergone in that honourable House, that, That Reciprocity is by any means established, which can alone make them permanent; because as far as your Petitioners are able to comprehend, the principles upon which they are founded are by no means either *equal or equitable*, as not affording a sufficient protection to the manufactures of this country,

in proportion to the very heavy burthens with which they are loaded, and from which those of Ireland, are so nearly exempted; added to which, linens, the staple manufacture of Ireland, are *for ever* to be admitted *duty free* into this country, whilst not only the staple, but also every other manufacture of Great Britain, except that of linen, is to be charged with a duty of *ten and an half per cent.* upon their importation into Ireland, at the same time that the amount of Irish linens, imported into Great Britain, is nearly equal in value to the *whole* of the British manufactures exported to that country.

Your Petitioners humbly beg leave to state to this Right Honourable House, the disadvantages they labour under now, and have for some time suffered in their foreign markets, through the partial, not to say impolitic laws, in favour of Irish linens, to the exclusion of foreign linens from our market, and the depression of the British linen manufacture. In Russia there is now existing an impost of 30 per cent. ad valorem, upon some of our English manufactures; and in Germany a prohibitory edict has either already taken place, or is upon the point of so doing, and which in all probability the determination of the British Legislature on the Irish Propositions, will tend to annul, or for ever confirm: if therefore, instead of leaving an opening for a commercial regulation with those states who are *so able*, and have hitherto shewn themselves *so willing* upon the *true* principles of *reciprocity* to increase in a very considerable degree the consumption of British manufactures; the legislature of this country should preclude themselves from the power of hearkening to fair and advantageous offers, and should *for ever* bind themselves from doing so; it may merit the most serious consideration of this Right Honourable House, what measures your Petitioners, as subjects and manufacturers of this nation, are to expect from powers so circumstanced.

But your petitioners do not confine their views to the danger arising immediately and directly from these Propositions, as affecting the manufactures of the town and neighbourhood of Manchester only; but feel themselves equally entitled as subjects of this country to protest against all the propositions taken agregately, as a new and destructive system of policy, which, by universally undermining the commercial interests of Great Britain, must consequently affect every *interest, trade, and manufacture* within it, the prosperity of which depends evidently upon the general wealth, commerce and prosperity of the whole nation.

Your Petitioners humbly beg leave to observe to this Right Honourable House, that if the propositions had passed in the state in which they were *originally* introduced into the British House of Commons, it is evident from the alterations which that Honourable House has since judged it expedient to make in them, the most *fatal consequences* must have ensued to the *landed, funded, and commercial* interests of Great Britain; and though something has been done, much more remains to be effected, and which your Petitioners

oners hope for, from the wisdom, integrity and independence of your Lordships.

Your Petitioners are fully convinced that no system but what prescribes a participation of burthens, as well as advantages, can either be fair, equitable, or permanent, and therefore they are of opinion, that a complete Union in Commerce, Policy, and Legislation, is the most probable means of establishing a lasting harmony, and goodwill between the two nations, and preventing that jealousy and discord which the present Propositions are so very likely to promote and encourage; but such system, they humbly apprehend, can only be the result of the most mature deliberation, and which your Petitioners presume there is not time to establish, at this advanced period of the session.

Your Petitioners therefore most humbly beseech your Lordships, that they may be heard by themselves or counsel at the bar of this Right Honorable House, against the said Propositions: and that your Lordships will grant them such relief as to this Right Honorable House shall seem meet.

And your Petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

The Counsel desired permission of the Committee to call the witnesses first, and to observe upon the evidence afterwards; which being given,

The counsel informed the Committee that he wished to call a witness of the name of Robert Peele, whose voluntary attendance he could not procure; but whose attendance would certainly be had if the house would be pleased to issue their order for that purpose; the witness being at hand, and very ready to obey such order.

The counsel were directed to withdraw.

And being again called in,

THOMAS WALKER was called in; and being sworn was examined as follows:

Q. You are a manufacturer and exporter of fustians?—A. I am.

Q. What number of people do you suppose are employed in the cotton and fustian manufactory?—A. In the cotton manufacture, from the best information I have been able to obtain, I presume not less than 300,000 people.

Q. Can you form any estimate of the sums paid to the revenue by the cotton manufacturers, and by those persons whom you have just now stated to be employed in it?—A. Your Lordships will please to understand that this is matter of opinion; but from every informatign which I have been able to obtain upon the subject, they pay not less than 900,000 l. per annum to the revenue, and if your Lordships will permit me to call over a list of the articles in this country that are subject to duties and excises, and from which the Irish are almost wholly exempt, I am of opinion, you will not conceive that the estimate is exaggerated, viz. beer, leather, soap, stamp

stamp duties on bills, receipts, bonds, legacies, hats, gloves, and various other articles, auctions, candles, window tax, commutation tax, house tax, land tax, bricks, malt, horse tax, post horse tax, postage, cart tax, tea and sugar, wine and spirits, tobacco, paper, salt, iron, servants, births, marriages, and shop tax: the whole, I presume, is not exaggerated in estimating them at 3l. for each individual, making in all 900,000 l. per annum, and from which the Irish are, in a great degree, exempt; I do not say, wholly.

Q. Are there any fustians now exported to Ireland?—A. There are a few.

Q. Has that trade increased or decreased lately?—A. It has decreased very rapidly.

Q. Do you speak of your own ideas on the subject, or from any authority?—A. I speak from my own ideas, confirmed by very good authority.

Q. State to the House your authority for stating that decrease?—

A. I have two letters in my pocket, if your Lordships will permit me to read such parts as relate to the decrease of our trade to Ireland. The one, is from a house in Manchester, which is by much the first house in the Irish trade. The other, is from a gentleman now in this house, who will *viva voce*, confirm what I shall have the honour of reading. The first letter states, "That the first house in that trade, from the 1st of October 1783 to the 1st of January 1784, had sent to Ireland, goods to the amount of 5,000 l. and in the same period of time, in the succeeding year, they did not sell one piece, or receive an order, except one, to the amount of about 60 l." The other states, "that from January 1783 to August 1784, Mr. Smith sold goods to the amount of 6,271 l. 19 s. and that since that period he has sent none; nor has he received any commission, but to the amount of between 200 l. and 300 l." Both the goods I have spoken of, are fustians.

Q. Are you in possession of any other authority than that you have given, touching the decrease of the exportation of fustians from this country?—A. If your Lordships will refer to the Report of the Lords of the Privy Council, page 42, printed in the House of Commons, you will find, that what I have asserted, is there strongly confirmed: It is there declared, that the fustian trade has rapidly decreased. By the report annexed to it, it is stated, "that in the year 1781 there were 22,619 ends and a half of fustian exported to Ireland; and in 1784, there were only 989 ends: that the exportation from Ireland to America in 1781 was 1,108 yards, and in 1784 it was increased to 47,237 yards."

Q. How many yards are there in a piece?—A. From twenty to thirty yards. It further states, that the export of cotton and mixed goods from Ireland to America has also increased in the following manner:

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In the year 1781	145	12	4	Value
In the year 1782	414	7	6	Do.
In the year 1783	148	16	0	Do.
In the year 1784	8,319	18	2	Do.

The export of cotton manufactures from Ireland to foreign parts, although not to any great extent at present, appears to be increasing.

Q. To what cause do you impute that rapid decrease in the exportation of fustians you have just mentioned?—A. To the very rapid increase of the Irish manufacture in the very same articles.

Q. How do you know that the Irish manufacture of cotton has so rapidly increased, as to produce that effect?—A. I have received my information from various gentlemen of credit and reputation, who have been in Ireland; added to which, I have heard Mr. Brooke, the proprietor of the most extensive cotton manufacture at this time in Ireland, declare its flourishing state at the bar of the House of Commons.

Q. Was not the cotton manufacture introduced into Ireland by that gentleman?—A. It was not carried on to any extent but by him. He there stated, on the question being asked him as to the increase of his manufacture, "That it had increased very much: And though it had been established no more than five years, that he at that time employed 5,000 people, men, women, and children: and that before he began the manufacture at Prosperous, there was only one hut there, whereas now there are several hundred houses."

Q. Do you think that the cotton manufacture is still likely to increase in Ireland?—A. I have no doubt but it will: And if the Propositions now before your Lordships should pass into a law, I should conceive that the increase of that manufacture will be very rapid indeed.

Q. Will you state to the Committee your reasons for that opinion?—A. When I take into consideration the low price of labour in that country, their exemption from taxation, and that the British market (if the Propositions pass, I mean) will be open to them, I can have no doubt but the Irish will be greatly assisted in carrying on this manufacture to a much greater extent, by the emigration of numbers of manufacturers from this country, who, in my opinion, may carry on their business to so much more advantage in Ireland than in England.

Q. Do you think that 10 per cent. will be a protecting duty?—A. I do not, nor ever did.

Q. State your reasons for that opinion?—A. Having already stated that the cotton manufacturers of this kingdom are burthened with taxes to the amount of £900,000 annually, from which Ireland is nearly exempt, I have no idea that any thing will protect the cotton manufacture of this kingdom, but putting the two countries, in all respects, upon an equal footing.

Q. Can

Q. Can the raw material for the cotton manufacture be purchased as cheap in Ireland as in England?—A. It is impossible for any man to have a doubt of it; but, in my opinion, cotton wool may be purchased cheaper in Ireland than in England: I do not mean to speak of the present moment, as it may not hitherto have been imported in very great quantities; but when the cotton manufacture, already a great object to Ireland, shall become so much greater, it is impossible to doubt, but that from the situation of Ireland, she will purchase the raw material of cotton from her nearness, to the West Indies, and from the advantages she will have in navigation, cheaper than this country can.

Q. Is there any other article besides cotton, in which the Irish manufacturer has the advantage over the English?—A. Yes; very materially in linen yarn, which is one of the materials, of which I may say, almost all the low-priced fustians are manufactured, and some of the middling kind. I wish to add here, that German yarn is likewise used; but it is not so fit for some purposes as the Irish; and, I believe, is in all instances dearer.

Q. Is the Irish linen yarn cheaper than the English linen yarn, in the present state of things?—A. Yes; for linen yarn is burthened with expences from £. 7½ to £. 13 per cent, to the English manufacturer, more than what is to the Irish. There are two original invoices annexed to the minutes of the evidence taken before a Committee of the House of Commons, pp. 256 and 257, which prove it; but, I believe, the price to the British manufacturer in some cases, is more than £. 13 per cent. dearer than it is to the Irish.

Q. State what makes the variation of £. 7½ to £. 13 per cent.?—A. The finer the yarn, the less the expence is upon it: For instance, in a truss of 90 bundles, it will appear that the expence is only 7½ per cent. whilst on those from 52 to 67 it is £. 13 per cent.

Q. Is there a higher duty on the coarser than on the finer?—A. No; but the expence attaches more.

Q. The expence of freight, &c. is included in that?—A. It is all included in that.

Q. Do you know the price of spinning in Ireland and in England?—A. As to the price of spinning linen yarn, to speak of the specific sum I paid, I cannot; I can only speak from information, as I have not made the enquiry myself in Ireland. The information I have received is, that the spinner in Ireland gets from 3d. to 4d. per day. Indeed I have even heard much less; and I should presume there can be no stronger proof of it, than that Irish linen yarn can be sold so much cheaper in England with the expence of £. 13 per cent. upon it, as to give it a preference to the yarn spun in this country.

Q. What does the spinner earn in this country?—A. I cannot positively speak to the spinners of linen yarn in this country; but in worsted yarn, the same, or a greater disproportion holds good.

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good. At the time that it was stated by the Norwich manufacturers to the Lords of the Committee of Council, that the raw material was dearer in Ireland in the proportion of 10s to 6d: they could buy Irish worsted yarn cheaper in their own markets, all expences included, by £. 6 per cent. than English. I wish here to observe, that if there is that disproportion in spinning, where England has so greatly the advantage in the raw material, what must be the advantage that Ireland will have over England, when she comes to spin cotton wool; which she can purchase on better terms than what the English can.

Q. Do you apprehend that the spinners of linen and worsted yarn can be equally expert in the spinning of cotton, if the English market is open to the manufactures of Ireland?—A. I have not the least doubt of it. When Mr. Arkwright first established his works in this country, he did not establish them where the people had been in the habits of spinning at all, but he established them at Cromford, near Matlock in Derbyshire (his object for which, I presume, was the cheapness of labour), a country where, till that time, the people had been almost wholly unemployed, except in the getting, washing, and manufacturing of lead.

Q. Do you know the price of weaving in Ireland?—A. From information I have received, I believe it is higher at Dublin than it is in England; but at a very little distance from Dublin, it is stated in evidence at the bar of the House of Commons, that the proportion is reduced from 9 to 14.

Q. Can the weavers of linen cloth be soon taught to weave cotton?—A. Certainly; and I do not wish to state this as a matter of information or opinion borrowed from any man, but from my own positive knowledge; and were your Lordships to call every cotton manufacturer in the county of Lancaster to your Lordships bar, I am confident there is not one of them but who would admit, that the best cotton weavers are those who were originally linen weavers.

Q. Whether you conceive that these Propositions will affect the export trade of cottons?—A. I conceive they will.

Q. In what manner, besides what you have already mentioned?—A. In a two fold way. Though I am perfectly well aware, that Ireland has at this moment full power to export to every quarter of the world that she pleases, still I am of opinion these resolutions will very materially increase her abilities so to do; first, by opening to her the British market, which is now to shut to her; where she will be able to sell her manufactures for ready money or upon a short credit; but if she exports them to America or the West Indies, she must give a very long one. I presume, at this moment, the cotton manufacturer for the export trade, might establish his manufacture in Ireland, on more advantageous terms than he can at present carry it on in England; at least, in a very short time; and which, was he to find himself rivalled, or shut out of his own market, he naturally would do; and secondly, by the very probable injury

injury we shall receive in our Russian and German trade, by permitting the importation of Irish linens into this country for ever duty free.

Q. If the English market is opened by these Resolutions, have you any doubt, that the cotton manufacture of Ireland will be able effectually to rival the cotton manufacturers of England, in the English market?—A. I can have no doubt of it, after what I have stated.

Q. Do you think, that the manufacture of cotton in Ireland will be able so effectually to rival the cotton manufacture of this country, as to lead to the emigration of our manufacturers, and to the extirpation of that trade?—A. After having stated to the House the untaxed state of that kingdom, compared with England, and the cheapness of labour in consequence of that exemption; and that in the fustian trade labour, on the most accurate calculation I have been able to make, is three times the value of the material, I can have no doubt but that will in time be the consequence.

Q. Have you any doubt that the cotton manufacturer of England, seeing himself underfold in his own market by the Irish manufacturer, will form an establishment there, and carry on his trade in Ireland instead of here?—A. If that question is meant to apply to myself, I must confess it would be with the greatest reluctance that I should either go, or transfer even a part of my property to Ireland, or to any other country; but I have no doubt, there are those who will go. The consequence of which will be, that from the advantages those who go to Ireland will have, superior to what will be enjoyed by those who remain here, there will be no alternative left them but to follow, to transfer a part of their property so as to have engagements in that country, or to lose their trade.

Q. Do you think, if that alternative should happen to be pressed upon the manufacturers of this country, that it would be difficult for them to transfer their capital and trade to that country?—A. I do not think it would.

Q. I wish to ask, whether, when the witness was examined before the Lords of the Privy Council upon this subject, he was previously acquainted that these resolutions were in agitation, and what was the end which they had in view in the examination?—A. I was not.

Q. Had you then any opportunity of informing the Lords of the Council of the sentiments of the manufacturers upon the subject, or of even weighing your own?—A. I had no opportunity of conveying to them the sentiments of any one but myself, one manufacturer and two printers, who were along with me; nor, indeed, could I be said to have, in any degree, an opportunity of forming my own.

Q. Did you ever declare it to be your opinion before the Lords of the Council, that £. 10½ per cent. would be an equal duty without

out an equalization of the taxes of the two countries.—A. I did not.

Q. When you stated, that if the two countries were put upon an equal footing in *all respects*, as contra-distinguished from *all these respects*, did you explain to your examiner your meaning in that contra-distinction?—A. I did; but it was in a subsequent examination, when I was sent for to explain what is here called my amended answer.

Q. When you did attend to explain your amended answer, did you leave any doubt upon the mind of the examiner, that you adhered to an equality in *all respects*, as contra-distinguished to *all these respects*, and that you meant an equality in taxes?—A. If it was possible to suppose he had any doubt of my meaning upon my first examination, I take upon myself here positively to assert, standing, as I do, upon my oath, that in my opinion he could possibly have none at my last.

Q. Then it was your originally declared opinion, and continues to be your opinion still, that £. 10½ per cent. will not be a protecting duty, without an equalization of the two countries in *all other respects*, viz. in those points which you have mentioned to-day?—A. I do not mean to say, nor ever did, that if we were in *all respects* upon an equal footing, it would then require £. 10½ per cent. to protect us.

Q. It is stated in the report upon their Lordships table, that you sent to desire to amend your answer; did you send, or was you sent to?—A. I was sent to; but if your Lordships would wish to hear it, I will state the whole of the transaction from the first moment I appeared at the Council, till I sent some information upon the 16th of February.—Upon the 30th of January, I dined in London with Mr. Stanley, one of the members for the county of Lancaster, who shewed me a note he had received from Mr. Rose, in which he desired, “that he would request the manufacturers to attend the Lords of the Council the next day, being Monday, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon.” I called upon Mr. Stanley, with Mr. Richardson, on Monday at half past ten, where we found Mr. Philips and Mr. Kershaw; from Mr. Stanley's house we went to the Treasury. At that time there was a tax upon the suttian trade; and we conceived we were sent for on the subject of that tax.

Q. You, and the Gentlemen with you, were delegated to solicit the repeal of that tax?—A. Mr. Richardson and myself were; and we had before that time had repeated interviews with Mr. Pitt on the subject of that repeal; as such, we conceived, we were sent for again on the same subject. We went to the Treasury, and after waiting a little, were told, that we were wanted by the Lords of the Council. We went in, and several questions were put to us; those that related to the cotton manufacture were answered by myself. Hearing nothing said of the tax, I turned to Mr. Stanley, and looked a good deal surprized, as the examination seemed to bear

bear no reference to the business which I conceived we were sent for upon. He whispered me, and said, “I dare say it is upon the Irish business that you are now examined.” Upon which I remarked to my examiner, That if we were examining upon the Irish business, not knowing to what my examination led, I did not consider myself, nor indeed any other manufacturer, competent to give an opinion that there ought to be much reliance placed upon, without having proper time for consideration. It was immediately remarked, and, I think, by my examiner (but I do not state positively that it was by him, “That if we would attend at Mr. Fawkeners office that evening at nine o'clock, we should have an opportunity of making any corrections that we might think necessary;” to which I again observed (though I had no information but only the suggestion of Mr. Stanley, that that was the business on which we were examined), that I wished to have more time to consider a matter of that moment; and whether I asked, or whether my examiner made the offer of the evidence being sent home to the lodgings of Mr. Richardson and myself, I cannot take upon myself positively to say. We attended at nine o'clock in the evening at Mr. Fawkeners office, where some few alterations were made; but knowing that we were to have a fair copy sent to us, I confess I did not at Mr. Fawkeners pay particular attention to the alterations, or to the evidence itself. In the morning a fair copy was sent, accompanied with this note, from Mr. Fawkeners—

“Mr. Fawkeners presents his compliments to Messrs. Walker and Richardson, and sends them a copy of their examination, which he hopes they will find exact. He is further desired by the Lords of the Committee, to desire their answer in writing to the following question:

“Q. Whether the exportation of cotton goods, printed or otherwise, to other countries, except Ireland, has increased of late, or diminished?”

“Messrs. Walker and Richardson.”

I forgot to state, that in our conversation with Mr. Fawkeners, I told him, I presumed our examination was upon the Irish business, and asked him, if he was at liberty to say, Whether it was or not? He did not give me a positive answer, saying, he did not know whether he was at liberty to tell me; but that he conceived it was relative to that, or had that object in view. I kept a copy of the evidence that we originally gave, with the alterations which we made, which I now hold in my hand, the preface to which I beg leave to read:

At the Council Chamber, Whitehall, the 31st of January, 1785.

By the Right Honourable the Lords of the Committee of Council, appointed for the consideration of all matters relating to Trade and Foreign Palntations.

0430

P R E S E N T,

Lord Sydney,	Charles Jenkinson, Esq.
Lord Frederick Campbell,	Sir John Goodricke,
Lord Grantham,	James Grenville, Esq.
Sir Joseph Yorke,	

" Their Lordships this day resumed the consideration of the points referred by his Majesty's order in Council of the 14th instant, respecting the trade with Ireland; and Mr. Stanley and Mr. Blackburne, Members for the county of Lancaster, attended with Messrs. Thomas Walker and Thomas Richardson, manufacturers of Manchester; and Messrs. Thomas Philips and Thomas Kerthaw, printers of that place." who being called in, the following questions were put to them: and which is all the official information we ever received, that our examination in any respect related to Ireland; the report of the Lords of the Committee of Council was not published until a month afterwards, nor was it seen by Mr. Richardson or myself before the 13th or 14th of March, as we went down to Manchester, upon the 27th of February, and did not return to London until the 13th of March.

Q. A few days after this, you heard that the Resolutions had been moved in Ireland?—A. Not till about the 17th of February.

Q. Is there any thing else, respecting your examination before the Lords of the Council, that you would wish to explain?—A. There is. Upon the 3d of February, Mr. Richardson and myself received the following note:

Council Office, Whitehall,
the 3d February, 1785.

" I am directed by the Right Honourable the Lords of the Committee of Council, appointed for the consideration of all matters relating to Trade and Foreign Plantations, to desire that you will be pleased to attend their Lordships again, on Saturday next the 5th instant, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon.

" I am, Gentlemen,

" Your most obedient

" humble Servant,"

" W. FAWKENER.

" Messrs. Walker and Richardson."

Examined by Lords of the Committee.

Q. Who was your examiner?—A. Mr. Jenkinson.
Q. Did any body else ask you any questions?—A. No.
Q. Whether you had, previous to the note just now read from Mr. Fawkenner, made any application to be examined again before the

the Committee of the Privy Council?—A. No, my Lord, I never made any application to be examined.

Q. When you put the question to your examiner, as to the exact tendency of the questions asked you, what answer did you get: I mean, did you get any answer that they related to the Irish Propositions?—A. The Irish Propositions were never mentioned.

Q. Did you ever put any question to your examiner, as to the tendency of those questions he had put to you.—A. I did not directly put any such question. I said, I conceived we were examining, as I have before stated, not upon the tax business, but upon the Irish trade; to which I do not recollect any answer being made by my examiner.

Q. I think it has been said, that it was impossible for the examiner to misunderstand the witness as to the equivalent of the countervailing duty of £. 10½ per cent. Does he undertake to remember and deliver, upon oath, the words he then used as to the £. 10½ per cent.?—A. If you will permit me to refer to the report, I will give your Lordships the best account I can, of what I said in answer to what is there called the amended question. When we were before the Privy Council, on the 5th of February, I was desired to explain what I meant by *all respects*; I enumerated and referred, in some degree, though not in so extensive a one as I have done to your Lordships this day, to the taxed state of this country, compared with the untaxed state of Ireland. My examiner remarked, that I did not suppose this country could impose the same taxes on soap, candles, &c. in Ireland; or take them off the same articles in England; which I readily admitted; but said, until that was done, or some equivalent given, the English and Irish manufacturer would not be on an equal footing. That is the purport of what I said, but I do not say they are the exact words which I made use of.

Q. The question that appears to be put to the witness was, "Whether if the Irish were put upon the same footing, with respect to taxes and bounties, as well internally as upon export from one country to the other, he should have any reason to apprehend a competition in the British or Irish market." The first question I will ask is, Whether the witness remembers that question being put to him?—A. I must beg leave to observe, that I never had the two questions which were asked me upon the fifth of February, to amend; nor did I ever see them after I left the Council Chamber with Mr. Stanley, till I saw them in print.

Q. The question I wish you to answer is, Whether you do or do not remember the circumstances of that question being put to you?—A. I perfectly remember the question in substance being put; but, preceding that, my examiner, after having admitted, as I conceived, that the two countries were to be put, in all respects, upon an equal footing, threw himself back in his chair with some chagrin, and taking snuff hastily said, "Do you then suppose that 7. 10½ per cent. would be a sufficient protection to the manufactures

tures of this country?" To which I answered, "It would;" fully conceiving that he had reference to the equality before mentioned.

Q. That equality being an equality of all manner of excises and taxes whatsoever?—A. Yes, or an equivalent.

Q. The witness has spoken of the decrease of the import into Ireland of the fustian trade from 1781 to 1784; I beg he will answer to the House, Whether there were any particular reasons besides the price of materials, or the price of labour, which will account for that decrease?—A. In Dublin there were, my Lord; for some part of the time, I cannot say how long, a non-impottation agreement was entered into there.

Q. Do you understand that the non-impottation agreement, at the time you speak of, was confined to Dublin?—A. I always understood it was.

Q. Was there any duty imposed upon the export of fustian from Manchester to Dublin?—A. No, my Lord, not previous to the 1st of October last.

Q. Was there not an old subsidy?—A. From this country,—I never heard there was. There is a duty of £. 10 1/2 per cent. upon the impottation into Ireland.

Q. Did Ireland at that time give any bounties?—A. I understand she did.

Q. Does the witness mean to say, that the rest of the fustian trade of Manchester, or the general fustian trade of Manchester decreased during the same period?—A. I do not; and I believe the reverse was the fact.

Q. By the reverse then you mean, that the trade increased during that period.—A. Yes.

Q. I want to know in what proportion (if the reverse was the fact) it increased from 1781 to 1784?—A. It is impossible for me to answer that question.

Q. Does the witness know what the quantity of raw cotton impotted into England in 1781 was?—A. I do not.

Q. Do you know the quantity in 1784?—A. I do not; but I believe I know what it was in 1782 and 1783.

Q. What was it in 1782?—A. In the year 1782, it was about nine million, and in the year 1783; about eleven million pounds weight.

Q. Do you know what it was in 1781?—A. I have before said, I did not.

Q. Do you happen to know any thing of the impottation of raw cotton into Ireland?—A. I have seen the quantity, but do not immediately recollect how much it was.

Q. Do you know whether there were any material increase in 1781 and 1784, in the quantity of raw cotton impotted into Ireland?—A. I do not.

Q. Suppose the quantity of raw cotton impotted into England should have arisen from 5,000,000 lb. weight and upwards, to

11,000,000

11,000,000 lb. and upwards, between the year 1781 and 1784. would you look upon that as a sign of the increase of that trade?—A. Certainly I should.

Q. And, consequently, if the quantity of cotton impotted into Ireland between the year 1781 and the year 1784, should be nearly the same as each other, should you look upon that to be some sign of that trade not having increased. For instance, I put the case of 4,165 lb. weight impotted into Ireland in the year 1781, and 4,286 lb. weight impotted in the year 1784; would you look upon these two quantities of impott, to be a sign of the increase, or a sign of that trade standing where it was?—A. If the same proportion held good in Ireland as it did in England.

Q. But the case I put of 4,165 lb. and 4,286 lb. is not the same as 5,000,000 lb. and 11,000,000 lb. weight?—A. A great deal depends upon the stock there was in hand, as well in England in the year 1780, as what might be in Ireland in the year 1783.

Q. Suppose the stock impotted in the year 1780 were 5,900,000 lb. should you look upon that as a quantity of stock in hand capable of supplying the difference?—A. The less quantity of cotton there is in any country, the fewer goods can be made of it.

Q. Now, with regard to the linen yarn—Has the impottation of that from Ireland to Manchester, increased or decreased of late years?—A. It has decreased; of which I transmitted an account in my own hand writing to Mr. Jenkinson.

Q. What did it prove, that it increased or decreased?—A. It proved, that in 1781 there were 3,491 trusses impotted into Manchester;—in 1782, there were 3,995 1/2;—in 1783, 4,532 1/2;—and in 1784, 3,543 trusses only.

Q. You were saying, that in linen yarn, the Irish had an advantage of from £. 7 to £. 13 per cent. What is the price of linen yarn in Ireland upon an average?—A. I do not know.

Q. I will put it in another way: Upon a particular quantity of Irish linen yarn, what is the difference in the price in the Dublin market, and in the Manchester market, naming the price of both?—A. I believe the Dublin market is not the best market to buy it from.

Q. Then they do not buy it from there?—A. Mr. Smith can answer this question much better than I can.

Q. In what part of Ireland do the Dublin people buy their linen yarn?—A. The yarn I spoke of came from Londonderry.

Q. What is the price at Londonderry of any given quantity of linen yarn you may please to speak of?—A. One invoice is charged at 2s. 2 1/2d. per spangle;—the eight trusses amounted to £. 266. 12s. 0 1/2 sterling.

Q. The question that I put, is upon the difference of the price of any particular species of yarn, between the Londonderry market and the Manchester market?—A. There is upon these eight trusses £. 13 per cent. difference in the price, as near as possible; that

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that is, it is £. 13 per cent. dearer in Manchester than in Ireland, owing to the duty, freight, and other expences.

Q. To what articles do you refer for the difference of this price? what is the freight?—A. The freight is 12s. per truffs; but the heaviest expence is the duty.

Q. What is the duty?—A. One halfpenny per lb. which is imposed by the Parliament of Ireland.

Q. What! on the export?—A. Yes; and on the eight trusses I have been speaking of, amounts to £. 13. 5s. 5d.

Q. How much is that per cent.?—A. Somewhat more than five per cent*.

Q. What quantity of English linen yarn do they use in this country in the manufacture, in proportion to the Irish?—A. In the business in which I am concerned, little, if any; I never recollect, in the course of my trade, having used English yarn, except once.

Q. Are there any trades, in which English yarn is reckoned better than the Irish?—A. I cannot speak to that fact of my own knowledge.

Q. Is the English or the Irish yarn preferred the one to the other in any respect?—A. As I have stated only having used it once myself, I cannot say more upon the subject.

Q. Do you know the price of spinning in Ireland?—A. I have been told that a spinner gets from 3½d. to 4d. a day, and some even as little as 2d.

Q. Do they spin by the piece, or by the time?—A. I do not know.

Q. In what manner do they work here, by the piece or by the time?—A. I am as ignorant about the spinning of linen yarn in England as in Ireland; but I believe, in the spinning of cotton, they spin by the day or week: in my manufacture I pay by the pound.

Q. Do you know any thing of spinning cotton in Ireland; whether they do it by the piece or the day?—A. If they spin cotton proportionably cheap to what they do worsted.

Q. You know nothing then but from inference?—A. I do not.

Q. At what place do you alledge it to be cheaper?—A. At Malahide.

Q. Is it cheaper at Belfast?—A. It has been said it is not; but I am of a different opinion.

Q. Upon what foundation?—A. Because I am told that a linen weaver does not in Ireland earn more than 8d. per day.

Q. I speak of cotton and calicoes; have you any knowledge of that yourself?—A. No: I think a witness at the bar of the House

* Here the witness stated the particulars of the Invoice.

of Commons stated that it was dearer; but that was in the infancy of the manufacture; for he stated that he had but just begun the business, about two or three years.

Q. Not long enough then to know the price of labour?—A. I do not say that.

Q. Have you any ground for saying that the price of labour, in weaving a piece of cotton of thirty yards, is more or less in Ireland or in England, taking it generally?—A. I have been vastly misinformed upon the subject, and by a man of very great reputation and character, if the weaving of cotton in Ireland may not be obtained much cheaper than in England.

Q. Will the witness mention the prices which the people of the best reputation gave him, of the weaving a piece of cotton yarn of thirty yards in Ireland?—A. When I made that assertion, I spoke of the price of weaving linen in Ireland, compared with the price of weaving cotton in Lancashire.

Q. Did you speak of the price of labour?—A. Yes.

Q. What is the price of weaving a piece of cotton of thirty yards in England?—A. The price of weaving a piece of callicoe, I believe, is 7s. 6d. or 8s. but Mr. Peele can speak to that with greater certainty than what I can.

Q. Do you, or do you not know, from particular information, or from knowledge of your own, what the price of weaving by the piece, or by the day, in any part of Ireland, is?—A. If it was to be argued from the present moment, and that it could be supposed the passing the propositions would not make a very material alteration in the circumstances of the cotton manufacture. I am very confident that the hundred and twenty thousand petitioners, in whose behalf I have the honour here to appear, would not have troubled your Lordships with requesting my attendance, or with the petition which now lies upon your Lordships table.

Q. Then the witness will state, whether, if things stand upon the present footing, they will have any apprehensions as to weaving, from the price of labour in Ireland or in England?—A. The prices of Dublin are, I believe, higher (at least I have been so informed) than what they are Manchester.

Q. In what proportion are they higher?—A. Without I knew that they regulated their manufacture upon the same principle as we do, it will be impossible for me to answer that question.

Q. In what proportion have you been informed they are higher?—A. I have been informed they are very considerably higher. In an anonymous publication, said to be of some authority, they are stated to be so.

Q. Was that the source then from whence you speak?—A. No, it was not.

Q. Then from what source have you any reason to suppose that they are higher, or that they are not higher?—A. It is stated by NUMB. V. T t evidence

evidence from Ireland, at the bar of the House of Commons, that the price of weaving callicoe is 14s. in Dublin, which may be woven for 7s. or 8s. at Manchester.

Q. Does the witness believe, from the information he has received, that there is any other given rate in the proportion between the price of weaving in the one place and in the other?—A. That the price at Manchester is between 7s. and 8s. I believe, is certainly the fact. What the price in Dublin is, I cannot pretend to say; but I am of opinion, that the prices there, are, in a great measure, nominal.

Q. Is there a great deal of the cotton manufacture carried on there, either of fustians, callicoes, or of any other denomination?—A. I understand not.

Q. In what place is it carried on?—A. Principally at Prosperous, about sixteen miles from Dublin.

Q. Do you know what the price of weaving callicoe is at Prosperous?—A. Mr. Brooke said before the House of Commons, that he regulated his prices by the Manchester prices.

Q. Do you know whether Mr. Brooke found it easy to reduce the price at Prosperous to that of Manchester, or whether he found a difficulty in so doing, and in keeping it down at that price?—A. I heard him say, he had found it difficult; but, if I may be permitted to observe, when I speak of the cotton manufacturers emigrating from this country, under an idea of establishing the cotton manufacture in Ireland, to more advantage than they can carry it on in England, I am very confident that no man will attempt the establishment of it, either in a dissipated metropolis, or upon Mr. Brooke's estate at Prosperous.

Q. I have no objection to the observation, but my principal object is, to get information from facts. I ask, whether, in point of fact, if it has not been found difficult to keep the weavers at Prosperous down to the Manchester prices?—A. So Mr. Brooke stated.

* It is absolutely impossible for Mr. Brooke to regulate his prices by the Manchester prices, which are under no regulations whatever, and which are liable to almost daily variations from the briskness of trade, or otherwise, as well as from the cheapness or dearness of provisions, and the very frequent fluctuations in the prices of cotton and yarn; added to which, it is positively asserted, that no two manufacturers in Manchester, throughout the whole of their manufacture, at any one time, pay the same prices, for the same work; and which Mr. Brooke acknowledged at the bar of the House of Lords in his answer to the following question:

Q. You have stated that you regulate the business of your manufacture by the nominal prices of Manchester, I would wish to ask you, whether you know, or do not know that there is no fixed price at Manchester, but that different manufacturers pay different prices?—A. I did not know it before I came to England; but now I have been informed, that they do not regulate the prices exactly; that there are different prices in different manufactures; and that the price rises and falls also at the same manufactory.

Q. Then

Q. Then you do not believe him?—A. I trust your Lordships do not conceive me capable of coming to your bar, either directly or indirectly, to cast any reflection upon the veracity of a man who enjoys that character and reputation, which I understand Mr. Brooke does.

Q. Do you know any thing of the prices of weaving at Belfast?—A. I am vastly misinformed, if the prices of weaving linen at Belfast, are not considerably lower than the prices of weaving cotton are in Lancashire. I have before observed, and here repeat it on my oath, that there is not the least difficulty in a linen weaver becoming a good callicoe weaver; and that the linen weavers in Lancashire and Cheshire, when they turn to callicoe-weaving, make by far the best callicoes.

Q. In how long time do you suppose, a good linen weaver will become a good callicoe weaver?—A. In a very few weeks.

Q. Now I wish you to inform the House, if you can, what is the price at present of callicoe-weaving at Belfast, compared to the price at Manchester?—A. I have no other information upon that subject but the evidence that I heard given at the bar of the House of Commons, by a witness who stated, that he must pay 4¹/₂d. Irish for weaving the same quantity of callicoe that was woven in Manchester for 3d.

Q. Have you any reason to doubt the information you received there upon that subject?—A. I know nothing of the witness, either by information or otherwise.

Q. Do you know, whether, at Belfast, the masters are not obliged to supply the weavers with various accommodations, such as mounting their looms, furnishing them with utensils, and advancing them money upon their wages?—A. Very likely they may; but I do not know it from any information of my own.

Q. Do you know the difference of the price between callicoes at Belfast, and those at Manchester?—A. I only know from the same source of information.

Q. What is the difference?—A. I think it was as fifteen to eighteen; but the evidence is upon your Lordships table.

Q. Whether you know any thing of the manner of their working in Belfast; whether they do the same quantity of work in the same time?—A. I have not been at Belfast; but I have not the least doubt that a linen-weaver, who turns to cotton, will weave as quick.

Q. But upon the fact you don't know?—A. I do not.

Q. With respect to the establishments made in different parts of Ireland, is it within your knowledge, whether various bounties have not been given to maintain and support them, in the manner in which they have hitherto been carried on?—A. I am informed there has; which I think I admitted in the early part of my evidence.

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Q. Whether

Q. Whether, if a manufacture were to be established in Ireland, you think you could establish it at a more advantageous place, than either at Dublin or Prosperous?—A. I most certainly do.

Q. You have stated, that a weaver of linen will in a few weeks learn to weave callicoe; I will ask, when he has learnt to weave with equal facility, what will be the difference of the quantity of the work in any given time of callicoe and of linen, or near the quantity?—A. I should presume he will at least weave the same quantity.

Q. You stated that there are about 300,000 persons employed in the cotton manufacture; no doubt, therefore, they must be persons of different ages and sexes. Am I to understand, then, that there are many parts of the cotton manufacture that do not require superior ability and skill?—A. There undoubtedly are.

Q. Am I also to understand, that in the course of the manufacture, they advance gradually; that is, that a person who has little skill, and is but an inconsiderable workman at first, comes by degrees to be a good one?—A. Certainly: I will beg leave to make an addition to the preceding question, which your Lordship asked me, viz. That nothing can be more obvious, than that it is as easy to weave callicoe as linen, the principles of weaving being exactly the same in the one as the other, both being a plain cloth.

Q. Did I understand you right, when you said, that the importation of cotton wool had not been increased in Ireland from 1781 to 1784?—A. I said, if there had not been an increase, the manufacture must be regulated by the quantity of cotton there; but I did not know any thing of the import of cotton into Dublin.

Q. Then I understand you did not speak to the importation of cotton?—A. No, I did not.

Q. I think you have stated, that in 1782 and 1783, upon an average, 10,000,000 lb. weight of cotton were imported into England. It has been asked, Whether the circumstance of 5,000,000 lb. being imported in 1781, and 10,000,000 lb. in 1784, did not argue a great increase of trade; the question I will ask is, Whether you do not suppose there might be, or were other causes, for the supposed difference between 1781 and 1784, than the increase of trade?—A. There certainly were; because the price of cotton in 1781 was higher than it was ever known by any manufacturer or merchant in this kingdom, or, I believe in any other part of the world.

Q. Do you know to what circumstance that extraordinary price of cotton was owing?—A. I believe to the small quantity of cotton, which got into a few hands, and was monopolized.

Q. Whether you would prefer being excluded from the Irish market, or wish to meet the Irish in competition in the British market?—A. I should certainly prefer, if I was under the necessity of making a choice, being excluded from the Irish market; because, before

before the Irish are capable of entering into a competition in the British market, they will most assuredly supply their own. In the next place, were the Irish to exclude us from their market, it would naturally occur to us to exclude them from ours; which if we were to do, and to open our markets for the linens of Germany and Russia, I have no doubt but we should open a vent for a much greater consumption of our manufactures, than the Irish were ever capable of taking from us.

Q. It has been said in general, that the capital will always prevent the Irish from vying with this country, do you suppose that the capital of Ireland, if these Propositions pass into a law, might not be very considerably increased by sums of money remitted from hence, and by the manufactures of this country?—A. Beyond all doubt it would.

Q. Do you suppose that this monopoly in 1781, did not also proceed from the great increase of the demand, as well as from the circumstance of the cotton having gotten into private hands?—A. I do not believe it did; and, if I may speak from my own trade, I am sure it did not.

Q. Do you know the quantity that was in private hands at that time?—A. I do not.

Q. Do you know the quantity which has been imported in every succeeding year since 1781, including 1784? or, suppose eleven millions have been imported in 1784, do you suppose that that does not shew an increase of demand?—A. I believe there are considerable quantities of cotton upon hand now.

Q. Then you do not believe, that it imports an increase of demand?—A. No; if not manufactured.

Q. In 1784, was there not an increase of demand from this circumstance?—A. I do not suppose the trade in the year 1784 was any worse than in the year 1783.

Q. Do you or do you not suppose, that the trade was a great deal better than in the year 1782?—A. My own trade was more extensively carried on in 1784 than in 1783; and I believe the general trade was very considerable in 1784.

Q. But I ask whether you do not know, that the trade in cotton in 1784, was more extensive than in the two preceding years?—A. I should be of opinion, it was as extensive, if not more so; but I have no certain mode of judging; I can only judge from information.

Q. But from that knowledge, and from such information as a sensible merchant has, do you or do you not know that it was increased?—A. I am of opinion it was; but chiefly owing to the great quantities of goods sold to speculators and adventurers for the American market.

Q. What is the proportion between the export and the home consumption of the cotton manufacture?—A. In the fustian manufacture,

nufacture, at least two-thirds are exported : as to the rest of the manufacture, I cannot speak particularly ; but it may be accurately known by referring to the Custom-house books.

Q. What is the home consumption ?—A. I cannot tell ; the home consumption of the printed trade is much more considerable than the export trade.

Q. But as to cotton, is it more exported than imported ; how is it as to kingcord ?—A. Kingcord is more exported.

Q. But there is some made of linen and cotton, and some all cotton ; are both more exported than consumed ?—A. Yes ; when I spoke of two-thirds, I spoke of the trade generally.

Q. So I understood you at first ; are the returns made by the home trade quicker than those by the foreign trade, or *vice versa* ?—A. In the home trade they are considerably quicker ; in some cases the money is returned quicker by three times, than in the foreign trade ; and I believe in some instances more.

Q. Will a market that makes a quick return facilitate an infant manufacture ?—A. It is the only market, in my opinion, that an infant manufacture can resort to.

Q. Has any cotton warp been exported to Ireland within these two or three years ?—A. There has been : at least I am so informed ; but I do not know to what amount.

Q. I will ask, what is the shortest credit ever given upon goods for exportation ?—A. I have seldom heard of any goods being exported upon less than the nominal credit of six months ; but twelve months is the general credit.

Q. To what does it ever extend ?—A. I have in some instances been four or five years in getting my returns ; I mean, where I have been fortunate enough to recover my money, and not to make bad debts.

Q. There is a drawback of the duty allowed on exportation ?—A. Yes ; upon all goods that pay a duty.

Q. Then some of these goods which pay a duty are paid for four years ; when do you receive the drawback ?—A. Soon after they are exported.

Q. Is there not some expence in obtaining the drawback ?—A. Yes ; so much so, that in many instances in our trade it is not worth while to obtain it.

Q. Does the loss upon it, in a year, amount to any considerable sum of money ?—A. I am not very materially concerned in that part of the trade which is immediately under the excise laws, therefore I am not so competent to speak to it. My brother and myself lost something more than one hundred pounds last year, in drawbacks which we did not recover.

Q. I think I recollect that you stated, that two-thirds of the whole fustian trade were exported ; you will answer the question I am going to put to you or not, as you think proper ; but having stated that, I will ask you, which of the trades, if you were obliged

ed to give up one, would you rather reserve, one-third of the home market, or two-thirds for exportation ?—A. The home market is certainly very desirable ; but if your Lordship puts the question pointedly to me, I must beg leave to decline answering it. The home trade is certainly what we wish to preserve ; but the foreign trade is very valuable, as bringing so much wealth into this country.

Q. I would ask if the muslin branch is not a great manufacture at Manchester ?—A. It was first established at Manchester ; but from the cheapness of labour in Scotland, the muslin trade is entirely gone there.

Q. Do you know whether the muslin branch is carried on in Ireland ?—A. I do not.

Q. Have you seen any cotton spun from that country ?—A. I have heard of cotton being bought in Liverpool ; I mean the raw material, of its being sent to Ireland to be spun, and afterwards brought back to Manchester to be manufactured.

Q. Is not the spinning of Irish cotton coarser than the English ?—A. I did not see the cotton ; but I understood it was superior at the same price, to that spun in this country.

Q. I ask whether it was coarser or finer ?—A. I never saw it.

Q. Is it not requisite to carry on the muslin trade, to have the cotton spun very fine ?—A. Certainly ; but it is spun of various fineness.

Q. Do you know the effect that the speculation of cotton had on the manufacture of Ireland ?—A. I do not.

Q. What is the proportion that labour bears to any of the manufactures in Manchester ; I mean to the material ?—A. I calculate the value of the labour upon the average of the trade, to be three-times the value of the material.

Q. In what articles ?—A. In fustians : in some perhaps not above half ; but that is the average.

Q. What are the earnings of the manufacturers of Manchester, except the printers ?—A. The price of a man's wages is stated to be 8s. per week ; but upon the whole, I estimate it at 4s. per week for men, women, and children.

Q. Do you then mean, when you take the average of 3l. a head upon the quantum of taxes paid upon the whole, to include women and children ?—A. I mean to include all, children, manufacturers, masters, &c.

Q. Do you include the printers ?—A. I do not recollect whether I included the printers or not.

Q. What are the earnings of the different branches collectively, not excluding the printers ?—A. I then did not understand your former question clearly. When I was speaking of the people paying 3l. per year taxes to government upon an average, I understood you confined the question to whether I included the printers in that 3l.

Q. You

Q. You answered me, that you included every body. I asked you afterwards what was the proportion of the labour of the manufacturers, excluding the printers? You answered 4s. a week round, including the printers?—A. Unless I knew the number of the printers, I cannot answer that question; though I do not think they are so many as to make any material difference, but the price of their labour is much higher than that of the weavers, &c.

Q. Has the price of cotton advanced in Manchester since the year 1783?—A. It has fluctuated, but I think it is lower now than it was in 1783.

Q. Do you apprehend, that the quantity of cotton imported into Great Britain, has increased or decreased since the year 1783?—A. I do not know the importation of the year 1784. I have before stated, that in the year 1782 and 1783, one year was about 9,000,000 lbs. and the other year about 11,000,000 lbs.

Q. What is the present price of cotton?—A. I cannot state it accurately.

Q. What was it at the latest period you know?—A. I cannot tell, having been so long absent from home; but there are manufacturers present who can give your Lordships certain information.

Q. What was it in the year 1781?—A. Some species of cotton, the finest sort, sold even as high as 4s. 6d. per lb.

Q. But what was the medium or ordinary price?—A. I believe 3s. was the average price.

Q. How was it in the year 1783, was it higher?—A. No, it was much lower; but I cannot take upon me to say in what proportion.

Q. Are your works at Manchester?—A. Yes.

Q. Are there any cotton mills in Ireland?—A. I have been told there are four or five.

Q. Do they spin as fine as those in Lancashire?—A. I cannot take upon me to say, whether they yet do or not; but I understand they are erected upon the same principles as Mr. Arkwright's; therefore, if there are one or two principal people to instruct the rest, I have not the least doubt but they will even spin as well and as fine as Mr. Arkwright does.

Q. Whether any hand spun cotton is proper for muslin manufactures?—A. At one time I made more muslins than any other manufacturer in Lancashire, and I believe some of the finest which were then made, nor do I know that there have been any finer made since: the cotton was spun by hand machines; for the mills were not then capable of spinning so fine as the hand machines.

Q. Is it hand spun in Scotland, or by machines, or in the mills?—A. I believe there are considerable quantities which go from Lancashire; but that will not long be the case, as I understand they are erecting machines in Scotland.

Q. What price were the muslins you made per yard?—A. They were

were sold in aprons; and I think we sold them at one time at 13s. or 14s. an apron.

Q. How many yards in an apron?—A. An apron is $\frac{6}{4}$ wide, the depth I do not recollect.

Q. I understand you have almost lost the muslin trade?—A. My brother and I have lost it entirely.

Q. How long since has that trade departed from Manchester, and gone to Scotland?—A. It is about two years since we declined the business.

Q. Had it begun to decline before you left the business?—A. Yes, we were so much underfold by the East India Company.

Q. How many persons do you apprehend, or understand by information, might have been employed in the muslin trade at the time it flourished most?—A. There never were many. I do not believe that my brother and I employed above fifty or sixty weavers.

Q. But upon the whole, how many might there be employed besides?—A. I do not know; for we do not communicate to one another the number of people we employ.

Q. Give me a general account of what you have learnt or heard as to the number of masters employed in that trade?—A. Not being in possession of any information on the subject that I can rely on, I can give no other answer than the one which I have already given.

Q. Might there be 1,000 in the whole?—A. I do not know whether there were 500 or 1,500.

Q. Did you reckon it a valuable branch of business whilst you had it?—A. I can only speak of our own trade; we found it more curious than valuable.

Q. Do you apprehend the town and neighbourhood of Manchester in general are grown poorer since they lost that branch of manufacture?—A. I do not conceive they are.

Q. Are any of the persons who are employed in that manufacture turned off to the Parish, or do they still continue to be employed in some other business?—A. Except during the existence of the late impolitic tax upon the cotton manufacture, I do not recollect the time when any person was unemployed, in the town or neighbourhood of Manchester, that was able and willing to work.

Then the witness was directed to withdraw.

H O U S E O F C O M M O N S .

[Continued from page 310.]

Mr. THOMAS BOWLES was called for, in order that he might speak to the Article of Paper.

And the witness not appearing,
The Counsel was directed to withdraw.

The Counsel was again called in, and informed, That the Committee expected that the witnesses should attend, that they might be ready to come in when called for; and that the evidence on each head of manufacture should be pursued till it was finished.

The Counsel informed the Committee, That he should next proceed to the head of the Leather Trade.

Mr. WILLIAM WITHERS, Sadler in Fenchurch Street, called in, and examined.

Q. Do you apprehend that the Irish Propositions, if passed into a law, would have any effect on your trade?—A. I do apprehend that they will be very injurious to my trade.

Q. For what reasons?—A. I understand the Irish are exempt from the Excise duties, and they do not labour under the heavy burthen of taxes we do in this country. I believe labour to be much cheaper, and the expence of living much less, which I conceive to be a natural consequence of their paying less taxes than we do.

Q. Do you purchase tanned hides in your trade?—A. A considerable quantity.

Q. Do you apprehend that Ireland will, in consequence of the Propositions, have any advantage over your trade?—A. Very materially. Raw hides are at present imported into Great Britain from Ireland, paying no duty, or a very small one; and I conceive that the Irish will find it for their interest to manufacture those hides into leather, and that the hides so manufactured will be brought into this country, and not only brought in in that state, but be made into wrought leather, such as shoes, saddles, harness, &c.

Q. What leather can now be imported from Ireland?—A. I speak now from officers of the Customs, whom I have conversed with, and am informed, that wrought leather is totally prohibited by one Act of Parliament, and by another there is an exemption for Ireland, but under a duty that I conceive to be virtually a prohibition—by the report from the Commissioners of the Customs, I

see £. 77 per cent.; but these officers of the Customs told me, that there was no instance of wrought leather being imported from Ireland, unless in very small quantities, and that only for private use.

Q. Are you apprised what duty will take place on leather imported from Ireland, in consequence of the Irish Propositions?—A. I cannot say I know exactly, I have been informed £. 10 per cent. or £. 10½.

Q. If leather is allowed to be imported from Ireland on the payment of a duty of 10½ per cent. will that prevent Ireland from having an advantage in the market?—A. It will not prevent Ireland from having an advantage in this market.

Q. Is not wrought leather one of the natural manufactures of Ireland?—A. Wrought leather is manufactured in Ireland.

Q. Do you know any article of the British manufacture that will be more immediately endangered by these Propositions than that of leather?—A. That is too extensive a question for me to answer—I know they will injure my own trade.

Q. Is there any duty imposed on the exportation of bark from England to Ireland?—A. Bark, I believe, may be exported to any part of the world duty free.

Q. Will the expence of exporting bark from England to Ireland be so great as to countervail the advantage which Ireland has over England, with respect to the exemption from Excise duties, and other taxes.—A. Certainly not.

Q. Will not the payment of the Excise duties on the importation of the article from any other country give the importer an advantage over the person who pays the Excise duty at home in an earlier stage of the manufacture?—A. It certainly will.—The Excise duty is paid upon the hide before it is cut—before it can be made into shoes, saddles, &c. there is a considerable waste, and the interest of the money is a consideration.

Q. Have you made any calculation, or can you give the Committee an idea, what those circumstances will amount to—It is meant, between the Excise duty in the stage of the manufacture you have described, and in that which will correspond with the condition of wrought leather when imported from any other country?—A. I have made no such calculation.

Q. Independent, then, of the price of labour, or the state of the taxes in either country, do you think that a duty of £. 10½ per cent. added to a countervailing duty, equal to the internal Excise duties payable on the importation of wrought leather, would be sufficient protection to the home manufacturer?—A. I have made no calculation, I conceive that £. 10½ per cent. duty, together with a duty equivalent to the Excise duty paid here, paid on the importation of wrought leather from Ireland, would be barely an equivalent.

Examined by MEMBERS of the COMMITTEE.

Q. Whether bark is not a necessary article in tanning of leather?
 —A. Undoubtedly.

Q. Have the Irish any quantity of bark?—A. I believe no great quantity; I know they import bark from this country.

Q. Do you not know that they import great quantities from this country, almost the whole they use?—A. I believe they import a great deal.

Q. Do you think that the Irish can import bark from hence, and tan their hides with it, and send such in the state of leather to this country, so as to afford the same at a less price than we can tan it here?—A. I am certain they can; I have no doubt of it.

Q. Do you know the price of leather in Ireland?—I cannot say I know it exactly: I know they abound in raw hides, and have every material but the bark, and the bark they can have from this country, with the expence of freight only, which I believe to be small.

Q. What is the expence of freight, commission, and Insurance of any heavy material from Great Britain to Ireland; how have you made that calculation?—A. I do not know what it is; I believe, in time of peace, very moderate, but I cannot say what particularly.

Q. If it is 5l. per cent. must not that be added to the price of the leather?—A. Undoubtedly.

Q. Upon what grounds do you say that the Irish, all circumstances considered, can manufacture leather cheaper than we can in Great Britain?—A. I form that opinion from their abounding in raw hides, having a much greater quantity than there is in this country: the price of every necessary article of life I conceive to be much cheaper there; consequently, I am led to believe that labour is much cheaper there: I have before said, that we pay an excise, which I apprehend they do not; that we labour under heavy taxes, which bear no proportion to the Irish taxes.

Q. Are not raw hides allowed to be imported into this country duty-free?—A. They are; duty free, or under very small duties.

Q. Is not the charge on freight on raw hides nearly the same as on tanned hides?—A. I suppose it is.

Q. Can you say what is the price of labour to persons employed in the tanning business in Ireland?—A. I cannot.

Q. Can you say that the price of labour in all mechanic trades in Ireland is not as great as in Great Britain?—A. I believe the contrary.

Q. Have you any reason to believe it, except those allegations you have before stated?—A. No other.

Q. You have said that 10½l. per cent. duty, added to an equivalent for the excise duties, would be a bare equivalent for the leather manufac-

manufactures of this country; if there is added to that what you have stated to be the charge of the freight of bark to Ireland, will not that altogether be a sufficient equivalent?—A. I have said that I have made no calculation, and I am led to believe not.

Q. Is not allum a necessary ingredient in bringing some sorts of leather to perfection?—A. In some sorts it is.

Q. Do not the Irish import their allum from this country?—A. I do not know.

Q. Is not oil a necessary ingredient in bringing to perfection some sorts of leather?—A. Oil is used in currying leather.

Q. Is oil cheaper in Ireland than in Great Britain, do you know?—A. I do not know.

Q. Is not salt also an ingredient in bringing some sorts of leather to perfection?—A. I believe salt is used in making some sorts of leather, but I believe in no great quantities.

Q. Do not the Irish import from Great Britain, as well as from other countries, great quantities of salt?—A. I believe they do.

Q. Do you think that the Irish manufacturers in leather, such as saddlers and shoemakers, are arrived at the perfection which is possessed by persons in the same trades in Great Britain?—A. I believe they have not arrived at that perfection; but there is no natural impediment: they may arrive at the same perfection, and in a short space of time; but in some articles they have nearly as good artists as there are in Great Britain.

Q. Do you know the difference of the price of bark in Ireland and England?—A. No.

Q. Can you say that the price of bark in Ireland is not double the price in England?—A. I can say I have every reason to believe it is not.

Q. Can you tell what the proportion in the tanning of leather of the charge of the bark is to the price of the raw hide?—A. I cannot tell.

Q. Can you tell what proportion the price of the oil, salt, and allum bear to the price of the raw hide?—A. I cannot; nor do I conceive that any one can answer that, but a tanner; I am not sufficiently conversant with the manufacture of leather in that state.

Q. Do you know whether the expence of freight, and of land and water carriage of bark, operates also in England, in many instances, in the leather manufacture?—A. I am pretty certain it does.

Q. Can you say what is the excise duty paid on leather here, on the general articles?—A. I understand it to be 1½d. per pound.

Q. Can you form any estimate of the value of dressed leather per pound, after having paid the duty, and previous to applying it to different manufactures, taking the average on a general estimate?—A. I cannot answer it.

Q. Will

Q. Will not the grazing and victualling trade of Ireland give to her manufactures great advantages towards establishing the leather trade, supposing her to have the British market open, and to have acquired capitals?—A. It will undoubtedly give her very great advantages.

Q. The trade in manufactured leather being at present protected by a duty of 77l. per cent. supposing the reduction of that duty to 10½l. per cent. to have the effect of opening the British market to the Irish manufacture of leather, are you of opinion that the increased importation of Irish manufactured leather into this kingdom, will occasion a proportional diminution of the British manufacture?—A. It undoubtedly will.

Q. Must not the charge of freight from Great Britain to Ireland be always added to the cost of the bark carried from Great Britain to Ireland?—A. It must undoubtedly; but the other advantages which Ireland has over Great Britain, and which I have before enumerated, are equivalent, and considerably more.

Q. You have said that, the raw materials and labour being cheaper in Ireland than in England, 10½l. per cent. exclusive of the excise duties, will be barely an equivalent; are you of opinion, that there is reason to apprehend, that under such a system the Irish manufacturer would gradually supplant the British manufacturer, in any considerable proportion of his trade, within the British market?—A. I conceive the British manufacturer has not much to apprehend.

Q. By 10½l. per cent. being considered by you as barely an equivalent when added to the excise duty, do you include in your calculation all the several advantages you have stated from the grazing and victualling trade of Ireland; the exemption from the principal taxes paid in Great Britain; the difference you suppose to be in the price of labour; and the payment of the countervailing English excise duty, which is not to take place, as in England, in the early stage of the manufacture, but on the importation of the article into the market?—A. I said before, when I answered the question, that I had made no calculation, that I had not sufficiently weighed it, and that I spoke as my mind suggested to me at the moment: I appeal to the candour of the Committee, and believe that every one that heard me did not understand me in that manner, and that I was led to believe so at the moment.

Q. Are you then able to give any more particular answer to the last question, than you have given?

[Last question and answer read.]

A. It is now placed in a much stronger light; and if I had had time to consider, I am doubtful whether I should have given the same answer to that question: I cannot speak decidedly.

Q. Upon payment of what you understood to be the countervailing duty, do you not mean that 1½d. per lb. on manufactured leather

leather is to be paid on the importation thereof into Great Britain, exclusive of the duties which are laid on particular articles?

And the question being objected to;

The Counsel and witness were directed to withdraw.

And being again called in;

The witness says, That he deals entirely in saddles.

Q. Can you say, generally speaking, what proportion the leather which pays a duty bears in weight to the leather which is worked up into a saddle; and how much it is diminished in the course of completing that manufacture?—A. There is a very considerable loss, by the cutting, &c. but I cannot say how much.

Q. Supposing, then, all other circumstances equalized, would not the Irish saddler, in paying his countervailing duty upon the manufactured article, have a gain proportionable to the duty upon the weight, which is lost in the British manufacture?—A. Undoubtedly the proportionable loss on the waste would be a considerable gain to the Irish manufacturer. There would be a material difference on paying the duty on the hide before it is manufactured, to that of paying it on the articles made up of saddles or shoes. The advantage must be much more considerable to the manufacturer, if it is paid afterwards, than what it would be if it was paid in the first instance.

Q. Do you know whether there are other manufactures in leather in which the waste is equal to, or greater than the waste in the saddle manufacture?—A. There are many others, in which the waste is very considerable—whether it is more or less I cannot say.

Q. Would not the same advantage operate proportionably to each of those?—A. Certainly.

Q. Do you know whether Ireland has yet attained any degree of perfection in the manufacture either of saddles, gloves, or shoes?—A. They have arrived at a great perfection in some articles, nearly equal to us, if not quite.

Q. Would not manufactured leather be imported nearly as cheap, or cheaper, than the raw hides, as to the expence of freight from Ireland?—A. I do not know what the freight is.

Q. Do not you know, or have you never heard, that the tanning of leather in Ireland is equal in quality to what is tanned in Great Britain?—A. I believe not at present—I have reason to suppose that it will;—when the demand is great, they will pay great attention to the manufacture.

Q. Can you tell the Committee what is the superadded value to £. 100 worth of raw hides imported from Ireland, when manufactured into saddles, and exposed to sale in the shop?—A. I cannot answer that question.

Q. What proportion of the Excise paid on the manufacture do you draw back on exportation?—A. We draw back the whole; but the expences at the Custom House are so great, with the additional

ditional stamp duties recently imposed, that I believe there is not more than one third of wrought leather entered for a drawback. The quantity exported must be so considerable in one entry, that few merchants ship so large a quantity as to render the drawback an object.

Q. Supposing the whole expence at the Custom House to be abolished, would the drawback received be then equal to the whole of the Excise duty paid?—A. I conceive it would.

Q. You having stated that there was considerable waste in the manufacturing of an article on which you have paid the duty, would the drawback, exclusive of all the expences, compensate for the duty so paid?—A. I did not advert to the waste at the time I spoke before—I before said, I understood the expence to be 1½ d. per lb.; I did not speak positively. The drawback is 1½ d. per lb. If we draw back the same, the waste will be a loss to the manufacturer.

Q. Suppose the Irish manufacturer to pay the same duty of 1½ d. per lb. will he not have the advantage over the English manufacturer of all that he has paid the duty for that is wasted?—A. If the duty is paid on wrought leather, he will not only derive an advantage from paying it in that state, owing to the waste, but the interest of his money. There must be a greater advantage to the manufacturer in paying the duty on the sale of his manufacture than on the hides.

Q. Whether in your trade the waste is very considerable?—A. It is.

Q. Whether, in speaking of the countervailing duty to be paid by the Irish importers of manufactured leather, you understood the duty intended to be 1½ d. per lb. weight?—A. I apprehend it must be considerably more, or it is not an equivalent, owing to the waste before mentioned; and one circumstance that I have not mentioned strikes me more strongly—the duty is paid on the hide before it is curried. The diminution of the hide to a proper consistency of leather must be a greater loss and waste than any other part of the manufacture. I am informed the Excise laws were, some time since, not carried into execution in Scotland in the same manner as they were in England. In Scotland the tanner cut the offal, and paid the duty on the prime part of the skin so diminished—the English manufacturer paying it on the whole hide in the rough. Hides were then brought from Scotland in a quantity so as to affect the dealer in that article here very considerably, but it is now otherwise.—I mean to say, that, owing to that circumstance, the English manufacturer was underfold by the Scotch.

Q. Do you apprehend that the reason that the English manufacturer is not now underfold by the Scotch is, that the Excise laws are put into execution in Scotland in the same manner as in England?—A. Yes.

Q. Whe-

Q. Whether, under all circumstances, if the duties were equal between Great Britain and Ireland, the Irish would not be able to undersell you in the articles in which you trade?—A. If the duties were equal, the price of labour, I conceive, is not.

Question repeated.

A. I do not think we should have much to fear. I conceive the Irish at present work much cheaper, but when the manufactures flourish, and the expences are equally great, which I apprehend would not be a great while first, that the English manufacturer would not have much to apprehend, if the duties were the same—undoubtedly at present it would be otherwise.

Q. Whether, if the duties on importation and exportation between Great Britain and Ireland were exactly equal, the Irish do not manufacture at so much easier a rate, that they would not be able to undersell you in those articles in which you deal?—A. They would, most undoubtedly.

Q. Whether your principal trade does not consist in exporting saddles, and other horse furniture, and harness, to North America and the West Indies?—A. That is my principal trade, I have little other.

Q. Whether your father before you did not carry on the trade?—A. Yes, and I succeeded to him in the same line, and it has existed near fifty years.

Q. Whether the Irish have yet exported to North America or the West Indies saddles or horse furniture which have borne any competition with the British?—A. They certainly have not exported any quantity that has arrived to any competition with the British—but an infant manufacture must have some time before it can arrive at any great perfection or extent. The Irish are under one disadvantage—I believe the mechanic in Ireland is poor; it must be some time before he can acquire by his trade a sufficient capital to vie with the English manufacturer.

Q. Whether the saddlery of Ireland is equally good with that of England, when compared in its price?—A. I have before said, that the manufacture of leather is not arrived at the perfection it is in this country, consequently the articles made of that leather cannot be equal in quality: but, the price considered, I very much doubt whether in the American market we should have a preference.—The articles of that kind exported to America are in general of an ordinary quality.

Q. Whether to your knowledge, saddlery is not exported from Great Britain to Ireland?—A. I do not know that it is, unless in very small quantities, for the private use of individuals.

Q. When the leather manufactory of Ireland is sufficiently advanced for the manufacturer there to export, whether you are not of opinion that the Irish will be more likely to meet you in a foreign market than in the home market, paying a duty here of £. 10½ per cent. and meeting there on an equality?—A. There are advantages

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advantages to the Irish, which perhaps may not be equivalent, but which are considerable, and which would lead him to give a preference to the British market. It is usual in almost every factorage business for the factor to advance money to the manufacturer. The Irish manufacturer would find a factor or warehouseman here, who would receive his goods, and advance money upon them, though they were not sold—the advantage in sending them to a foreign market is uncertain—they might lie in the British factor's house under that loan till he had an opportunity to sell them, and I have no doubt but this would weigh very much with the Irish manufacturer.

Q. What kind of oil is used in the preparation of leather?—
A. I do not understand the manufacture of leather—I believe it is train oil, but do not know.

Q. Whether you can exactly ascertain what has been paid in duties in the manufacture of any given quantity of goods in the trade—in one saddle for example?—A. The duty is paid on the rough hide—it passes through the hands of the tanner and the currier before it comes to my hands, and I cannot ascertain the duty on any particular species of goods.

Q. Do you think it would be possible to lay such a duty on the importation of an Irish saddle, as would exactly countervail the duties which have been paid on an English saddle of the same quality, through the different stages of its manufacture?—A. I think it possible to lay such a duty, but very difficult to ascertain what that duty should be.

Q. In order to ascertain it, do you think that the duty upon the leather actually in the saddle should be taken into consideration, or the duties on all the leather which has been used in the making of it?—A. On all the leather which has been used in the making of it. I have before said it is paid by weight on the hide. It is so much changed in the manufacturing, drying, and cutting to waste, that to lay a duty on the leather in the saddle would not be an equivalent.

Q. Is the waste of leather equal in different saddles, of different sizes, shapes, and qualities?—A. Certainly not, there is a very great difference.

Q. By what means then do you imagine the duties can be laid on these articles imported from Ireland, so as exactly to countervail the inland duties payable in this country?—A. I have before said I conceive it possible, but difficult. It is practicable to ascertain the particular sort of saddles and sizes. I should suppose a duty might be laid that would be equivalent, but it would be very difficult.

Q. Whether the waste in all saddles of equal sizes, though of different shapes and qualities, is equal?—A. Not of different shapes and qualities.

Q. Is the Committee to understand, that in order to render this duty

duty equal, there must be separate classes and distinctions of saddles, of all the different shapes, sizes, and qualities of which any saddles are made in Great Britain?—A. I should think it would be necessary.

Q. Whether you consider that a greater capital is necessary for carrying on the business for the British market or the foreign market.—A. A much greater capital is necessary for the foreign market.

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

Mr. THOMAS BELL, Warehouse Man, in Cateaton-street, London, was called in, and examined.

And informs the Committee, That he keeps a warehouse, and is a factor of goods for the merchant.

The Counsel informs the Committee, that he calls this witness to speak to the article of leather; and that he is a large exporter of shoes.

Q. Are you an exporter of shoes?—A. I sell shoes to the merchant, who exports them.

Q. Where do you purchase or procure the shoes you sell?—
A. They are chiefly consigned from Scotland. I have a great many also from Staffordshire.

Q. Is the business of shoemaking carried on to any great extent in Scotland?—A. It is now carried on to a very great extent in Scotland.

Q. Is it for home consumption, or chiefly for exportation?—
A. I have said that I deal only in exportation, and therefore it is for exportation that I have the goods.

Q. What number of people do you apprehend to be employed in Scotland in this manufacture?—A. I cannot pretend to speak as to the number of people employed in Scotland in this manufacture exactly. It is a manufacture which was hardly known in Scotland twenty years ago, in the way that I now deal in it; I mean for exportation, through the medium of the London market. Some persons thought there would be a great advantage in manufacturing shoes in Scotland, where the wages were much cheaper, if they with these goods could supply the London merchant—for this purpose they came up to London themselves about the time I mentioned, and learnt the manufacture here on the London principle. They returned to Scotland, carrying with them a few intelligent persons in the business, and they commenced the manufacture in different towns there—First in Dundee; there are employed there some hundred persons in this manufacture now. Perth also employs a great number. Montrose, and all the towns from Perth to Aberdeen, have a great number of these manufacturers. In the West country there are also great numbers. At Glasgow, and thereabouts, a very great number. I therefore conclude there cannot be so few as

X x 2

twenty

twenty or thirty thousand always employed in that manufacture in Scotland.

Q. From whence was this manufacture carried into Scotland?—

A. I think I have answered that in my last answer.

Q. What was the principal cause of its removal into Scotland?—

A. The occasion was a view of interest.

Q. What were the advantages the Scotch had in carrying on this manufacture?—A. They were able, from the cheapness of provisions in that country, and the consequent low price of labour, to manufacture the article sufficiently cheap to bear all the expences of carriage up to London, and to undersell the London, or even the English manufacturer.

Q. Is this business increasing, or on the decline in Scotland?—

A. I rather think it is upon the decline.

Q. To what do you attribute that decline?—A. There are various causes, no doubt.—In the first place, there are but few orders now in London for this manufacture; and besides that, a considerable alteration has taken place in it, owing to an Act of last Session, I believe, which separated the tanner from the shoemaker, and this has naturally given a different turn to the manufacture.

Q. Have you read or considered the Irish Propositions?—A. I have read them a few days ago, which is the reason of my being here this day; for I understand that Ireland will be upon a much preferable footing even to Scotland, and that the success of this manufacture in Scotland may be expected at least to be equalled by the Irish. Under this apprehension, I have asked several people about it, but I have had no information to make my mind easy on the subject.

Q. Do you then apprehend that the Irish Propositions will hasten the decline of this manufacture in Scotland?—A. Without doubt I apprehend it will do so.

Q. Do you apprehend that shoes are at present prohibited to be imported from Ireland into England?—A. I understand that shoes may be imported from Ireland into England, but under such a duty as affords no room to apprehend any thing from the importation of them.

Q. What is that duty?—A. I believe £. 77 per cent. ad valorem.

Q. If that duty was repealed, do you apprehend any danger to the trade?—A. Certain destruction.

Q. Are you of opinion that a duty of £. 10½ per cent. added to the duty to countervail the internal duty, would secure the manufactures of this country against the consequences of a competition with Ireland?—A. Perhaps if that duty could be laid exactly, to be paid as upon the tanned hide here, with an addition of £. 10½ per cent. it might for a while protect our manufactures from being materially injured.

Q. Is the Committee to understand by that answer, that it is your opinion, that £. 10½ per cent. with the countervailing duty, would

would be no security for any length of time to the manufactures of this country?—A. I should apprehend, that when the manufacture arrives at a degree of perfection, they might be able to manufacture shoes in Ireland, and sell them in London, though they paid 10½ per cent. because I conceive that they will derive advantage greater than that from the cheapness of labour, which is always known to become cheaper by the number of hands employed in it.

Q. Do you understand what is meant in the Irish resolution by the countervailing duty?—A. I suppose it means a duty to balance the duty of excise; but to calculate that seems to me impossible, and thence arises my alarm.

Q. In what will the difficulty of that calculation consist?—A. The excise is, I understand, 1½d. per lb. the hide, which pays that dut, contains a variety of qualities all subject to the same 1½d.—Suppose the average price of the hide to be 10d.—1½d. upon that is 15 l. per cent. but if one-third of that is cut into offal, valued at 5d. the 1½d. will then be 30 l. per cent. on that which is offal.—When the hide is cut up into stuff for shoes a very great proportion still goes to waste, total waste, that is. Whence I infer that it would be very difficult to state any countervailing duty when it is made up, if at all possible.

Q. Whether, if that excise duty on shoes could be ascertained, it would not be necessary to add to it a certain consideration for the interest of money, and other advantages, sustained by the English manufacturer, on account of the more early stage in which he pays the excise duty?—A. Certainly, in all cases when so large a proportion of the prime cost goes to the excise, it is a great advantage, if it could be avoided, to pay that when the article is fully made up; and that is, I think, a very great advantage, and would be found of very material consequence to our manufacture.

Q. Is the difference of paying the duty in that early stage, or when the article is made up, capable of being calculated?—A. I know of no injury so great to a manufacturer as the payment of duties in the first stage of his business; because, if he could employ his capital in purchasing the raw material, his business would consequently be carried on with a degree of vigour proportioned to the sum laid out in the excise.

Q. Is the Committee to understand, that it is your opinion, then, that the interest of the money only would not be that compensation?—A. No, certainly not; it would not be a sufficient compensation: when I say that, I speak of shoemakers, who are not rich men, and cannot afford to lie out of their money for the sake of the interest.

Q. Are not undressed hides now imported into Great Britain from Ireland?—A. Raw hides I understand are; and calf skins in a most amazing quantity; I heard a principal tanner say, thirty thousand dozen last year.

Q. If

Q. If the Irish Propositions pass, are you of opinion that the Irish will then continue to send raw hides, as now, to the English market?—A. They will be very much to blame to do it; their interest points out to them a different conduct.

Q. In what state of the manufacture will the Irish then send their leather to England?—A. The same motive that would induce them to manufacture the raw hides into leather, would also induce them to carry the manufacture through all its branches—their interest.

Q. Is it your opinion that the Irish Propositions will tend to the establishment of the manufacture of shoes in Ireland, and to the supply of the British market?—A. It will tend certainly to the establishing the manufacture in Ireland, and I am afraid the other would be the consequence.

Q. Can you state what advantage the Irish would enjoy over the English in carrying on this manufacture?—A. If they possess advantages equal to Scotland, which I apprehend they do, the success of their manufacture might naturally be supposed to be equal; and I have mentioned a circumstance to shew that Scotland now employs a great number of men in this business, which twenty years ago employed none in it.

Q. What is the difference between the price of the raw hides in Ireland and England?—A. I do not know; but if they were as dear in Ireland as here they would not be sent here to sell.

Q. Is there not a great loss or waste of leather from the period of its paying the excise till it is fit to be manufactured into shoes and other articles?—A. Very great.

Q. Will the leather imported from Ireland into England be liable to the same losses from the time of its paying the countervailing duty?—A. I should not think that the Irish would send it here before they had reduced it as low as they possibly could in point of weight, which may be done, without injuring the leather, between the time of its being tanned and made up into shoes; and it was this advantage which the Scotch had of shaving the hide before it paid the excise, which occasioned the alteration that took place last year in Scotland; and this serves to shew that it may be done, and therefore that it will be done.

Q. Can you state any other inconvenience which you apprehend will follow if these resolutions should pass?—A. I know of no other inconvenience but that it will supplant our manufactures.

Q. Is it your opinion that these resolutions, if passed, will operate in any degree as an encouragement to emigration?—A. I think the Irish will be able to offer considerable advantages to artizans to go over there, and I believe a journeyman shoemaker might be induced to go.

Examined

Examined by MEMBERS of the COMMITTEE.

Q. How will the lowering of duties on the importation into Great Britain cause certain destruction to the British exportation-trade?—A. By enabling the person who imports upon low duties here to undersell those who pay a high excise.

Q. What additional advantage the Irish Propositions, if adopted, will give to Ireland, in the exportation trade, of which they are now in possession?—A. I understand that the Irish may now export freely to any country where they please, except Great Britain; and therefore the thing wanted by them is sufficient capital, and intelligent artizans: the way to obtain both which seems to be opened to them by these Propositions, and my reason for saying so is, it is not always convenient to a manufacturer to export the goods he makes, though he may have the privilege of doing so, because his returns are very uncertain; but in London it only requires to bring the goods to market, and purchasers even for ready money will be found; but at all times the manufacturer can fix the period of his payment: thus he acquires a capital; and as to the other part, which is skilful artizans, the intercourse between the two countries gives an easy opportunity of acquiring them.

Q. Whether the advantages already possessed by the Irish in the export trade are not sufficient to induce persons rather to apply their capital, and endeavour to procure intelligent artizans for carrying on their business in Ireland, rather than in Scotland?—A. I should certainly think so. I speak of this particular manufacture.

Q. Do you think that any duty upon the importation of manufactured leather from Ireland would be a countervailing duty, unless it were sufficient to balance not only the 1½d. per pound weight excise duty upon leather, but also the whole loss of the British manufacture arising from waste, and from the advance of money?—A. I do not think that any duty can be said to countervail, where the balance is against us; for if all these things co-operate to enable the Irish to work so much under us, we must have an equal allowance some how, to put us on equal terms.

Q. Whether the waste in different branches of manufacturing leather is not very different?—A. I should suppose so, but I am not conversant in this.

Q. Do you attribute the success in Scotland, in this manufacture, to the comparative cheapness of labour there?—A. I can attribute it to no other cause.

Q. Is labour considerably cheaper in Ireland than in England?—A. I do not know what the price of labour is in Ireland, of my own knowledge; I take it from Mr. Orde's speech in the House of Commons in Ireland, which makes me believe that it is much cheaper there.

Q. From

Q. From what did you take Mr. Orde's speech?—A. I bought a pamphlet which contains it: I do not answer for its authenticity.

Q. Has the manufacture declined in England, in the same proportion it has improved in Scotland, in the last twenty years?—A. I do not know.

Q. Whether it is your opinion, that every thing that checks the importation of a raw material is of itself an injury to manufacture?—A. That is my opinion.

Q. Do you not believe, that under the new arrangement Ireland will rather work up her own raw materials, than send them to England?—A. I think so; and I said so before.

Q. Do you think it consistent with the welfare of a trading country, to encourage the importation of a manufacture, and to discourage that of raw materials?—A. I should imagine nothing could be worse policy than that.

And then the counsel and witnesses were directed to withdraw.
To report a progress, &c.

Jovis, 21 die Aprilis, 1785.

COMMITTEE of the WHOLE HOUSE, on the Adjustment of the Commercial Intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland.

THE Committee proceeded further on the Petition of the Manufacturers and Dealers in British Manufactures of the City of London, and other Cities and Towns of Great Britain.

The Counsel was called in, and informed the Committee, that he desired to proceed, in the next place, to the article of cut glass.

Mr. JOHN BLADES, a Cut Glass Manufacturer, and Dealer in Plain Glass, on Ludgate Hill, London, was called in, and examined.

Q. Do you apprehend any danger to the cut glass manufactory, if the Irish Propositions pass into a law?—A. Yes; from the advantage the Irish cut glass manufacturer will have from his procuring his plain glass at a much cheaper rate than it can be manufactured in England.

Q. At what do you estimate the advantage which Ireland will have over Great Britain in this article of manufacture?—A. About 50 per cent.

Q. How does that difference arise?—A. I conceive it to arise from a duty imposed on glass in 1777, which advanced it 25 per cent. there was a duty prior to that, in 1746, and three 5 per cents. on both these duties; the Irish not being subject to those duties makes the difference.

Q. Do

Q. Do you know when the first duty was imposed in England?—A. In 1746, I believe.

Q. What was that duty?—A. One penny per lb.

Q. About how much per cent. was that?—A. I do not know the price at that time.

Q. What is the whole that the cut glass manufacture pays?—A. It is very difficult to ascertain.

Q. About what do you estimate it?—A. I cannot say.

Q. At what stage of the manufacture are all the different duties paid?—A. In the earliest stage of the manufacture—while in the pot in a liquid state.

Q. Are there any other disadvantages which will affect this trade?

—A. The disadvantage which seems likely to affect it most is the advantage the Irish will have in sending it into this country, which advantage arises from our paying the duty in an early stage of the manufacture, and they paying the nominal duty on importation, provided the Irish Propositions pass into a law.

Q. Is cut glass prohibited to be imported now from Ireland?—A. There is a duty on it, which amounts to a prohibition.

Q. Do you apprehend any danger to your business by taking off that prohibitory duty?—A. The danger I apprehend is the emigration of artists in that line of business to Ireland.

Q. Is it your opinion, that it will be easy to ascertain the countervailing duty, if cut glass should be imported from Ireland?—A. I think it will be very difficult.

Q. As the Excise duty is paid in the early stage of the manufacture, is there not a great loss in the cutting of glass?—A. There is a very considerable loss.

Q. May that loss be easily calculated?—A. It is various, from one twentieth to one half.

Q. Are the glass cutters ever deterred from making experiments for the improvement of the trade, in consequence of the payment of the duty in an early stage, and the subsequent uncertain loss that arises from the cutting?—A. We are very much deterred.

Q. If the Irish pay no internal Excise duty under the same circumstances, do they labour under the same disadvantage?—A. By no means.

Q. Are there any glass manufactories established now in Ireland?—A. Some very lately—Manufacturers have gone from this country. A Mr. Hill, a great manufacturer from Stourbridge, is lately gone to Waterford, and has taken the best set of workmen he could get in the county of Worcester with him.

Q. How many glass manufacturers do you know have gone to Ireland—do you know any others besides Mr. Hill?—A. I have heard of others—but do not know them.

Q. Have you understood that any others have gone?—A. I have.

Q. Do you know how many glass manufactories are established in Ireland?—A. There are nine—six of them are flint glass manufactories—one is a house for making broad glass, and the two others for making bottles.

Q. Is the duty drawn back on the exportation of cut glass?—A. The nominal duty is drawn back; but there is a great waste, and the duty is drawn back on what is actually shipped; and there is also a great expence in the shipping.

Q. When the nominal duty is drawn back on the exportation of cut glass, what is the loss arising from the waste, and the expences incurred by what is necessary to be done in order to obtain the drawback?—A. That I cannot exactly speak to.

Q. Do you apprehend that the Irish Propositions will occasion the emigration of manufacturers in your trade to Ireland?—A. I think they will emigrate—where the glass makers have the advantage, there the glass cutters will follow.

Q. Do you know about what is the amount of the duty actually paid to government on your manufacture?—A. I cannot speak to that.

Q. Do you know the whole amount of the duty paid on the glass manufacture?—A. I believe about £. 80,000 per annum.

Q. Do you apprehend the glass manufacture is flourishing in Ireland?—A. I understand it does.

Q. Are you of opinion that a duty of £. 10½ per cent. together with the nominal Excise duty, if that could be ascertained, would be a protection to the English manufacturer against the danger of a competition with Ireland?—A. I do not think that would be sufficient.

Examined by Members of the Committee.

Q. When you talked of the nominal duty on importation from Ireland, did you mean a duty adequate to the glass duties paid here?—A. I mean that the payment of that duty would not be adequate.

Q. What do you conceive to be a duty adequate to countervail the duty paid here in the early stage of the manufacture, considering the advance made by the English manufacturer, and the contingent losses for breakage, and other failures in the progress of bringing the different articles of cut glass to perfection for the market?—A. I cannot say exactly, but it would be something very considerable.

Q. Will it not vary much, as to every different species of the cut glass?—A. It will vary in the manner I have before described, from one twentieth to one half.

Q. Is there any rule by which the particular proportion can be affixed and ascertained, with respect to the different species?—A. I do not know of any rule, the articles are so various.

Q. Is not the variation also affected both by the continual change of

of fashion, and by the difference of skill in the different manufactures?—A. Certainly it is.

Q. If you were shewn particular articles of high-wrought and high-finished cut glass, could you and others in the business ascertain with any precision, from the view and examination of such articles, the weight of glass which may have been cut away, or otherwise wasted, in order to bring them to that perfection?—A. We could very nearly ascertain it.

Q. Must not the ascertaining it depend in a great measure on the examination of each article; and do you know, or believe, whether it can be done by any general rule applicable to the several classes of the manufacture?—A. Yes, I think it may be done, by classing them according to the risk of the work there is upon them.

Q. Will you name some articles in which the risk is particularly great?—A. Ornamental articles of lustres and girandoles are the most hazardous.

Q. In the cutting of lustres and girandoles, will not the risk vary much, according to the degree of finishing, which is expected to be given?—A. It will vary very much.

Q. How then is the general rule of a countervailing duty to be applied to a class of articles which vary so much in their risk and waste?—A. I do not see how it can be done.

Q. Is it not probable that the manufacture of cut glass may be carried to a greater perfection, when the experiments can be made free from the duties now paid here, on that which must be melted again before it comes to market?—A. There is great probability of it, that being the greatest objection—when I have applied to a manufacturer to make any improvements, he has generally objected, saying, that he is subject to the duty, whether he succeeds or not.

Q. Is it not sometimes of great consequence in preparing particular articles, both for the home and foreign market, to give a peculiar tint and clearness to the manufacture, which can be only obtained by repeated experiments?—A. It is of great consequence, and can only be done by repeated experiments.

Q. Can you say whether there is a great export of cut glass to foreign countries?—A. There is.

Q. To what countries principally?—A. France and Russia, and to the East Indies principally—to all countries in fact.

Q. Has not this export increased of late years considerably?—A. I do not know.

Q. Are not the articles exported in general of great value?—A. Many are—others not—some of small value;—those to the East Indies are generally not of great value.

Q. Is not great skill required in cutting the very fine articles of cut glass, such as girandoles and lustres?—A. In the best kinds great skill is required.

Q. Do you imagine that that skill may be exported to Ireland?
—A. It is already exported, not only to Ireland but to France.

Q. Do you believe that the export of glass, the manufacture of this country, would be diminished, if the Irish glass was allowed to be imported here, and exported again to Russia, France, and the East Indies?—A. If they pay only the nominal duty, I have no doubt but it would, and they could supply this market, and it would be exported from this country, as it could be manufactured much cheaper than it could be here.

Q. Can you estimate what is the difference between the real and nominal duty on glass?—A. The manufacturers of plain glass can ascertain that—I cannot.

Q. You think then it can be ascertained?—A. I think it can.

Q. Whether the difference between the real and nominal duty on glass is the same on every article of that manufacture?—A. I cannot speak to that.

Q. Whether the risk in some articles of the manufacture of glass is not much greater than in others?—A. It is much greater.

Q. Whether the duty paid by the manufacturer is not greater or less, according to the quantity broken in the different articles?—A. The duty is charged in the first stage of the manufacture, and the loss is greater.

Q. The expence, then, of the manufacture is greater, in proportion to the loss?—A. The more hazardous the ware, the greater the loss.

Q. Whether the duty upon the importation of manufactured glass from Ireland would be a countervailing duty, unless it balanced the loss and expence of the British manufacturer, as well as the nominal duty which he pays?—A. It cannot be equal, unless it balances the loss as well as the duty.

Q. Do you think that any person but a manufacturer of glass is capable of forming a sure judgment of the proportionate risk of the different glass manufactures?—A. I think no other person is capable of it.

Q. Is not sand a principal article in the manufacture of glass?—A. Sand is a principal article.

Q. From whence are the Irish supplied with their sand?—A. I believe they have some from the Isle of Wight, but I am not certain.

Q. Do not you know that they have it all from some part of England?—A. I do not know. I am not a glass maker, only a manufacturer of cut glass.

Q. If the duty on the importation of the glass manufacture from Ireland was justly calculated, so as to be a fair equivalent to the internal duty on the glass manufacture in this country, do you understand that the glass manufacture could be then imported from Ireland, so as to undersell our glass manufacture?—A. I should suppose

pose not, so as the duty was laid to counterbalance the loss and the risk.

Q. Do you know what is the difference between the real and the nominal duty on the glass manufacture?—A. I do not know—the glass makers can inform the Committee.

Q. If, in addition to the countervailing duty justly calculated, there was also to be a duty of £. 10½ per cent. upon all glass ware imported from Ireland, do you not apprehend that would be a sufficient protection for the glass manufacture of this country?—A. I am of opinion that would not be sufficient.

Q. Assign the reason why you think it will not be a sufficient protection?—A. I think it will not be sufficient, on account of the allowance that is made to the maker being less than it should be: They charge us, as cut glass manufacturers, so much higher than they would do to one in our line in Ireland—we paying them for the plain glass after they have paid the duty, it comes so much higher to us; which makes our loss so much greater in breakage in cutting the glass.

Q. What branch of the glass manufacture are you engaged in? and where do you carry on the business?—A. In the cut glass manufacture on Ludgate-hill.

Q. Have you signed any petition that has been presented to the House of Commons on the subject of the Irish Propositions?—A. I have.

Q. Is that the Petition now under consideration, or any other?—A. The Petition now under consideration.

Q. When you speak of the countervailing duty being adequate to the risk and loss, do you not also mean to include the advance of the duty by the British manufacturer in the early stage, compared with that of the Irish importer on the landing of his goods?—A. I do.

Q. Supposing such duty to have been settled, and properly rated as to every branch of the cut glass manufacture, would not the Irish manufacturer still remain in possession of an advantage over the British manufacturer, from the circumstance of being able to try different experiments without any risk whatever?—A. The Irish would certainly have that advantage, which is a very material one.

Q. Whether, in the nature of the trade, the glass on which you work is not to you what the raw material is to any other manufacturer?—A. Yes, exactly the same.

Q. Whether you have at present the relative price of glass in the two kingdoms?—A. No.

Q. Whether the Irish glass manufacturers are, to your information and belief, increasing in their number and business?—A. I am informed they are.

Q. Whether, under the present duties, any quantity of cut glass

is brought from Ireland to this country, for home consumption or exportation?—A. I believe none—the duty is so very high.

Q. Would not an introduction of that manufacture from Ireland occasion a proportional decrease in the exportation of the manufacture of this country, and in the home market?—A. Certainly.

Q. What is the highest proportion, in respect of the whole value of any one article, that is set upon it in consequence of the risk and loss?—A. I cannot speak exactly to that question.

Q. Whether the glass cut for lustres in Ireland is in equal repute, either in the British or foreign markets, with those manufactured in London?—A. I do not know—there have been some sent to foreign markets, but I do not know in what repute—none is sent here.

Q. Has not the diamond cut glass for lustres been of late exported to France in greater quantities than at any time before?—A. I do not know.

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

Mr. SAMUEL PARKER, cut glass manufacturer in Fleet-Street, London, was called in, and examined.

Q. Do you apprehend any danger from the Irish Propositions?—A. Yes.

Q. What?—A. From the very great advantage the Irish cut glass manufacturers will have in purchasing plain glass, the raw material, at a less price than the manufacturers in England can do.

Q. To what amount do you estimate the advantage which Ireland will have over Great Britain in that article?—A. I apprehend above £. 50 per cent.

Q. How does that arise?—A. The duty that was laid on the manufacture in 1777 increased the price to us £. 25 per cent.; in consequence of which, I apprehend, the duty, in the year 1746, increased it the same—which makes out the £. 50 per cent.

Q. What stage of the manufacture is the duty paid in?—A. It is collected whilst the materials are in the pot.

Q. Are there any expences attending the obtaining the drawback of the duty on the manufactures exported; and what are those expences?—A. About £. 8 per cent. expence on the drawback obtained, exclusive of the time lost in giving bond, &c.

Q. Is there any waste in the cutting?—A. Very considerable.

Q. What do you estimate the waste at?—A. It is impossible to ascertain it.

Q. Can you give any idea of it?—A. It is sometimes the case, that the glass on which we work is reduced sometimes one half, sometimes one quarter, and sometimes one twentieth.

Q. Do you know how the countervailing duty on glass imported can be ascertained?—A. I do not.

Q. Do

Q. Do you apprehend any danger to the English manufacturer from the repeal of the prohibitory duty which now prevents Irish glass from being imported?—A. I do.

Q. Will the Propositions encourage emigration in any degree?—A. I conceive that they will.

Q. Is the glass manufactory in Ireland now flourishing?—A. I understand it is now increasing.

Q. Are the glass cutters ever deterred from making experiments in consequence of the early stage at which the duty is paid, and the subsequent loss on the cutting the glass?—A. I have applied to manufacturers to make experiments, and have been answered, that the loss of the duty, if they did not succeed, would be too great to risk for the benefit accruing therefrom.

Q. Whether the Irish manufacturer is subject to that disadvantage?—A. I believe not.

Q. Do you know of any manufacturers having lately quitted this country to establish themselves in Ireland?—A. I have heard of some going.

Q. Did they take manufacturers with them?—A. I understand they took their complete work; that is, a number of hands sufficient to carry on all the manufactures.

Q. Were any of those who went to establish themselves in Ireland eminent manufacturers?—A. Yes.

Q. Do you know what the annual duty arising from glass amounts to?—A. No.

Q. Is it your opinion that a duty of £. 10½ per cent. with the nominal countervailing duty, if that could be ascertained, would be sufficient to secure the English manufacturer against any competition?—A. I conceive not.

Q. Do you know of any other inconvenience than those which you have already stated, that will result to the manufacturer from those Propositions?—A. The comparative small wages that workmen have in Ireland to England, I conceive would be a motive with the Irish manufacturer to establish his manufactory there.

Q. Have you any other information relating to the drawback, to give to the Committee?—A. No.

Examined by Members of the COMMITTEE.

Q. Do you chiefly deal in cut glass?—A. Chiefly. We are concerned in both; but chiefly in cut glass.

Q. Is there a large export of cut glass to foreign countries?—A. Yes.

Q. To what country in particular?—A. We export to France, to Russia, and to the East Indies; those are the three principal; some to Spain and Portugal.

Q. Has that export increased or diminished of late?—A. I rather

rather think, from my own knowledge and judgment, that it has diminished, and will diminish.

Q. Is not the export greater than when you first began business?
—A. I conceive not.

Q. To what do you impute the great trade this country has acquired in cut glass?—A. To its superior excellence.

Q. Is the cut glass manufacture of this country established in any other place than London and its neighbourhood?—A. Not to my knowledge.

Q. Do you conceive that it could be established in any other part to advantage, but the capital?—A. In some instances it could.

Q. Do you conceive that it could be carried on as a trade for exportation, but in a place where there is a great general export?—A. I do not know that.

Q. Did you ever hear that it ever was established but where there was a great general export?—A. No.

Q. Can you say what the difference is between the nominal duty on glass, and the real one, allowing for the breakage, &c.?—A. The duty is not collected from me, but from the glass manufacturer.

Q. Do you imagine, that in granting a compensation for the duty here on glass some average might not be taken, that would be a sufficient compensation for the different sorts of cut glass?—A. I do not know that there could.

Q. Could not they be arranged in different classes, so as to equalize the duty?—A. I do not think they could.

Q. Whether the orders on your house from Paris have not been increasing to the present period?—A. It is next with us to a total extinction.

Q. Have any manufacturers in the cut glass branch left this country to go to Ireland?—A. There is a person who I understand is procuring workmen in the cut glass business to go to Ireland—he was here some time ago.

Q. Do you conceive that any workman in that manufacture will go to Ireland to work for less wages than he works for here?—A. I conceive at first they might go for the same wages, it being offered them as a bounty, which might soon be reduced, when they had taught some of their own people, from the great difference of the price of labour.

Q. Is the skill in that business easily to be learnt?—A. In many branches it is not difficult.

Q. Do you know any reason which renders it impossible, or very improbable, that the cut glass manufacture should be established in Ireland?—A. I do not.

Q. Whether the waste in different branches of the glass manufacture is not very different?—A. Very different.

Q. Whether the countervailing duty on importation of similar articles of the glass manufacture from Ireland, must not likewise be

be different, in order to be proportioned to each respective article?
—A. Very much.

Q. Whether, as you have said that you understand that the Irish glass manufacturer has an advantage of £. 50 per cent. over the British manufacturer, it will not be necessary, in order to protect the British glass manufacturer, that the duty to be imposed on the Irish manufacture must not, including the expences of importation, amount at least on an average to £. 50 per cent.?—A. I conceive so.

Q. Whether any person, in your opinion, except a manufacturer of glass, will be able to judge of the waste and risk, loss and expence, which has accrued in the manufacturing the several articles in the glass manufacture?—A. I conceive it is impossible.

Q. Are there any additional duties lately imposed on the manufacture in Russia or Germany?—A. Germany we send none to; in Russia I do not know that there have.

Q. If the Irish Propositions should be carried into a law, do you imagine it would be any disadvantage to the manufacture?—A. I do.

Q. In what instance could the cut glass manufacture be carried on in other places than London and its neighbourhood?—A. I cannot answer the particular parts which could be so carried on.

Q. Do you know any part of the manufacture that could be so carried on? and what is it?—A. I think if the whole of the manufacture was to be removed into any other part of the country, and not separated, the whole might be carried on any where, not depending on any local situation.

Q. Did you mean, by saying that, that it could be carried on only in some instances out of London; that it could be carried on in the whole out of London, and not in some instances?—A. I meant, that there were some parts that did not require the immediate inspection of the principal.

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

The Counsel informed the Committee, That he will call no further witnesses in support of this Petition, and that his evidence was closed. And he stated to the Committee his reasons for declining to be heard in support of the Petition.

Then he was directed to withdraw.

Then the several Petitions on which Counsel were directed to be heard, were called over in the order in which they were presented to the House; but no Counsel or Agent attended, except the Agent for the Petition of the glass manufacturers of London, Bristol, Newcastle, and Glasgow; who, being called in, informed the Committee, that he was not now prepared, because he understood that the Petitions were to be heard in the order in which they stood; but that he would be ready by Monday.

And then he was directed to withdraw.

NUMB. VI.

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Lunc,

Lunæ, 25 die Aprilis, 1785.

COMMITTEE of the whole HOUSE on the adjustment of the Commercial Intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland.

The Committee was informed, That counsel attended in support of the petition of the Glass Manufacturers of London, Bristol, Newcastle, and Glasgow.

The counsel (Mr. Erskine) was called in.

Then the said petition was read; setting forth, That the petitioners conceive that a commercial arrangement with Ireland is of very great importance to this kingdom, and to the British empire at large; but they have great reason to believe that the resolutions of the Irish parliament, now under the consideration of this House, will not put the two kingdoms upon terms of equality, but will, if passed into a law, eventually prove highly detrimental to the manufactures and commerce of Great Britain, and particularly to the manufacture in which the petitioners are engaged; and that the petitioners wish not, nor do they mean, to object to or oppose, any system which can or may be adopted for the purpose of putting both kingdoms upon terms of equality in respect to their manufactures and commerce; but, on the contrary, would cheerfully and warmly support such system; but the petitioners apprehend, that, unless Ireland will consent to pay equal duties with all her imports, and an equal excise on her manufactures and internal consumption, for the support of the empire at large, and that the same regulations and laws be adopted and made respecting the exports from both kingdoms, as well from one to the other, as from each to foreign parts, no terms of equalization can be settled between the two kingdoms; and that if terms of equalization were to be settled between the two kingdoms as before-mentioned, the petitioners verily believe Ireland would still have and enjoy manifest and great advantages over Great Britain, inasmuch as his Majesty's subjects in this kingdom are burthened with many very heavy and grievous taxes, which the petitioners apprehend and believe they are in a great measure exempt from in Ireland; and moreover, the manufacturers of Ireland, from their local situation, will have a great advantage over the manufacturers of this kingdom, in sending their manufactures to foreign markets, and are or may be, as the petitioners believe, supplied with coal, the produce of that country, the petitioners having been credibly informed, that that species of fuel has been found in various parts of Ireland; and that the petitioners are informed, and have strong reason to believe, that many manufactories are already brought to perfection, and carried on in Ireland with greater success than in Great Britain, particularly in the article of glass, a great deal of which is now, and has been for some time last past, illegally brought to and used in England, to the very great detriment of the petition-

ers;

ers; and that if the resolutions above-mentioned should be adopted in the House, and passed into a law, the petitioners are apprehensive, and do verily believe, that unless some great alterations are made in the laws imposing duties upon glass in Great Britain, that the manufacture thereof will be totally annihilated in this kingdom, and removed to Ireland, from whence this country can and will be supplied with glass at a much cheaper rate than the petitioners, or any other manufacturers in this kingdom, can possibly do: And therefore praying, That the resolutions above-mentioned and referred to may not be passed into a law, and that the petitioners, by themselves or counsel, may be heard on the subject of this petition at the bar of the House.

The counsel desired to be permitted to call his witnesses first, and afterwards to be heard to observe on the evidence.

Mr. JOHN HOLMES called in, and examined.

Q. In what branch of the glass manufacture are you engaged?

—A. In flint glass.

Q. Do you apprehend that if the Irish resolutions pass into a law, it will affect that branch of the glass manufacture here in which you are engaged?—A. I do.

Q. In what particulars?—A. In being subject to a heavy duty on excise, and a peculiar mode of collection; and the Irish manufacturer being subject to neither, he will be enabled to undersell me in the market in which I stand, while I shall not be able to go to his market on equal terms.

Q. What is the duty now paid on the materials that you use for making of glass?—A. The rate is 18s. 8d. per cwt. and £. 15 per cent. on that.

Q. What is the mode of collecting it, and the allowance in the course of that collection for waste?—A. The mode is by gauge, taken at the opening of every pot, previous to going to work—the allowance is one quarter of the computed weight.

Q. Whether that mode of collection be prejudicial to the trade, and in what manner?—A. It is so in many instances.

Q. Enumerate them?—A. Such are, our not being allowed to purify our materials, which in some cases is absolutely necessary, and in all cases very desirable, without being subject to a duty double their value; the duty being charged at the opening of every pot, we are under a necessity of paying the duty, whether we can work the materials or no—in these circumstances we are prevented from making experiments in the great way—in the small, the officer has it in his option to charge them, or take them away.

Q. What allowance is made for waste?—A. One quarter of the computed weight.

Q. Explain in what manner the material is gauged on which the duty is paid?—A. Previous to the use of the pot, the dimensions

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of it are taken, then it is put into the furnace and filled; after it is emptied, the depth is retaken; the diameter is squared and divided by 10.77, the quotient is the gross computed area; one fourth part is taken from that area, and the residue is multiplied by the depth. There is another allowance, which is one inch at the bottom, the manufacturer not being able to work lower than he can cover the end of his iron.

Q. Whether the one quarter allowance for waste is a sufficient allowance to answer the real waste?—A. No.

Q. Have you made any calculation of the excess of the real waste beyond the allowance?—A. I have.

Produce it.

[The witnesses produced the account, but desired to explain it to the Committee before it was delivered in.]

The gross computed weight in the first period amounted to 6,777 Cwt. 5 lb.; the duty charged on that was 4,670 Cwt. 3 qrs. the waste in that period amounted to 2,840 Cwt. 3 qrs. 7 lb.; ware saleable and unsaleable, being weighed as they came from the annealing oven amounted to 3,272 Cwt. 1 qr. 11 lbs. Previous to the taking the gauge, we are under a necessity of skimming the pot; the weight lost by skimming comes into the general weight of the waste.—The books of the first year are mislaid, and I have only an abstract of the monthly entries; but I have the books of the second year. To make an allowance for the skimming, I suppose that half an inch would be too much, and that a quarter of an inch would be too little: where the officer has charged the pot full, and made allowance, when it was at half an inch, I computed it full; when it was at an inch I did the same; when it was more than an inch I allowed nothing. There were eight pots charged full, ninety at half an inch, one hundred and thirty-seven at one inch, and one hundred and sixty-six at more than one inch: The average computation for that is 22 1/2 lb. per pot. The ware and the waste does not amount to the computed weight—there may be several reasons for it: the density of the metal is computed greater than it is even in its most contracted state; we are charged in its most expanded state; the dimensions are taken always before the pots are dry, and there is no allowance at all for the contraction of the pots or the metal.

[See this account at the end of the evidence of this witness.]

Q. When that waste glass is melted over again for a new manufacture, is not the duty to be paid over again?—A. Yes, it is deemed a raw material.

Q. And is that so every time it is melted over again, be it ever so often?—A. Yes.

Q. What is the drawback on glass exported?—A. 18s. 8d. per Cwt. and £. 15 per cent. on that, on all that is entered for exportation; but there are immense quantities on which there is no drawback; such as is used by manufacturers in their own manufacture, and shipped in small quantities both by maker and feller, such as button-

button-makers, and several other trades who use glass in their manufactures.

Q. Whether, when the glass is entered for exportation so as to be entitled to the drawback, the drawback received is equal to the duty paid?—A. No.

Q. Explain that part of your calculation which states the difference between the duty paid and the drawback received?—A. It will stand thus in this account which I have here:—The nett duty charged on us between 27th July 1782, the day of the commencement of the present duty, and the 31st of December 1784, being 6198 Cwt. amounting to £. 6,652. 10s. 4d. then as the duty in the former period is to the ware it produced, so will the charge in the latter period be its product, which amounts to 4342.35 Cwt. which will be the quantity of goods, saleable and unsaleable, made in the latter period—from which I deduct, for goods by various accidents broken, and those that were rendered unsaleable, which is known by repeated experiments to be £. 10 per cent.—that will amount to 434.235 Cwt.—Deduct not being allowed by the present Act, to return superfluous metal and pieces spoiled in making, at the time that they are so, it amounts at least to £. 7 1/2 per cent. in addition to the £. 10 per cent.—that amounts to 325.675 Cwt.; together they amount to 759.91 Cwt. Subtract from the quantity of ware, they amount to 3582.44 Cwt.; which I suppose is the greatest quantity of goods possible to be produced and made from such a charge, the duty on which would amount to £. 3,845. 3s. the excess of charge will be 2615.56 Cwt. the duty of which would amount to £. 2,807. 7s. 4d.; which is equal to £. 73 per cent. on the weight of the goods, or 15s. 8d. per Cwt. and makes the duty really paid to be £. 1. 17s. 1 1/2d. per Cwt. which is more than double the value of the material.

[See this account at the end of the evidence of this witness.]

Q. Do you mean that, although you receive the drawback on exportation, yet that in fact you pay a very large duty?—A. I make it 15s. 8d. per cwt.

Q. Have you introduced into the calculation the expence of procuring the drawback?—A. We have shipped in the last period, on board 124 ships, 657 Cwt. 18 lbs. Drawback amounting to £. 705. 7s. Stamps and fees at the Excise office, exclusive of the Customs, is £. 55. 16s. which is equal to £. 8 per cent. on the drawback, and not less than 1 1/2 per cent. on the invoices of plain glass.

Q. Do these expences invariably attend the drawback?—A. They do.

Q. Then must not £. 8 per cent. be added to the difference formerly stated by you, between the duty paid and drawback received?—A. Yes.

Q. Do you find the exportation of your manufacture on the decline?

cline, or the increase?—A. I have taken the average of the last seven half years, and I find that the last half year is less than the average of the six half years preceding, by near two thirds; I speak only of my own trade, I know nothing of the general trade.

Q. What fees are paid at the Custom House to obtain the drawback?—A. It is in dispute, whether there are any fees due at the Custom House, or not; we sometimes enter them, and sometimes not.

Q. Are there any glass manufacturers in Ireland; and to what extent is the manufacture carried on there?—A. I believe there are six flint glass houses in Ireland, and that three of these work with much success. I am doubtful about the others.

Q. Are any, and what duties paid by the glass manufacturers there, either for home consumption or exportation?—A. None; and they go to the Colonies without any countervailing duty whatever.

Q. If the glass manufacturers in Ireland are suffered to import their glass manufactures into this country, at a countervailing duty of 18s. 8d. will they be able to undersell the glass manufacturer here?—A. They will.

Q. What are your reasons for thinking so?—A. I can only speak from my own manufactory, and I will state it: The amount of our sales, between the 29th of July 1782 and the 31st of December 1784, amounts to £. 19,971; duty paid on that produce, £. 6,652. 10s. 4d. The duty on such sales amounts to 33. 31 per cent.; the value of 325,675 Cwt. of metal, being wasted and spoiled, which might have been used if the maker had been allowed to have returned it while hot into the furnace, is worth 56s. per Cwt. and is equal to 4.56 per cent. on the sales; the stamps and fees of entry is equal to 1.48: which three sums amount to 39.35 per cent. on the sales, which is a charge in consequence of the duty, exclusive of interest, and the risk of capital, and the oppressive mode of collection. The greatest quantity of goods that can possibly be produced amounting to 3582.44 Cwt. the drawback on which will amount to £. 3,845. 15s. which on the sales will be 19.25 per cent. the excess of price of goods exported, created by the duty, will be equal to £. 20 per cent.

Q. Are there not a considerable number of skilful workmen in the manufacture gone to Ireland?—A. There are. Three-fourths of the artificers in Ireland are emigrants; the masters of four of the houses are English.

Q. Whether you impute the decline of the export trade from this country, in your particular branch, to the oppressive duty you have mentioned, and to the mode of collecting?—A. Yes, I do.

Q. If the Irish Parliament should admit French glass into Ireland at low duties, might it be easily brought into this country, without its being possibly distinguished from Irish glass?—A. I think it is probable that it might.

Q. On

Q. On the whole, whether you think the glass manufacturers in this country could possibly carry on the trade, if the Irish manufacturer had our market open to him, without a duty which would be equal to all the taxes, difficulties, and inconveniences which you have enumerated to-day as attending on our manufacture?—A. I do not think he could.

Q. You have said, that 18s. 8d. per Cwt. would not be such a countervailing duty; what do you think would be a countervailing duty?—A. You ought to take the duty off here, and make it equal to what it is in Ireland.

Examined by Members of the Committee.

Q. Has there been a gradual decline in the trade of glass since the laying on the duty?—A. I cannot tell which was the biggest half-year, and which was the least; I believe the year 1782 was the biggest.

Q. Do you know any glass houses that have been obliged to give up business in consequence of that additional duty?—A. There have been four houses began since the duty, two of which are bankrupts; besides which, there are mine and another; and more are declining, two or three. One, I believe, at Bristol, and another at Stourbridge. One is gone to Ireland. I do not know the reason of their leaving off.

Q. If the glass of England could be exported directly free of duty, do you think it of a quality that would be in demand abroad?—A. I believe it is much esteemed every where.

Q. Is it reckoned the best that is made in Europe?—A. I have always understood it to be received so.

Q. Are there not some other duties added to the 18s. 8d. per cent.?—A. Three £. 5 per cents.

Q. Whether the duties chargeable on glass are not laid in the pot, before the material is worked?—A. I said so before.

Q. You have stated several charges, and the amount thereof, which continue to operate upon British glass exported after the drawback given; are the Irish dealers in glass subject to any such burthen on their export?—A. No; they are all free.

Q. Was this what you meant, when you said that the Irish glass ware is sent to the Colonies without any countervailing duty?—A. Yes.

Q. Supposing it possible to prescribe a duty on Irish glass imported into England, adequate to or an equivalent for the duties paid here, and in consequence thereof that Ireland should have a fair and equal participation of the British market; would not her retaining the advantage mentioned in your last answers on the export trade, tend to deprive this country of the manufacture, and to give the whole of it to Ireland?—A. I do not think it possible to calculate

culate or estimate any equivalent, especially when we consider the mode of collection; under this idea—that every manufacturer, who has a regard to the reputation of his goods, will look upon being deprived of working and using the materials to the best advantage, as inestimable.

Q. Do you understand that after equalizing the duties to be paid on the importation of the Irish glass ware, that the Irish glass manufacturer would still retain the advantage of trying experiments in bringing his manufactures to perfection, without any part of that risk or loss to which the British manufacturer is subject?—A. No doubt but he would.

Q. Does not that risk and loss vary according to the species of the different branches of the manufacture?—A. Yes; in this manner: the articles are exceedingly numerous, and the waste upon them is various.

Q. Could then any general rule or rate of duty be applied as the adequate duty to be paid by the Irish manufacturer on his importation into England?—A. I do not know any that could be devised.

Q. Supposing the adequate duty to be taken upon the examination of each article, could that be settled by the revenue officers on their own judgment?—A. The revenue officers, I apprehend, can settle any thing; but they cannot settle it equitably.

Q. You have said, that since the last duty four houses have been set up, of which two have failed—Whether any have failed that were established before the late duty?—A. Yes; I remember one failing.

Q. Whether there are not as many glass houses subsisting now as before the late duty?—A. I believe not. I said four houses have been set up in my branch since the duty in 1777; two of which have become bankrupts; three others had left off, for a reason I could not tell.

Q. How many glass houses are there in the kingdom?—A. I do not know.

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

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An ACCOUNT of the Gross computed Weight, Nett Charge of Duty, the Waste and Ware, weighed in a Period of Two Years, previous to the Commencement of the present Duty on Glass;

With a COMPARATIVE ACCOUNT of the Ware produced between the 29th Day of July 1782, and the 31st Day of December 1784.

Gross computed Weight in the 1st Period	Cwt. q. lb.			
Duty charged on	6,771	—	5	
Waste	4,670	3	—	
Ware saleable and unsaleable, being weighed as they came from the Annealing Oven	2,840	3	7	
	3,272	1	11	
The Nett Duty charged on us between the 29th of July 1782 and the 31st of December 1784, being 6,198, amounting to				£. s. d.
				6,652 10 4

Deduct for Goods by various Accidents broke, and otherwise rendered unsaleable by repeated Experiments, is known to be full £. 10 per Cent. 434.235

Deduct, not being allowed by the present Act to return superfluous Metal, and pieces spoiled in making, at the Time they are so, is at least £. 7½ 325.675

The greatest Quantity of Goods possible to be produced and sold from such a Charge, will be 759.91

The excessive Charge on the Manufacture will be 382.44 The Duty on which would amount to 3,845 3 4

Equal to £. 73 per Cent. on the Ware, or 15s. 8d. the Hundred Weight; and will make the Duty £. 1. 17s. 1½d. per Cent. which is more than double the Value of the Materials. 2,807 7 4

The Amount of our Sales of Plain Glass, between the 29th of July 1782 and the 31st of December 1784, being £. 19,971, the Amount of Duty paid in the same Period £. 6,652. 10s. 4d. the Duty on such Sales is equal to the Value of 325,675 Cwt. Metal wasted by being spoiled in making, &c. and which might be used, if the Maker was allowed to return it into the Furnace while hot, at 56s. the Hundred Weight, is 33.31 per Ct.

Having shipped in the same Period on board 124 Ships 657 Cwt. 18 lbs. the Drawback amounting to £. 795. 7s. the Stamps and Fees, exclusive of the Customs, amounting to £. 55. 16s. is equal to near £. 8 per Cent. on the Drawback, and on the Sales 4.56 per Ct.

Charge in Consequence of the Duty on the Sales is, exclusive of Interest, and Risk of Capital, and the oppressive Mode of Collection 1.48 per Ct.

The greatest Quantity of Goods that can possibly be made and sold from the above Charge, being 3582.44 Cwt. the Drawback of the Whole would amount to £. 3,845. 15s. which on the Sales will be 39.35

Excessive Price on Goods exported, created by the Duty, exclusive as above on the Sales, is 19.25 per Ct. 20.1 per Ct.

VI.

Mr.

Mr. ROBERT HURST, crown glass maker, and maker of glass for windows and common bottles, at Bristol, called in, and examined.

Q. How do you conceive the Irish resolutions will affect the particular branch of your manufacture?—A. It will be very injurious to us.

Q. In what respect?—A. With respect to the heavy duty we now labour under, and the mode of collecting it.

Q. What is the duty you pay on the crown glass?—A. 14s. per Cwt. and three £. 5 per cents.

Q. What is the mode of collecting it, and the allowance made for waste?—A. It is gauged by the Excise officers in the fluid state in the pots; the allowance for waste is one-fourth.

Q. Is that allowance so made by the Excise an adequate allowance for the real waste?—A. By no means.

Q. When it is necessary to fuse the metal which has been waste, the part which has been gauged before, does it not pay duty over again?—A. It is considered as a raw material, and pays duty over again, and so toties quoties.

Q. What number of glass manufactories are there in Ireland?—A. Only one in our branch.

Q. Are there any duties paid there on home consumption, or on exportation?—A. Not any.

Q. Then, upon the state you have given, if the English market is open to the Irish manufacturer, will they be able to undersell you and those concerned in the same trade here?—A. Certainly they will.

Q. Have you any particular reasons for thinking so, besides those you have mentioned?—A. The glass which is imported from Ireland to England pays only a duty for what they really manufacture—we pay a heavy duty for what we cannot manufacture.

Q. How much do you pay annually for duties?—A. Nearly £. 18,000 per annum.

Q. Do you receive the whole of that back by way of drawback on exportation, or what proportion of it?—A. Not by two-fifths, or one-third.

Q. What proportion of capital were you obliged to employ on account of duties?—A. More than one-third.

Q. From whence is the manufacture supplied with ingredients for making your glass?—A. From Ireland; the most material from Ireland.

A. Does that material pay any duty on importation?—A. 17s. per ton on the kelp.

Q. If the manufacturer of crown glass in Ireland had the English market open to him, on a countervailing duty of 14s. per Cwt. could

could you, or any other in the same way of trade, meet them in the market here?—A. We could not.

Q. Have you found any decline in the exportation trade in your particular branch since the last duty laid on?—A. We find some decline in the exportation to Ireland.

Q. Have you made any calculation of what would be a countervailing duty, if 14s. per Cwt. would not be?—A. I cannot say I have made any, nor do I apprehend any could be made.

Q. Whether you export any considerable quantity of glass at present?—A. We do.

Q. Whether the exportation of glass has increased or decreased of late, as far as you know?—A. Rather decreased.

Q. Whether you export any quantity of glass at present to Ireland?—A. We do.

Q. Whether that export has increased or decreased of late?—A. I think on the whole it has rather decreased.

Q. To what do you impute that decrease?—A. A good deal owing to some that has gone from Newcastle, which, during the war, they could not send, and then it went from us.

Q. Do you then mean to say, that the trade of Newcastle has got what the trade of Bristol has lost?—A. Probably it may be so.

Q. Assign a reason why you apprehend that glass may be imported from Ireland to England in case duties should be laid on the importation on Irish glass, equal to the internal duties now subsisting in this country, though you acknowledge that under our present disadvantages we export a great quantity of glass to Ireland?—A. Respecting the duty, they pay, as I said before, a duty only on what they really manufacture; we pay a duty on what we do not manufacture.

Q. If, on laying the duty on Irish glass, there should be an additional duty in consideration of the waste, should you then have any apprehension?—A. Certainly.

Q. Assign your reason for that?—A. We have not an opportunity, under the present mode of collecting the duty, of making the best of our materials: When an Exciseman has gauged our pot, if by any unforeseen accident that should turn bad, we are obliged to pay the duty, though we are obliged to lade it out, and throw it away. The Irish have every advantage, from paying no duty, of making the best of their materials.

Q. If the Irish, with these advantages on their side, and with the disadvantages on our side which you have stated, cannot exclude the glass of this country from their market, which must be subject to freight, commission, and insurance, assign any sufficient reason how they can ever send their glass to interfere with our market?—A. They now send their glass to interfere with our market; we have letters from one or two of our correspondents, who say they cannot buy our glass, as they can have it so cheap from Ireland.

Q. Where do these correspondents reside?—A. At Whitehaven.

Q. Is this glass lawfully imported?—A. They do import it, and undersell us.

Q. In what manner could the duty be levied, without being so oppressive to the manufactory as you state it to be, by gauging the metal in the pot?—A. When we manufacture glass we put it into an annealing kiln, there to cool gradually; nor can we draw it out under a certain period, if we were it would break all to pieces. If the legislature would lay the duty on the glass that is there manufactured, and put into those kilns, it would remove the grievance.

Q. Is there a possibility of a fraud on the revenue by such alteration?—A. There could be no possibility of a fraud: either the proprietor of the manufactory, or a head workman, would always attend the officer to take the exact weight of the glass that comes out of those kilns, and would be upon oath that no fraud should be committed.

Q. Would such method be attended with a greater expence to government, by the attendance of the Excise officer, or otherwise?—A. It would be a great saving to government, for an officer then must attend only four times a week, and now he attends night and day to make a great many unnecessary surveys, and has an additional salary for so doing.

Q. In what proportion to each manufactory might such saving be of the Excise officer attending?—A. More than half.

Q. Have you any reason to believe, that crown glass is made and exported in any considerable quantity from Newcastle?—A. Yes.

Q. Exclusive of paying a duty, not only for what you manufacture, but for what you say you did not manufacture, is not the advance of duties a considerable article to the disadvantage of the British manufacturers?—A. Certainly.

Q. Can you give any account of the nature of that advance, and how long, on the average, it is before the sale of the article for the home market, or the receiving the drawbacks on the exportation?—A. Twelve, fifteen months, two years on the home market; and on the exportation, on an average, about two years.

Q. You have said, you pay about £. 18,000 per annum for the duties on glass; can you give any average account of the sum of which you are generally in advance?—A. From £. 8,000 to £. 10,000.

Q. Would not the facility which the Irish manufacturer would have of making perfect and clear glass, by repeating his experiments without risking the loss of duties by breakage, operate much against the British manufacturer, after equalizing the internal duties?—A. Very considerably.

Q. If, in consequence of the Irish Propositions being carried into effect, the Irish manufacturer should gain a full and fair participation of the British market, must it not be by a proportionable diminution of the British manufacture?—A. Certainly.

Q. Whether

Q. Whether of late years the exportation of glass to Ireland has increased or decreased?—A. It has decreased.

Q. Whether, according to the best information you have received, the manufacture of glass in Ireland is not a growing manufacture, and has not considerably increased within these few years?—A. I judge it to be a growing manufacture, because they are now sending letters from Ireland to some of my principal workmen, offering them every advantage if they will leave England, and go to Ireland.

Q. Have you not heard of several glass houses lately erected in Ireland?—A. They have in the bottle way, not in the crown; the reason is, that they cannot get the workmen over: the workmen have brought me the letters, as soon as they received them, wanting me to increase their wages on account of the great offers from Ireland.

Q. Do you think it could be practicable, that such a port duty could be laid on goods imported from Ireland, as would exactly countervail the internal duties laid on the manufacture in England?—A. I do not apprehend it could.

Q. Are not the duties different, owing to the different quality of the manufacture?—A. Equally the same. They gauge a pot, and whether good or bad it equally pays the duty. I have often desired the officer to look at it, and he has said, he durst not interfere; and have frequently requested them to stand by me during the time of having all the goods weighed that have been really manufactured, and to weigh the waste in manufacturing, and then compare it with their gauge, to convince them how much more duty they charged us with, than there is really in the pot. Their answer was, they durst do no such thing. We can make it appear, since our copartnership, that we have paid an extra duty of £. 14,000.

Q. Is the extra duty, as you call it, on the duty which you pay, over and above the goods brought to any degree of perfection, in any certain proportion to the goods which are saleable?—A. Nearly one third.

Q. Does that proportion hold in the different sorts of manufacture, or only upon the whole of the manufacture taken together?—A. In some particulars (the cut glass) which we export, we have a loss of £. 35 per cent. owing to not being suffered to draw back equal to what we pay.

Q. Is the Committee then to understand, that the drawback is not adjusted in such a manner as in substance to draw back the whole duty which is paid?—A. The great loss which we suffer in cutting up the glass that has paid the duty for exportation will amount to that sum, which waste we are obliged to pay duty for over again, it being considered as raw material to go into the pot.

Q. Whether you think that, in the present mode of collecting the duty, it would be practicable so exactly to adjust the drawback, as to leave your exportation duty-free, and yet to receive no bounty?—A. I do not apprehend it would.

Q. If

Q. If the duty was laid on the goods drawn out of the annealing ovens, whether the drawback could not be exactly ascertained?
—A. There then would be a great waste in cutting, should the duty be so laid.

Q. Whether it would not be attended with very great convenience to the manufacturer, in order to complete his metal to the highest state of purity, and to enable him to meet foreigners with equality at foreign markets?—A. It certainly would.

Q. What is the cause of the extra charge of the duty, which you say has amounted to £. 14,000 in your manufacture?—A. The mode of collecting the duty, and not having an allowance adequate to the waste of the work.

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.
The counsel having no more evidence to produce in support of this petition, he was heard.

And then he was directed to withdraw.
A Member present informed the Committee, That Mr. John Holmes, the first witness examined this day, desired that the Committee would be pleased to understand, that his evidence related only to the flint glass manufactory, in which he was engaged.

Jovis, 28 die Aprilis, 1785.

COMMITTEE of the WHOLE HOUSE, on the Adjustment of the Commercial Intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland.

The Committee proceeded on the petition of the Master Silk Weavers in London and Manchester.

The counsel (Mr. Graham) was called in.

And the said petition was read; setting forth, That the petitioners are greatly alarmed at the Resolutions brought before the House, respecting the commercial regulation now depending betwixt Great Britain and Ireland, which, if carried into effect, will be greatly injurious to the silk manufactures of this kingdom; and that the duty on raw and thrown silks imported into Great Britain is much higher than in Ireland, and, the petitioners have been informed, that it is not intended to equalize the duty by subjecting the Irish to the same duty on the importation of that article as is paid here, but by laying a duty on Irish manufactured goods when imported into Great Britain; and that the petitioners apprehend, that this mode of equalizing the duties on silk will be very injurious to the silk manufactures

manufactures of Great Britain, as it will give great encouragement to smuggling, the equalizing duty, added to the protecting and Excise duties on some articles of considerable consumption, amounting to upwards of £. 25 per cent. on their value, and silk goods being peculiarly exposed to smuggling, being of small bulk in proportion to their value; and that the price of labour is well known to be considerably lower in Ireland than here, as well as the duties on the materials used in dying silk: And therefore praying, That the House will take the same into consideration, and prevent those resolutions from passing into a law; and that they may be heard by themselves or counsel, in support of the allegations contained in this petition.

The counsel was heard.

Mr. JAMES MAY, a Manufacturer of Silk, in Church-street, Spital-fields, London, was called in, and examined.

Q. What sort of goods do you manufacture?—A. Brocades and sattins, chiefly sattins at present.

Q. What are the duties paid in England on the importation of thrown silk?—A. 7s. 4d. per lb. of 16 oz.

Q. What are the duties paid in Ireland on thrown silk imported there from foreign countries?—A. 2s. 0½d. Irish, or 1s. 10d. English per lb. of 16 oz.

Q. What duties are paid in England on the importation of raw silk?—A. 4s. 6d. per lb. of 24 oz. and 3s. per lb. of 16 oz.

Q. What are the duties paid in Ireland on the importation of raw silk from foreign countries?—A. 1s. Irish, and 11d. English per lb. of 24 oz. or about 8d. per lb. of 16 oz.

Q. What is the drawback on thrown silk exported from hence to Ireland?—A. 6s. 6d. per lb. of 16 oz.

Q. What is the drawback on raw silk exported from hence to Ireland?—A. 3s. 7½d. per lb. of 24 oz. and about 2s. 5d. per lb. of 16 oz.

Q. What is the average price of thrown silk imported into England, with the duty?—A. From 26s. to 38s. per lb. of 16 oz.

Q. What is the average price of raw silk imported into England?—A. From 15s. to 30s. per lb. of 24 oz.

Q. Can you state what advantage per cent. Ireland will have over England on the raw material?—A. On thrown silk it is upwards of £. 20 per cent.; imported through England into Ireland about £. 18 per cent.; on the raw silk imported into Ireland from foreign countries about £. 15½ per cent.; on raw silk, coming thro' England, imported into Ireland, about £. 12½ per cent.

Q. Can Ireland reap any other advantage over England, in any other respect in this manufacture; and you will state in what respect?
A. In many others, the difference in money in workmanship amounting to about £. 2 per cent. The difference on the raw silk, before

before it can be used in our manufacture, besides what has been already stated, this comes to about 2 per cent.

Q. Are you aware of any other advantage which Ireland may have?—A. In the workmanship: they carry on their trade with much less capital than we can; they have less rent to pay, and less taxes, and provisions much cheaper.

Q. How long have you been concerned in the silk trade?—A. Upwards of twenty years.

Q. Have you ever sent any goods in your branch of trade to Ireland, to any, and what amount?—A. I cannot state the amount, but it amounts to many thousand pounds.

Q. Have you ever made any calculation, what would be the difference in favour of Ireland, taking into consideration only the difference of the duties on the importation of the raw material?—A. In our articles it amounts to £. 15 per cent. and upwards.

Q. What are those articles?—A. Plain satins chiefly.

Q. Have you made any calculation of the difference in favour of Ireland, with respect to other articles in the silk trade?—A. I have made no calculation but where I am concerned.

Examined by MEMBERS of the COMMITTEE.

Q. Is not the price of labour in the silk manufacture settled by the justices, in pursuance to an Act of Parliament, in England?—A. Yes, it is.

Q. Is not the price of labour in the silk manufacture in Ireland, settled by a tariff annexed to an Irish Act of Parliament?—A. I believe there is such a book—a copy of ours, which was published some years ago.

Q. Is the Committee then to understand, that the Irish regulation of the price of labour in this manufacture is a copy of the English regulations for the same purpose?—A. I cannot say that it is a copy exactly. When I was in Ireland last year, the journeymen there applied to me to know the price of some work then made in London, on which they produced to me the book they go by, and I shewed them the article, by which they saw what we pay in London.

Q. Can you say, that the regulated prices are not the same in both countries, or nearly so?—A. I believe they are nearly the same at present.

Q. If there is, as you say, a large exportation of silk goods in your branch, from this country to Ireland, how do you reconcile this circumstance with their being able to work so much cheaper in Ireland than you can here?—A. At the time that I spoke of, the manufacture was not established in Ireland as it is at present.

Q. Do you take upon yourself to say, that the manufacture of silk in Ireland has of late increased?—A. I believe it has, within these few years.

Q. Haye

Q. Have the Irish increased in their importation of raw and thrown silk from this country?—A. I cannot say.

Q. Have they increased in the importation of raw and thrown silk from any foreign countries?—A. I cannot answer that question.

Q. If it should appear by accounts, that they have decreased in these two articles, is it possible that their manufacture should have increased?—A. I should suppose not.

Q. Is there not a drawback, or bounty in nature of a drawback, on silk goods exported from this country to foreign countries?—A. There is.

Q. Is it equal, or nearly so, to the drawback on raw and thrown silk?—A. Upon some it is, on others not.

Q. Have the Irish any pattern drawers in the silk manufacture?—A. I do not know that they have; and if we had none in England, it would have been better, I believe, for the manufacture, because the figured silks have not been worn within these few years.

Q. Are there not several sorts of silks in which the skill of eminent pattern drawers is absolutely necessary?—A. There are.

Q. Of what country are you?—A. I was born in France.

Q. Have you ever been at Lyons?—A. I have not.

Q. Do you not know, that one of the great advantages of the manufacture of Lyons is the eminence of their pattern drawers?—A. I believe it has been so.

Q. Do you understand, that the prices in the Irish tariff of prices were calculated in English or in Irish money?—A. In Irish money?—A. Whether the journeymen weavers in Ireland do not find reed and harness, which the journeymen weavers in Spital-fields do not?—A. I believe they do.

Q. Whether a good deal of soap is not used in preparing the silk manufacture?—A. A great deal.

** Q. Do you not know that soap is much cheaper in Ireland than in England?—A. It certainly is much cheaper there.

Q. At what price is it sold in Ireland for at present?—A. I believe at about £. 1. 2s. per Cwt.

Q. At what price is it now sold in England?—A. I cannot exactly say, but I believe at about £. 3. 10s. per Cwt.

Q. Do not you understand that handkerchiefs are a principal branch of the Irish silk manufactory?—A. I believe they make a great many, but I do not make any. There is a gentleman here who can answer that question better.

Q. Is the skill of a pattern drawer necessary in the manufacture of silk handkerchiefs?—A. It is not.

Q. Do you know whether the Irish have manufactured silk stockings?—A. I believe they have.

Q. How long ago was it you sent a quantity of goods to Ireland?—A. About two years ago.

Q. Whether a pound of raw silk, of sixteen ounces, when

worked up in the complete manufacture, will continue to weigh sixteen ounces; whether there will not be some waste?—A. A pound of silk, of sixteen ounces, if dyed, will not produce more than eleven ounces and an half, if dyed in colours, I do not mean black.

Q. Whether the figured and fancied silks are at present the most considerable part of the British silk manufacture?—A. They are not.

Q. Whether the manufacture of plain silks does not bear a greater proportion to the whole manufacture than figured silks do?—A. I believe they do.

Q. Will you state what is the duty left on each sort of silk, when exported from England to Ireland?—A. 10d. on the thrown silk, per lb. of 16 oz.; 10½d. on the raw silk, per lb. of 24 oz.

Q. Have you read the Irish Propositions?—A. I have.

Q. Do you understand, then, that under the second proposition the whole duty of all foreign articles exported from Great Britain to Ireland is to be fully drawn back?—A. I understand it so.

Q. Will not this circumstance, then, give to the Irish manufacturer the raw silk and thrown silk at 10d. and 10½d. per lb. cheaper, when received from this country, than it has hitherto been?—A. It certainly will.

Q. Did you take this circumstance also into your calculation, when you stated the advantage which the Irish manufacturer would have over the English, in case the Propositions should be adopted by this country?—A. I did not, as I have only stated what now existed.

Q. What weight of wrought silk may be packed within the compass of six pounds of tea?—A. That depends upon the sort of silk; there may be a great quantity of handkerchiefs packed within that compass; two or three dozen of pair of silk stockings may be packed in the compass of two pounds of tea.

Q. Can you form any estimate of what would be the amount of the countervailing duty upon two dozen pair of silk stockings, or can you tell the weight of that quantity?—A. I never weighed them, they are of different weights.

Q. Are silk stockings now prohibited from being imported?—A. I believe they are.

Q. If the prohibition to import wrought silk was continued upon the silk manufactory from all countries, except Ireland, do you think that it would be easy for a revenue officer to distinguish between the manufactures of Ireland and the other countries?—A. I do not believe they could.

Q. Are there any foreign silk manufactures so much cheaper than British silk manufactures of the same kind, that they could bear the expence of being imported into Ireland, and from thence be brought to England, and yet to be introduced into this country cheap enough to be sold in this market?—A. That I cannot say.

[Former

[Former questions and answers, relating to the price of soap, at this mark **, folio 373, read.]

Q. Are you sure that is the price of soap in Ireland?—A. I am not sure, but I was told so.

Q. You take it, then, on common report?—A. I do.

Q. Do you know what duties are paid on the silk manufactures of this country on their being imported into Ireland?—A. 7s. 10d. Irish per lb.

Q. Are you of opinion, that if a countervailing duty should be imposed on the manufactures of Ireland coming in here, to balance the duty on the raw material in both countries, over and above the Irish duties, it would be possible for the Irish to send their silk manufactures here legally?—A. I think not.

Q. Why do you think smuggling would be facilitated by permitting the importation of silk manufactures from Ireland on the payment of duties?—A. Because it would be then possible for those goods to come in here; and if the person did not find opportunity to run them on shore, he would then be at liberty to enter them.

Q. Whether the person intending to smuggle has not precisely the same advantage now, by reporting his goods for exportation if he has failed in running them?—A. I apprehend that goods are liable to be seized if they come within a certain distance from the shore.

Q. From whom had you that information?—A. I was told so.

Q. Do you remember the prohibition of foreign silk manufacture about twenty years ago?—A. I do.

Q. Whether the duties on French silks before that prohibition were not extremely high?—A. They were.

Q. Are you of opinion, that the prohibition that has subsisted since the passing that law has protected the British market better than the high duties which subsisted before that law?—A. It certainly has.

Q. If, in addition to the 7s. 10½d. at present paid upon the importation of British wrought silk into Ireland, a further duty should be laid, according to the Irish Propositions, to countervail the duties paid on the importation of the raw and thrown silks into Ireland, whether, in your opinion, it would tend materially to diminish our exportation of wrought silk to that country?—A. I do not understand the question clearly, and therefore I cannot answer it.

Q. If, in addition to the 7s. 10½d. per lb. now paid upon sending the wrought silk into Ireland, a duty equal to 1s. 10d. per lb. was to be added, would it not tend to lessen the exportation?—A. I think it would.

Q. Can you say by what means this country is secured from the importation of foreign linens through Ireland, under pretence of their being Irish?—A. I am not in that business, and can say nothing of that matter.

Q. Would not the same regulations that are sufficient to secure the one secure the other?—A. I cannot tell.

Q. Can you say whether the soap used in the silk manufacture is made from oil or from tallow?—A. I suppose not from oil, because it would spoil the silk.

Q. If the same duties as now exist in England on all foreign materials used in the silk manufacture, should be laid on the like materials on their importation into Ireland, would you in such case fear any competition from the Irish manufacturer?—A. I should think not. If the duties were paid in Ireland which are paid here, I should think then we should do very well.

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

Mr. RICHARD LEE, Silk Manufacturer in the Handkerchief Branch, in White-gate-street, Bishopsgate-street.

Q. Do you manufacture mixed thread and silk handkerchiefs, as well as silk handkerchiefs alone?—A. We manufacture handkerchiefs mixed of silk and cotton together in great quantities.

Q. What Excise duty is paid in England on a dozen of printed silk handkerchiefs?—A. Four-pence per yard, and three five per cents on that, which on a dozen full yard wide is 4s. 6d.

Q. Is there any Excise duty paid in Ireland on printed silk handkerchiefs?—A. None at present.

Q. Do you know whether there is any difference between the goods in your branch manufactured in England, and those manufactured in Ireland?—A. A very great difference in some articles.

Q. Can you state what difference is, by any calculation you have made?—A. On a dozen of Bandanoe handkerchiefs, weighing one pound, when made with raw silk, there is a difference in the duty of the silk of 2s. 4d.; added to which, an Excise duty of 4s. 6d. makes a difference of 6s. 10d. per dozen, value 25s. when manufactured in Ireland, which is 27½ per cent. in favour of Ireland.

Q. What is the difference between goods of the same kind when manufactured with thrown silk?—A. A difference in the duty of 5s. 4d. on the pound; added to which the Excise duty of 4s. 6d. makes 9s. 10d. in favour of Ireland on a dozen, value 25s. when manufactured in Ireland. Few are made with thrown silk; most are made with raw silk.

Q. What is the value of a dozen of Bandanoe handkerchiefs made with thrown silk in England?—A. £. 2. 8s. 4d. per dozen, weighing one pound.

Q. Do you apprehend, from the difference between the price in England and Ireland, any injury to the fair trader, and why?—A. A great injury; because the great advantage that Ireland will have in manufacturing these goods over England will be an inducement to encourage smuggling.

Q. Do you know whether foreign silks could be imported into England,

England, through Ireland, cheaper than silks manufactured in England, of the same quality, could be sold in England?—A. I know of none in my branch, except Irish goods, that are imported into this country; but India handkerchiefs which are smuggled, being prohibited.

Q. Are you acquainted with any other branch of the silk trade except that in which you are engaged?—A. Not particularly.

Q. If the silk handkerchiefs imported from Ireland into England were made subject to a duty equal to the difference of the duties on the raw materials, and equal to the Excise duty paid in this country, do you think that the manufacture of this country would have any reason to apprehend a competition?—A. If the duties were to be enforced, and smuggling prevented, it would not.

Q. Do you know of any reason, why, if the duty on the importation of Irish goods is imposed, smuggling should be rendered more easy?—A. The great advantage of the difference in price of our goods, manufactured in Ireland or England, would be so much as to hold out a great bait to the smuggler.

Q. Could a smuggling vessel easily avoid a seizure, in case of any vessel being near her at sea?—A. I cannot tell.

Examined by MEMBERS of the COMMITTEE.

Q. Do you remember the time when the prohibition of foreign wrought silk was laid on?—A. I remember the time—I was then but young in the business, and am not competent to say any thing of the particulars of it.

Q. Do you remember, whether French wrought silks were not, before that prohibition, subject to very high duties?—A. I believe they were.

Q. Have you heard so among the trade?—A. I have.

Q. Do you think that the prohibition of foreign wrought silk, which now subsists, is a better protection of the British silk manufacture than the high duties which subsisted before?—A. By the information I have had, a great deal.

Q. Have you heard that in general the silk manufactures in this country increased after the prohibition?—A. I have.

Q. Why do you apprehend that the Irish will smuggle more if these resolutions should pass into a law, than they did before?—A. When they understand that a free intercourse is to take place with this country, I judge they will of course increase their manufactures; and the vast advantage they possess will induce them to seek a market in this country.

Q. Was you examined before the Committee of Privy Council?

—A. I was.

Q. On what day?—A. The 17th of February.

Q. Did the Committee of Privy Council state to you the two questions

questions referred to them by his Majesty's order of the 14th of January at the time of your examination?—A. I do not know what two particular questions are referred to.

Q. Was you, before the examination, apprised of the object to which you was going to be examined?—A. Yes.

Q. What did you understand that object to be?—A. Respecting the intercourse of trade between Great Britain and Ireland.

Q. By whom was you told that you was to be examined as to the intercourse of trade between Great Britain and Ireland?—A. I was informed the evening before my coming up before the Lords of the Council, by Mr. Tatlock, the broker.

Q. Has not the smuggler the same temptation now that he will have if these resolutions pass?—A. No, I think not.

Q. State why he has not?—A. The goods being at present prohibited, they are always liable to be seized when proved to be Irish.

Q. Do you mean that they can be ascertained to be Irish?—A. I can ascertain many of them.

Q. Can the revenue officers, do you think?—A. Those that I have seen of that manufacture I think they could, and particularly they have no stamp, which ours have.

Q. Whether the person in whose hands suspected silks are found, is not obliged by law to verify that they are of British manufacture?—A. I always understood they were.

Q. Whether you know what number of silk handkerchiefs can be contained in a packet of a size that would contain six pounds of tea?—A. Five dozen at least, if not six dozen.

Q. What is the duty on six dozen of silk handkerchiefs, including the Excise duty, and the duty on the raw material?—A. If they are yard-square, the Excise duty is 27s. The duty on the silk is different between the raw silk and the thrown silk. Raw silk 18s. supposing each dozen weighs one pound.

Q. Whether the duty on the raw material is not paid on the importation of the silk?—A. Before they are received into the merchant's warehouse.

A. At what stage of the manufacture is the Excise duty paid?—A. After the goods are manufactured they are sent to our printers, and I believe the duty is laid on before they are printed, and the payments made once a month.

Q. Whether, in consequence of the duty collected on importation, and the duty collected by the Excise, the British manufacturer is not liable to a considerable advance of money before the manufacture is sold?—A. A great advance.

Q. Whether you would consider any duty on the importation of the Irish silk manufacture as a countervailing duty, which did not compensate the import duty, the Excise duty, and the advance of money?—A. None.

Q. Do

Q. Do you think that your branch of the manufacture requires any extraordinary skill?—A. Very little; it consists chiefly in knowing what silk to make use of.

Q. Whether any able pattern drawers are requisite to carry on your branch of the manufacture in perfection?—A. A very small branch requires any drawing patterns at all, and that with little skill.

Q. Whether there is not already in Ireland a manufacture of silk handkerchiefs?—A. There is.

Q. Is it considerable?—A. It has been considerable, and I have been lately informed it is now increasing again.

Q. Is the Committee to understand, from your answer respecting the duties payable in England on six dozen of handkerchiefs, that the saving of duties by clandestinely importing a quantity of Irish handkerchiefs, equal in bulk to six pounds of tea, would be £. 2. 5s. sterling?—A. It would save that in duties.

Q. Considering the great advance of money to which the British manufacturer is liable, have you computed how much greater capital is requisite to carry on the manufacture in England than in Ireland?—A. I have computed, on some articles, that the Irish manufacturer can carry on the same business with one fourth less capital.

Q. Did you mean, in your answer about the duties on silk handkerchiefs, that the 27s. is the excise upon the six dozen of handkerchiefs?—A. If full yard-square, it is.

Q. And that the 18s. duty computed on one pound of silk is the duty on one dozen of silk handkerchiefs?—A. No; the 18s. is the duty on the six dozen, at 3s. the small pound.

Q. Do not you confound the drawback with the duty?—A. I understood that no question was put to me on the subject of the drawback.

Q. Whether six dozen of yard-square handkerchiefs weighs but one pound?—A. The answer I made was to six dozen weighing one pound each dozen in its raw state.

Q. Do you know whether raw silk worked into handkerchiefs loses in its weight?—A. When it is perfectly finished a great deal; it loses one fourth part.

Q. Do you know the price in Ireland of soap used in the silk manufactory?—A. I have lately enquired of a printer who used a great deal there; and in last June, about Midsummer, he gave 35s. per Cwt. Irish currency, for the sort of soap he used.

Q. Whether the silk handkerchief branch of weaving is not necessary to the instructing young people in the more perfect branches of the silk manufactory?—A. It is very essential for that purpose.

Q. Whether, if the same duties as now exist in England on all foreign materials used in the silk manufacture should be laid on the importation of the like materials into Ireland, and the same bounties and

drawbacks allowed in both countries; if in such case you would fear any competition from the Irish manufacture?—A. I understand the excise duties are meant to be included in that question; and in that case we judge Ireland will possess some advantages, but not to a degree as for us to be dissatisfied.

Q. Whether you in your last answer do not mean to say, that if the Irish manufacture was subject to all the same burthens to which the British manufacture is subject, that in that case the British manufacturer would have no reason to be dissatisfied?—A. We should be dissatisfied.

Q. On what ground and principles do you make the calculation about one fourth less capital being necessary in Ireland than in England?—A. Upon the excise, and difference in duties.

Q. Is that the sole ground of your calculation?—A. I have made a calculation of 6s. 10d. difference upon a dozen of silk handkerchiefs, which will stand the Irish manufacturer in 25s.; of course it will require one fourth less capital on that calculation to carry on the same trade.

Q. Whether the piece of British manufacture being stamp, and the piece of Irish manufacture not stamp, that distinction may not be sufficient to warrant a revenue officer in proceeding to seizure?—A. I certainly understand it will.

Q. What were you going to add about charges in bringing in six dozen of handkerchiefs into England?—A. When the question was put, I understood that the whole amount I mentioned would not be a profit to the person that illegally brought the goods into this country. I was going to mention that there would of course be charges and other necessary incidents on the importation.

Q. Can you calculate the amount of those charges?—A. I never understood any thing about it, but I have heard £. 7½ per cent. is the common expence of smuggling.

And then the witness was directed to withdraw.

Mr. JAMES MALO, Silk weaver in the Handkerchief Branch, in Moorfields, London, called in and examined.

Q. In what do you apprehend the handkerchief weavers would be more hurt than other weavers, if the Irish were allowed to import their silk handkerchiefs hither?—A. On account of the excise duties.

Q. Does the difference of the raw silk and the thrown silk add to the advantage of the Irish manufacturer?—A. It does; the duty, together with the excise, is very near ten shillings.

Q. How do you prove such a difference between the duties here and in Ireland, as to be an encouragement to smuggling?—A. The smuggler would have such a profit in smuggling, as to amount to 13s. on one pound of silk which costs 26s. The raw silk will be about 6s. 10d. in favour of a smuggler upon a pound of silk that costs

costs 15s.; this will make near £. 45 per cent. to the smuggler on the raw silk, and £. 38 per cent. on the thrown silk. The 10s. on the raw silk, on the average of 26s. is £. 38 per cent. or thereabouts.

Q. Do you remember passing the Act in 1766, which prohibited the importation of foreign wrought silks?—A. Yes.

Q. Were not French wrought silks subject to very high duties before the passing that Act?—A. They were.

Q. Did not these duties amount to £. 75 per cent. or thereabouts?—A. They did.

Q. Do you think that the present prohibition of foreign wrought silks has proved a better protection to the British silk manufacturer, than the high duties to which foreign wrought silks were subject before the prohibition?—A. It has.

Q. Did the British silk manufacture increase in consequence of that prohibition?—A. I believe considerably.

Q. Is it not your opinion that it is easier to carry on a smuggling trade in goods liable on importation to prohibitory duties, than in such goods as are absolutely prohibited?—A. It is easier to smuggle goods that are liable to prohibitory duties, than what are absolutely prohibited.

Q. In what respects do you think it is more difficult to smuggle goods that are absolutely prohibited, than those which are under a prohibitory duty?—A. Because if they are found on board a ship, they are seizable directly.

Q. Have you any other reason for supposing it more difficult than what you have now mentioned?—A. I have always understood it so—we experience that in India ships, with respect to the India handkerchiefs.

Q. Are you aware that India handkerchiefs are prohibited?—A. Yes; but before I understood the question wrong. If they attempt to import seizable goods, they are seized; but goods that are liable to make an entry are not seizable, and therefore more easily smuggled.

Q. Have you ever heard that ships which have goods on board prohibited to be brought into this country, may nevertheless come into our ports, and report those goods for exportation?—A. They may, but I do not know it.

Q. If that should be the case, should not you imagine that a ship having liberty to lie in port with prohibited goods on board, after reporting those goods for exportation, must have as great opportunities for smuggling, as if those goods were subject to a prohibitory duty?—A. The India ships are in that predicament.

Q. Is not the Committee to understand, then, that in that case they would have as good an opportunity of smuggling?—A. If they bribe the officers, which is often the case; where there is a profit they can do so.

Q. Was you examined by the Committee of Privy Council?—A. Yes.

Q. On what day?—A. I cannot recollect.

Q. Whether, when you was desired to attend the Committee of Privy Council, or during the examination there, you was told of any commercial arrangement that was to take place between Great Britain and Ireland?—A. I was.

Q. By whom, and at what time?—A. About eleven o'clock in the morning.

Q. By whom was you told?—A. By Mr. Tatlock, who told me Mr. Rose had wrote to him. Mr. Tatlock and I went together the next morning.

Q. Whether Mr. Rose's note mentioned any thing of the commercial arrangement between Great Britain and Ireland?—A. I did not see it.

And then the witness was directed to withdraw. The evidence being closed on the petition now under consideration,

The counsel was heard to observe thereon. And then he was directed to withdraw.

The COMMITTEE was moved, That the Petition of the Working Silk Weavers, of Spital-fields, and its Environs, might be read.

And the same was read accordingly; setting forth, That the Petitioners are exceedingly alarmed at the resolutions which have passed the Irish House of Commons respecting the regulation of trade and commerce between this country and Ireland, now under consideration of the British Parliament, which, if passed into a law, the Petitioners fear will be very injurious to the silk manufactories of this kingdom, and more particularly so, as the articles made use of in preparing and manufacturing the silk branch are cheaper in Ireland, and the duty laid thereon much lower, by which means this country will be overstocked with Irish goods smuggled, and which the Petitioners conceive will prove destructive to their trade; and representing, to the house, that, in consequence of the very heavy duty on silk, the Petitioners' trade has been in a very declining situation for several years, which, with the additional duty on that commodity last session, has so lessened their home consumption, that, for want of employment, the consequence is, poverty and distress are deluging like a torrent the whole trade; and, if the Irish resolutions should pass into a law, their trade is irretrievably lost and ruined, and emigration and depopulation must be the dreadful consequence, the only alternative left to fly from the iron jaws of extreme misery and want: And that the Petitioners beg leave to state to the House, that the nature of their business is such as obliges them to bear a greater share of the burthen of the state than many other manufacturers, for, although their wages are much lower than many other mechanics

mechanics, yet they are obliged to occupy houses of greater rent and taxes, particularly in the articles of window and candle tax, which, since the additional duty laid on those articles, together with the increasing parochial dues, particularly poors rates, occasioned by the great decay of the silk trade, that poverty and distress pervades the streets, whereby numbers are daily obliged to have recourse to the relief of a workhouse, or are obliged to leave their native country, and thereby depriving the community of many useful subjects, and furnishing foreign nations with arts and mysteries, which, in the end, may prove exceeding prejudicial to the trade, commerce, and revenue of this country; and therefore the Petitioners beg leave to lay their distresses before this august assembly, the only favours that can revive their drooping trade, humbly imploring, in behalf of themselves, and thousands yet unborn, that the intended Propositions respecting Ireland may not pass into a law, to the ruin of their trade, and that a few of the Petitioners may be permitted to prove the allegations of this Petition at the bar of the House, and that they will adopt such measures as they shall think most conducive for promoting and encouraging the British manufacture in all its branches, whereby thousands of his Majesty's loyal and dutiful subjects (numbers of whom have cheerfully fought the battles of their country, and are ready to step forth, if occasion should require, to face the enemies of their native land) will be relieved from the greatest misery and distress.

And the Committee being informed that several of the said Petitioners (who were ordered to be heard by themselves, before this Committee, in support of the said Petition) were attending, and were severally called in to the bar, and questions were put to them by the members of the Committee, as follow:

WILLIAM MERCHANT, Working Silk Weaver, in Skinner-Street, Bishopsgate-Street, London.

Q. In what particular branch of the silk manufacture are you engaged?—In the garment trade; the trade of broad silk.

Q. In what respect do you consider that the Irish Propositions, if carried into a law, would affect or injure your trade?—A. We conceive that they will injure our trade, by reason that at present there is a prohibition existing between the two countries, and if these Propositions are carried into a law, that is to be abolished. We conceive that the importation of Irish goods will overrun us very much, inasmuch as they are able, by several advantages, to manufacture their goods cheaper than we can.

Q. What do you mean by several advantages?—A. As I stand in this place in behalf of the working weavers, I shall not trouble the Committee with what relates more to the master weavers, but shall confine

confine myself wholly to what concerns the working weavers; and those advantages are these: Their prices of work in Ireland, according to the book, are much the same as ours are, but there is a difference in the payment of the labour by the currency, one shilling English going for 13d. and the weavers in Ireland find their own articles, or, more properly, tools, such as harnesses and reeds; and, as we are informed, pay for warping and entering of their work, which the masters in England find their journeymen; this renders the expence of manufacturing goods to the master manufacturer much cheaper than it is in London. These are the advantages which I alluded to, with respect to the working hands, in which the difference consists.

Q. Do you believe that a countervailing duty, to be laid on all Irish manufactures imported into this kingdom, would operate as a prohibition?—A. I cannot think it would.

Q. Can you speak as to the general state of the working trade in which you are engaged?—A. The general state of the trade is in an affecting situation: We are many of us out of employ;—some thousands of hands have been discharged this last winter; whole families have been obliged to go to the workhouse, and many favourite hands, which were accounted good workmen, are limited to so small a quantity of work that it is not sufficient to support their families. This being the distressed state of the trade, we are very apprehensive that we cannot bear any circumstance that tends to lessen it, and distress it more; and, being apprehensive that the Irish Propositions, if passed into a law, will tend to hurt us, and take that little trade from us which we now enjoy, we have been induced humbly to submit this Petition to this honourable House.

Q. At how much per cent. do you compute the price of labour arising from the circumstance you have mentioned, that the Irish master weaver has over the British master weaver?—A. About two pence in a shilling.

Q. Whether the Irish Propositions have spread any great alarm among the journeymen weavers in Spital-fields?—A. Yes, an universal alarm throughout the whole trade.

Q. Do you apprehend, that if the Propositions should pass into a law, there would be any probability that any of the manufacturers of Spital-fields would emigrate into Ireland?—A. I believe many would; the Irish weavers who are in Spital-fields are so persuaded of the flourishing trade they shall draw therefrom, that the universal talk is of going home; and I myself have had an offer made me this week, that, should that event take place, and I chose to go to Ireland, I should be provided with money, and a promise of work to keep my family with; and though, I confess, I should not be very fond of leaving my native land, yet when I find that there is no possibility of living in business in it, I should feel myself induced to follow my trade where it is to be found.

Q. Do

Q. Do you remember when there was a great manufacture of silk gauze in Spital-fields?—A. Perfectly well.

Q. What remainders of that manufacture are there now in Spital-fields?—A. It is chiefly dispersed about the country, and a great deal in Scotland.

Q. Do you know the reason that that manufacture has been removed from Spital-fields to different parts of the country, and to Scotland?—A. It was the effect of a dispute between the master weavers and the journeymen, before a book of prices was in the trade.

Q. Do you apprehend that the cheaper price of labour in the country and in Scotland has been the principal cause that that branch of the manufacture flourishes now in the parts where it is carried on, and not in Spital-fields?—A. I do not know whether that may not be the cause of its flourishing now; but that was not the cause of its going into Scotland; the gauze trade flourished as much twenty years ago as it does now, and it bore double the price.

And then he was directed to withdraw.

JOHN INGLE, a Working Silk Weaver for many Years in Spital-fields, London.

Q. Do you know what difference there is in the wages of a working silk weaver in Ireland and in England?—A. I do not know there is any, except in the value of the money, and with respect to the workmen's finding their tools.

Q. Are there not many seamen employed in the weaving trade in Spital-fields?—A. There are.

Q. Do you know that the silk gauze manufacture has gone to Scotland, and been greatly increased there of late years?—A. I do.

A. Do you think that if the Irish Propositions should pass into a law, that encouragement would be thereby given to the London silk weavers to settle in Ireland?—A. I do.

Q. Have you computed what advantages the Irish manufacturer has over the British manufacturer in the price of labour, arising from the two circumstances of the difference of the value of money, and the articles found by the Irish workmen?—A. About £. 14 per cent.

And then he was directed to withdraw.

Luna,

Lunæ, 2 die Aprilis, 1785.

COMMITTEE of the whole HOUSE on the adjustment of the Commercial Intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland.

The Committee were informed, That Mr. JOSIAH WEDGWOOD attended on the behalf of the Petition of the Manufacturers of earthen ware, in Staffordshire.

And being called in,

He informed the Committee, That he had not signed the Petition, but that he attended in order to give evidence in support of the allegations of the said Petition.

And the said Petition was read; setting forth, That the Petitioners are greatly interested in the commercial regulations now negotiating between Great Britain and Ireland, and are at the same time fully sensible of the importance of a fair and equal system being adjusted and finally settled between the two kingdoms; that they cannot help being apprehensive, however, that the proposed resolutions of the Parliament of Ireland, if passed into a law in their present form, will be highly injurious to the interests of the said manufactory, inasmuch as they tend to lay the foundations of a future and unequal competition in our own as well as foreign markets, and such as may ultimately prove destructive of this valuable and extensive branch of national commerce: And therefore praying, That they may be heard, by themselves and their Counsel, against the proposed resolutions of the Parliament of Ireland passing into a law, and that such alterations may be made therein as to the House shall seem meet, in order that, whilst every reasonable and even liberal encouragement and assistance is afforded to the trade and manufactures of the sister kingdom, a due and prudential regard may be had to the commercial interests of our own.

Mr. Wedgwood then stated to the Committee, That having lately had an illness, which would render it difficult for him to speak for any length of time; he therefore desired to deliver in writing what he had to offer to the Committee, that it might be read.

And then he was directed to withdraw.

And being again called in, he was asked,

Q. What objections have you, on the subject of your own manufacture, to state to the Irish Propositions?

And then he was directed to withdraw.

And being again called in; he was asked,

Q. Have you seen and read the Irish resolutions?—A. I have.

Q. Do you think they will be prejudicial to your manufacture, and in what manner?

And

And the witness desiring to know whether he might make use of some notes which he had in his hand;

He was asked,

Q. Are those notes of your own making?—A. They are my own notes.

And then the said notes, at the request of the witness, and by the permission of the Committee, were read for him by the clerk, standing by him at the bar, and are as follow.

THE injuries which the manufacturers of earthen ware are apprehensive of receiving from the Irish resolutions, if adopted and ratified by the British Parliament, may be comprised under two heads; that of our home trade, including Ireland; and our foreign or export trade.

I. THE HOME TRADE.

The Irish manufacturer has already many advantages over the English; which, though they may not have any great or immediate operation under the present arrangement of the two kingdoms, must, when the advantages of the new system shall be superadded, give him almost a certainty of supplying his own country with earthen ware, and a great chance of sharing the English market with us.

Amongst these advantages, cheapness of labour is not the least. On this subject much has been said: The fact itself has been controverted by some; and where the fact has been admitted, the proportion of that cheapness has been very differently stated. It being very material to have this point settled with a tolerable degree of accuracy, I hope the Committee will indulge me with a few words upon it.

We cannot come to the knowledge of the real price of labour in Ireland, by being told what it is in Dublin, and much less from learning what wages particular artificers may demand there for working upon any particular branches of business not fully established; for upon this principle I could prove, that labour is dearer in the particular manufacture of any other potter in Staffordshire than in mine; because, when a workman has been a few years with me, and thereby learnt my methods of working, he will receive from others offers of higher wages than I can afford to give him; notwithstanding which, the real fact is, that I pay £. 20 or £. 30 per cent. more, in general, for the same species of work, than, I believe, any other manufacturer.

But I apprehend that, in order to form a just comparison between the general rate of wages in two countries, we should learn the price given in each for that species of labour to which the natural faculties of every man are equal and applicable. And therefore, in the present case, our enquiry should be, what the farmer pays, upon an average,

average, for day labour in both countries; and this, from the best information I can obtain is, in Ireland, 6d. Irish money, and in England 1s. 2d. sterling. And we cannot reasonably doubt, but that there will be nearly a proportionate difference of wages between the *manufacturers* of the two countries, as there is now between the *day labourers*, whenever the manufactures are fully established in both, and apprentices and others natives of Ireland, have learnt the arts of manufacturing, in sufficient numbers, and so completely as to be independent of their first teachers.

It might be difficult, in the midst of the disputes now subsisting, to obtain impartial evidence upon the facts controverted: but if we can find a man of observation, who, before these disputes arose, had made particular enquiries into this subject upon the spot, and given us the results of them, these, so far as they are facts, and not merely opinions, must have great weight.—Mr. Young seems to be such an authority; and in treating on this subject, in his *Tour to Ireland*, he makes the average wages of a labourer, in 1777, to be 6½d. a day the year round, and the wages in England for the same species of labour nearly three times as much. And this he takes from the concurrent information of the gentlemen in Ireland whom he visited.

Mr. Young, indeed, gave it as his *opinion*, that, notwithstanding the *nominal* difference of wages, labour is really as dear in Ireland as in England, on account of the inferiority of the Irish labourers. There may at present be some foundation for this opinion to a certain degree; but from my own experience of Irish labourers, which has not been small, I am persuaded he has carried this idea too far. But, admitting the *present inferiority* in the full extent he states it, we cannot suppose that it will long continue so, when the resolutions are passed, and Ireland becomes filled with emigrant manufacturers from England; for these will certainly shame, and even force, the Irish artificers out of their present lazy and slow methods of manufacturing, and convince them, by their own example, not only of the possibility, but the advantages of such an alteration. And after this, as both one and the other can undoubtedly live cheaper there than in England, the price of manufacturing labour will as certainly, in process of time, fall to a proportionately lower standard. Besides, Mr. Young is stating the inferiority of the Irish in *that species* of labour which depends upon the exertions of muscular strength; and seems to apprehend, that their deficiency in this respect may arise from the quality of their food, or their indulgence in spirituous liquors. But there are few branches of manufacture that depend so much upon muscular strength, as on quickness of apprehension and activity of limbs; and in these qualities, the Irish, perhaps, will not suffer much by a comparison with our own workmen.

It may perhaps be objected, that wages will rise in Ireland in proportion as the people acquire an increase of employment and of opulence

lence. But this objection admits the fact *now* to exist, and the advantage to operate during the progress of that rise: nor does it appear how this *increase* of employment and opulence is to be gained to Ireland, under the Irish Propositions, otherwise than by a nearly proportionate *decrease* of the British manufactures. And this apprehended rise of wages must appear less likely to take place, when we consider that Ireland, having no wars to carry on, nor new colonies to maintain or protect, instead of being apprehensive of new taxes or excise laws, may reasonably hope that the few she now has will be lowered; because, with the increase of her population and trade, the produce of her present Excise and Customs must increase in proportion.

It appears, therefore, that the cheapness of labour in Ireland must give the pottery in that kingdom a very considerable advantage over ours; more especially as the value of this particular manufacture consists almost wholly in labour: When to this is added, that the raw materials are likewise cheaper, nearly in an equal proportion, the advantage of Ireland, in the manufacturing part, becomes decided and uncontrovertible.

The principal raw materials, of which our present earthen wares are made, are clay and flint stones: The former Ireland has of her own, and, as I am told, of the best quality; but if this should not be so, she has been, and therefore no doubt but she can again be, supplied with it from the same places that ourselves are; and this at little more than half the expence which it costs us when delivered in Staffordshire: The latter (flint stones) she has much cheaper still; as we now fetch them to the potteries in Staffordshire from the shores which surround Ireland.

With respect to coals, the other essential article for this manufacture, there is such plenty of them already discovered in various parts of Ireland, that there can be little doubt of their being, in the course of a few years, as cheap at least in particular districts, as they are with us.

My authorities for the existence, abundance, and cheapness of the raw materials necessary for carrying on an earthen ware manufactory in Ireland, are;—Persons who have been on the spot, who have been in the collieries and coal pits themselves, with a view to examine them;—persons who have had specimens of the clay sent to them here for trial; and the evidence of Mr. Evans (engineer of the grand canal making across Ireland) which was laid before the Irish House of Commons in 1783.

Mr. Evans says, that “the Kilkenny collieries, if properly worked, which is not now the case, are capable of producing 300,000 tons of culm yearly; and that this might be carried by the canal, and sold at the distance of forty miles, for 1s. 6d. a barrel” (four hundred weight) which is 4d. per hundred weight; so that these coals are cheaper, after being carried forty miles, than

our coals at the potteries in Staffordshire, when carried only two or three miles.

At Lough-Allen, he states, that there are "collieries equal in quantity, if properly worked, to the supply of the whole kingdom; and in quality equal, if not superior to the best Whitehaven coals." That they mean to work these collieries properly now, is evident from their sending to Messrs. Boulton and Watt to erect their improved steam engine upon them, which those gentlemen are now doing.

He likewise states, that along with this fine colliery at Lough-Allen, on the banks of the grand canal, less than thirty miles from Dublin, "there is flint for making flint ware, clays for potteries, and pipe clay for making Staffordshire ware."

To these advantages we must add the premiums given by the Irish for the encouragement of new manufactures; which, in one instance (an attempt to establish a manufactory of Queen's ware in Dublin) amounted to no less than one third the value of all the goods made at that manufactory, with the addition of £. 150 for the first table service made there.

We must likewise take into the account the carriage, freight, loss by breakage, and the duties upon our ware, on its importation from Staffordshire into Ireland, amounting, all together, to £. 40 per cent.—All which must operate as a bounty of so much per cent. in favour of the Irish earthen ware, and against the importation of our own.

Besides all these, the Irish are in possession of a very powerful engine, not generally known, which they can at pleasure direct against the importation of our ware, and for the protection and encouragement of their own potteries; I mean, the difficulties which they can create, and by which, to answer a particular purpose, they can render it so troublesome, so tedious, expensive, and even hazardous to the goods themselves, as shall amount almost to a prohibition of any importation at all, especially of the cheaper kinds. And this can be done at their Custom-houses, without the officers appearing to depart from the line of their duty in any culpable degree.

They can, for instance, under the pretended suspicion of contraband goods being contained in the crates of earthen ware, unpack and expose every piece of ware on their quays; which will unavoidably be attended with considerable loss in breakage, and the goods must be re-packed with the same care and attention as at first, before they can be taken from thence, and lodged with safety in the importer's stores: so that upon fifty or sixty crates of ware, they can occasion ten or fifteen days attendance from the importer, to clear them from the Custom-house, and get them into his warehouse; which, upon low-priced earthen wares, is more trouble and expence than the profits on them will bear.

They likewise can insist upon such minute descriptions in the en-

try,

try, of the species and even colours of the wares, as renders it extremely hazardous for the importer to enter them at all; as he (not having seen the goods packed up) cannot always answer for their agreeing exactly with such description; and if that should not be the case, they are liable to forfeiture.

At present these difficulties seldom happen, as the Irish have no temptation to obstruct our imports, unless, perhaps, from some piques of the officers in particular cases. But whenever they shall have an infant manufactory of the same kind of their own to encourage and support (and we have reason to believe that it will not be long before that happens) there cannot be a doubt of their throwing every legal impediment in the way of the importation of our wares.

To make some compensation for the many advantages which Ireland has over us, and as a protection to us against her competition with us in our market, we have at present a duty of £. 41. 16s. per cent. upon the importation of Irish earthen wares into England: but this the resolutions will wrest out of our hands; and we must exchange this security of £. 41. 16s. for the diminished one of £. 15. 10s. per cent. only.

We likewise possess at present the power of restraining all commercial abuses when grown to an extreme, by making any necessary alterations in the system of duties respecting Irish and foreign linens; but this necessary power is, by the new regulations, to be given up for ever—and this too at a period when, by the late acknowledged independence of the Irish legislature and government, this country retains no controul either over the Irish officers of revenue, or over abuses which may, through other channels, be attempted and countenanced against the just interests of the British manufacturers.

I am very sensible, that almost any particular privileges ought to be given up to public necessity. But whilst we might reasonably have expected that Ireland, contented with the advantages which she already enjoys over us, would have admitted more of our manufactures, and earthen wares among the rest, *duty free*, into her ports (for we admit annually more than sixty times the quantity of her manufactures *duty free* than she does of ours) instead of this, when we find that new advantages are demanded—that those proposed by the new arrangement are all so evidently on her side—and that we are called upon to give up such protections as we are now in possession of, without any public necessity being pointed out to us—we cannot avoid complaining of what appears to us to be a hardship, great in its immediate effect, and dangerous in its future consequences. And it is the more peculiarly striking, as Ireland, under this pretended final arrangement, is to be left in full and permanent possession of many present advantages, both in the supply of her internal markets, and in her competition with the British manufacturer at foreign markets, as she is still further to retain the very great advantage of importing

the raw materials of many principal manufactures, under duties much below what are payable by the people of this kingdom.

The difficulties which must attend a free and full participation of internal markets between the two kingdoms, unaccompanied by any union either in the system of government or of taxation, and where the people of the one country remain highly taxed, and those of the other comparatively without any taxes, are felt and acknowledged. But if, upon due deliberation, it should be the wisdom of the legislature to make that full and free participation, notwithstanding such circumstances, neither the parties concerned in the present petition, nor I am persuaded the other British manufacturers, would persist in opposition to the measure, if they saw it at all possible to obtain sufficient and reasonable securities to their respective interests; in which any sudden convulsion would not only be ruinous to them, but likewise proportionately so to the population, revenue, landed interest, naval strength, security, and public credit of this kingdom.—Still, however, they contend, that upon such a revolution those specific and separate advantages, of the extent and importance above described, ought not to be retained by Ireland, upon any principle of equality, justice, or expediency.

HAVING thus submitted to the Committee my apprehensions from the Irish Propositions, with respect to the home trade in that article on behalf of which I have the honour of attending this Committee; I now proceed to

2. The FOREIGN TRADE.

And here I request permission to give a short view of the value of this manufacture, as a national object to Great Britain, more especially as its extent and consequent importance do not appear to be generally and sufficiently known.

For this purpose we must look far beyond the particular spot where the goods are ultimately manufactured, where the raw materials, brought from distant parts of this island, are worked up, and finished into merchantable ware; for although the manufacturing part only of this business gives bread to at least fifteen or twenty thousand people, that, considered alone, will nevertheless appear a small object, when we extend our view to the immense quantity of inland carriage it creates throughout England in its raw materials, and goods when manufactured;—to the great numbers employed in the extensive collieries for this manufactory;—to the still greater numbers employed raising and preparing the raw materials in several distant parts of England, from near the Land's End in Cornwall one way, along different parts of the coast, Falmouth, Teignmouth, Exeter, Pool, Gravesend, and the Norfolk coast; and the other way, to Wales, Biddeford, and the Irish coast;—with the coasting vessels, which

which being employed at the proper seasons in the Newfoundland fishery, carry these materials coastwise to Liverpool and Hull, to the amount of many thousand tons yearly, at times when they would otherwise be laid up idle in their respective harbours;—and the further conveyance of these raw materials from Liverpool and Hull, by river and canal navigations, to one of the most inland situations in the kingdom, the potteries in Staffordshire;—to the re-conveyance of the goods, when manufactured, by the same circuitous canal, river, and coastwise navigations, to the different ports of this island, where they are ultimately shipped for every foreign market to which they have access.—From these considerations we may form some idea of the extent of this manufacture in its various branches, and its consequence to the maritime and the landed, as well as the commercial interests of this kingdom.

But we must not stop even here, in estimating its national utility; for this manufacture is attended with some other advantageous circumstances, peculiar perhaps to itself, such as, 1. That every ton of raw materials employed in it, produces three or four tons of manufactured goods for shipping, the freight being then estimated by measure, and not by weight; 2. That five sixths of the whole produce of this manufacture are exported to foreign markets; and, 3. That scarcely a vessel leaves any of our ports without more or less of this cheap, bulky, and therefore valuable article, to this maritime island.

From these considerations may an individual, who has had some share in raising this manufacture to its present degree of national importance, and who is impressed with the idea of its being still in its infancy, compared with what it may arrive at, if not interrupted in its growth—may he be indulged with the favourable opinion of this Honourable House, with respect to any active steps he may take in endeavouring to remove the difficulties which it already labours under, and to ward off the further dangers with which it is threatened, with regard to foreign markets; which difficulties and dangers will, in his apprehension, be greatly increased by the resolutions passing into a law.

In Sweden, Denmark, Brandenburg, Prussia, France, and Portugal, this manufacture is already prohibited. In the last-mentioned kingdom, indeed, I am told there is a late order for its admission, but upon a duty of four times the value of the goods.—In the Austrian Netherlands, it is subject to a duty of 4d. per pound weight, including packages; which, on so cheap an article, amounts nearly to a prohibition.

The King of Prussia has also laid a double impost on this manufacture not long since; one on going into Dantzick, and another payable on the same goods on the Vistula, in their passage from Dantzick to Poland.

A late edict of the Emperor, for the prohibition of all our manufactures,

factures, must give the finishing blow to our exports into his dominions; and Germany has hitherto been one of our best markets, next perhaps to America, for our wares.

The Empress of Russia has lately added a duty of £. 30 per cent. to one of £. 10 per cent. before imposed upon our earthen wares, through the whole province of Livonia.—And if this be the language of sovereigns to each other in commercial regulations, we may reasonably conclude, that it is to the same cause which produced the Emperor's edict that we owe a duty of £. 40 per cent. upon our wares through all the Provinces of the Russian empire.

In Spain, to which our exports have been very considerable, an impost has lately taken place, more than equal to the value of our cheaper species of earthen ware.

And in Saxony our wares pay a very high duty.

With so many foreign markets more than half shut, or finally closed against us, the prospect with respect to our export trade, and of a future commercial intercourse with those states and empires, cannot but be very gloomy; and our only hope of relief must arise from a probability of their being opened to us again by more favourable commercial regulations. It is therefore with the utmost concern that we understand by the Ninth Resolution, that no such favourable commercial treaties, if that should pass into a law, are ever likely to take place betwixt this kingdom and any other European state: for we can entertain no hope of such alterations being made in our favour in any commercial treaty, on other terms than those of a liberal and well-founded reciprocity of advantages between the contracting parties; and such it is apprehended, it will be impossible for this nation to accede to under the before-mentioned resolution. Suppose for instance, it was with Russia that Great Britain was now negotiating a commercial treaty, and the Empress's minister should point to the ninth Resolution, and ask its full intent and meaning, as it might hereafter affect the two parties; must not the British negociator acknowledge, that not only the present high duties must for ever remain upon all Russian linens, with a total exemption of Irish linens from any duty upon importation into Great Britain; but farther, that if Ireland should at any future time be able to supply us with hemp and flax likewise, or any other produce or manufacture with which Russia now supplies this market, we must also lay such a duty upon each of those articles, from Russia or elsewhere, as may afford an effectual preference to the importation of similar articles of the growth, product, or manufacture of Ireland?—And what kind of commercial treaty either Russia, or any other European state in like circumstances, would conclude with this nation, this Honourable Committee can best determine.

All the arguments that have already been brought to shew the disadvantages of the English, compared with the Irish manufacturers, in the home consumption, apply equally to their supplanting us in foreign markets.

But

But there is another mass of disadvantages which the people of Ireland do not feel, but which is no small burthen on the English manufacturer, as it unavoidably makes a part, and no inconsiderable one, of the price of all the articles of his export, and of which he cannot have any drawback on exportation; I here allude to the various taxes of our heavy burthened country, which ultimately fall upon the consumer, down to the meanest artisan or labourer, and consequently make a part of the price of such labour, and the produce thereof. If the present revenue, therefore, is by any means diminished to a certain degree, new taxes must be laid, to make up that deficiency; and those taxes, operating in the same manner as the present ones, must still more enhance the price of the articles of our export trade, and to such a degree, perhaps, as to prevent our being able to meet our more favourably circumstanced competitors; and the earthen ware manufactory will suffer more than any other, as the value of its produce consists almost wholly in labour, and not less than five sixths of the whole is exported to foreign markets.

That the Irish resolutions have a tendency to diminish, nay, that they certainly will diminish, our present revenue, in a most alarming degree, and to the distress, if not the utter ruin, of the fair trader, cannot be doubted by any one who reads the Reports of the Commissioners of his Majesty's Customs, and the Commissioners of Excise: and many other openings for contraband trade will be made, which are not mentioned in those reports.

When to these are added the farther burthens to which we may be liable, in the support and protection of our various distant possessions, which will be the source of wealth and strength to the Irish nation as much as to ourselves, without their participating in the concomitant expences, the immense advantages which the Irish nation and manufacturer will have over this country, and its exhausted inhabitants, will be too obvious to escape the notice of any one who thinks upon these subjects; and must throw a rapid increase of the export trade into the hands of the Irish, with the unavoidable consequence, a nearly equal diminution of our own.

There are many other circumstances of great disadvantage, from which we shall not be able to relieve ourselves; and the resolutions are altogether defective in the regulations necessary for preventing their taking place.

Thus, in the article of *bounties*, there is no stipulation to prevent their being given, by the different societies formed for that purpose, and by the Irish Parliament itself, to any extent upon their export trade; and we have a right to suppose, that what a competitor can, he will effect in his own favour. The Irish, then, being left at full liberty in this respect, will probably direct the whole force of those bounties against some one of the particular branches of our export trade, leather, iron, earthen ware, &c. whichever they shall first select for the object of their competition; and having, by such

united

united force, driven that particular manufacture out of the foreign market, and placed their own in its stead, they may then attack another, and another, and so on, to any extent that their interest shall suggest: for they will be as free from the fears of any check we shall have left over their commerce; as they will be from any apprehensions of our being either able or willing to meet them in a warfare of bounties.

Another source of danger to our manufactures and export trade will be—the *emigration* of our workmen and artisans to the rival works in Ireland: for, from the vicinity of the two countries, this may be effected in the course of a few days; and from this circumstance we have more to fear, in the formation of an effectual and speedy competition, than from any other, for as much may be done by this means in the course of a year or two, as could be brought about in an age, without such assistance. We have some security against the emigration of our workmen into foreign nations, as the men, their aides and abettors, on attempting to emigrate, are liable to severe forfeitures and imprisonments; but to Ireland they may pass as freely as from one part of this kingdom to another, and with the advantage too of knowing, that though there is a separation of governments between the two kingdoms, there is a familiarity of language, laws, and climate, and no peculiar mark of distinction, except in the proportion of taxes, and the consequent interference of Excise officers.—And as it appears from some late evidence given to this Honourable House, that the glass manufactory has by like means been carried into Ireland, and brought to a state of perfection there, which enables them not only to maintain a successful competition with us at foreign markets, but likewise to import glass into this kingdom—it remains no longer a mere speculation, that the same event may in a very little time take place with regard to our manufacture also.

May I be permitted to state another evil, which must, in my apprehension take place, from the situation in which this country will be placed by the Irish resolutions, but in which (if that can be any alleviation of the distress) the manufacturers of earthen ware will only share equally with every other manufacturer, and every other inhabitant of this island?—A time will come, when Great Britain will be called upon to defend her distant colonies and provinces, and even Ireland itself, from foreign enemies; and if, in that critical moment, she should fail in the arduous task, from having before stripped herself of those sources of wealth and strength which alone could enable her to perform it, and delivered them over to another, who is neither under any obligation, or able, if she was willing, to do it for her—what our situation would then be, this Honourable House will best judge.

Such, it is apprehended, must be the consequences of the Irish resolutions passing into a law: And as all those resolutions must stand

or

or fall together, no alternative remained, but that, as faithful friends to the most essential interests of our country, we should pray, as we have done, that the wisdom of this Honourable House may deliver us from all the complicated evils which we see the justest reason to apprehend—by rejecting them all together.

Then Mr. Wedgwood was asked,

Q. Have you considered, or are you informed, under these resolutions, what duty Irish earthen ware will be subjected to when imported into this country?—A. I understand it to be stated as in my former answer.

Q. What is that?—A. £. 15. 10s. per cent.

Q. Do you not apprehend, that the Irish would be able to enter into a competition with us in foreign markets on better terms than in our own?—A. I believe they would.

Q. Have they entered into a great competition with us in the foreign market already?—A. In the manufacture of earthen ware they have not.

Q. As you have stated, that five-sixths of the earthen ware manufactured in this country is exported, do you not apprehend that they have had a sufficient temptation already to enter into a competition with us in the most extensive market, and where they would meet us on those advantageous terms, if they were in truth able to rival us in this manufacture?—A. Whatever the temptation may have been, the time which I understand they have had for the liberty of exporting earthen ware to our colonies in the West Indies has not been sufficient for that purpose; nor have they the manufacturers of the finer kind among them at present.

And then he was directed to withdraw.

Mercurii, 4 die Maii, 1785.

COMMITTEE of the Whole House, on the Adjustment of the Commercial Intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland.

THE Committee being informed, That Mr. Richard Sharp, a manufacturer in the fluff trade, in the county of Southampton, and one of the persons who had signed the Petition of the Manufacturers and Wool Staplers of the County of Southampton, referred to this Committee, attended; he was called in.

And the Petition of the Manufacturers and Wool Staplers of the county of Southampton, was read.

A Petition of Harry Easton and Richard Sharp, Woollen and Worsted Manufacturers, on behalf of themselves and many others with whom they have joined in a Petition to this House, was also read.

And the said Mr. Richard Sharp having informed the Committee That the said Petitioners did not intend to be heard by their counsel, he was directed to state to the Committee what he had to say in support of the said Petition.

And he was heard accordingly.

And then several questions were put to him by the members of the Committee.

Mr. RICHARD SHARP.

Q. What is the average price of labour paid by you?—A. From a general sketch we have taken, we suppose we pay men from about 7s. 6d. to 8s. per week; the women about 3s. a week, or from 3s. to 3s. 6d.; girls, we suppose, about 1s. 6d. on an average. It is impossible to make a clear statement of it in a large manufactory.

Q. What number of people are employed in the manufactory at Rumsley?—A. I should suppose about 3,000, or 3,500; many have left off trade—there used to be more.

Q. What number do you imagine are employed in the county of Southampton at large?—A. On the most moderate computation, 12,000.

Q. Do you think that the Irish resolutions would be injurious to the worsted manufactory in Hampshire?—A. I have no doubt at all about it.

Q. Is the home consumption of the manufactory principally confined at home?—A. It is; our exports are very flat indeed.

Q. In what degree, or in what manner, will the Irish resolutions affect the trade at large in which you are engaged?—A. By permitting Irish manufactures of the same fabric in opposition to our own, which have never before been permitted in this kingdom.

Q. Can you specify any particular disadvantage that would arise to the worsted manufactory of this kingdom by those Irish Propositions passing into a law?—A. They will open a door to the introduction of Irish stuff manufactures into Great Britain, and then deprive our poor of employment, and effectually cause a stagnation of the trade.

Q. Why do you think, from the colour of the present Propositions, that the Irish will be able to undersell you in your own market?—A. Because their labour is so much lower, and their provisions so much cheaper, as to enable them, though they give considerably more for their wool than we do, after allowing to themselves and their factors a very desirable profit, greatly to undersell us—adding to this their almost total exemption from internal taxes.

Q. Were the manufacturers of the county of Hants unanimous in their opinion on this subject?—A. There was not one opposing voice, and a perfect unanimity prevailed at their meeting.

Q. Was you at the Western meeting for considering the Irish Propositions at Salisbury?—A. I was.

Q. Inform

Q. Inform the Committee what you know of that?—A. It will be very proper, previous to informing the Committee on that subject, to say, that there is an annual fair held at Salisbury, to which most of the West country clothiers resort.—It happened, about the time when this fair was held, that there was a rumour of the Irish Propositions abroad, and some indications were made known of the alarming consequences that might follow, if they passed into a law. In consequence of this the manufacturers of Salisbury, about a week before the fair, held a meeting amongst themselves; and agreed, by their resolutions, to require Mr. John Ainstie, of Devizes (Chairman of the Committee for the purpose of preventing the smuggling of wool) to call a meeting for the purpose of investigating the Irish Propositions—the meeting was publicly made known: Mr. Ainstie complied, and attended; and on the evening of the 4th of April, the fair day, a considerable number was gathered together. I would beg to state, that although there were a considerable number, they were not all, nor hardly two-thirds of them manufacturers; it was quite an heterogenous body—there were shopkeepers, journeymen, and apprentices, and some that bore not so honourable a title. It happened at this meeting, that even the manufacturers themselves, who formed by far the most august part of the body, came almost ignorant of the Propositions; few had read them, and a much less quantity, when they heard them read, understood them. As soon as the room was filled, a Chairman was elected, who immediately proceeded to the reading the Propositions, that he might take the sense of the meeting thereon. After the resolutions had passed by a very doubtful majority, ten out of twelve of which, as I believe from what I afterwards heard, knew nothing of the matter, it was proposed by Mr. Ainstie, the Chairman, who I suppose considered that after having done some persons a very great advantage, he ought in justice to confer a small one upon us; I say he proposed, that the Stuff Manufacturers of Hampshire, or elsewhere, who were there, or were not there, might be left out. On which a young man, who made himself remarkably busy in the affair that evening, immediately declared, “If that is done, Mr. Chairman, you will effectually undo all we have been doing.” Unhappily for us there were scarcely any persons present concerned in the stuff trade so well acquainted with the Propositions as to declare their sentiments on the subject, or make any contrary motion when one was proposed: so, owing either to the intricacy of the Propositions, or the dullness of the readers, there was no opposition made at all to that last extraordinary motion. In consequence of which, the last motion which was made, was “Thanks to the Chairman,” as there were no doubts of his deserving it; for I am sure he attended more to the manufacturers’ interests than (to their shame be it spoken!) they did themselves.—And the only consequence of the meeting, which to my knowledge came afterwards, was sincere and hearty repentance.

Q. From whence is the yarn of which your manufacture is composed principally supplied?—A. All we use is combed and spun by ourselves, or in the same county; what we have bought elsewhere is not worth mentioning.

Q. Do you know (in case the Irish Propositions should pass) what will be the duty payable on the worsted and woollen stuffs in which you are concerned, upon their importation from Ireland into Great Britain?—A. About 2d. and a fraction per yard, as I suppose it is comprehended in the article of new drapery.

Q. Will that duty, according to your information and belief, operate so as to prevent Ireland from entering into a competition with the manufacturers in the British market to any considerable extent?—A. I think not; it will not operate as an hindrance to the Irish.

Q. Can the new drapery of Ireland at present be brought into the British market?—A. It cannot legally, without being subject to a severe prohibitory duty.

Q. Do you then believe that their introduction, in consequence of the Irish Propositions taking place, would be attended with a proportionable diminution in the British manufacture?—A. Certainly I do.

Q. Have you had any occasion to see any goods of the Irish manufacture; and can you give information with respect to the relative prices and goodness when compared with those of this country, the question means particularly with respect to shalloons?—A. I have it from the best possible source of information; that of a manufacturer who lives close by me at Rumsley, that there was a man applied to him for work, who had worked in Ireland, who had a shalloon in his coat, bought in Ireland, better than was ever manufactured at Rumsley, which is the best manufactory in this country, and it was bought considerably lower.

Q. Do you know whether there are not great quantities of new drapery imported into Ireland from this country?—A. I am not informed of that.

Q. If great quantities of new drapery are so imported into Ireland from this country, subject to the duty you before mentioned, do you think it probable that the Irish can manufacture so much cheaper as to be able to sell stuffs of the like sort sent into this country?—A. As it was a thing I was not informed of, I cannot answer that question.

Q. What do you mean that you was not informed of?—A. That a great quantity of new drapery was sent into Ireland; that part which is comprehended in the stuff trade.

Q. Do you know that greater quantities of new drapery are exported from Ireland to foreign markets than are imported into Ireland from this country?—A. I believe there are.

Q. If greater quantities are so exported, do you not think it probable

bable that the Irish woollen trade, being in a state of such advanced improvement, may further extend the exportation?—A. I believe the Irish will catch at that, and at every advantage.

Q. How do you know that greater quantities are exported from Ireland to foreign countries than are imported into Ireland from this country?—A. Because I have learned, that when the Irish had a free trade granted to them, their exports were very large indeed.

Q. Can you say what the quantities are, either of the export from Ireland, or import into Ireland?—A. I cannot ascertain the exact quantities.

Q. Can you say nearly?—A. I have received my information of the exact quantities of their exports or imports from that source only which is common to all, and can therefore specify no exact quantity with precision.

Q. What is the source you mean, from whence you received that information?—A. I have read it in many publications, but I cannot state the exact quantities.

Q. Is it possible to say that the exports of new drapery from Ireland are greater than the imports, without having some knowledge of the quantity imported, as well as the quantity exported?—Q. As I wish to state nothing to this Committee, but what I really know myself, I can only give them information in my own particular branch of manufacture.

And then he was directed to withdraw.

The Committee was informed that no other person attended on the behalf of this Petition.

The Committee being informed that Mr. Brooke, Mr. Wilson, and Mr. Houghton, attended (according to order) they were severally called in, and examined.

ROBERT BROOKE, Esq; informs the Committee, that he lives at Prosperous, in the County of Kildare, in the Kingdom of Ireland, and that he was the first Person who established the Cotton Manufacture in Ireland.

Q. What is the price of labour in the cotton manufacture under your conduct, compared with the cotton manufacture of this country?—A. I agreed with my people, from the first, in every branch, to work at the Manchester prices. A brother of mine manages the detail, and gets over the Manchester prices to be regulated by; but combinations have often risen to increase those prices, and my property and life have been in danger; and after all these prices are only nominal, for I give houses, looms, gear, &c. rent-free; to induce the weavers, &c. to remain quiet.

Q. Do you pay your workmen by the week, or by the work done?—A. By the work done.

Q. Do

Q. Do not you understand, that one principal motive for establishing your manufactory at Prosperous was to induce several weavers to leave Dublin, and to work in the country?—A. I believe it was one of the motives why government supported me.

Q. Whether it was not necessary to give advanced prices to the Dublin weaver, to induce him to quit Dublin and remove to Prosperous?—A. It was found necessary, I believe, to give bounties, but I never altered my system.

Q. Whether you was not obliged to give to the Dublin weaver more considerable wages than he could earn in Dublin, in order to induce him to settle at Prosperous?—A. They get much less wages at Prosperous than at Dublin; very considerably.

Q. Whether the difference of the wages is not made up to the workmen in other circumstances?—A. I will explain how the bounty arose. There were great riots in Dublin for prohibitory duties upon British manufactures, and the distresses in Dublin at that period were very great. Government applied to me to give employment to as many as I could. Those people I carried down, had hardly clothes or necessaries of any kind; there was public support and private donations given to remove them; but though I lost about £. 3,000 myself in that business, yet, as I said before, I made no alteration whatever in the general system of my prices.

Q. What public encouragements have you received for carrying on your manufactory?—A. I cannot immediately state it exactly. The great support I obtained was in loans, one of £. 25,000, and one of £. 7,000, for which there is about £. 70,000 value now under mortgage to Government. I pay £. 5 per cent. for the loan I received.

Q. Have you had no other grants but those two?—A. Yes.—£. 1,150 I think in Lord Carlisle's administration.

Q. Any other?—A. In Lord Northington's administration, I do not recollect how much; these were grants and not loans. There was another grant in Lord Temple's administration—I cannot tell exactly how much—I believe about £. 3,000, for getting a number of people (that were emigrating from Manchester to America with their machinery, during the course of the war) into my employment, giving them houses, and settling them. I do not immediately recollect any other grant.

Q. Have you received any encouragement in the way of bounty on your manufactory wrought into goods?—A. I have.

Q. What bounties of that kind have you received?—A. A bounty of £. 5 per cent. from the Linen Board, on the mixt linen and cotton manufactory.

Q. Has that manufactory increased—How long has your manufactory been established?—A. I begun about five years ago.

Q. Has it increased?—A. Yes, very much.

Q. What number of men do you employ in your manufactory?

ture?—A. I am not certain; but think it was stated to the Irish House of Commons, it gave bread to about five thousand people, men, women, and children.

Q. Is your manufactory now very flourishing?—A. It is—so much so, that where only one *but* was five years ago, there are now several hundred houses. What is very extraordinary is, that in that place there is to the amount of some thousands of pounds worth per annum purchased of British goods, and British West India commodities, by the people of that place.

Q. Whether you manufactory any quantity of fustians, and low-priced cottons?—A. Yes, that is principally and almost entirely what we deal in; that is the principal article in which we trade.

Q. What species of British and West India goods are purchased by the people at Prosperous?—A. Sugar is one great article;—tobacco; I mention these as the principal things that occur to me—Birmingham hard ware, gauzes, ribbands, and several other articles I cannot immediately recollect.

Q. Do you mean any species of British goods for clothing?—A. Yes; fine cloaths, broad cloth, and silks.

Q. Do you find now the prices of labour in the manufactory of your cottons increasing or decreasing?—A. I kept up to one standard and principle—that of the Manchester prices, which I promised to my people, whether high or low; my brother manages that detail.

Q. Is it therefore necessary that you should know, from time to time, how the prices vary at Manchester, or do you keep to the prices you first set out with?—A. We vary with the Manchester prices as nearly as we possibly can.

Q. Have you any reason to believe that there is any regulated system of prices for labour at Manchester, in the cotton branch?—A. I cannot answer exactly to that; but as the prices come over to us, so we regulate them.

Q. Do not you know that the Manchester prices are under no regulation whatever, but liable to vary every day, and every hour, according to the nature of the fabric and other circumstances?—A. I am ashamed to say that I am so little acquainted with the detail. I was bred a soldier, and have only gone on general principles. My brother manages the detail.

Q. What was your inducement for establishing your manufactory at Prosperous, if you was to pay the Manchester prices, besides give the workmen other advantages?—A. In the first place, I had no inducement from an idea of profit; it was from other motives at first; but finding there were £. 10½ per cent. duties from England to Ireland (I think thereabouts) I thought it might in the end turn out advantageously, and I strove to get some Manchester people of skill to join in it, but I have not yet been able to get persons from thence to join in partnership. I have got some workmen and artificers of every kind.

Q. State

Q. State the difference of the price of labour at Dublin and at Prosperous—A. I cannot. At Dublin it is considerably greater.

Q. Can you state the ordinary rate of the wages you give at Prosperous?—A. I pay no weekly wages; I pay by the piece, according to the Manchester prices; by the spinning and weaving, and every thing according to the Manchester prices.

Q. Can you state any particulars of the prices paid comparatively with the prices paid at Dublin upon the same articles?—A. I cannot.

Q. How then are you able to ascertain, that the prices are higher at one place than at the other, if you are not able to state the particulars of either?—A. Because my people combined against me to take away my life for not giving them the Dublin prices.

Q. How long ago is that?—A. About three months ago.

Q. Are the Dublin wages paid accompanied by the same indulgences, of a different kind, as are given by you at Prosperous?—A. I should conceive not.

Q. What is the difference of the price of provisions at Dublin and Prosperous?—A. I cannot say exactly, but not much. It is cheaper at Prosperous, but not much, for the canal comes close to my place.

Q. Has the exportation of your manufacture increased lately, and in what proportion?—A. It has increased very considerably.

Q. Has not the importation into Ireland of manufactures of the same kind decreased lately?—A. Of the coarser fabrics, I have heard it said that the importation has decreased, but of the finer, increased; as printed calicoes.

Q. Has not the importation of fustians greatly decreased?—A. I believe what is mixt with linen has decreased, and what with cotton has increased; I speak only from what I hear in Ireland.

Q. For what purpose were the fine broad cloths and silks which you mentioned purchased at Prosperous?—A. For the cloaths of the master manufacturers and their wives.

Q. Whether the manufacture of low-priced fustians is not absolutely necessary to support and carry on the manufacture of the fustian trade?—A. I should conceive not; for since Arkwright's machine has been established, I hear they make the warp principally of cotton where they used to use linen.

Q. How many of Mr. Arkwright's mills are established in Ireland?—A. I believe three or four are erected; but how many are at work I cannot tell.

Q. Whether a manufacturer, by weaving the low-priced goods, will not become, by degrees, capable of being employed in the finer and high-priced goods?—A. I conceive it to be the first stage.

Q. Do not you manufacture any high-priced goods, such as calicoes, &c.?—A. Very little; mostly middling, and the common sorts.

Q. Whether the warp of the low-priced fustians is not in Ireland mostly

mostly made of linen?—A. I have gone upon that principle myself of mixing the linen principally with the cotton manufactory, supposing myself incapable to rival the finer.

Q. Whether you think your manufacture would have succeeded if you had not gone upon that principle?—A. It would not; nor even upon that principle, if it had not received public support.

Q. Whether your manufacture would have succeeded at all, if it had not been for the loans, donations, and the bounties you have received from the public?—A. I believe not.

Q. Whether you think, that extraordinary encouragement would be necessary, when the manufactory becomes once regularly established, and those who have served apprenticeship have become journeymen?—A. I am sorry to give the answer which I must do. The Manchester people that I have asked to come into partnership with me have declined, saying, that the Irish poor are so much given to theft, idleness, and drinking, that they will not venture to join with me. I hope differently.

And then he was directed to withdraw.

Called in again.

The question repeated.

I beg not to give any other answer to the question.

Q. Whether, in your applications made to the Manchester gentlemen, by you, or by your brother on your part, they were not assured that the country was cheaper than England, and the labour cheaper accordingly?—My brother stated, I believe, that provisions were cheaper; and he imagined, that with their skill he could get the labour cheaper in proportion.

Q. Are you under the same necessity as the English manufacturer, in giving any thing to Mr. Arkwright, by way of premium for the use of his machine?—A. No; but I purchased a great many of his warps at Dublin, that were brought from Lancashire.

Q. Are you able to state the duty on British printed calicoes imported into Ireland?—A. I think about 1s. per yard.

Q. Does not that operate nearly as a prohibitory duty?—A. I believe I stated before, that the finer articles are now, more than formerly, imported into Ireland; the coarser are less.

Q. Can the coarser come into the Irish market under a duty of 1s. per yard?—A. Not without there is something peculiarly new in their pattern; in general they cannot.

Q. Whether, in your answers, you have not confined yourself to cotton goods?—A. My manufacture is principally in linen and cotton, and therefore my answers have gone principally on that.

Q. Is the cotton manufacture, or the manufacture of cotton mixed with linen, carried on to any extent in Dublin?—A. Not very great, because the master manufacturers residing in Dublin have it round about, I believe.

Q. Is there within Dublin any one considerable cotton manufacture?

ture?—A. I do not know of any one carried on in Dublin that is very considerable.

Q. Can you name any manufacturer in Dublin, in the cotton branch, that employs any number, or what number of people?—A. There is one Morgan and Grey that used to manufacture in Dublin; they, I believe, now carry on their business at some distance.

Q. If there is no cotton manufacture carried on in Dublin, what is the Committee to understand by the Dublin prices, and how can they be required by the workmen at Prosperous?—A. There are some cotton manufactures carried on in Dublin, but to no considerable extent; and those that have got their workmen out of town, have not yet been able to break the combinations, or alter their prices; so I am informed.

Q. Is it then the prices which have been required at the inconsiderable manufactories at Dublin, which have been occasionally asked also at your considerable manufactory at Prosperous?—A. I think I said, that in Dublin the manufactures were not very considerable; but round the town—they had removed their manufactures there, and had not yet been able to break the combinations, and reduce the prices.

Q. Is the Committee to understand that there are any cotton manufactures carried on within Dublin?—A. There are.

Q. Whether the population of the town of Prosperous has not considerably increased since the establishment of the manufactory?—A. Very greatly; from nothing, I may say, in five years to a very considerable town.

Q. Whether you have not been under the necessity of using every means of persuasion and activity, to induce the people to settle at Prosperous?—A. I have.

Q. Whether you have not established a Police, imposing regulations on the inhabitants of Prosperous, that are not common in other villages and towns in Ireland?—A. I have.

Q. Whether those regulations, however just and proper, have not at different times been resisted by the inhabitants of Prosperous?—A. Yes.

Q. Whether the manufacturers of Dublin, in particular, have not taken every means of preventing manufacturers going to Prosperous and settling there?—A. Yes, they have.

Q. Whether the high price of wages paid at Prosperous have not been necessary to counteract the various difficulties and opposition that you have met with in establishing the manufactory?—A. I believe I pay the lowest prices of any one.

Q. Could you lower the present prices?—A. I have stated that I have been in danger for keeping them as they are; so that I do not think I could lower them.

Q. Is not the Committee then to understand, that the difficulties and

and opposition, mentioned in the former question, have been the causes of the price being kept up?—A. I believe partly.

Q. Whether the applications to the Irish Parliament from the various manufacturers of Ireland, have not been in consequence of money actually expended and manufactures established, and rather as a premium and reward for such public services, than as a foundation for establishing a new manufactory?—A. I believe in general that it was greatly as a reward; for the manufacturers in Ireland wished for prohibitory duties; and they who were for establishing it on liberal principles, did receive a reward.

Q. Whether in your application to the Irish Parliament for the loan of £. 25,000, as you mentioned, it was not alledged that the want of capital was the only obstacle to the prosperity of the manufactory?—A. It alleges it to be a very great obstruction—not the only one.

Q. Whether the want of capital was not the only ground assigned for the loan of £. 25,000?—A. The want of capital to fulfil the public purposes was.

Q. Explain what you mean by the public purposes?—A. I mentioned before, that at the time of the great riots in Dublin, and the great distress of the people, it became a public object for government to remove as many people as possible from Dublin to the country; and that is what I mean by public purposes.

Q. Whether, before it became a public object to remove the manufacturers from Dublin, you had not formed the design, and communicated your intention, of applying to the Parliament for the loan of £. 25,000, on the plea of want of capital?—A. I cannot immediately recollect, but I do not doubt but I might; the object was esteemed a great one from its commencement.

Q. Do you mean in the former answer, that it became a public object to remove the manufacturers from Dublin, as different and distinct from its being an object to establish a cotton manufactory in Ireland?—A. It became then particularly so.

Q. Are you not positive that you had formed the design of applying to Parliament for the before-mentioned loan, previous to any communication with any person in the confidence of government, respecting the removal and establishment of the three thousand manufacturers during Lord Northington's administration?—A. I cannot recollect.

Q. Whether you did not purpose to give an ample security for the loan of £. 25,000?—A. I did.

Q. Whether at the time of your making the application to Parliament your houses and manufactures at Prosperous were not that security?—A. I believe my houses, and lands, and manufactures were a full security.

Q. Whether the houses and manufactures were not the security offered?—A. I believe the houses, lands, and manufactures were.

Q. Whether in the summer of 1783, there was not a great struggle between the cotton manufacturers of Ireland and the factors from Great Britain, in establishing a sale for their respective manufactures?—A. I believe there was, and is to this day.

Q. Was there not an apprehension that the factors of Great Britain would give as far as eighteen months credit, in order to establish a sale of their manufactures?—A. I heard so.

Q. Whether the Linen Board did not, in consequence of this apprehension, give a bounty of five per cent. on the sale of Irish manufactures?—A. I stated before, that they gave five per cent.; but I do not know what it was owing to.

Q. Was it not about the same time that the apprehension was circulated, of the eighteen months credit being given by the manufacturers of Great Britain?—A. I do not doubt but it might, but I am not certain.

Q. What is the inducement of the cotton manufacturer to work with you at lower wages than with other manufacturers in that trade?—A. Because I had a large capital, and paid them regularly, and supplied them with cows and other articles, and took it out of their wages afterwards.

Q. How does it happen, that notwithstanding you pay the Manchester prices for labour, besides giving the workmen many other considerable advantages, you are enabled to undersell the Manchester manufacturer, to encrease your trade, and to make it flourish so greatly as you have stated?—A. I have stated before, that the coarser articles flourished, and that the finer still came over from England; however there is still a competition even in the coarser articles; great quantities are sending over now by Mr. Peele, purchased lately by Irish Agents, for the Irish market.

Q. Has not the competition in the coarser articles very much decreased on the part of Great Britain?—A. I have said so.

Q. Is your manufacture prospering exceedingly?—A. I have said so.

Q. Do you mean by that, that your capital is very profitably employed?—A. I desire to be excused answering that question.

Q. Do you think that if the duty of £. 10½ per cent. was doubled, it would be of advantage to the manufacturers for the home sale in Ireland?—A. It is supposed so.

Q. Would not a total prohibition be so?—A. People in general in Ireland think so; I do not.

Q. If such a law was passed in Ireland, would it be an unpopular one?—A. Certainly not.

Q. What sort of goods have been lately bought of Mr. Peele by the Irish Agents, for the market of Ireland?—A. I believe in general fustian goods; but I cannot answer exactly.

And then he was directed to withdraw.

Mr.

Mr. NATHANIEL WILSON, Manufacturer of Linen and Cotton, at Belfast, in the Kingdom of Ireland.

Q. How long have you been in the cotton manufactory?—A. Three years

Q. Does any part of your manufactory consist of the callico branch?—A. There does.

Q. Do you pay the workmen in the weaving and spinning branches by the week, or by the quantity of work done?—A. Always by the quantity of work done, except when some particular experiments are to be made.

Q. Do you then occasionally pay them by the week?—A. Very rarely; only on very particular occasions.

Q. Do you know the prices paid in Manchester on weaving calicoes, and what proportion do they bear to the prices paid in Ireland?—A. For a common fine callico of 42½ Br. I pay rather more than 4½ d. per yard weaving; the price in Manchester is 3d.—I mean Irish money, my price; and English money, their price.

Q. Do you know the price of calicoes in Manchester, and at what price can you manufacture the same sort in Ireland?—A. Yes; the same kind I before spoke of, I could have bought at 16d. at Manchester, with a drawback of 1d. which left 15d. English money per yard; the same kind stands me 18½ d. Irish money.

Q. Do you speak of the price at Manchester of your own knowledge?—A. I do; I went about Manchester with a regular buyer, and could have bought them at that price in a regular way of trade for money.

Q. Do you furnish the weavers with any utensils, or make them any advances in money not usual in England?—A. I do; I mount all their looms, and pay for furnishing them with reeds, headles, and every utensil of that kind; it is not so done in England. I have also to advance the price of weaving before the work is done.

Q. Are you of opinion that the Irish weavers do as much work in the same time as the English?—A. I think they do not nearly the same work in the same time.

Q. When you have paid the weavers by the week, at what rate have you paid them?—A. At the rate of 9s. Irish.

Q. Is there any considerable importation of cotton goods into Belfast from England?—A. There is a considerable importation. We have three wholesale warehouses that deal almost entirely in British goods.

Q. From what part of England are those goods imported?—A. A great deal by way of Liverpool.

Q. What is the general daily wages of mechanics, carpenters, masons, &c. in Ireland?—A. Of a carpenter or mason, 2s. 2d. per day, and 2d. value of drink.

Q. Is

Q. Is that the general wages of Ireland, or only near Belfast?—

A. I believe the general wages; but I speak only of the neighbourhood of Belfast.

And then he was directed to withdraw.

Mr. BENJAMIN HOUGHTON, Weaver, Dyer, and Finisher of New Drapery, in Dublin; he has also been concerned in the Silk Manufacture for sixteen or seventeen years.

Q. Whether the prices of labour in Ireland, in the silk manufacture, are lower or higher than they are in England?—A. They are exactly the same; which I can say with precision, as I have compared the English and Irish prices together.

Q. Do you make the difference between the English and Irish money in that comparison?—A. The prices paid in Ireland are in Irish money, and the prices in England in English money.

Q. Do the Irish journeymen weavers find the reed and the harness?—A. They do not, I never know it in my experience; and I have asked of other manufacturers, who never knew it to be done.

Q. Is there any difference in the price of throwing the silk in England and in Ireland?—A. I cannot state the comparative difference; but there must be a difference, as they have not machines for throwing silk in Ireland.

Q. Are the prices of working the silk the same in England and Ireland?—A. The same; only I must observe—that the one is Irish money and the other English.

Q. Is the silk manufacture in Ireland in a flourishing state?—A. It is not; very much to the contrary. It has declined for several years.—I believe, that in 1783, in Dublin, the seat of the manufactory, the silk looms were almost idle—several aids were given to assist the manufactory, and a silk warehouse established for sale of the Irish silk, and a bounty given of £. 8½ per cent. to accelerate the home consumption, nevertheless it has declined under that and similar encouragement.

Q. Do you know of any working silk manufacturers having lately emigrated from Ireland?—A. I do believe there has been a great many; and that within these six months.

Q. Do you speak that from your own knowledge?—A. Many of them lived in my own neighbourhood; and fifteen went on board one vessel for America.

Q. To what do you attribute the decline of the silk manufacture?—A. I think it may be attributed to a variety of causes. The predilection of the people for foreign silk. The ladies of my country are very fond of British silks. I believe that the manufacturers have not the materials on the same terms that the silk manufacturer in England has. They have greater capital in England to carry on their trade; they can give a greater extent of credit, which is a great inducement

inducement to the purchaser to buy it of them. I believe, added to this, fashions have changed very much. Other manufactures have been adopted in the place of silk—cambricks, lawns, stained linens, and East India goods, and I believe that has lessened the consumption even in England; and I am informed, and believe also, in France. I add those causes to the cause of the decline in Ireland. I was at a meeting of silk manufacturers, a very large meeting, and they were of opinion they would not be able to export silk, if they had a bounty of £. 15 per cent.

Q. Whether you do not know that the duties on the importation of raw silk into Ireland are much less than on the importation into England?—A. I believe they are; but I apprehend the commission and charges, and the profits, if not sent on commission, counter-balance the profits arising from the difference of duties.

And then he was directed to withdraw.

Veneris, 6 die Maii, 1785.

COMMITTEE of the WHOLE HOUSE, on the Adjustment of the Commercial Intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland.

THE Committee being informed, That several persons attended, according to order; they were severally called in, and examined.

Mr. DAVID CLARKE, of Stockport, in Cheshire.

Q. Of what business are you?—A. I am in no employment at present.

Q. Did you carry on any manufactory formerly at Stockport?—A. Yes; a check manufactory formerly, and a cotton manufactory latterly.

Q. Have you been in Ireland?—A. Yes.

Q. When did you go there?—A. In the year 1780, and was there about four years and a half.

Q. Had you the management of a cotton manufactory in Ireland?—A. Yes; the sole management of erecting a cotton manufactory from the first, or from a small beginning of about three months.

Q. In what part of Ireland, and in whose employment, was you there in?—A. At Malahide, about eight miles from Dublin, under Colonel Talbot.

Q. Are you of opinion that cotton can be manufactured as cheap in Ireland as in England?—A. It neither is, nor ever will be.

Q. State

Q. State your reasons for thinking so?—A. There is a want of coals, which is as essential a matter as any thing I know in the cotton manufacture; the greatest part of which they have from England. Wherever I was, they had their coals from England—with regard to their religion, that is also material, for on that account they work only eleven months in the year.

Q. Can you state the comparative value of weaving a piece of callico in Ireland and in England?—A. I do not think that there was ever a piece of perfect callico made in Ireland; those that were made under my inspection cost weaving about 9s. for a piece of twenty-eight yards, but in Dublin such a piece would cost in weaving about 14s.

Q. What would the same sort of callico cost weaving in England?—A. About 7s. 6d. is the average price in England for weaving such a callico; the spinning in England is thirteen pence, and in Ireland the same, in the money of their respective countries. The weaving and spinning together is per piece 3s. cheaper in England than it is in Ireland, if made in the country; but if made in Dublin would make 4s. more.

Q. What is the value of a piece of twenty-eight yards?—A. About 14d. per yard.

Q. How long did you carry on the cotton manufacture at Stockport on your own account?—A. About two or three years by myself, and with others concerned with me.

Q. Was you induced to go to Ireland on a belief that you could carry on your business with greater advantage there; or what was your reason for going?—A. I went there after the free trade, with a view to get more money than I could in England.

Q. Did you erect Mr. Arkwright's machines in Ireland?—A. I first erected all the hand spinning machines, such as carding machines, spinning jennies, and after that I erected Mr. Arkwright's machinery; they are now at work, and there were more spindles at work at the manufactory at Malahide than any other cotton mill had at work in Ireland, but more are erecting in other parts of the kingdom; two more near Dublin, and one in the North.

Q. Was the business you carried on in Ireland as profitable as the trade you carried on at Stockport?—A. I never carried on any trade in Ireland on my own account, except making of machinery worth about £. 500.

Q. Did you leave a profitable trade in England, to go to Ireland to carry on no trade?—A. I went to make machinery, as I thought there were few in Ireland who understood that branch; and as such I began it and carried it on about twelve months.

Q. Did any of your partners go to Ireland with you?—A. Not anv.

Q. Was the partnership dissolved?—A. All partnerships and connections

nections I had in England were dissolved and settled, so far as I was able.

Q. Had you ever any bounty given you by the Linen Board in Ireland for your ingenuity?—A. I had £. 60 given me by the Dublin Society for my hand machinery, which was allowed to be the best that was erected at that time in the kingdom.

Q. Have you any connection now in Ireland, or any thoughts of returning there?—A. I have not, and I never intend returning there again, unless I am forced. I return God thanks that I am here safe.

Q. What danger did you incur in Ireland that you return thanks for being here safe?—A. I took my idea from what I saw other Englishmen suffer, who went over at the same time, and some came after, and some went before, and many died; because they could not come back, they died of grief.

Q. Did you never know of any cotton wool being sent over from England to Ireland to be spun there, and afterwards sent back, and sold at Manchester?—A. I never knew any so sent and returned; but I was told in Ireland by Mr. Taylor, who went from Ashton near Manchester, that he and his partner had yarn in the cob not reeled, from Stockport, cheaper than he could make it himself in Ireland.

And then he was directed to withdraw.

Mr. JOHN STEAD, in the Cotton Business, at Stockport, in Cheshire.

Q. Have you ever carried on the cotton business any where but at Stockport?—A. Yes.

Q. Where?—A. In Ireland; first at Dublin, and then at Capt. Brooke's at Prosperous.

Q. How long was you in Ireland?—A. Two years within a month.

Q. To your knowledge is cotton manufactured cheaper or dearer in Ireland than in England?—A. When I was there (it was two years, or two years and a half since I came away) the expence of manufacturing cotton was greater there than it is here.

Q. State the relative prices of the manufacture in the two countries?—A. In my business I can. In preparing, carding, roving, and spinning, the prices I had in Ireland were 14d. for sixteen hanks, and 16d. for eighteen hanks, and so on, and I had all sorts of machinery found. In England I could do it for less money, and find my own machinery.

Q. When you was in Ireland, were Mr. Arkwright's mills introduced?—A. In some small manner, but not in perfection.

Q. You do not then speak of spinning by Mr. Arkwright's machine, but by the machines used there before?—A. Not by his machine, but by those used before.

Q. When you speak of the price of spinning in England, do you speak of Mr. Arkwright's machine?—A. Not at all.

Q. What business do you carry on now, and where?—A. I carry on the same sort of business on my own account in Stockport. And then he was directed to withdraw.

Mr. JOSEPH BUTLER, employed in the valuing Estates, selling Timber and Bark; lives at York, but is a great deal of his time in the Southern Part of England.

Q. Do you know the comparative price of bark in England and in Ireland?—A. When bark is £. 4 per ton in England we expect £. 6 per ton in Ireland. I have sent a great deal of bark there, and received that price for it; when I could not get £. 4 in England, I got £. 6 in Ireland.

Q. From what port in England do you send it, and to what port in Ireland?—A. I have sent a great deal from Swansea to Corke.

Q. What is the freight from Swansea to Corke per ton?—A. 21s. and sometimes 27s.

Q. Are there any other charges on it?—A. Insurance and commission, and some few port charges.

Q. What is the amount of the whole?—A. From 30s. to 40s. just as we can agree with the owners of the vessels. And then he was directed to withdraw.

The Committee being informed, That certain Journeymen Silk Weavers, of the City of London, were desirous of being called to the Bar, in order to explain some Matters to the Committee respecting the Prices paid in the Silk Manufacture in Ireland; they were severally called in and examined.

MARK ASH, a Journeyman Silk Weaver, in Church-street, Mile End New Town, London.

Q. Do you know of any difference in the prices paid to journeyman silk weavers in Ireland, and in England?—A. There is no difference in the price of wages paid to journeymen here and there; I was in Ireland twelve years, and worked at my trade all the time I was there.

Q. Is the harness found the journeymen silk weavers in England by themselves or by the master?—A. By the master.

Q. Is that the case also in Ireland?—A. It is.

Q. Do you know of any disposition amongst the journeymen weavers in England to emigrate to Ireland?—A. I never heard of it.

Q. When you say, that the wages are the same, do you mean that they are the same in the different currency of the two countries?—A. Yes, in the money of each country.

Q. Whether a journeyman silk weaver can get more provision for the same sum of money in Dublin or in London?—A. I have known it cheaper and dearer in Dublin than it is in London at particular times. When I came away, in Dublin bread was only six pence for one shilling, which was about two years ago.

Q. That

Q. That was a year of scarcity?—A. It was so.

Q. Answer in general?—A. In general provisions are cheaper in Dublin than in London.

Q. Whether, under all circumstances, the situation of an Irish silk weaver in Dublin or in London is the most comfortable to him?

—A. In London—I have found it so.

Q. Of what country are you?—A. An Englishman.

And then he was directed to withdraw.

JOHN BOULGER, lives in Shoreditch, London; he is a Journeyman Silk Weaver, an Irishman, and has been in England about three Months.

Q. Did you ever work as a journeyman silk weaver in Ireland?—A. Yes, many years.

Q. Is there any difference in the price paid to the Irish silk weaver in Ireland and England for the same work?—A. There is; the price is more in Ireland for many works than it is in England. There is more paid per yard for some works in the rich way in Ireland than in England.

Q. Do you know any articles for which less is paid in Ireland than in England?—A. There are some articles in the silk manufacture, very few of which are made, in which less is paid in Ireland than in England.

Q. Are reeds and harness found by the journeyman silk weaver in Ireland?—A. No, by the master always; and every other expence preparatory to the putting the work into the loom is paid by the master also.

Q. What is your age?—A. I am in the fifty-first year of my age.

Q. Where did you first learn the business of weaving?—A. In Dublin; I served seven years apprenticeship to it there.

Q. What were the inducements or expectations which led you to England?—A. Because I could get no bread in Ireland, as no business was carrying on there latterly.

Q. Have you found full employ in England?—A. I have.

Q. Did you ever follow any other profession besides that of a silk manufacturer?—A. Yes.

Q. Was you ever in England before you came here this time?—A. I was; but never as a working man.

Q. What were your inducements to come here to this Committee to-day?—A. My inducements were, that I was required by the Committee of the working people to come, as I lately came from Ireland, and could tell what the customs were there; as it had been reported that it was said by some of the master silk weavers, or by some of the journeymen silk weavers who have been examined here, that the masters in Ireland found no tackling, but that the working silk weavers found all their tackling themselves; and that was what I knew was not so, for the tackling is found in Ireland by the master silk weaver as well as it is here.

Q. Where is that meeting of journeymen silk weavers held, who desired you to come here?—A. I do not know.

Q. How long had you been out of employment in Ireland before you came here?—A. Twenty-five months.

Q. What business did you follow to earn your bread during that time?—A. I lived mostly on the industry of my wife and children.

Q. Did you seek for employ in the weaving branch during that time?—A. Weekly—constantly.

Q. Had the prices of weaving fallen in that time?—A. The prices were as well paid as ever for any thing that was going on; they were as high.

Q. In which country, England or Ireland, can a journeyman silk weaver, provided he is in full employ, live the cheapest?—A. I must say I have lived here cheaper than I could in Dublin on the same earnings. The reason is, if I had a shilling, I could turn it to various purposes in London, better than I could 14d. in Dublin. I can buy half a pound of meat here, or in small quantities, which I can not do in Ireland; my rent and lodging is full as cheap here, and more comfortable.

Q. Is meat by the pound of the same price in Dublin and London?—A. In the last spring, in Dublin, beef was 4½ d. or 5d. per pound. I can buy beef for 4½ d. in London which is very good for a working man.

Q. Is meat as cheap in Dublin as it is in London?—A. In the slaughtering time, and in great quantities, it is vastly cheaper in Dublin and Corke, and other parts of the kingdom.

Q. What is the price in other seasons?—A. Full as dear as it is in London; and mutton is as dear.

Q. For what can you buy the coarser parts of the bullock per pound here in London?—A. I gave 3½ d. last week for a very coarse part.

Q. Could you buy that coarse part in Dublin separate from the finer parts?—A. Yes.

Q. At what price?—A. In slaughtering time somewhat cheaper; but in the spring at 3d. per lb.

Q. Have you brought your wife and family with you to England?—A. No; but I mean to send for them.

Q. Can you buy smaller quantities of meat in London than in Dublin?—A. Yes, I can; if I have not money to buy a whole joint in Dublin, I must buy a very coarse inferior bit.

And then he was directed to withdraw.

Martis, 10 die Maii, 1785.

Commercial Intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland.

THE Committee proceeded on the Petition of the Merchants and Traders of the Cities of Bristol and Glasgow, praying to be heard against the Irish Propositions. The Counsel (Mr. Graham) was called

called in; and heard in support of the said Petition; and having called no witness he was directed to withdraw.

The Committee then proceeded on the Petition of the Manufacturers of Shoes, and of Tanned and Wrought Leather, in the town of Stafford and neighbourhood.

And the said petition was read.

Mr. WILLIAM HORTON was examined by several Members of the Committee.

Q. Have you perused the Irish Propositions?—A. I have read them.

Q. Do you apprehend any evil to your manufacture from these Propositions passing into a law?—A. I do.

Q. Of what kind?—A. I have always understood that the leather manufacture of Ireland has been prevented from coming to this country by a very high duty laid upon it; and as that will not be the case when these resolutions pass into a law, I think it will be impossible for the shoe-makers in Stafford to send shoes so cheap to the London market as the Irish may; consequently it will be a great injury to our trade.

Q. Are there any other advantages which you conceive the Irish manufacturer of shoes has over the British?—A. Yes; a very great part of the shoes made in Stafford are made of Irish skins; and the Irish skins are of that quality that the English skins will not make that light sort of shoes.

Q. Why do you suppose that you will not have that sort of Irish skins hereafter?—A. Because I am of opinion that a manufactory of shoes, and to a great extent, may be established in Ireland, and they will find it for their interest to keep the skins at home, and have them tanned for their own use.

Q. Whether the manufacturer in Ireland will have any other advantage over the English, in respect of duties or otherwise?—A. They will be able to tan them cheaper than we can, in the first place, because they need not have them salted, as they must be when they come to England, which will be a saving to them from £. 7½ to £. 10 per cent. and they will have no duty to pay for them when they are tanned.

Q. Is not much of the work in shoe-making done by candle light?—A. In winter time half of the shoes are made after candle light; and having no duty to pay on candles in Ireland, it will be a great saving to the workmen there.

Q. Do you understand that wages in shoe-making is higher or lower in Ireland or in England?—A. I cannot exactly tell any thing about the wages; but if the manufactory of shoes is established in Ireland, the wages will bear some proportion to the wages of the common day labourer.

Q. Is the trade of shoe-making so easy a trade that a common day labourer

labourer could soon learn it?—A. A day labourer may learn to make shoes very soon; in a twelvemonth, if he has any genius. I know that they may learn soon, because when journeymen were scarce during the war, I have found fifty or sixty day labourers who have learnt the manufacture in the course of a year; and what gives them very great encouragement to learn is, than they can get their living the first week they begin to learn; and those very men in a very little time have taken apprentices themselves, and taught others the business; so that any quantity of shoe-makers may be raised in a very short time.

Q. Do you think that any of these shoe-makers could be easily enticed to go to Ireland, to set up the trade there?—A. I suppose they would be very easily tempted to go; and if they were to stay there till they were past working, and then could get no work, they would come back to be maintained by our parishes, after we had lost the means of maintaining ourselves.

Q. Are you aware that the Irish shoemaker may at present export his manufacture to all the world, except to Great Britain?—A. Yes, I know it is so; but that he cannot do in any large quantities at present, because the Irish merchant at present is not rich enough to go into a foreign trade; but he may send them to the English market in London, at such credit as they may return and pursue their business with fresh vigour.

Q. Whether the evil you apprehend from the Irish withholding the skins necessary in the business would not be the same, if the Irish were now to withhold them?—A. It would not be their interest to withhold them till they get a market for their wrought leather.

Q. What do you understand by the countervailing duty to be laid on wrought leather, when brought into this country?—A. I understand that the countervailing duty is laid on the manufacture in such proportion as the leather paid in its raw state, before it is manufactured; but that will be exceedingly hard to ascertain when made into shoes, and other manufactures, because it loses so very much in manufacturing, and the duty is laid on the hide altogether, which is equal to £. 15 per cent.; when that hide comes to be cut, the whole is worth 10d. per lb. some parts 16d. some 5d. or 4d. or less, and so rising by halfpence and pence till it comes to the value of 16d. And the skin which the upper leathers are made of loses one-half of its weight in the currying, and a great deal after it comes to be cut and fitted; so that it will be exceedingly hard, and almost impossible to ascertain the countervailing duty on some sort of shoes, such as ladies' shoes, silk shoes, stuff, and Morocco shoes.

Q. Do you know the price of oak bark in Ireland?—A. I do not; but I do not see why it should be dearer than in England, if these Propositions pass into a law, because the Irish tanner may purchase it for money as cheap as the English tanner can; and I believe the freight and insurance is as cheap to Ireland as to London.

Q. The duty on raw silk being 10½ d. and on thrown silk about 2s.

2s. in Ireland, and the duty in England being somewhat more than three times each of those proportions, and there being no duty in Ireland on leather in the hide, but a duty of one penny half-penny per lb. on the hide in England, you will state what would be the countervailing duty on twelve dozen pair of ladies' shoes, made of leather and of silk in Ireland, and imported into England?—A. I cannot tell.

Q. Do you think it possible to ascertain that duty?—A. I think not.—And then he was directed to withdraw.

Jovis, 12 die Maii, 1785.

Commercial Intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland.

The Committee proceeded on the Petition of sundry persons, on behalf of themselves and others, concerned in making, importing, or manufacturing Pig and Bar Iron, and Iron wares, praying to be heard against the Propositions.

Mr. ALEXANDER RABY, of Cobham, in Surrey, a Manufacturer, Exporter, and Importer of Iron, was examined.

Q. What duty is paid on bar iron imported into Great Britain?—A. On all foreign iron £. 2. 16s. 1½ d. per ton.

Q. What is the duty paid on importing bar iron into Ireland?—A. 9s. 7½ d. per ton.

Q. What is the average price of a ton of bar iron in Russia?—A. From £. 10 to ten guineas.

Q. When that ton of bar iron is made into iron hoops, what does it sell for in Great Britain?—A. £. 22 in general.

Q. What can a ton of iron hoops be sold for in Ireland, manufactured in Ireland?—A. For all the difference of duty at least, making £. 19. 15s. Coals and labour, and other things, are cheaper there; which I do not put into that calculation.

Q. When you speak of coals being cheaper in Ireland, do you speak with reference to any particular place for the manufacture here?—A. I speak of London.

Q. Is the manufacture of iron hoops much carried on in London?—A. Very principally, more than in all the rest of the kingdom besides, more than four times over.

Q. What does a ton of rod iron, for making nails, sell for in Great Britain?—A. On an average about £. 18.

Q. What could you sell it for, if you was to make it in Ireland?—A. At least £. 2. 5s. English less.

Q. What price does a ton of bar iron sell for, after being made into nails in Great Britain?—A. The average price of a ton of nails is about £. 35, or £. 36.

Q. What advance will the British duty make on the price of the ton

ton of nails above the Irish price?—A. More than £. 3 on the average.

Q. How much cheaper can the Irish manufacturers supply the United States of North America with iron hoops and nails, and rod iron, than Great Britain?—A. I should suppose by full all the difference I have mentioned; on an average £. 10 or £. 12 per cent. and on some articles £. 15 per cent.

Q. What number of manufacturers, to the best of your information and belief, are employed in the iron trade of Great Britain?—A. It is looked on by the trade in general more than two hundred thousand.

Q. What are the average number of tons of Iron supposed to be consumed annually in Great Britain, in that manufacture?—A. I can hardly tell; the whole made and imported amounts to about ninety thousand ton. I suppose, on the average, about sixty thousand ton is manufactured, and the difference about thirty thousand exported; but it is impossible to state exactly.

Q. What is the duty paid annually on iron imported?—A. At least £. 150,000 per annum.

Q. Is there any drawback of the duty on the exportation of manufactured iron?—A. None, when manufactured.

Q. Can you state what is the quantity of iron made in England, yearly?—A. From twenty thousand to thirty thousand ton yearly; and it is a very increasing article.

Q. For how much does British bar iron sell for in this country?—A. About £. 14 per ton.

Q. How would the manufacture of British bar iron be affected, by lowering the duty on foreign iron imported, to 9s. 7½ d.?—A. If foreign iron was lowered to that duty of 9s. 7½ d. English iron must lower in proportion likewise, or it would not be sold.

Q. Can the manufacturers of British bar iron lower it in that proportion, and carry on their business?—A. It is with the utmost difficulty we can keep pace with the Russian iron as it is, and therefore it would be impossible for us to lower our price.

Q. To the best of your information and belief, what is the value of manufactured iron annually exported from this kingdom?—A. I think 60,000 ton, at £. 40 per ton.

Q. Are you, or are you not, informed of the late important and valuable discovery of Mr. Cort, by means of which wrought iron, equal, or nearly equal, to foreign wrought iron, may be made out of our worst English cast iron, by means of our English pit-coal?—

A. I have been informed of such a process upon iron, but I am not convinced it is either a valuable or important discovery; nor do I believe that by that mode it can be made equal either in price or quality to foreign iron in general.

Q. What is your reason for so thinking?—A. It has been tried by a number of gentlemen, and upon trial has been deserted, I believe by all; I have, to my misfortune, tried it myself, and it did not answer.

Q. What

Q. What is the reason why the greatest quantity of iron hoops are made in and near London, where coals are so dear?—A. Because they are wanted in such quantities; and our being nearer to the market where the demand is, enables us to supply them at an earlier notice; and the coals are no great object.

Q. You say that coals are cheap in Ireland, do not you know that Dublin is supplied from Whitehaven?—A. I do, but without the London duty upon it.

Q. In what part of Ireland are coals sold cheaper than at Birmingham?—A. I spoke with respect to my own residence in London.

Q. If these Propositions are passed into a law, whether the local advantage, which gives London 4-fifths of the manufacture of iron hoops would not still remain?—A. Provided the duty was the same in Ireland as in England, it certainly would.

Q. How do the Irish duties on iron affect the local situation of London for the manufacture of hoops?—A. By paying £. 2. 6s. 6d. less per ton in all parts of Ireland.

Q. Does not that difference now exist?—A. I suppose it does to all foreign parts.

Q. Do you think that if the Propositions should pass, that difference would exist in any other parts than what it now exists in?—in what parts should we then be losers in which we are not losers now?—A. In all the West India islands, and all our colonies; nay, for our own consumption here.—If there exists £. 2. 6s. 6d. difference in the duty between Great Britain and Ireland, I could afford to make my hoops there, and sell them here.

A. You will state that part of the proportion which will admit iron hoops in Ireland paying the Irish duties on the hoops so manufactured, and sell them in this country without paying the British duties?—A. I think have explained it by saying, that if there exists £. 2. 6s. 6d. difference between Great Britain and Ireland, I could afford to make my hoops there, and sell them here.

Q. Are you aware that all the iron manufactures that go from Ireland to our colonies, go under any, and what duty?—A. I have understood that they go under some duty, £. 3, or something thereabouts.

Q. Whether, if the iron manufacture of Ireland goes to our colonies under a duty of £. 3. 3s. 11d. per ton, and the iron manufacture of this country goes out without any duty at all, you think the Irish will have any advantage over us in the export trade to the colonies?—A. Iron goes out in many shapes which cannot pay duty, such as hoops to cover packages, casks, &c.—It is put into anchors, round masts, and used in every part of shipping, and for every kind of package.

Question repeated.—A. Clearly not.

Q. Do you know any case where iron goes out as merchandize, where it could not be made to pay duty?—A. Where it goes out in packages, and as the cover and conveyance for merchandize, it can-

not; if it goes out as merchandize it must pay the duty. The packages to the West Indies go out in rum puncheons, which are wholly made up here, and that occasions a great consumption of iron hoops. Every kind of ship stores, water, beef, pork, go out in iron-bound casks.

Q. Whether if the iron manufacture of Ireland goes to the United States of America without any duty whatever, or with a duty very greatly inferior to £. 3. 3s. 11d. per ton; and if the British manufacture of iron goes to the same market subject on the bar iron to the present great disproportion of duties, the advantage is not decidedly in favour of Ireland?—A. We cannot go at all under those circumstances.

Q. Do you, or do you not know, that nails, anchors, and many other things made of iron belonging to ships, can at present be imported from Ireland into this country and the British colonies, after that iron is fixed to the ship?—A. With respect to ships built in Ireland, I suppose, go where they will, they pay no duty on the iron which is fixed on them; and that is what I alluded to in respect to ships hereafter to be built in Ireland.

Q. Then do you understand that in these respects these resolutions make no alteration whatsoever?—A. I understand a very great alteration, if I am right; because it makes a greater demand for shipping, and therefore a greater demand for iron, which pays no duty.

Q. Do you know of any existing law in Great Britain or Ireland, which will prevent the Irish from carrying their iron manufactures to any part of the United States of North America, though the Irish Propositions should not be agreed to?—A. Q. No; I understand that accident has given them that privilege; and unless we can be put on an equal footing of duties paid on iron manufactured to go to America, we cannot expect any share of their trade.

Q. Since the accident you mentioned, do you know of your own knowledge, of any iron manufacture going from Ireland to the United States of America?—A. I know nothing of Ireland at all.

Q. Do you not know that a great quantity has gone from this country since that time?—A. I do, and I hope it will continue to do so.

Q. Is not iron used in a great variety of manufactures?—A. I know no manufacture that can exist without it.

Q. Whether the great disparity of duty on the importation of bar iron into Great Britain and Ireland does not give a great advantage to the Irish manufactures in which the use of iron is necessary?—A. It gives them a very decided advantage in every heavy article whatever, as the difference of duty is more than an ample profit. And then he was directed to withdraw.

Mr. WILLIAM GIBBONS, concerned in the Iron Trade at Bristol.

Q. How much per cent. is the difference of the duty in favour of Ireland on a ton of iron?—A. Above £. 20 per cent.

Q. How

Q. How many workmen are employed in the Iron manufacture in Great Britain?—A. We estimate between two and three hundred thousand.

Q. Can you state the value of the different works erected in England for carrying on the iron trade?—A. When I came to this House on the Irish business in the year 1778, I made a calculation, assisted by several very eminent men in the trade; we made the value of the works to amount to about £. 3,500,000.

Q. Are they increased since that time?—A. Very much increased.

Q. How much cheaper can a ton of nails be manufactured in Ireland than in England?—A. From £. 7 to £. 9 or £. 10 per cent. supposing coals to be one third dearer there than in England.

Q. Is the equalizing duty of £. 3. 3s. 11d. per ton, which was imposed on Irish iron in 1778, now in force on their iron wares exported to the United States of America and the West Indies?—A. I understand that duty is now in force on goods that go to the colonies, but not to the United States; but we are told that that compact of 1778 does not compel them to keep the same duties on what they export to the United States, which is the most important grievance that we in the iron trade have to complain of.

Q. Is any part of the duty paid on British iron drawn back on the exportation from Great Britain?—A. No part of it whatever.

Q. What difference is there in the duties on steel in the two countries?—A. Between £. 9 and £. 10 per ton.

Q. What are the apprehensions you form of mischief to the trade from the passing of the Irish Resolutions, that do not exist at present?—A. In my opinion they hold out such advantages to Ireland, that great numbers of our manufacturers will go and settle there.

Q. Do not you know that many of the advantages possessed by Ireland, which you have stated to be the object of apprehension to the iron trade of this country, in case the Propositions should be adopted, are at present enjoyed by Ireland?—A. The present advantages which they enjoy, and we are afraid of, has been put into their hands by accident, by the emancipation of America from our government.

Q. Why do you think the present advantage ought to be put an end to, and the two countries, with respect to the iron trade, put on an equal footing, as a part of the consideration of the present treaty?—A. I apprehend that the ground work of the present Propositions is to equalize the trade of the two countries, and put both on such a footing that one shall not have preference over the other in any foreign market; and as Ireland has now so manifest an advantage with respect to the iron trade with America, we think we ought to be put on an equal footing with them, under the tenor and spirit of the Propositions.

Q. Whether iron is not of great use in a great number of different manufactures?—A. I apprehend that scarcely a manufacture can be carried on without the use of it.

Q. Whether

Q. Whether

0482

Q. Whether the disparity of the duties on the importation of bar iron into England and Ireland does not give a great advantage to the Irish manufactures in which the use of iron is necessary?—

A. It gives a vast variety of advantages. The iron manufacturer in Ireland can carry on his trade in Ireland with one-fifth less capital than in England, on that account; and every other use they have of iron in that kingdom is an advantage against us of above £. 20 per cent. on the first cost of the materials.

Q. Do you apprehend any competition in the British market, in the article of iron manufactured in Ireland, if these resolutions pass?—

A. I do not expect they will have any very speedy competition. And then he was directed to withdraw.

Mr. THOMAS EDINGTON, Iron Manufacturer in Scotland.

Q. You will state the nature and extent of your apprehensions from the Irish Propositions, as tending to affect the iron trade of Great Britain, in case they are adopted in this country?—A. There are 55,000 tons of foreign iron imported into Great Britain annually, which pays the duty of £. 2. 16s. 1½d. per ton, but when imported into Ireland pays only 9s. 7½d. per ton; therefore the manufacturer in Ireland pays a duty of £. 2. 6s. 6d. less than the manufacturer in England does, and of course can undersell them to that amount.

Q. What is the price of iron hoops in Scotland?—A. £. 22 per ton.

Q. At what price could you sell your iron hoops manufactured in Ireland?—A. At least £. 2 per cent. cheaper.

Q. Do you apprehend, that if no equalizing duty is taxed on bar iron imported into Ireland, that your manufacture will be greatly injured?—A. Yes.

Q. What money do you apprehend is expended on works and buildings in manufacturing Iron in Great Britain?—A. It is a very difficult question to answer with certainty; but I should suppose from three to four millions.

Q. What capital do you apprehend is employed in the iron trade, independent of works and buildings?—A. That question is equally difficult to answer as the last is; it may be from eight to twelve millions.

Q. What is the clear profit arising to this country, as you apprehend, from the iron works?—A. It is impossible to answer that question.

Q. Whether, on the whole of these Propositions, you do not conceive, that the iron manufacturer of this country will be extremely prejudiced if they should pass into a law?—A. Almost entirely ruined.—And then he was directed to withdraw.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

THE
M E R C H A N T S
A N D
M A N U F A C T U R E R S
M A G A Z I N E.

C O N T A I N I N G,

BESIDES A GREAT NUMBER OF PAPERS, RELATING
TO THE TRADE AND COMMERCE, OF
GREAT BRITAIN,

A COPY OF THE EVIDENCE,
that was given before PARLIAMENT,
for and against the

COMMERCIAL PROPOSITIONS,

FOR REGULATING THE TRADE WITH IRELAND,
MADE IN THE YEAR 1785,

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

THE REPORT OF THE LORDS OF THE
COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL, UPON THE
SAME SUBJECT.

VOLUME II.

L O N D O N :

PRINTED FOR J. DEBRET, OPPOSITE BURLINGTON
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M. DCC. LXXXVI.

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M A G A Z I N E.

T O T H E P U B L I C.

THE following important PAPERS were laid
before the House of Commons last Session.
They are new to the Public: for, notwithstanding
they are annual accounts, and every year made out,
yet they are never copied for the use of the members;
nor is there an instance of their ever being printed
before. They are, however, the most interesting of
all the annual Papers which are produced for the in-
formation of Parliament.

August 30, 1785.

VOL. II. Numb. I.

A

An

An ACCOMPT shewing how the Money given for the Service of the Year 1784, has been disposed of, distinguished under the several Heads until the 9th Day of May 1785, and the Parts remaining unsatisfied, with the Overplus of the same.

S E R V I C E S.	Sums voted.		Sums paid.	
	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.
N A V Y.				
For wages, and wear and tear of the navy, and the victualling thereof for 26,000 men, including 4,495 marines, from the 1st day of January 1784	1,284,400	0 0		
For the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to sea and marine officers, for the year 1784	701,869	0 6		
Towards the buildings, rebuildings, and repairs of ships of war in his Majesty's yards, and other extra works over and above what are proposed to be done upon the heads of wear and tare, and ordinary for the year 1784	1,100,000	0 0	3,086,269	0 6
O R D N A N C E.				
For ordnance sea service	67,600	0 0		
For ordnance land service	429,008	2 7		
For defraying the expence of services performed by the office of ordnance for land service, and not provided for by Parliament in 1783	181,141	6 4	677,749	8 11
Remains to be paid	50,000	0 0	3,764,018	9 5
Carried over				3,714,018 9 5

M E R C H A N T S

F O R C E S, &c.	Sums voted.		Sums paid.	
	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.
Brought over			3,764,018	9 5
For defraying the charge of 17,483 effective men for guards, garrisons, and other his Majesty's land forces in Great Britain, Guernsey, and Jersey, including the pay of commission and non-commissioned officers and private men, the charge of cloathing of the non-commissioned officers, and private men, of agency, and of allowances to captains, paymasters, surgeons, and for riding masters, for the year 1784	636,190	9 1		
For maintaining his Majesty's forces and garrisons in the Plantations and Gibraltar, including the charge of the pay and cloathing of commission and non-commissioned officers and private men, of agency, and of allowances to captains, paymasters, and surgeons, for the year 1784	284,213	2 9		
For the pay necessary to be advanced to one regiment of light dragoons, and five battalions of foot for service in the East Indies, for the year 1784	8,252	7 9		
For the pay of the general, and general staff officers in Great Britain, for the year 1784	6,080	6 6		
Carried over			3,764,018	9 5
				3,714,018 9 5

M A G A Z I N E.

0485

M E R C H A N T S

	£.	s.	d.	Sums voted.	Sums paid.
				£. s. d.	£. s. d.
FORCES.—Brought over	—	—	—	3,764,018 9 5	3,714,018 9 5
For allowance to the paymaster general of the forces, secretary at war, commissary general of the mufers, judge advocate general, comptrollers of the accounts of the army, their deputies, and clerks, including the contingent expences of their offices; for Exchequer fees payable by the paymaster general; and on account for poundage to be returned to the infantry of his Majesty's forces, for the year 1784	67,551	14	1		
For defraying the charge of in and out-penioners of Chelsea hospital, and of the expences of the said hospital, for the year 1784	173,001	15	5½		
For the reduced officers of his Majesty's land forces and marines, for the year 1784	75,116	18	6		
Further on account of the reduced officers of his Majesty's land forces for the year 1784	130,300	0	0		
For the commissioned officers of his Majesty's British American forces, for the year 1784	54,653	10	6		
For several officers late in the service of the States General, for the year 1784	3,544	14	3		
Carried over				3,764,018 9 5	3,714,018 9 5

M A G A Z I N E.

	£.	s.	d.	Sums voted.	Sums paid.
				£. s. d.	£. s. d.
FORCES.—Brought over	—	—	—	3,764,018 9 5	3,714,018 9 5
For the charge of general and staff officers, and officers of the hospital serving with the forces in North America and the West Indies, for the year 1784	6,291	7	0		
For allowances to the officers and private gentlemen of the two troops of horse guards reduced, and to superannuated gentlemen of the four troops of horse guards, for the year 1784	563	12	10		
For defraying the charge of penions to be paid to the widows of commissioned officers, and expences attending the same, for the year 1784	17,000	4	0		
For defraying the charge of penions to the widows of commissioned officers of his Majesty's British American forces for the year 1784	686	0	0		
For defraying the charge of two regiments of foot sent from Ireland to Gibraltar, during the year 1783	4,246	11	0		
For defraying the charge of additional to three regiments of foot, for the year 1783	10,524	17	4		
For defraying the charge of several corps to the respective times of their being disbanded during the year 1783	9,821	15	6		
Carried over				3,764,018 9 5	3,714,018 9 5

MERCHANTS

	£.	s.	d.	Sums voted.	Sums paid.
				£. s. d.	£. s. d.
FORCES.—Brought over				3,764,018 9 5	3,714,018 9 5
For defraying the charge of three regiments of foot, from the 25th day of June 1784, to the 24th day of December following, both days inclusive	15,626	4	11		
For defraying the charge of several corps of his Majesty's forces, for different periods in the year 1784	77,853	8	7 $\frac{1}{4}$		
For defraying the charge of two Hanoverian battalions of foot in Great Britain, from the 25th day of June 1783, to the 24th day of December following, both inclusive	9,371	17	9		
For defraying the charge of five battalions of Hanoverian infantry in the pay of Great Britain, from the 25th day of December 1783, to the 24th day of June 1784, both days inclusive	23,419	0	10 $\frac{1}{2}$		
For defraying the charge of subsidies due to the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, the hereditary prince of Hesse Cassel, the reigning prince of Waldeck, the reigning prince of Brandeburgh Anspach, the reigning prince of Anhalt Zerbst, and the reigning duke of Brunswick, pursuant to treaties for 1784	120,369	11	7		
Towards defraying the charge of 6,463 men, being a detachment of the troops of the landgrave of Hesse					
Carried over				3,764,018 9 5	3,714,018 9 5

MAGAZINE.

	£.	s.	d.	Sums voted.	Sums paid.
				£. s. d.	£. s. d.
FORCES.—Brought over				3,764,018 9 5	3,714,018 9 5
Cassel, including staff officers, in the pay of Great Britain, from the 28th day of May 1784 to the 24th of December following, both days inclusive, pursuant to treaty	60,035	8	4 $\frac{1}{2}$		
To make good a deficiency on the subsidy due to the reigning duke of Brunswick, pursuant to treaty, for the year 1783	2,366	13	0		
Towards defraying the extraordinary expenses of his Majesty's land forces, and other services incurred, from the 1st day of February 1783, to the 24th day of December following, both days inclusive, and not provided for by Parliament	2,360,992	0	9		
From which deduct the monies or savings of the several army services granted towards defraying the same	441,702	13	9 $\frac{1}{2}$		
	1,919,289	6	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	3,716,370 18 7 $\frac{3}{4}$	3,153,191 11 6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Remains to be paid	563,179	7	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	7,480,389 8 0 $\frac{1}{4}$	6,867,210 0 11 $\frac{1}{2}$
Carried over					

Brought over

To the governor and company of merchants of England, trading to the Levant seas, to be applied in affitting them to carry on their trade
 Towards enabling the trustees of the British museum to carry on the execution of the trusts reposed in them by Parliament
 For the expences of the new roads of communication and building bridges in the highlands of North Britain, in the year 1780
 To make compensation to the Rev. Thomas Weekes Dalby, the representative of Charles Weekes, deceased, for the loss sustained by the destruction of the ship Hope, on account of his Majesty's victualling office, in the years 1743 and 1744
 For defraying the charge of the civil establishment of his Majesty's colony of Nova Scotia, for the year 1784
 For defraying the charge of the civil establishment of the island of St. John, from the 1st day of January 1784, to the 1st day of January 1785
 For defraying the charge of the civil establishment of East Florida, from the 24th day of June 1783, to the 24th day of June 1784
 For defraying the charge of the civil establishment of New Brunswick, from the 24th day of June 1784, to the 24th day of June 1785
 For defraying the charge of the civil establishment of the island of Cape Breton, from the 24th day of June 1784, to the 24th day of June 1785

Carried over

	Sums voted.		Sums paid.	
	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.
Brought over	7,480,389	8 2 $\frac{3}{4}$	6,867,210	0 11 $\frac{1}{2}$
To the governor and company of merchants of England, trading to the Levant seas, to be applied in affitting them to carry on their trade	4,000	0 0	4,000	0 0
Towards enabling the trustees of the British museum to carry on the execution of the trusts reposed in them by Parliament	3,000	0 0	3,000	0 0
For the expences of the new roads of communication and building bridges in the highlands of North Britain, in the year 1780	4,830	7 6	4,830	7 6
To make compensation to the Rev. Thomas Weekes Dalby, the representative of Charles Weekes, deceased, for the loss sustained by the destruction of the ship Hope, on account of his Majesty's victualling office, in the years 1743 and 1744	1,891	13 8	1,891	13 8
For defraying the charge of the civil establishment of his Majesty's colony of Nova Scotia, for the year 1784	5,559	8 0	5,559	8 0
For defraying the charge of the civil establishment of the island of St. John, from the 1st day of January 1784, to the 1st day of January 1785	3,150	0 0	3,150	0 0
For defraying the charge of the civil establishment of East Florida, from the 24th day of June 1783, to the 24th day of June 1784	3,950	0 0	3,950	0 0
For defraying the charge of the civil establishment of New Brunswick, from the 24th day of June 1784, to the 24th day of June 1785	3,100	0 0	3,100	0 0
For defraying the charge of the civil establishment of the island of Cape Breton, from the 24th day of June 1784, to the 24th day of June 1785	1,750	0 0	1,750	0 0
Carried over	7,511,620	17 2 $\frac{3}{4}$	6,898,441	10 1 $\frac{1}{2}$

M E R C H A N T S

VOL. II. Numb. 1.

Brought over

For repairing, maintaining, and supporting the British forts and settlements on the coast of Africa
 To perfect the purchase of the soil of the Bahama islands, and to support the civil establishments, in addition to the salaries now paid out of the duty fund to public-officers
 For the salary of the chief justice of the Bermuda, or Somers islands, from the 24th day of June 1784, to the 24th day of June 1785
 Remains to be paid £. 375.
 Towards carrying on the buildings at Somerset-house, for the year 1784
 Remains to be paid £. 10,000.
 To make compensation to the commissioners appointed to examine, take, and state the public accounts of the kingdom, for their diligence, accuracy, and ability in the execution of the trust reposed in them by Parliament
 To enable his Majesty to discharge the debt contracted on his civil list, and to defray the further expences thereof
 To make good to his Majesty the like sum which has been issued by his Majesty's orders, pursuant to addresses
 To make good to his Majesty the like sum, which has been issued by his Majesty's orders, to be applied for the relief and benefit of fundry American civil officers, and others, who have suffered on account of their attachment to his Majesty's government

Carried over

	Sums voted.		Sums paid.	
	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.
Brought over	7,511,620	17 2 $\frac{3}{4}$	6,898,441	10 6 $\frac{1}{2}$
For repairing, maintaining, and supporting the British forts and settlements on the coast of Africa	13,000	0 0	13,000	0 0
To perfect the purchase of the soil of the Bahama islands, and to support the civil establishments, in addition to the salaries now paid out of the duty fund to public-officers	7,850	0 0	7,850	0 0
For the salary of the chief justice of the Bermuda, or Somers islands, from the 24th day of June 1784, to the 24th day of June 1785	500	0 0	125	0 0
Remains to be paid £. 375.	25,000	0 0	15,000	0 0
Towards carrying on the buildings at Somerset-house, for the year 1784	9,000	0 0	9,000	0 0
Remains to be paid £. 10,000.	60,000	0 0	60,000	0 0
To make compensation to the commissioners appointed to examine, take, and state the public accounts of the kingdom, for their diligence, accuracy, and ability in the execution of the trust reposed in them by Parliament	36,841	1 6	36,841	1 6
To enable his Majesty to discharge the debt contracted on his civil list, and to defray the further expences thereof	75,750	13 6	75,750	13 6
To make good to his Majesty the like sum which has been issued by his Majesty's orders, pursuant to addresses	7,739,562	12 2 $\frac{3}{4}$	7,116,008	5 6 $\frac{1}{2}$

M A G A Z I N E

	Sums voted.		Sums paid.	
	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.
Brought over	7,739,562	12 2 $\frac{3}{4}$	7,116,008	5 6 $\frac{1}{2}$
To make good to his Majesty the like sum, which has been issued to Thomas Cotton, Esq. to discharge bills drawn on the commissioners of the Treasury by John Par, Esq. governor of Nova Scotia, and other services	12,816	15 9 $\frac{1}{4}$	12,816	15 9 $\frac{1}{4}$
To make good to his Majesty the like sum, which has been paid to the secretaries of the commissioners appointed to take and state the public accounts; and to the commissioners appointed to enquire into the losses of the American loyalists, and which has not been made good by Parliament	7,000	0 0	7,000	0 0
To make good to his Majesty the like sum, which has been issued to Duncan Campbell, Esq. for the expence of confining, maintaining, and employing convicts on the river Thames	12,212	11 6	12,212	11 6
To Joseph White, Esq. in full for expences attending the support of the bill for inflicting certain pains and penalties on Sir Thomas Rumbold, Baronet	3,587	9 6	3,587	9 6
To George White, Esq. for expences attending the fittings of the committees appointed to enquire into the causes of the war in the Carnatic, in the years 1781 and 1782	920	0 9	920	0 9
To Mr. William Evatt, for the expences attending the fittings of the select committees appointed to enquire into the state of the administration of justice in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa, during the course of four sessions of Parliament	1,779	13 0	1,779	13 0
Carried over	7,777,879	2 8 $\frac{3}{4}$	7,154,324	16 0 $\frac{3}{4}$

M E R C H A N T S

	Sums voted.		Sums paid.	
	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.
Brought over	7,777,879	2 8 $\frac{3}{4}$	7,154,324	16 0 $\frac{3}{4}$
To Mr. White, junior, for the expences attending the fittings of the committees to whom the report of the Court of Directors of the East India company, in obedience to an order of the House of Commons, dated 23d January 1784, and the report of the said Court of Directors, containing such further information as has been received since making up their report, presented the 16th of February 1784, were severally referred	116	16 6	116	16 6
To Mr. Arthur Benson, clerk to the committee appointed to enquire into the illicit practices used in defrauding the revenue of this kingdom, and the most effectual methods of preventing the same, for his actual expences and trouble in attending the said committee	220	0 0	220	0 0
D E F I C I E N C I E S.				
To replace to the sinking fund the like sum paid out of the same, to make good the deficiency of the fund for paying annuities granted Anno 1758, on 5th of July 1783	23,556	2 7	23,556	2 7
To replace to the sinking fund the like sum paid out of the same, to make good the deficiency of the fund for paying annuities granted Anno 1778, on ditto	168,019	2 9 $\frac{3}{4}$	168,019	2 9 $\frac{3}{4}$
To replace to the sinking fund the like sum paid out of the same, to make good the deficiency of the fund for paying annuities granted Anno 1779, on ditto	73,339	19 8	73,339	19 8
Carried over	8,043,131	4 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	7,419,576	17 7 $\frac{1}{2}$

M A G A Z I N E S

DEFICIENCIES.—Brought over

To replace to the sinking fund the like sum paid out of the same, to make good the deficiency of the fund for paying annuities granted Anno 1780, on 10th of October 1783
 To replace to the sinking fund the like sum paid out of the same, to make good the deficiency of the fund for paying annuities granted Anno 1782, on 5th of July 1783
 To replace to the sinking fund the like sum paid out of the same, to make good the deficiency of the fund for paying annuities granted Anno 1783, on 10th of October 1783
 To make good the deficiency of the malt duty, granted for the service of the year 1782, at Lady Day 1784
 To make good the deficiency of the land tax, granted for the service of the year 1782, at Michaelmas 1784
 To make good the deficiency of the grants for the service of the year 1783
 Remains to be paid — £. 16,364 10 5
 Towards the expence of his Majesty's mint, pursuant to an Act 9th Geo. III.
 To pay off and discharge the principal sum of £. 1,000,000 Exchequer bills, made out by virtue of an Act 23 Geo. III. and charged upon the first aids to be granted in Parliament for the service of the year 1784, together with the interest and charges attending the same

Carried over

Sums voted.		Sums voted.	
£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.
8,043,131	4 3½	7,419,576	17 7½
207,909	10 3	207,909	10 3
435,888	19 2	435,888	9 2
24,943	5 0½	24,943	5 0½
442,107	6 10	442,107	6 10
231,772	4 8½	231,772	4 8½
36,814	15 5¾	20,450	5 0¾
6,175	11 3¾	6,175	11 3¾
1,053,881	18 1	1,053,881	18 1
10,482,624	15 1¾	9,842,705	15 7¾

DEFICIENCIES.—Brought over

To pay off and discharge the principal sum of £. 1,500,000 in Exchequer bills, made out by virtue of one other Act of 23 Geo. III. and charged further on the first aids to be granted in Parliament for the service of the year 1784, together with the interest and charges attending the same
 To the governor and company of the Bank of England, to be by them distributed and paid to and amongst the proprietors of the several fortunate tickets in the lottery established by an Act 24 Geo. III.
 For discount on prompt payments after the rate of £. 3 per cent. per annum, to the contributors of £. 6,000,000 for annuities, and of £. 360,000 for a lottery
 To the Bank of England for receiving, paying, and accounting for the monies contributed for the said annuities and lottery
 For the charges and expences attending the preparing and drawing the lottery, and for taking in tickets, and delivering out certificates, in lieu thereof
 Remains to be paid — £. 1,600.

Total remaining due	£.	s.	d.
Sums paid	—	—	—
Sums voted	—	—	—
	641,518	17	5¾
	11,807,500	4	11¾
	12,449,019	2	5½

Sums voted.		Sums paid.	
£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.
10,482,624	15 1¾	9,842,705	15 7¾
1,562,136	6 10	1,562,136	6 10
360,000	0 0	360,000	0 0
26,823	15 9	26,823	15 9
5,834	4 9	5,834	4 9
11,600	0 0	10,000	0 0
12,449,019	2 5½	11,807,500	4 11¾

MS

WAYS and MEANS for answering the same, viz.

By four shillings per £. on land — — — — —
 By the duty on malt, continued Anno 1784 — — — — —
 Contributed towards £. 6,000,000 for annuities, the remaining sum of
 £. 638 not having been paid by a subscriber, who thereby forfeited
 £. 522. the amount of the 1st, 2d, and 3d payments on £. 1,160. — — — — —
 By a lottery — — — — —
 By cash in the Exchequer for the disposition of Parliament — — — — —
 By Exchequer bills charged on the first aids to be granted for the service of
 the year 1785 — — — — —
 By ditto, charged further on the first aids to be granted for the service of
 the year 1785 — — — — —
 Out of the sinking fund — — — — —

	£.	s.	d.
	2,000,000	0	0
	1,750,000	0	0
	5,999,362	0	0
	360,000	0	0
	105,818	5	11½
	1,500,000	0	0
	1,000,000	0	0
	800,000	0	0
	12,515,180	5	11½
	12,449,019	2	5½
Total services.	66,161	3	5½
Overplus of Ways and Means.			

Presented this 9th day of May, 1785, by

W. S P E E R,

Remains of the WAYS and MEANS undispofed of, viz.

Of contributions for annuities — — — — —
 Ditto for a lottery — — — — —
 From which deduct the amount of the sums unpaid as above — — — — —
 Residue is the furplus of the grants for the year 1784 — — — — —

M E M O R A N D U M.

The ARREARS of former Supplies remaining unpaid, for which Money is provided are as follow, viz.

For the late African Company's creditors — — — — —
 For Georgia bills, residue of £. 15,496. 19s. 1¼d. — — — — —
 For compensations to the proprietors of lands and hereditaments at and near Plymouth

And there remains unpaid of £. 8,702,277. 5s. 8d. granted for naval services, &c. in the year 1781 — — — — —
 To complete £. 36,207. 4s. 3d. granted towards carrying on the buildings at Somerset House, in 1781 — — — — —
 To answer which their remains to be paid by the East India Company in full of £. 400,000 granted towards the supply for the year 1781 — — — — —

	£.	s.	d.
	706,080	0	11½
	1,600	0	0
	707,680	0	11½
	641,518	17	5½
	66,161	3	5½
	900	12	10
	570	17	7½
	16,364	10	5
	17,836	0	10½
	98,392	7	6½
	1,607	12	5½
	100,000	0	0

0491

M E R C H A N T S

The EXCESS or SURPLUS of the several Duties, Revenues, and Incomes, commonly called the AGGREGATE FUND, established by Acts of Parliament, 1st, 5th, & 6th Geo. I. and by Act 1. Geo. III. &c. for answering the Payments therein expressed, viz.

To money arisen at the Exchequer within the half-year, ended the 5th day of April 1784, on the particular branches here enumerated, viz.

	Dr.		
	£.	s.	d.
Two thirds tonnage and poundage	35,594	4	11½
Arrears of the duties on coffee, tea, and chocolate, before the 24th of June 1724, and the duties on nutmegs, cinnamon, cloves, mace, pictures and muslins	8	3	4
A moiety of the inland duty of 2s. per lb. on coffee, since the 24th of June 1724	4,182	0	9
Ditto, of 1s. per lb. and £. 25 per cent. on tea, since 24th June 1745	119,273	1	7
The inland duty on cocoa nuts, granted by an Act 21 Geo. III.	1,518	0	0
Further rates on white callicoes, china wares, and drugs	20	17	8
Half subsidy of tonnage and poundage	35,456	5	1
Surplus of the other moiety (after satisfying annuities, &c. to which £. 80,000 per ann. first charged thereupon is reduced)	14,184	15	3½
Additional duty on French wines and merchandizes	6,871	12	2½
Plantation duty	106	2	6
Duty on hops	—	—	—
£. 18 per cent. on East India wrought silks	—	—	—
Duties on brandy since Michaelmas 1736	151,095	8	1½
Ditto on low wines since ditto	4,165	0	0
Ditto on British spirits since ditto	7,345	0	0
Ditto on spirits imported since ditto	2,357	6	6½
Surplus of the 9 Excise, granted for 99 years	23,852	19	0½
Surplus of the 2-7ths 9 Excise	9,445	18	6½
Surplus of the £. 3,700 per week, Excise	29,148	0	0
Surplus of the revenues in annuity Acts, 4th, 5th, & 6th Annæ	53,033	16	0
Surplus of the lottery fund, Anno 1710	50,130	13	9½
Surplus of the annuity fund, Anno 1710	13,757	10	10½
Duties on houses and windows, being a moiety of £. 91,485. cs. 6¾d. for the half-year, ended 5th of April 1784	45,742	10	3½
Carried over	607,299	6	7½

PUBLIC

M A G A Z I N E.

By Payments charged on the AGGREGATE FUND by Acts of Parliament, viz.

	Cr.		
	£.	s.	d.
By the Bank of England on their reduced annuity of £. 15,000, being the remainder of £. 80,000 per annum, for cancelling two millions in Exchequer bills for the half-year, ended the 5th day of April 1784, pursuant to the several Acts of Parliament in that behalf	7,500	0	0
By the South Sea Company, to discharge annuities at £. 3 per cent. on the principal sum of £. 331,740. 11s. 2d. to which the sum of £. 441,700 subscribed into their capital, is reduced by abating from the same £. 109,959. 8s. 10d. (for a proportional part of £. 9,737,118. 11s. 7d. redeemed of the said Company's whole capital and the annuities attending the same, being the remainder of £. 500,000 contributed on the first lottery, Anno 1719, for the half-year, ended the said 5th day of April 1784	4,976	2	2
By ditto Company, to discharge annuities at £. 3 per cent. on the principal sum of £. 633,665. 16s. 9d. to which the sum of £. 843,702. 1s. 8d. subscribed into their capital is reduced, by abating from the same £. 210,036. 4s. 11d. (for a proportional part of £. 9,737,118. 11s. 7d. redeemed of the said Company's whole capital and the annuities attending the same) being the remainder of £. 1,079,000 contributed for annuities Anno 1715, or the half-year, ended the said 5th day of April 1784	9,504	19	9
By the officers of the Exchequer bill office, on their salaries for the half-year, ended the said 5th day of April 1784	325	0	0
By the South Sea Company, and the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, claiming under them for the half-year, ended the said 5th day of April 1784, on £. 444. 12s. 6d. per annum, being such part of £. 8,862. 6s. 4d. per annum, residue of £. 12,000 per annum, allowed them for charges of management on subscriptions by the Act 6 Geo. I.) as is chargeable on this fund	222	6	3
By the usher of the Exchequer for necessaries	467	18	3
Carried over	22,996	6	5

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By

18 M E R C H A N T S

PUBLIC MONIES brought into the Exchequer after Michaelmas 1785, appropriated by an Act 1st Geo. I. viz.

			Dr.			
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Brought over	-	-	-	607,299	6	7
Duty on foreign fail cloth	50	7	0½			
Arrears of the 15th 3s. aid, Anno 1768	576	15	8½			
of the 42d 4s. aid, Anno 1778	66	3	0			
of the 43d 4s. aid, Anno 1779	469	13	10½			
of the 44th 4s. aid, Anno 1780	3,000	0	0			
of the 45th 4s. aid, Anno 1781	18,571	7	2			
Arrears of the duty on malt, Anno 1780	2,000	0	0			
Ditto of ditto, Anno 1781	107	0	0			
				24,841	6	9½
Carried over	-	-	-	632,140	13	5

REVENUES

M A G A Z I N E 19

		Cr.		
		£.	s.	d.
Brought over	-	22,996	6	5
By the United Company of Merchants of England, trading to the East Indies on their reduced annuity of £.96,000, payable to them from the 5th day of January 1756, being after the rate of £. 3 per cent. per annum on the said Company's capital of £. 3,200,000 for the half-year, ended the said 5th day of April 1784, pursuant to the Acts 3d and 23d Georgii II.	-	48,000	0	0
By the charge of his Majesty's civil government for the half-year, ended the 5th day of April 1784, on the yearly rent or sum of £. 800,000 granted by an Act 1st Geo. III. for the support of his Majesty's household, and the honour and dignity of the crown	-	400,000	0	0
More for the better support of ditto, on the annual sum of £. 100,000 granted to his Majesty from the 5th day of January 1777, by an Act 17th Geo. III. for the same half-year	-	50,000	0	0
		450,000	0	0
From which deduct so much paid by the following receivers on account of the civil list, viz.				
By the cashier of Excise. To the Princess Amelia	-	£. 6,000		
By the receiver of Alienations. For the charge of the hanaper in the court of Chancery	-	£. 1,000		
		7,000	0	0
Remainder paid at the receipt of Exchequer out of this fund	-	443,000	0	0
Carried over	-	513,996	6	5

C 2

Whereof,

REVENUES brought to this Account pursuant to the Act 1st Geo. III. for the Support of his Majesty's Household, and of the Honour and Dignity of the Crown of Great Britain, viz.

		Dr.	
		£.	s. d.
Brought over		632,140	13 5
Hereditary and temporary Excise (exclusive of £. 5,318. 18s. 2½d. reserved for paying lottery annuities, Anno 1713, subscribed into the stock of the South Sea Company, per Act 6th Geo. I.	£. s. d.	108,458	9 1½
Additional tonnage and poundage		131,128	15 7½
Revenue of the post office		74,000	0 0
Sheriffs proffers		66	9 8
Compositions in the Exchequer		5	10 0
Seizures of uncustomed and prohibited goods		8,324	9 1¼
Fines of leases		2,813	0 0
Fines and forfeitures		485	9 4½
Rent of a light house		6	13 4
New duty on wine licences, being a moiety of £. 7,002. 14s. 3d. for the half-year, ended the 5th day of April 1784		3,501	7 1½
		328,790	3 4½
		960,930	16 9½

The

		Cr.	
		£.	s. d.
Brought over		513,996	6 5
Whereof,			
To cancel Exchequer bills (part of £. 300,000 in Exchequer bills) made forth pursuant to an Act 22d Geo. III. for paying off the debt of the civil list	£. s. d.	25,000	0 0
For the expences of his Majesty's civil government		418,000	0 0
		443,000	0 0
By the representative of Arthur Onslow, Esq. on the annuity of £. 3,000, by an Act 2d Geo. III. half a year due the 5th day of April 1784		1,500	0 0
By his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, on the annuity of £. 8,000, by an Act 7th Geo. III. half a year due the said 5th day of April 1784		4,000	0 0
By his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, on the annuity of £. 8,000, by the same Act, half a year due the said 5th day of April 1784		4,000	0 0
By John Earl of Chatham, on the annuity of £. 4,000, by an Act 18th Geo. III. half a year due the said 5th day of April 1784		2,000	0 0
By Sir George Augustus Eliott, Knight of the Bath, on the annuity of £. 1,500, by an Act 23d Geo. III. half a year due the said 5th day of April 1784		750	0 0
By George Lord Rodney, on the annuity of £. 2,000 by the same Act, half a year due the said 5th day of April 1784		1,000	0 0
By the excess or surplus, which at or before the 5th day of April 1784, did arise by the duties composing the Aggregate Fund per contra, over and above all monies then due and payable to discharge the several annuities and other allowances and payments directed by Acts of Parliament to be satisfied out of the same; which excess or surplus is carried to the Sinking Fund		527,246	6 5
		433,684	10 4½
		960,930	16 9½

The Excess or Surplus of such Duties or Revenues, part of the SOUTH SEA COMPANY'S FUND, as were established by Acts 3d & 5th Geo. I. for answering Payments to the South Sea Company and others; which Excess or Surplus is here stated the 5th Day of April 1784, viz.

To money arisen at the Exchequer, in the half year, ended the 5th of April 1784, viz.

		Dr.		
		£.	s.	d.
For impost on wines and vinegar	- - -	49,235	11	9
Impost on tobacco	- - -	35,117	13	8
Impost on East India goods	- - -	49,701	9	7
Additional impositions	- - -	17,081	1	4
Additional duty on whale finns	- - -	10	6	6
Duty on candles since the 1st of May 1715	- - -	35,490	16	8
Apprentice duty since ditto	- - -	2,121	0	0
		188,757	19	6

The

Cr.

£. s. d.

By the South Sea Company, to discharge annuities at £. 3 per cent. on the principal sum of £. 7,510,540. 2s. 10d. to which their original capital of ten millions is reduced, by abating from the same £. 2,489,459. 17s. 2d. (for a proportional part of £. 9,737,118. 11s. 7d. redeemed of the said Company's whole capital, and the annuities attending the same) and is for the half year ended the 5th day of April 1784 - -

112,658 2 0³/₄

By Ditto Company on £. 6,008. 8s. 8d. per annum, for charges of management, to which their allowance of £. 8,000 per annum is reduced by the redemption of £. 9,737,118. 11s. 7d. as aforesaid, and is for the half year ended the said 5th day of April 1784 - -

3,004 4 4

115,662 6 4³/₄

By the excess or surplus, which at or before the 5th day of April 1784, did arise by the rates, duties, impositions, and revenues per contra, over and above sufficient to satisfy all payments chargeable thereupon; which excess or surplus is carried to the Sinking Fund -

73,095 13 1¹/₂

188,757 19 6

By

By Payments charged on the GENERAL FUND by Acts of Parliament, viz.

	Cr.	£.	s.	d.
By the South Sea Company, to discharge annuities at £. 3 per cent. on the principal sum of £. 6,255,747. 10s. 4d. to which the sum of £. 8,329,291. 2s. 1d. subscribed into their capital is reduced, by abating from the same £. 2,073,543. 11s. 9d. (for a proportional part of £. 9,737,118. 11s. 7d. redeemed of the said Company's whole capital and the annuities attending the same) being the remainder of £. 9,534,357. 13s. 11½d. to which the proprietors of the orders in the four lotteries 1711 and 1712, and the debt due to certain bankers and others, were entitled for the half year ended the 5th day of April 1784	93,836	4	3	
By Ditto Company, to discharge annuities at £. 3 per cent. on the principal sum of £. 562,205. 19s. 4d. to which the sum of £. 748,555. 19s. 5d. subscribed into their capital is reduced, by abating from the same £. 186,350. 0s. 1d. (for a proportional part of £. 9,737,118. 11s. 7d. redeemed of the said Company's whole capital and the annuities attending the same) being the remainder of £. 947,514. 7s. 8d. to which the proprietors of certain tallies of sol. were entitled that were struck at the Exchequer, to make good fundry deficiencies Anno 1716, for the half year ended the said 5th day of April 1784	8,433	1	9½	
By Ditto Company, to discharge annuities at £. 3 per cent. on the principal sum of £. 909,370. 14s. 3d. to which the sum of £. 1,210,792. 13s. 8d. subscribed into their capital is reduced, by abating from the same £. 301,421. 19s. 5d. (for a proportional part of £. 9,737,118. 11s. 7d. redeemed of the said Company's whole capital, and the annuities attending the same) being the remainder of £. 1,603,987. 8s. 1½d. to which the proprietors of certain army debentures, made forth to the 21st day of March 1719, were entitled for the half year ended the said 5th day of April 1784	13,640	11	2½	
By Ditto Company, to discharge annuities at £. 3 per cent. on the principal sum of £. 80,965. 15s. 5d. to which the sum of £. 107,802. 17s. 4d. subscribed into their capital is reduced, by abating from the same £. 26,837. 1s. 11d. (for a proportional part of £. 9,737,118. 11s. 7d. redeemed of the said Company's whole capital, and the annuities attending the same) being the remainder of £. 110,312. 17s. 4d. to which the proprietors of certain tallies of sol. were entitled, that were struck for the service of the navy and the victualling thereof, for the half year ended the said 5th day of April 1784	1,214	9	9'	
By Ditto Company and the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, claiming under them for the half year ended the said 5th day of April 1784, on £. 3,596. 3s. 5d. per annum, being such part of £. 8,862. 6s. 4d. per annum, residue of £. 12,000 per annum allowed them for charges of management on subscriptions by the Act 6th Geo. I. as is chargeable on this fund	1,798	1	8½	
Balance is the Overplus which at or before the 5th day of April 1784, did arise by the said General Fund in this half year, over and above sufficient to satisfy all annuities and other sums due and payable out of the same, which excess or surplus is carried to the Sinking Fund	118,922	8	8½	
	402,481	14	10	
	521,404	3	6½	

	Dr.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Class lottery 1711	Subsidy on goods exported 2s. per chaldron on coals	16,891	12	8½	102,478	0	10½			
	Additional duty on candles	35,518	16	0						
Class lottery 1711	Hackney coaches and chairs	5,000	0	0						
	New stamp duties	8,161	0	0						
	£. 700 per week letter money	17,500	0	0				94,611	16	7½
	Duties on hides and skins	63,950	16	7½						
Class lottery 1712	Duty on fope	106,988	6	0						
	Stamp duties on paper	18,435	0	0				125,423	6	0
Class lottery 1712	Additional duty on hides	38,087	0	0						
	Duty on wire and farch	13,853	19	11½						
	Policies of Insurance	3,567	0	0				178,963	2	3½
	A moiety of 2s. per lb. on coffee	4,182	0	9						
	Ditto of 1s. per lb. and 2½. per cent. on tea	119,273	1	7						
Hereditary Excise payable out of £. 3,700 per week for Bankers annuities								19,927	17	9
								521,404	3	6½

The Produce at the Exchequer of the DUTIES and REVENUES which by an Act 3d Geo. I. were charged for making a General Yearly Fund of £. 724,849. 6s. 10½, with the Overplus of the same, rated the 5th Day of April 1784; which Overplus ariseth over and above all the Monies which then or before become due and payable according to subsequent Acts out of the said Duties, Revenues, or General Fund.

To money arisen at the Exchequer within the half year, ended the 5th Day of April 1784, viz.

The EXCHEQUER to the SINKING FUND		Dr.
To surplus monies arisen within the half year, ended the 5th day of April 1784, viz.		
Surplus of the Aggregate Fund, brought from account	£. s. d.	
Ditto of the South Sea Company's fund, brought from account	433,684 10 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Ditto of the General Fund, brought from account	73,095 13 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
	402,481 14 10	
	909,261 18 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	
To cash received at the Exchequer from a society of Quakers at New York, for conscience sake	52 16 0	
To monies brought to this account on the 5th day of April 1784, pursuant to the several Acts of Parliament in this behalf, viz.		
The additional stamp duty on paper, granted per Act 4th Geo. II. for the service of the year 1731, brought to this account pursuant to an Act 25th Geo. II.	£. s. d.	
Surplus of the additional duties on low wines and strong waters, granted per Act 16th Geo. II. brought to this account pursuant to ditto	21,138 0 0	
Surplus of the additional duty on wines imported, granted by an Act 18th Geo. II. for the service of the year 1745, brought to this account pursuant to ditto	4,462 0 0	
Surplus of the duties upon spirituous liquors, granted by the same Act, with the sum brought to the same, in part of £.63,078. 8s. 8d. per annum, directed to be applied out of the new duty on glass granted by an Act 17th Geo. III. to make good the	17,240 4 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	
To Cash borne forward	42,840 4 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	909,314 14 3 $\frac{1}{2}$

above

PER CONTRA

Cr.
£. s. d.

By the chief cashier of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, to pay half a year's interest after the rate of £. 3 per cent. per annum, due the 5th day of January 1784, as well on the principal sum of £. 37,770,924. 1s. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. remaining unredeemed of £. 39,281,521. 5s. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in £. 3 per cent. annuities consolidated and charged by several acts of Parliament on this fund, as on the further sum of £. 20,150,000 added to the said remain, viz. £. 2,150,000, pursuant to an act 16th Geo. III. and £. 18,000,000 pursuant to an Act 21st Geo. III.	-	868,813 17 2 $\frac{1}{2}$
By ditto for charges of management of the said annuities for the same time	-	16,212 7 5 $\frac{1}{2}$
By ditto to pay half a year's interest due the 5th day of April 1784, after the rate of £. 3 per cent. per annum, as well on the principal sum of £. 18,353,773. 16s. 4d. remaining unredeemed of £. 19,183,323. 16s. 4d. in annuities consolidated and charged upon this fund by Acts 25th Geo. II. and 5th Geo. III. as on the further sum of £. 18,986,300, which pursuant to the Acts 33d Geo. II. and 2d Geo. III. stood reduced to £. 3 per cent. per annum, from the 5th day of January 1781, and by an Act 21 Geo. III. is directed to be added to and made one joint stock with the said remaining sum of £. 18,353,773. 16s. 4d.	-	560,101 2 1 $\frac{1}{2}$
By ditto for charges of management of the said annuities for the same time	-	10,501 17 10 $\frac{3}{4}$
By the South Sea Company, to pay half a year's interest due the 5th day of January 1784, being after the rate of £. 3 per cent. per annum on £. 1,919,600, to which £. 2,100,000 borrowed on credit of this fund by an Act 24th Geo. II. is reduced, by abating from the same £. 180,400 subscribed, and redeemed in pursuance of the Acts 12th, 14th, and 15th Geo. III.	-	28,794 0 0

By Cash borne forward

D 2

By

The EXCHEQUER to the SINKING FUND Dr.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Brought over	42,840	4	3½	909,314	14	3¾
above duty on glafs repealed thereby, brought to this account pursuant to the said Acts	27,653	19	4			
The duty on coaches, granted by an Act 20th Geo. II. for the service of the year 1747, brought to this account, pursuant to an Act 25th Geo. II.	41,794	11	3			
The subsidy on goods and merchandizes imported, granted by an Act 21st Geo. II. for the service of the year 1748, brought to this account pursuant to ditto	74,755	13	4			
The duty of 6d. per ounce on wrought plate, granted by an Act 6th Geo. I. for the service of the year 1720, brought to this account pursuant to ditto						
The duty on licences to be taken out by all persons dealing in or vending gold or silver plate, granted and made a part of this fund, by an Act 32d Geo. II.	3,249	17	6			
Surplus of the duties on houses and windows, granted by an Act 6th Geo. III. and the arrears of the duty on ditto repealed thereby, brought to this account pursuant to the said Act	84,733	18	3¾			
The duty of 3s. 4d. per bushel on salt, brought to this account pursuant to an Act 26th Geo. II.	113,288	17	2			
The duty of 12s. per barrel on sweets or wines made from British or foreign fruits or sugar,						
Carried over	388,317	1	2¼	909,314	14	3¾

granted

PER CONTRA Cr.

	£.	s.	d.
Brought over	1,484,423	4	8½
By ditto, for charges of management of these annuities for the same time	539	17	9
By cash taken to answer annuities on single lives, payable at the Exchequer, granted by an Act 30th Geo. II. and charged on this fund by an Act 32d Geo. II. for the half year ended the 5th day of January 1784	13,004	10	0
By cash taken to answer annuities on lives, with the benefit of survivorship, payable at the Exchequer, granted and charged on this fund by an Act 5th Geo. III. for the half year ended the 5th day of April 1784	270	0	0
By the chief cashier of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, for annuities granted per Acts 1st and 2d Geo. III. for 98 and 99 years, which were made one joint stock of annuities from the 5th day of January 1764, by an Act 4th Geo. III. for the half year ended the 5th day of January 1764, by an Act 4th Geo. III. for the half year ended the 5th day of January 1784	124,125	0	0
By ditto, for charges of management of these annuities for the same time	1,745	10	1½
By ditto, to pay half a year's interest, after the rate of £. 4 per cent. per annum, due the 5th day of April 1784, as well on the principal sum of £. 5,000,000 borrowed and charged on this fund by an Act 17th Geo. III. as on £. 3,000,000 added thereto by an Act 21st Geo. III. being the amount of £. 25 per cent. additional capital at £. 4 per annum, granted to the contributors of £. 12,000,000, borrowed pursuant to the last mentioned Act	160,000	0	0
By ditto, for charges of management of the said annuities for the same time	2,250	0	0
By cash borne forward	1,786,358	2	7

By

The EXCHEQUER to the SINKING FUND

Dr.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Brought over	388,317	1	2½	909,314	14	3¾
granted by an Act 10th Geo. II. for the service of the year 1737, brought to this account, pursuant to an Act 27th Geo. II.						
Surplus of the additional duties on soap, paper, and coals, continued by an Act 2d Geo. II. for raising the sum of £.1,250,000, by sale of annuities to the Bank of England, brought to this account pursuant to an Act 28th Geo. II.	2,297	0	0			
Surplus of the duty on coals, continued by an Act 1st Geo. II. for raising the sum of £.1,750,000, by sale of annuities to the Bank of England, brought to this account pursuant to said Act 28 Geo. II.	54,540	8	9½			
The duty on licences for retailing beer, ale, and other exciseable liquors, brought to this account pursuant to an Act 29th Geo. II.	14,494	10	4½			
The additional duty on cards and dice, brought to this account pursuant to one other Act 29th Geo. II.	23,267	0	0			
The additional stamp duties on pamphlets and printed papers, granted by an Act 30th Geo. II. brought to this account pursuant to Act 32 Geo. II.	5,192	0	0			
The additional duty on coals exported, the like	37,270	0	0			
Surplus of the new duty on licences to retail wine, the like	6,721	13	8			
Ditto of the duty on licences to retail spirituous liquors, the like	3,115	12	10½			
To Cash borne forward	558,630	6	10¾	909,314	14	3¾

PER CONTRA

Cr.

	£.	s.	d.
Brought over	1,786,358	2	7
By ditto, to pay annuities to continue for 10 years, from the 5th day of April 1777, being after the rate of 10s. per cent. per annum on £.5,000,000 borrowed pursuant to an Act 17th Geo. III. for half a year, ended the 5th day of April 1784	12,500	0	0
By ditto, for charges of management of the said annuities for the same time	175	15	7½
By ditto, for charges of management of the several annuities payable in respect of £.4,980,772. 3s. 3½d. remaining unredeemed of £.5,000,000, borrowed by virtue of an Act 31st Geo. II. for the service of the year 1758, (which management was, by a clause in the said Act, charged on this fund) for the half year ended the 5th day of January 1784	1,400	16	10
By ditto, to reimburse fees paid for warrants and orders for paying annuities; and to the auditors of the imprests for examining, auditing, and engrossing the accounts of dividend warrants for paying annuities on £.9,284,250, part of annuities granted Anno 1781 for six months, to the 5th of July 1781; of dividend warrants for £.3 per cent. consolidated annuities, £.3½ per cent. Anno 1758; and long annuities for one year to the 5th day of July 1782; for reduced annuities, £.4 per cent. annuities, and annuities for ten years, for one year due the 5th day of April 1782, &c. &c.	12,404	12	2
By Cash borne forward	1,812,839	7	2½

By

32 M E R C H A N T S

	Dr.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
The EXCHEQUER to the SINKING FUND							
To cash brought forward	-	558,630	6	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	907,314	14	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
To the subsidy on goods and merchandizes imported, granted by an Act 32 Geo. II. brought to this account pursuant to an Act 33 Geo. II.	-	74,858	19	2			
To the duty on cocoa nuts, granted and brought to this account pursuant to an Act 21 Geo. III.	-	732	0	0			
To the additional inland duty on coffee, brought to this account pursuant to Acts 33 Geo. II. & 5 Geo. III.	-	127	0	0			
To the income of the duty on spirituous liquors, granted by an Act 24 Geo. II. brought to this account pursuant to Act 2 Geo. III.	-	27,117	0	0			
To the duties on spirituous liquors, granted by Acts 33 Geo. II. & 6 Geo. III. brought to this account pursuant to Acts 2 & 6 Geo. III.	-	122,075	0	0			
To ditto, granted by an Act 2 Geo. III. and brought to this account pursuant to the same Act	-	23,224	0	0			
The duties on malt, granted by an Act 33 Geo. II. brought to this account pursuant to Act 2 Geo. III.	-	64,944	0	0			
The additional duty upon strong beer and ale, granted by Act 1 Geo. III. brought to this account pursuant to Act 4 Geo. III.	-	216,726	0	0			
To the additional duties upon the exportation of coals, and of several East India goods, &c. granted and made a part of this fund by Act 5 Geo. III.	-	6,539	4	0			
on policies of insurance the like	-	1,208	0	0			
Additional duty on Italian silk crapes and tiffanies, imported, granted and made a part of this fund, by Act 6 Geo. III.	-						
Additional subsidy on East India wrought silks, &c. granted and made a part of this fund, by Act 6 Geo. III.	-	0	18	0			
Additional duties on broad linen cloth and drillings imported, granted, and made a part of this fund by Act 7 Geo. III.	-	2,219	3	8			
on wines imported, granted by Act 3 Geo. III. brought to this account pursuant to Act 8 Geo. III.	-	29,022	9	6 $\frac{1}{2}$			
Duties on cyder and perry, granted by Act 6 Geo. III. brought to this account pursuant to the above Act	-	2,572	0	0			
Additional duties on coaches, &c. granted by Act 16 Geo. III. and brought to this account pursuant to ditto	-	10,544	0	0			
Additional stamp duty on vellum, parchment, and paper, and on newspapers granted and brought to this account pursuant to ditto	-	31,223	0	0			
duty on cards and dice, granted and brought to this account pursuant to ditto	-	4,971	0	0			
Duties on licences taken out by auctioneers, and the duties on all lands, houses, and other things sold by auction, granted and brought to this account pursuant to Acts 17 and 19 Geo. III.	-	22,195	0	0			
Additional stamp duty on vellum, parchment and paper, granted and brought to this account pursuant to the said Act 17 Geo. III.	-	22,580	0	0			
Surplus of the duties on glass granted and brought to this account pursuant to ditto	-	4,244	5	9 $\frac{1}{2}$			
Arrears of the tax upon all male servants, granted and brought to this account pursuant to ditto	-	7	7	0			
Tax upon all male servants, granted and brought to this account, pursuant to Act 21 Geo. III.	-	14,979	0	0			
Additional duties on tobacco and sugars, imported, granted, and brought to this account pursuant to ditto	-	119,721	5	11			
Additional duty of 5l. per cent. on the produce of the duties of Excise, granted and brought to this account pursuant to ditto	-	49,610	0	0			
Surplus of the additional stamp duty on almanacks granted and brought to this account pursuant to ditto	-	1,005	0	0			
					1,411,275	19	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
To Cash borne forward	-				2,320,590	14	3 $\frac{1}{2}$

M A G A Z I N E, 4r
PER CONTRA Cr.

	Cr.	£.	s.	d.
By cash brought forward	-	1,812,839	7	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
By cash taken to make good the deficiency on the 5th day of January 1784, of the fund for payment of annuities granted by an Act 31st Geo. II. which by a clause in the said Act is to be replaced to this fund out of the first supplies to be granted in Parliament	-	3,984	11	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
By cash taken to make good the deficiency on the 5th day of January 1784, of the fund for payment of annuities granted by an Act 18th Geo. III. which by a clause in the said Act is to be replaced to this fund out of the first supplies to be granted in Parliament	-	85,417	19	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
By cash taken to make good the deficiency on the 5th day of January 1784, of the fund for payment of annuities, granted by an Act 19th Geo. III. which by a clause in the said Act is to be replaced to this fund, out of the first supplies to be granted in Parliament	-	39,204	13	7
By cash taken to make good the deficiency on the 5th day of April 1784, of the fund for payment of annuities granted by an Act 20th Geo. III. which by a clause in the said Act is to be replaced to this fund, out of the first supplies to be granted in Parliament	-	150,612	9	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
By cash taken to make good the deficiency on the 5th day of January 1784, of the fund for payment of annuities, granted by an Act 22d Geo. III. which by a clause in the said Act is to be replaced to this fund out of the first supplies to be granted in Parliament	-	16,856	13	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
By cash taken to make good the deficiency on the 5th day of April 1784, of the fund for payment of annuities granted by an Act 23 Geo. III. which by a clause in the said Act is to be replaced to this fund out of the first supplies to be granted in Parliament	-	449,217	0	0
By cash taken in further part of £. 2,200,000, granted towards the supply of the year 1783, pursuant to an Act 23d Geo. III.	-	696,114	19	5
By cash borne forward	-	3,254,247	13	9 $\frac{1}{2}$

V O L. II. Numb. I. E By

0501

The EXCHEQUER to the SINKING FUND		Dr.	L. s. d.	
To cash brought forward	—	—	—	2,320,590 14 3½
To MONIES granted out of the Supply Anno 1784, by an Act 24th Geo. III. for the Purposes following, viz.				
To replace to this fund the like sum paid out of the same, to make good the deficiency on the 5th day of July 1783, of the fund established for paying annuities, granted by an Act made in the 31st year of the reign of his late Majesty, towards the supply granted for the service of the year 1758		23,556 2 7		
To replace to this fund the like sum paid out of the same, to make good the deficiency on the 5th day of July 1783, of the fund established for paying annuities, granted by an Act made in the 18th year of the reign of his present Majesty, towards the supply granted for the service of the year 1778		168,019 2 9¼		
To replace to this fund the like sum paid out of the same, to make good the deficiency on the 5th day of July 1783, of the fund established for paying annuities granted by an Act made in the 19th year of his present Majesty, towards the supply granted for the service of the year 1779		73,339 19 8		
To replace to this fund the like sum paid out of the same, to make good the deficiency on the 5th day of July 1783, of the fund established for paying annuities granted by an Act made in the 20th year of the reign of his present Majesty, towards the supply granted for the service of the year 1780		207,909 10 3		
To replace to this fund the like sum paid out of the same, to make good the deficiency on the 5th day of July 1783, of the fund established for paying annuities granted by an Act made in the 22d year of the reign of his present Majesty, towards the supply granted for the service of the year 1782		435,888 19 2		
To replace to this fund the like sum paid out of the same, to make good the deficiency on the 10th day of Oct. 1783, of the fund established for paying annuities granted by an Act made in the 23d year of the reign of his present Majesty, towards the supply granted for the service of the year 1783.		24,943 5 0		
			933,556 19 6¼	
				3,254,247 13 9½

PER CONTRA		Cr.
		L. s. d.
By cash brought forward	—	3,254,247 13 9½

This being the 123d half yearly accmpt made up pursuant to an Act 9th Geo. I. is humbly presented this 6th day of April 1785, by me

GEORGE ROSE.

The EXCESS or SURPLUS of the several Duties, Revenues, and Incomes, commonly called the AGGREGATE FUND, established by Acts of Parliament, 1st, 5th, & 6th Geo. I. and by Act 1. Geo. III. &c. for answering the Payments therein expressed, viz.

To monies arisen at the Exchequer within the half-year, ended the 10th day of October 1784, on the particular branches here enumerated, viz.

	Dr.	£.	s.	d.
Two thirds tonnage and poundage -	-	46,555	7	10½
Arrears of the duties on coffee, tea, and chocolate, before the 24th of June 1724, and the duties on nutmegs, cinnamon, cloves, mace, pictures and muslins -	-	1	16	6½
A moiety of the inland duty of 2s. per lb. on coffee, since the 24th of June 1724 -	-	4,794	4	8
Ditto, of 1s. per lb. and £. 25 per cent. on tea, since 24th June 1745 -	-	59,433	18	4
The inland duty on cocoa nuts, granted by an Act 21 Geo. III. -	-	607	0	0
Further rates on white calicoes, china wares, and drugs -	-	13	15	6½
Half subsidy of tonnage and poundage -	-	96,325	17	6½
Surplus of the other moiety (after satisfying annuities, &c. to which £. 80,000 per ann. first charged thereupon is reduced) -	-	75,054	7	8½
Additional duty on French wines and merchandizes -	-	5,786	11	4½
Plantation duty -	-	23	19	8
Duty on hops -	-	48,142	0	0
£. 18 per cent. on East India wrought silks -	-	50,714	4	1
Duties on brandy since Michaelmas 1736 -	-	109,831	18	6
Ditto on low wines since ditto -	-	4,421	0	0
Ditto on British spirits since ditto -	-	8,866	0	0
Ditto on spirits imported since ditto -	-	1,210	11	0½
Surplus of the 9 Excise, granted for 99 years -	-	68,022	13	11½
Surplus of the 2-7ths 9 Excise -	-	22,142	4	3½
Surplus of the 5-7ths 9 Excise -	-	28,529	5	8
Surplus of the £. 3,700 per week, Excise -	-	36,554	0	0
Surplus of the revenues in annuity Acts, 4th, 5th, & 6th Annæ -	-	95,870	16	10½
Surplus of the lottery fund, Anno 1710 -	-	78,915	18	8½
Surplus of the annuity fund, Anno 1710 -	-	57,020	0	11½
Duties on houses and windows, being a moiety of £. 91,485. os. 6¼d. for the half-year, ended 10th of October 1784 -	-	45,742	10	3½
Carried over -	-	1,004,580	3	7½

PUBLIC

By Payments charged on the AGGREGATE FUND by Acts of Parliament, viz.

	Cr.	£.	s.	d.
By the Bank of England on their reduced annuity of £. 15,000, being the remainder of £. 80,000 per annum, for cancelling two millions in Exchequer bills for the half-year, ended the 5th day of April 1784, pursuant to the several Acts of Parliament in that behalf -	-	7,500	0	0
By the South Sea Company, to discharge annuities at £. 3 per cent. on the principal sum of £. 331,740. 11s. 2d. to which the sum of £. 441,700 subscribed into their capital, is reduced by abating from the same £. 109,959. 8s. 10d. (for a proportional part of £. 9,737,118. 11s. 7d. redeemed of the said Company's whole capital and the annuities attending the same, being the remainder of £. 500,000 contributed on the first lottery, Anno 1719, for the half-year, ended the said 10th day of October 1784 -	-	4,976	2	2
By ditto Company, to discharge annuities at £. 3 per cent. on the principal sum of £. 633,665. 16s. 9d. to which the sum of £. 843,702. 1s. 8d. subscribed into their capital is reduced, by abating from the same £. 210,036. 4s. 11d. (for a proportional part of £. 9,737,118. 11s. 7d. redeemed of the said Company's whole capital and the annuities attending the same) being the remainder of £. 1,079,000 contributed for annuities Anno 1715, for the half-year, ended the said 10th day of Oct. 1784 -	-	9,504	19	9
By the officers of the Exchequer bill office, on their salaries for the half-year, ended the said 10th day of October 1784 -	-	325	0	0
By the sheriffs of England and Wales, on £. 4,000 per annum, by the Act 5th Geo. I. for the year ended the 10th day of October 1784 -	-	4,000	0	0
By the South Sea Company, and the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, claiming under them for the half-year, ended the said 10th day of Oct. 1784, on £. 444. 12s. 6d. per annum, being such part of £. 8,862. 6s. 4d. per annum, residue of £. 12,000 per annum, allowed them for charges of management on subscriptions by the Act 6 Geo. I. as is chargeable on this fund -	-	222	6	3
Carried over -	-	26,528	8	2

By

PUBLIC MONIES brought into the Exchequer after Michaelmas 1715, appropriated by an Act 1st Geo. I. viz.

	£.	s.	d.	Dr.	£.	s.	d.
Brought over	-	-	-	1,004,580	3	7	$\frac{1}{2}$
Duty on foreign fail cloth	59	16	9				
Arrears of the 40th 4s. aid, Anno 1776	500	0	0				
of the 41st 4s. aid, Anno 1777	250	13	4				
of the 42d 4s. aid, Anno 1778	115	4	$10\frac{1}{2}$				
of the 43d 4s. aid, Anno 1779	390	8	4				
of the 44th 4s. aid, Anno 1780	4,386	7	2				
of the 45th 4s. aid, Anno 1781	1,831	19	7				
of the 46th 4s. aid, Anno 1782	2,000	0	0				
of the duty on malt, Anno 1780	140	0	0				
					9,674	10	$0\frac{1}{2}$
Carried over					1,014,254	13	8

REVENUES

	£.	s.	d.	Cr.
Brought over	26,528	8	2	
By the United Company of Merchants of England, trading to the East Indies on their reduced annuity of £.96,000, payable to them from the 5th day of January 1756, being after the rate of £. 3 per cent. per annum on the said Company's capital of £. 3,200,000 for the half-year, ended the said 10th day of Oct. 1784, pursuant to the Acts 3d and 23d Georgii II.				48,000 0 0
By ditto Company on £. 1,285. 14s. 4d. per ann. being such part of £. 1,687. 10s. per ann. allowed them for charges of management by the Act 24th Geo. II. as is made payable out of this fund for one year, ended the 10th day of October 1784				1,285 14 4
By so much of the sum of £. 7,237. 18s. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. being a medium of the annual income of the duties upon rough and undressed flax, taken off by an Act 4th Geo. II. as was made good to the several public creditors at Old Midsummer day 1784 (the sum of £. 2,861. 9s. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. being applicable to the funds composing this aggregate fund, before the said duties on rough and undressed flax were repealed, and the remaining sum of £. 2,125. 15s. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. being applicable to the subsidy of tonnage and poundage, also made a part of this aggregate fund, by an Act 1st Geo. III. those sums are therefore not charged thereupon)				3,250 13 6
By the charge of his Majesty's civil government for the half-year, ended the 10th day of Oct. 1784, on the yearly rent or sum of £. 800,000 granted by an Act 1st Geo. III. for the support of his Majesty's household, and the honour and dignity of the crown				400,000 0 0
More for the better support of ditto, on the annual sum of £. 100,000 granted to his Majesty from the 5th day of January 1777, by an Act 17th Geo. III. for the same half-year				50,000 0 0
				450,000 0 0
				79,064 16 0
				From

REVENUES brought to this Account pursuant to the Act 1st Geo. III. for the Support of his Majesty's Household, and of the Honour and Dignity of the Crown of Great Britain, viz.

		Dr.		
		£.	s.	d.
Brought over		1,014,254	13	8
Hereditary and temporary Excise (exclusive of £. 5,318. 18s. 2½d. reserved for paying lottery annuities, Anno 1713, subscribed into the stock of the South Sea Company, per Act 6th Geo. I.	- 205,549	1	9½	
Additional tonnage and poundage	169,654	8	3	
Revenue of the post office	- 75,000	0	0	
Fines in the alienation office	- 1,040	2	0	
Sheriffs proffers	- 537	0	3	
Compositions in the Exchequer	- 2	0	0	
Seizures of uncustomed and prohibited goods	- 19,233	9	8½	
Rent of allom mines	- 960	0	0	
Fines of leases	- 3,238	16	0	
New duty on wine licences, being a moiety of £. 7,002. 14s. 3d. for the half-year, ended the 10th day of October 1784	- 3,501	7	1½	
		478,716	5	1½
		1,492,970	18	10

		Cr.		
		£.	s.	d.
Brought over		450,000	0	0
From which deduct so much paid by the following receivers on account of the civil list, viz.				
By the cashier of Excise. To the Princess Amelia	- £. 6,000			
By the receiver of Alienations. For the charge of the hanaper in the court of Chancery	- £. 1,000			
		7,000	0	0
Remainder paid at the receipt of Exchequer out of this fund	- - -	443,000	0	0
Whereof, To cancel Exchequer bills (part of £. 300,000 made forth pursuant to an Act 2d Geo. III. for paying off the debt of the civil list	- 25,000	0	0	
For the expences of his Majesty's civil government	- 418,000	0	0	
		443,000	0	0
By the representative of Arthur Onslow, Esq. on the annuity of £. 3,000, by an Act 2d Geo. III. half a year due the 10th day of October 1784	-	1,500	0	0
By his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, on the annuity of £. 8,000, by an Act 7th Geo. III. half a year due the said 10th day of Oct. 1784	-	4,000	0	0
By his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, on the annuity of £. 8,000, by the same Act, half a year due the said 10th day of October 1784	-	4,000	0	0
By John Earl of Chatham, on the annuity of £. 4,000, by an Act 18th Geo. III. half a year due the said 10th day of October 1784	-	2,000	0	0
By Sir George Augustus Eliott, Knight of the Bath, on the annuity of £. 1,500, by an Act 23d Geo. III. half a year due the said 10th day of October 1784	-	750	0	0
By George Lord Rodney, on the annuity of £. 2,000 by the same Act, half a year due the said 10th day of October 1784	-	1,000	0	0
By the excess or surplus, which at or before the 10th day of October 1784, did arise by the duties composing the Aggregate Fund per contra, over and above all monies then due and payable to discharge the several annuities and other allowances and payments directed by Acts of Parliament to be satisfied out of the same; which excess or surplus is carried to the Sinking Fund	-	535,314	16	0
		957,656	2	9½
		1,492,970	18	10

The

The Excess or Surplus of such Duties or Revenues, part of the SOUTH SEA COMPANY'S FUND, as were established by Acts 3d & 5th Geo. I. for answering Payments to the South Sea Company and others; which Excess or Surplus is here stated the 10th Day of October 1784, viz.

Dr.

To money arisen at the Exchequer, in the half year, ended the 10th of October 1784, viz.

	£.	s.	d.
For impost on wines and vinegar	60,413	14	8
Impost on tobacco	56,409	10	0
Impost on East India goods	24,476	15	4½
Additional impositions	39,793	6	2½
Additional duty on whale finns	—	—	—
Duty on candles since the 1st of May 1715	56,081	15	4
Apprentice duty since ditto	4,034	14	9
	<hr/>		
	241,209	16	4
To so much of the sum of £. 7,237. 18s. 3½d. being the medium of the annual income of the duties on rough and undressed flax, taken off by Act 4th Geo. II. as would have been applied to this fund, had not those duties been repealed, and is therefore made good to the same out of the sum of £. 3,250. 13s. 6½d. charged on the aggregate fund	2,097	15	8½
	<hr/>		
	243,307	12	0½

The

Cr.

	£.	s.	d.
By the South Sea Company, to discharge annuities at £. 3 per cent. on the principal sum of £. 7,510,540. 2s. 10d. to which their original capital of ten millions is reduced, by abating from the same £. 2,489,459. 17s. 2d. (for a proportional part of £. 9,737,118. 11s. 7d. redeemed of the said Company's whole capital, and the annuities attending the same) and is for the half year ended the 10th day of October 1784	112,658	2	0½
By Ditto Company on £. 6,008. 8s. 8d. per annum, for charges of management, to which their allowance of £. 8,000 per annum is reduced by the redemption of £. 9,737,118. 11s. 7d. as aforesaid, and is for the half year ended the said 10th day of October 1784	3,004	4	4
	<hr/>		
	115,662	6	4½
By the excess or surplus, which at or before the 10th day of October 1784, did arise by the rates, duties, impositions, and revenues per contra, over and above sufficient to satisfy all payments chargeable thereupon; which excess or surplus is carried to the Sinking Fund	127,645	5	8
	<hr/>		
	243,307	12	0½

F 2

By

BY Payments charged on the GENERAL FUND by Acts of Parliament, viz.

	Cr.
	£. s. d.
By the South Sea Company, to discharge annuities at £. 3 per cent. on the principal sum of £. 6,255,747. 10s. 4d. to which the sum of £. 8,329,291. 2s. 1d. subscribed into their capital is reduced, by abating from the same £. 2,073,543. 11s. 9d. (for a proportional part of £. 9,737,118. 11s. 7d. redeemed of the said Company's whole capital and the annuities attending the same) being the remainder of £. 9,534,357. 13s. 11½d. to which the proprietors of the orders in the four lotteries 1711 and 1712, and the debt due to certain bankers and others, were entitled for the half year ended the 10th day of October 1784	93,836 4 3
By Ditto Company, to discharge annuities at £. 3 per cent. on the principal sum of £. 562,205. 19s. 4d. to which the sum of £. 748,555. 19s. 5d. subscribed into their capital is reduced, by abating from the same £. 186,350. 0s. 1d. (for a proportional part of £. 9,737,118. 11s. 7d. redeemed of the said Company's whole capital and the annuities attending the same) being the remainder of £. 947,514. 7s. 8d. to which the proprietors of certain tallies of fol. were entitled that were struck at the Exchequer, to make good sundry deficiencies Anno 1716, for the half year ended the said 10th day of October 1784	8,433 1 9½
By Ditto Company, to discharge annuities at £. 3 per cent. on the principal sum of £. 909,370. 14s. 3d. to which the sum of £. 1,210,792. 13s. 8d. subscribed into their capital is reduced, by abating from the same £. 301,421. 19s. 5d. (for a proportional part of £. 9,737,118. 11s. 7d. redeemed of the said Company's whole capital, and the annuities attending the same) being the remainder of £. 1,603,987. 8s. 1½d. to which the proprietors of certain army debentures, made forth to the 21st day of March 1719, were entitled for the half year ended the said 10th day of October 1784	13,640 11 2½
By Ditto Company, to discharge annuities at £. 3 per cent. on the principal sum of £. 80,965. 15s. 5d. to which the sum of £. 107,802. 17s. 4d. subscribed into their capital is reduced, by abating from the same £. 26,837. 1s. 11d. (for a proportional part of £. 9,737,118. 11s. 7d. redeemed of the said Company's whole capital, and the annuities attending the same) being the remainder of £. 110,312. 17s. 4d. to which the proprietors of certain tallies of fol. were entitled, that were struck for the service of the navy and the victualling thereof, for the half year ended the said 10th day of October 1784	1,214 9 9
By Ditto Company and the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, claiming under them for the half year ended the said 10th day of Oct. 1784, on £. 3,596. 3s. 5d. per annum, being such part of £. 8,862. 6s. 4d. per annum, residue of £. 12,000 per annum allowed them for charges of management on subscriptions by the Act 6th Geo. I. as is chargeable on this fund	1,798 1 8½
	118,922 8 8½
Balance is the Overplus which at or before the 10th day of Oct. 1784, did arise by the said General Fund in this half year, over and above sufficient to satisfy all annuities and other sums due and payable out of the same, which excess or surplus is carried to the Sinking Fund	391,905 15 1
	510,828 3 9½

By

The Produce at the Exchequer of the DUTIES and REVENUES which by an Act 3d Geo. I. were charged for making a General Yearly Fund of £. 724,849. 6s. 10½, with the Overplus of the same, rated the 10th Day of Oct. 1784; which Overplus ariseth over and above all the Monies which then or before become due and payable according to subsequent Acts out of the said Duties, Revenues, or General Fund.

To money arisen at the Exchequer within the half year, ended the 10th Day of October 1784, viz.

M E R C H A N T S		Dr.		£. s. d.		£. s. d.		£. s. d.	
£. 10 lottery 1711	Subsidy on goods exported	—	23,307	10	5	—	—	—	—
	2s. per chaldron on coals	—	70,709	0	1	—	—	—	—
	Additional duty on candles	—	56,107	2	5	—	—	—	—
£. 10 lottery 1711	Hackney coaches and chairs	—	6,000	0	0	—	—	—	—
	New stamp duties	—	9,317	8	10	—	—	—	—
	£. 700 per week letter money	—	18,900	0	0	—	—	—	—
	Duties on hides and skins	—	63,810	8	6	—	—	—	—
£. 10 lottery 1712	Duty on fope	—	98,920	9	2	—	—	—	—
	Stamp duties on paper	—	23,662	2	0	—	—	—	—
£. 10 lottery 1712	Additional duty on hides	—	37,815	0	0	—	—	—	—
	Duty on wire and farch	—	14,911	2	5½	—	—	—	—
	Policies of insurance	—	3,211	19	1	—	—	—	—
	A moiety of 2s. per lb. on coffee	—	4,794	4	8	—	—	—	—
	Ditto of 1s. per lb. and 2½. per cent. on tea	—	59,433	18	4	—	—	—	—
						120,166	4	6½	
						122,582	11	2½	
						510,828	3	9½	
Hereditary Excise payable out of £. 3,700 per week for Bankers annuities						19,927	17	9	

The EXCHEQUER to the SINKING FUND Dr.

To surplus monies arisen within the half year, ended the 10th day of October 1784, viz.

Surplus of the Aggregate Fund, brought from account	£.	s.	d.
	957,656	2	9½
Ditto of the South Sea Company's fund, brought from account	127,645	5	8
Ditto of the General Fund, brought from account	391,905	15	1

1,477,207 3 6½

To money received from a person unknown for conscience sake, by the Right Hon. William Pitt, and by him paid into the Exchequer

300 0 0

To monies brought to this account on the 10th day of October 1784, pursuant to the several Acts of Parliament in that behalf, viz.

The additional stamp duty on paper, granted per Act 4th Geo. II. for the service of the year 1731, brought to this account pursuant to an Act 25th Geo. II.

£. s. d.
22,307 1 6

Surplus of the additional duties on low wines and strong waters, granted per Act 16th Geo. II. brought to this account pursuant to ditto

4,889 0 0

Surplus of the additional duties on wines imported, granted by an Act 18th Geo. II. for the service of the year 1745, brought to this account pursuant to ditto

22,821 4 10

Surplus of the duties upon spirituous liquors, granted by an Act 19 Geo. II. and the arrears of the duties on glass, granted by the same Act, with the sum brought to the same, in part of £.63,078. 8s. 8d. per annum, directed to be applied out of the

To Cash borne forward — 50,017 6 4 1,477,507 3 6½

new

PER CONTRA

Cr.
£. s. d.

By the chief cashier of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, to pay half a year's interest after the rate of £. 3 per cent. per annum, due the 5th day of July 1784, as well on the principal sum of £. 37,770,924. 1s. 9¾d. remaining unredeemed of £. 39,281,521. 5s. 1¼d. in £. 3 per cent. annuities consolidated and charged by several acts of Parliament on this fund, as on the further sum of £. 20,150,000 added to the said remain, viz. £. 2,150,000, pursuant to an act 16th Geo. III. and £. 18,000,000 pursuant to an Act 21st Geo. III.

868,813 17 2¾

By ditto for charges of management of the said annuities for the same time

16,212 7 5½

By ditto to pay half a year's interest due the 10th day of Oct. 1784, after the rate of £. 3 per cent. per annum, as well on the principal sum of £. 18,353,773. 16s. 4d. remaining unredeemed of £. 19,183,323. 16s. 4d. in annuities consolidated and charged upon this fund by Acts 25th Geo. II. and 5th Geo. III. as on the further sum of £. 18,986,300, which pursuant to the Acts 33d Geo. II. and 2d Geo. III. stood reduced to £. 3 per cent. per annum, from the 5th day of January 1781, and by an Act 21 Geo. III. is directed to be added to and made one joint stock with the said remaining sum of £. 18,353,773. 16s. 4d.

560,101 2 1½

By ditto for charges of management of the said annuities for the same time

10,501 17 10¾

By the South Sea Company, to pay half a year's interest due the 5th day of January 1784, being after the rate of £. 3 per cent. per annum on £. 1,919,600, to which £. 2,100,000 borrowed on credit of this fund by an Act 24th Geo. II. is reduced, by abating from the same £. 180,400 subscribed, and redeemed in pursuance of the Acts 12th, 14th, and 15th Geo. III.

28,794 0 0

By Cash borne forward — 1,484,423 4 8½

By

The EXCHEQUER to the SINKING FUND Dr.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Brought over	50,017	6	4	1,477,507	3	6½
new duty on glafs granted by an Act 17 Geo. III. to make good the above duty on glafs repealed thereby, brought to this account pursuant to the said Acts	27,128	9	4			
The duty on coaches, granted by an Act 20th Geo. II. for the service of the year 1747, brought to this account, pursuant to an Act 25th Geo. II.	48,083	0	0			
The subsidy on goods and merchandizes imported, granted by an Act 21st Geo. II. for the service of the year 1748, brought to this account pursuant to ditto	54,883	6	7			
The duty of 6d. per ounce on wrought plate, granted by an Act 6th Geo. I. for the service of the year 1720, brought to this account pursuant to ditto	0	16	2			
The duty on licences to be taken out by all persons dealing in or vending gold or silver plate, granted and made a part of this fund, by an Act 32d Geo. II.	3,058	0	0			
Surplus of the duties on houses and windows, granted by an Act 6th Geo. III. and the arrears of the duties on ditto repealed thereby, brought to this account pursuant to the said Act	128,416	1	9½			
The duty of 3s. 4d. per bushel on falt, brought to this account pursuant to an Act 26th Geo. II.	108,965	17	4½			
The duty of 12s. per barrel on sweets or wines made from British or foreign fruits or sugar,						
Carried over	420,552	17	7	1,477,507	3	6½

PER CONTRA Cr.

	£.	s.	d.
Brought over	1,484,423	4	8½
By ditto, for charges of management of these annuities for the same time	539	17	9
By cash taken to answer annuities on single lives, payable at the Exchequer, granted by an Act 30th Geo. II. and charged on this fund by an Act 32d Geo. II. for the half year ended the 5th day of July 1784	12,068	11	3
By cash taken to answer annuities on lives, with the benefit of survivorship, payable at the Exchequer, granted and charged on this fund by an Act 5th Geo. III. for the half year ended the 10th day of October 1784	270	0	0
By the chief cashier of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, for annuities granted per Acts 1st and 2d Geo. III. for 98 and 99 years, which were made one joint stock of annuities from the 5th day of January 1764, by an Act 4th Geo. III. for the half year ended the 5th day of January 1764, by an Act 4th Geo. III. for the half year ended the 5th day of July 1784	124,125	0	0
By ditto, for charges of management of these annuities for the same time	1,745	10	1½
By ditto, to pay half a year's interest, after the rate of £. 4 per cent. per annum, due the 10th day of Oct. 1784, as well on the principal sum of £. 5,000,000 borrowed and charged on this fund by an Act 17th Geo. III. as on £. 3,000,000 added thereto by an Act 21st Geo. III. being the amount of £. 25 per cent. additional capital at £. 4 per annum, granted to the contributors of £. 12,000,000, borrowed pursuant to the last mentioned Act	160,000	0	0
By ditto, for charges of management of the said annuities for the same time	2,250	0	0
By cash borne forward	1,786,322	3	10
VOL. II. Numb. I. G			By

The EXCHEQUER to the SINKING FUND

Dr.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Brought over	388,317	1	2½	909,314	14	3¾
granted by an Act 10th Geo. II. for the service of the year 1737, brought to this account, pursuant to an Act 27th Geo. II.	8,806	0	0			
Surplus of the additional duties on soap, paper, and coals, continued by an Act 2d Geo. II. for raising the sum of £.1,250,000, by sale of annuities to the Bank of England, brought to this account pursuant to an Act 28th Geo. II.	54,270	7	1½			
Surplus of the duty on coals, continued by an Act 1st Geo. II. for raising the sum of £.1,750,000, by sale of annuities to the Bank of England, brought to this account pursuant to said Act 28 Geo. II.	37,527	0	8			
The duty on licences for retailing beer, ale, and other exciseable liquors, brought to this account pursuant to an Act 29th Geo. II.	26,324	0	9			
The additional duty on cards and dice, brought to this account pursuant to one other Act 29th Geo. II.	3,682	19	4			
The additional stamp duties on pamphlets and printed papers, granted by an Act 30th Geo. II. brought to this account pursuant to Act 32 Geo. II.	43,634	3	0			
The additional duty on coals exported, the like	9,289	16	6½			
Surplus of the new duty on licences to retail wine, the like	7,521	19	7½			
Ditto of the duty on licences to retail spirituous liquors, the like	18,121	0	7			
To Cash borne forward	629,745	11	1	1,477,507	3	6½

The

PER CONTRA

Cr.

	£.	s.	d.
Brought over	1,786,322	3	10
By ditto, to pay annuities to continue for 10 years, from the 5th day of April 1777, being after the rate of 10s. per cent. per annum on £.5,000,000 borrowed pursuant to an Act 17th Geo. III. for half a year, ended the 10th day of Oct. 1784	12,500	0	0
By ditto, for charges of management of the said annuities for the same time	175	15	7½
By ditto, for charges of management of the several annuities payable in respect of £.4,980,772. 3s. 3½d. remaining unredeemed of £.5,000,000, borrowed by virtue of an Act 31st Geo. II. for the service of the year 1758, (which management was, by a clause in the said Act, charged on this fund) for the half year ended the 5th day of July 1784	1,400	16	10
By ditto, to reimburse fees paid to the auditors of imprests for examining, auditing, and engrossing the accounts of the dividend warrants for £.3 per cent. consolidated annuities, and long annuities for one year, to the 5th day of July 1783; for reduced annuities, £.4 per cent. annuities, and annuities for ten years, for one year, to the 5th day of April 1783; and for fees for passing and obtaining a quietus for two years accounts of annuities to the 5th day of July 1781	12,345	6	11
By the usher of the Exchequer for necessaries	45	7	8½
By Cash borne forward	1,812,789	10	11

G 2

By

The EXCHEQUER to the SINKING FUND

	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
To cash brought forward	629,745 11 1	1,477,507 3 6½
To the subsidy on goods and merchandizes imported, granted by an Act 32 Geo. II. brought to this account pursuant to an Act 33 Geo. II.	86,051 8 8½	
To the duty on cocoa nuts, granted and brought to this account pursuant to an Act 21 Geo. III.	262 0 0	
To the additional inland duty on coffee, brought to this account pursuant to Acts 33 Geo. II. & 5 Geo. III.	0 0 0	
To the income of the duty on spirituous liquors, granted by an Act 24 Geo. II. brought to this account pursuant to Act 2 Geo. III.	23,321 0 0	
To the surplus on spirituous liquors, granted by Acts 33 Geo. II. & 6 Geo. III. brought to this account pursuant to Acts 2 & 6 Geo. III.	120,553 4 4	
The duties on ditto, granted by an Act 2 Geo. III. and brought to this account pursuant to the same Act	24,977 0 0	
The duties on malt, granted by an Act 33 Geo. II. brought to this account pursuant to Act 2 Geo. III.	269,465 0 0	
The additional duty upon strong beer and ale, granted by Act 1 Geo. III. brought to this account pursuant to Act 4 Geo. III.	362,433 0 0	
To the additional duties upon the exportation of coals, and of several East India goods, &c. granted and made a part of this fund by Act 5 Geo. III.	8,757 9 10½	
— on policies of insurance the like	1,370 11 7½	
Additional duty on Italian silk crapes and tiffanies, imported, granted and made a part of this fund, by Act 6 Geo. III.	— —	
Additional subsidy on East India wrought silks, &c. granted and made a part of this fund, by Act 6 Geo. III.	— —	
Additional duty on broad linen cloth and drillings imported, granted, and made a part of this fund by Act 7 Geo. III.	41 9 9	
— on wines imported, granted by Act 3 Geo. III. brought to this account pursuant to Act 8 Geo. III.	29,519 16 7	
Duties on cyder and perry, granted by Act 6 Geo. III. brought to this account pursuant to the above Act	2,824 0 0	
Additional duties on coaches, &c. granted by Act 16 Geo. III. and brought to this account pursuant to ditto	10,778 0 0	
By Cash borne forward	— —	1,477,507 3 6½

PER CONTRA

	Cr.
	£. s. d.
By cash brought forward	1,812,789 10 1½
By cash taken to make good the deficiency on the 5th day of July 1784, of the fund for payment of annuities granted by an Act 31st Geo. II. which by a clause in the said Act is to be replaced to this fund out of the first supplies to be granted in Parliament	8,102 16 7½
By cash taken to make good the deficiency on the 5th day of July 1784, of the fund for payment of annuities granted by an Act 18th Geo. III. which by a clause in the said Act is to be replaced to this fund out of the first supplies to be granted in Parliament	74,202 2 6
By cash taken to make good the deficiency on the 5th day of July 1784, of the fund for payment of annuities, granted by an Act 19th Geo. III. which by a clause in the said Act is to be replaced to this fund, out of the first supplies to be granted in Parliament	83,525 11 1
By cash taken to make good the deficiency on the 5th day of July 1784, of the fund for payment of annuities granted by an Act 20th Geo. III. which by a clause in the said Act is to be replaced to this fund, out of the first supplies to be granted in Parliament	7,938 15 6½
By cash taken to make good the deficiency on the 5th day of July 1784, of the fund for payment of annuities, granted by an Act 22d Geo. III. which by a clause in the said Act is to be replaced to this fund out of the first supplies to be granted in Parliament	97,357 10 5
By cash taken to make good the deficiency on the 5th day of July 1784, of the fund for payment of annuities granted by an Act 23 Geo. III. which by a clause in the said Act is to be replaced to this fund out of the first supplies to be granted in Parliament	168,249 10 0
By cash taken to make good the deficiency on the 10th day of October 1784, of the fund for paying annuities granted by an Act 24th Geo. III.	— —
By cash borne forward	2,252,165 71 1

which

0511

62 M E R C H A N T S

The EXCHEQUER to the SINKING FUND		Dt.	
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	
To Cash borne forward		1,477,507	3 6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Additional stamp duty on vellum, parchment, and paper; and on newspapers granted and brought to this account pursuant to ditto	29,090 8 10		
— duty on cards and dice, granted and brought to this account pursuant to ditto	3,534 19 4		
Duties on licences taken out by auctioneers, and the duties on all lands, houses, and other things sold by auction, granted and brought to this account pursuant to Acts 17 and 19 Geo. III.	20,815 0 0		
Additional stamp duty on vellum, parchment and paper, granted and brought to this account pursuant to the said Act 17 Geo. III.	23,950 19 3		
Surplus of the duties on glass granted and brought to this account pursuant to ditto	9,747 0 6		
Arrears of the tax upon all male servants, granted and brought to this account pursuant to ditto	391 8 5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Tax upon all male servants, granted and brought to this account, pursuant to Act 21 Geo. III.	35,535 12 11 $\frac{1}{2}$		
The duties on tobacco and sugars, imported, granted, and brought to this account pursuant to ditto	276,173 19 2 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Additional duty of 5l. per cent. on the produce of the duties of Excise, granted and brought to this account pursuant to ditto	46,978 0 0		
Surplus of the additional stamp duty on almanacks granted and brought to this account pursuant to ditto	0 0 1		
		2,016,317	0 6 $\frac{3}{4}$
		3,493,824	4 1

M A G A Z I N E: 63

PER CONTRA		Cr:	
		£. s. d.	
By Cash brought forward	—	2,252,165	17 7
which by a clause in the said Act is to be replaced to this fund out of the first supplies to be granted in Parliament	—	24,044	0 0
By cash taken in full of £. 2,200,000, granted towards the supply of the year 1783, pursuant to an Act 23d Geo. III.	—	303,650	6 5
By cash taken towards the supply of the year 1784, pursuant to an Act 24th Geo. III.	—	800,000	0 0
		3,379,860	3 6
By cash remaining in the Exchequer on the 10th day of October 1784, for the disposition of Parliament	—	113,964	0 7
		3,493,824	4 1

This being the 124th half yearly account made up pursuant to an Act 9th Geo. I. is humbly presented this 6th day of April 1785, by me
 GEORGE ROSE.

A few days after the Propositions for a commercial arrangement with Ireland, had been agreed to, by both Houses of the British Parliament, Mr. Pitt brought in a Bill, to carry them into execution. This Bill was read a first time; and the British Parliament was adjourned, to give Ireland an opportunity to consider of it, before it passed into a law. It has been said, that the *same* Bill was brought into the Irish Parliament; but there seems to be some mistake in this; for upon comparing the Bill brought into the Irish House of Commons by Mr. Orde, with the Bill brought into the British House of Commons by Mr. Pitt, they were found to differ in many places. This difference is worth attending to by those who wish to understand the subject completely. In order to form this comprehension, the two Bills are hereafter printed in the form of *parallel*. The analogy, and the difference, are, by this mode of arrangement, discovered without much trouble. The two Bills are placed paragraph by paragraph, opposite each other. The *variations* are distinguished in italics, and the new paragraphs (or clauses) by an * asterisk at the beginning of each.

Mr. Pitt's Bill.

A Bill for finally regulating the Intercourse and Commerce between Great Britain and Ireland, on permanent and equitable Principles, for the mutual Benefit of both Kingdoms.

WHEREAS it is highly important to the general interests of the British empire, that the intercourse and commerce between Great Britain and Ireland, should be finally regulated on permanent and equitable principles, for the mutual benefit of both countries.

And whereas, for that purpose it is expedient, that the trade between the said countries, as well in articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either of them, as in those of foreign countries, should be encouraged and extended as much as possible; and that a full participation of the commercial advantages which this kingdom may derive from any of its foreign settlements, colonies, or plantations, and from the exclusive privileges enjoyed by the ships and seamen thereof, should be secured to Ire-

Mr. Orde's Bill.

A Bill for effectuating the Intercourse and Commerce between Great Britain and Ireland, on permanent and equitable Principles, for the mutual Benefit of both Kingdoms.

WHEREAS it is highly important to the general interests of the British empire, that the trade between Great Britain and Ireland should be encouraged and extended as much as possible; and for that purpose, that the intercourse and commerce between the said kingdoms should be now finally regulated and settled on permanent and equitable principles, for the mutual benefit of both:

Therefore, in order to effectuate the said intended settlement,

Mr. Pitt's Bill.

land on the same terms as the said advantages are, or shall be from time to time, enjoyed by the inhabitants of this kingdom:

Be it further declared by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that no prohibitions shall exist, in either of the kingdoms of Great Britain or Ireland, against the importation, use, or sale of any article of the other of the said kingdoms, except such as are herein-after excepted.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no prohibition shall exist in this kingdom, after the commencement of this act, on the importation, use, or sale of any article, the growth, produce, or manufacture of Ireland, except such as now exist, against the importation of corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuit, and also except such qualified prohibitions which are now, or may hereafter be in force, as do not absolutely prevent the importation of goods or manufactures, or the materials of manufactures, but only regulate or prescribe the tonnage, or dimensions, or built, or country of the ships or vessels in which the same may be imported, or regulate or prescribe the weight, size, or quantity of the article to be therein imported, or the packages in which the same may be contained, or regulate or prescribe other circumstances relative thereto; and also except prohibitions restraining the importation for sale of ammunition, arms, gun-powder, and other utensils of war, unless by virtue of his Majesty's licence; and also, except such prohibitions as may be necessary for protecting the

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Mr. Orde's Bill.

Be it declared, by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, that it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that no prohibition shall exist in either of the kingdoms of Great Britain or Ireland against the importation, use or sale of any article of the growth, produce or manufacture of the other of the said kingdoms, except such as are herein-after excepted.

And be it therefore enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that no prohibition shall exist in this kingdom after the commencement of this act, on the importation, use or sale of any article of the growth, produce or manufacture of Great Britain, except such as now exist or may hereafter exist against the importation of corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuit; and also, except such qualified prohibitions as do not absolutely prevent the importation of goods or manufactures, or materials of manufacture, but only regulate or prescribe the tonnage or dimensions, or built, or country of the ships or vessels in which the same may be imported; or regulate or prescribe the weight, size or quantity of the article to be therein imported, or the packages in which the same may be contained, or regulate or prescribe other circumstances relative thereto; and also, except prohibitions restraining the importation for sale of ammunition, arms, gun-powder, and other utensils of war, unless by virtue of his Majesty's licence; and also, except such prohibitions as may be necessary for protecting the copy-

Mr. Pitt's Bill.

copy rights of authors and book-fellers; the engraved property of engravers, and of the venders of prints and maps, and all other exclusive rights and privileges, which are or may be secured in this kingdom, for the encouragement of new inventions, to bodies corporate or individuals, by acts of Parliament, grants from the Crown, or otherwise.

And be it further declared by the authority aforesaid, That it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that in all cases in which there is a difference between the duties on articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain, when imported into Great Britain, the duties on such articles should be reduced, in the kingdom where they are highest, to an amount not exceeding the duties which were payable in the other on the 17th of May, 1782; so that in every case in which any article was charged with a duty on importation into Ireland of 10l. 10s. per cent. or upwards, on the 17th day of May, 1782, the amount of the said duties so reduced shall not be less than the said duty of 10l. 10s. per cent. and that all articles which are now importable duty-free into either kingdom from the other, shall hereafter be imported duty-free into each kingdom from the other, respectively.

Be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That it shall be lawful to import into this kingdom, all goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Ireland (except as herein excepted) subject to such rates and duties as aforesaid, to be fixed and ascertained in the manner so be herein-after directed.

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rights of authors and bookfellers, the engraved property of engravers, and of the venders of prints and maps, and all other exclusive rights and privileges which are or may be secured in this kingdom for the encouragement of new inventions to bodies corporate or individuals, by acts of Parliament, grants from the crown, or otherwise.

And be it declared, by the authority aforesaid, that it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that in all cases in which there is a difference between the duties on articles of the growth, produce or manufacture of Great Britain when imported into Ireland, and the duties on the same articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Ireland, when imported into Great Britain, the duties on such articles should be reduced in the kingdom where they are highest to an amount not exceeding the duties which were payable in the other on the 17th day of May, 1782; so that in every case in which any article was charged with a duty on importation into Ireland of 10l. 10s. per centum or upwards, on the 17th day of May, 1782, the amount of the said duty, so reduced, shall not be less than the said duty of 10l. 10s. per centum; and that all articles which are now importable duty free into either kingdom from the other, shall hereafter be imported duty free into each kingdom from the other respectively.

Be it therefore enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that it shall be lawful to import into this kingdom all goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain, except as herein excepted, subject to such rates and duties as aforesaid, to be fixed and ascertained in

Mr. Pitt's Bill.

And be it declared by the authority aforesaid, That it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that in all cases in which the articles of the consumption of either kingdom shall be charged with an internal duty on the manufacture, such manufacture, when imported from the other, may be charged with a further duty on the importation, adequate to countervail the duty on the manufacture; and that in all cases in which there shall be a duty in either kingdom on the raw material of any manufacture, such manufacture may, on its importation from the other kingdom, be charged with a countervailing duty as may be sufficient to subject the same to burthens adequate to those to which such manufacture is subject, in consequence of such duties on such raw materials, in the kingdom into which such manufacture may be so imported; and that in all cases in which a bounty shall be given, in either kingdom, on any articles manufactured therein, which shall remain on such articles when exported to the other, such articles may be charged with a further duty, in the kingdom into which they shall be imported, sufficient to countervail such bounty remaining thereon.

Provided always, That the duty to be imposed upon manufactured salt, imported into any part of Great Britain, in order to countervail the internal duty thereon, shall be computed according to the rate of the internal duty payable thereon in England.

And be it declared by the authority aforesaid, That it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of

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the manner to be herein-after directed.

And be it declared, by the authority aforesaid, that it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that in all cases in which the articles of the consumption of either kingdom shall be charged with an internal duty on the manufacture, such manufacture, when imported from the other, may be charged with a further duty on the importation adequate to countervail the duty on the manufacture; and that in all cases in which there shall be a duty in either kingdom on the raw material of any manufacture, such manufacture may, on its importation from the other kingdom, be charged with such a countervailing duty as may be sufficient to subject the same to burthens adequate to those to which such manufacture is subject, in consequence of such duties on such raw materials, in the kingdom into which such manufacture may be so imported; and that in all cases in which a bounty shall be given in either kingdom on any articles manufactured therein, which shall remain on such articles when exported to the other, such articles may be charged with a further duty in the kingdom into which they shall be imported, sufficient to countervail such bounty remaining thereon.

Provided always, that the duty to be imposed on manufactured salt imported into any part of Great Britain, in order to countervail the internal duty thereon, may be computed according to the rate of the internal duty payable thereon in England.

And be it declared and enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of

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the present settlement, that no new or additional duty or duties shall be hereafter imposed, in either kingdom, on the importation of any article of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other, except such countervailing duties as may from time to time be imposed, as herein before provided, in consequence of any internal duty on the raw material of which such manufacture is composed, or of any bounty given on any goods manufactured in the other kingdom, and remaining on such goods when exported therefrom; and that such countervailing duties to be imposed as aforesaid, shall continue so long only as the internal consumption shall be charged with the duty or duties on the manufacture or raw material, which such duty so imposed shall have been intended to countervail, or as such article shall retain, on exportation from the other kingdom, the bounty which such duty so imposed shall have been intended to countervail.

And be it declared by the authority aforesaid, That it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that no new prohibition, or new or additional duties, shall hereafter be imposed, in either kingdom, on the exportation of any articles of native growth, produce, or manufacture, from one kingdom to the other, except such as either kingdom may deem expedient, from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuit.

Provided always, and it is hereby declared by the authority aforesaid, to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, That when any article of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either kingdom shall be prohibited by the laws of the said kingdom to be exported to foreign countries, the same articles, when exported to the

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the present settlement, that no new or additional duty or duties shall be hereafter imposed in either kingdom on the importation of any article of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other, except such countervailing duties as may from time to time be imposed, as herein-before provided, in consequence of any internal duty on the manufacture, or of any duty on the raw material of which such manufacture is composed, or of any bounty given on any goods manufactured in the other kingdom, and remaining on such goods when exported therefrom; and that such countervailing duties to be imposed as aforesaid, shall continue so long only as the internal consumption shall be charged with the duty or duties on the manufacture or raw material which such duty so imposed shall have been intended to countervail, or so long as such article shall retain on exportation from the other kingdom the bounty which such duty so imposed shall have been intended to countervail.

And be it declared, by the authority aforesaid, that it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that no new prohibition or new or additional duty shall be imposed in either kingdom on the exportation of any articles of native growth, produce or manufacture to the other, except such as either kingdom may deem expedient from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour and biscuit.

Provided always, and it is hereby declared, by the authority aforesaid, to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that when any article of the growth, produce or manufacture of either kingdom shall be prohibited by the laws of such kingdom to be exported to foreign countries, the same article, when exported to the other

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other kingdom, shall be prohibited to be re-exported from thence to any foreign country.

And be it declared by the authority aforesaid, That it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that no bounties whatever should be paid or payable, in either kingdom, on the exportation of any article to the other, except such as relate to corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuit: and except also the bounties at present given on beer, and spirits distilled from corn; and such as are in the nature of drawbacks or compensations for duties paid:

Be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all bounties now payable in Great Britain, by virtue of any act or acts of Parliament, on the exportation of any articles to Ireland, shall cease and determine, and be no longer paid or payable, from and after except the bounties now payable on beer, and spirits distilled from corn; and except any bounties which relate to corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits; and except such as are in the nature of drawbacks or compensations for duties paid.

And be it declared by the authority aforesaid, That it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that all articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland should be exportable, from the kingdom into which they shall be imported from the other, as free from duties as similar commodities, of the same kingdom, and that all manufactures of either kingdom imported into the other, shall be entitled to such drawbacks or bounties, on exportation from the kingdom, into which they shall have been so imported, as may leave the same subject to no heavier burthens than the home-made manufactures of such kingdom; and

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kingdom, shall be prohibited to be re-exported from thence to any foreign country.

And be it declared, by the authority aforesaid, that it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that no bounties whatever should be paid or payable in either kingdom on exportation of any article to the other, except such as relate to corn, meal, malt, flour and biscuit; and except also the bounties at present given in Great Britain on beer and spirits distilled from corn, and except such as or shall be in the nature of drawbacks, or compensations for duties paid.

Be it therefore enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that all bounties now payable in this kingdom by virtue of any act or acts of parliament on the exportation of any article to Great Britain, shall cease and determine, and be no longer paid or payable from and after the commencement of this act, except any bounties which relate to corn, meal, malt, flour and biscuit, and except such as are in the nature of drawbacks, or compensations for duties paid.

And be it declared, by the authority aforesaid, that it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that all articles of the growth, produce or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland should be exportable from the kingdom into which they shall be imported from the other, as free from duties as similar commodities of the same kingdom, and shall be entitled to such drawbacks or bounties on exportation from the kingdom into which they shall have been so imported, as may leave the same subject to no heavier burthens, in consequence of the duties on importation, than the like articles of the growth, pro-

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that when any such articles shall be liable, in either kingdom, to any duty on being exported to any foreign country, the same articles, if they shall have been imported from such kingdom into the other, shall, on exportation from such other kingdom to any foreign countries, pay the same duties as they would have been liable to on exportation from the kingdom of their growth, produce, or manufacture, to such foreign country or countries :

And be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Ireland, imported into Great Britain, shall be entitled to such freedom or exemption from duty, and to such drawbacks, or bounties in the nature of drawbacks, on exportation from Great Britain to any place or country whatever, as may render them subject on such exportation, to no heavier burthen than the like articles, of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain, are, or may be subject to on exportation therefrom to the same countries or places respectively ; and that all articles of the growth,

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duce or manufacture of the kingdom into which they shall have been so imported.

*Provided always, and it is hereby declared by the authority aforesaid, to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that when any article of the growth, produce or manufacture of either kingdom shall be liable in such kingdom to any duty on being exported to any foreign country or countries, the same article, if it shall have been imported from such kingdom into the other, shall, on exportation from such other kingdom to any foreign country or countries, pay the same duties as it would have been liable to on exportation from the kingdom of its growth, produce or manufacture, to such foreign country or countries ; and that when any article the growth, produce or manufacture of either kingdom shall be prohibited by the laws of the said kingdom to be exported to any foreign country or countries, the same article, if it shall have been imported from such kingdom into the other, shall be prohibited to be exported from such other kingdom to such foreign country or countries to which it may be prohibited to be exported from the kingdom of its growth, produce or manufacture.

Be it therefore enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that all articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain, imported into Ireland, shall be entitled to such freedom or exemption from duty, and to such drawbacks, or bounties in the nature of drawbacks, on exportation from Ireland to any place or country whatever, as may render them subject, on such exportation, to no heavier burthen than the like articles of the growth, produce or manufacture of Ireland are or may be subject to on exportation therefrom to the same places or countries respectively, *except such articles of the growth, produce or manu-*

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produce, or manufacture of Ireland shall, on being exported from this kingdom to any foreign country, be subject to the same duty or duties to which they would have been subject on being exported directly from Ireland to such foreign country.

And whereas, in order to ascertain the duties, bounties, and drawbacks, which may take place as aforesaid, on the importation of the articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either kingdom into the other, or on the exportation of the articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either kingdom from thence to the other, or on the exportation of the articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either kingdom from the other to any foreign countries, it is expedient that proper persons be appointed, in each kingdom, to prepare a schedule or schedules thereof, to be laid before the Parliaments of both kingdoms, for their consideration and approbation ;

Be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That shall, and they are hereby authorized and impowered to meet, confer, and consult, touching the formation

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facture of Great Britain which are or shall be at any time hereafter subject to duty on being exported from that kingdom to any foreign country or countries, which articles shall be made subject to the same duty or duties on being exported from this kingdom to such foreign country or countries as they are or may hereafter be subject to on being exported from Great Britain to such foreign country or countries.

*And be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that all articles of the growth, produce or manufacture of Great Britain, which are or may hereafter be prohibited by the laws of that kingdom to be exported to any foreign country or countries, shall, after importation into this kingdom, be prohibited to be re-exported from this kingdom to such foreign country or countries to which they are or may hereafter be prohibited to be exported from Great Britain.

And whereas, in order to ascertain the duties, exemptions from duties, qualified prohibitions, bounties and drawbacks which may take place, as aforesaid, on the importation of the articles of the growth, produce or manufacture of either kingdom into the other, or on the exportation of the articles of the growth, produce or manufacture of either kingdom from thence to the other, or on the exportation of the articles of the growth produce, or manufacture of either kingdom from the other to any foreign countries, it is expedient that proper persons be appointed in each kingdom to prepare a schedule or schedules thereof, to be laid before the parliaments of both kingdoms, for their consideration and approbation ;

Be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that shall, and they, or any or more of them, are hereby authorized and impowered to meet, con-

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of such schedule or schedules as aforesaid, or any particulars relative thereto, with any person or persons who may be appointed for the like purpose by virtue of any act of the Parliament of Ireland.

And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the said shall, and they are hereby required to lay, with all convenient speed, such schedule or schedules, and a report of their proceedings relative to the formation thereof, before the House of Commons of Great Britain.

And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the said shall, and they are hereby authorized and empowered to examine upon oath any persons whatever, who shall be willing to be so examined, touching any matters relative to the formation of the said schedules.

And be it further enacted, That the said shall, on or before the take and subscribe the following oath, before the Chancellor of his Majesty's Exchequer, or before any one of the Barons of the Court of Exchequer:

" I A. B. do swear, That, as a Commissioner appointed by virtue of an act, intituled I will, to the best of my judgment and ability, faithfully, and impartially, discharge the trust thereby reposed in me, without favour or affection to any person or persons whatever, So help me God."

And be it declared by the authority aforesaid, That it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that all articles, not the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland (except

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fer and consult, touching the formation of such schedule or schedules as aforesaid, or any particulars relative thereto, with any person or persons who may be appointed for the like purpose by virtue of any act of the Parliament of Great Britain.

And be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that the said or any or more of them shall, and they are hereby required to lay, with all convenient speed, such schedule or schedules, and a report of their proceedings relative to the formation thereof, before the House of Commons of Ireland.

And be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that the said or any or more of them shall, and they are hereby empowered to examine upon oath any person whatever who shall be willing to be so examined, touching any matters relative to the formation of the said schedules.

And be it farther enacted, that the said shall, on or before the day of take and subscribe the following oath before the Chancellor of his Majesty's Exchequer, or before any one of the Barons of the Court of Exchequer, viz.

" I A. B. do swear, that as a Commissioner appointed by virtue of an act, intituled I will, to the best of my judgment and ability, faithfully and impartially discharge the trust thereby reposed in me, without favour or affection to any person or persons whatever. So help me God."

And be it declared, by the authority aforesaid, that it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that all articles not the growth, produce or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland,

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those of the growth, produce, or manufacture of any countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan, during such time as the trade to the said countries shall continue to be carried on by an exclusive company, having liberty to import into the port of London only) shall be imported into each kingdom from the other, reciprocally, under the same regulations, and at the same duties (if subject to duties) to which they would be liable when imported directly from the country or place from whence the same may have been imported into Great Britain or Ireland respectively, as the case may be:

Be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That it shall and may be lawful to import from Ireland into Great Britain, in ships navigated according to law, all goods not the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland (except those of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan, during such time as the trade shall continue to be carried on by an exclusive company, having liberty to import into the port of London only) under the same regulations, and at the same duties, to which such goods would be liable when imported directly from the country or place from whence the same may have been imported into Ireland.

And be it declared by the authority aforesaid, That it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that all duties originally paid on the importation of such goods into either kingdom respectively, shall be fully drawn back, within a time to be limited, on the exportation thereof from one kingdom to the other, except on the exportation to Ireland from Great

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except those of the growth, produce or manufacture of any countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan, during such time as the trade to the said countries shall continue to be carried on by an exclusive company having liberty to import into the port of London only, shall be imported into each kingdom from the other reciprocally, under the same regulations, and at the same duties, if subject to duties, to which they would be liable when imported directly from the country or place from whence the same may have been imported into Great Britain or Ireland respectively, as the case may be:

Be it therefore enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that it shall and may be lawful to import from Great Britain into Ireland, in ships navigated according to law, all goods not the growth, produce or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, under the same regulations, and at the same duties to which such goods would be liable in this kingdom when imported directly from the country or place from whence the same may have been imported into Great Britain.

And be it declared, by the authority aforesaid, that it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that all duties originally paid on the importation into either kingdom respectively, of goods not the growth, produce of manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, shall be fully drawn back within a limited time on the exportation thereof from one kingdom to the

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Britain of arrack, foreign brandy, and foreign rum, and all sorts of strong waters not imported from the British colonies in the West-Indies, and except the duties to be retained, as hereinafter directed, on articles exported to Ireland, being the growth, produce, or manufacture of countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan :

Be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all duties originally paid or secured, on the importation into this kingdom of any goods or commodities, not being the growth, produce, or manufacture of Ireland, except arrack, foreign brandy, foreign rum, and all sorts of strong waters not imported from the British colonies in the West-Indies, and except the duties to be retained, as hereinafter directed, on articles exported to Ireland, being the growth, produce, or manufacture of countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan, shall be fully drawn back, or the security for the same discharged, on exportation thereof to Ireland, within three years after the importation thereof into this kingdom.

Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no such drawback shall be paid, or security discharged, until a certificate from the proper officer of the revenue in Ireland, stating the due entry and landing of such articles, shall be returned and delivered to the proper officer of the port from whence the same shall have been exported, and until the several other particulars by law required in the case of drawbacks shall have been duly observed.

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other, except on the exportation to Ireland from Great Britain of arrack, foreign brandy and foreign rum, and all sorts of strong waters not imported from the British colonies in the West Indies; and except such duties as may be retained, to be accounted for as is herein-after provided on articles exported from Great Britain to Ireland, being the growth, produce or manufacture of the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan.

Be it therefore enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that all duties originally paid or secured on the importation into this kingdom of any goods or commodities not being the growth, produce or manufacture of Great Britain, shall be fully drawn back, or the security for the same discharged, on exportation thereof to Great Britain within three years after the importation thereof into this kingdom.

Provided always, and be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that no such drawback shall be paid, or security discharged, until a certificate from the proper officer of the revenue in Great Britain, stating the due entry and landing of such articles, shall be returned and delivered to the proper officer of the port from whence the same shall have been exported, and until the several other particulars by law required in the case of drawbacks shall have been duly observed.

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*And whereas it is highly and equally important to the interests both of Great Britain and Ireland, and essential to the objects of the present settlement, that the laws for regulating trade and navigation, so far as relates to the securing exclusive privileges to the ships and mariners of Great Britain and Ireland, and the British colonies and plantations, and so far as relates to the regulating and restraining the trade of the British colonies and plantations, should be the same in Great Britain and Ireland, and that all such laws in both kingdoms should impose the same restraints, and confer the same benefits, on the subjects of both, which can only be effected by laws to be passed in the Parliaments of both kingdoms (the Parliament of Great Britain being alone competent to bind the people

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of Great Britain in any case whatever, and the Parliament of Ireland being alone competent to bind the people of Ireland in any case whatever); Therefore be it declared by the authority aforesaid, That it shall be held, and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that the laws for regulating trade and navigation, so far as the said laws relate to the securing exclusive privileges to the ships and mariners of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British colonies and plantations, and to the regulating and restraining the trade of the British colonies and plantations, shall be the same in Great Britain and Ireland, and shall impose the same restraints, and confer the same benefits, on the subjects of both kingdoms :

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* And whereas by an act passed in this kingdom in the twenty-first and twenty-second years of his Majesty's reign, entitled an act for extending certain of the provisions contained in an act, entitled an act confirming all the statutes made in England, reciting "that it is the earnest and affectionate desire, as well as the true interest of his Majesty's subjects of this kingdom, to promote as far as in them lies the navigation, trade and commercial interests of Great Britain as well as Ireland, and that a similarity of laws, manners and customs must naturally conduce to strengthen and perpetuate that affection and harmony which do, and at all times ought to subsist between the people of Great Britain and Ireland," it is enacted, that all such clauses and provisions contained in any statutes theretofore made in England or Great Britain, concerning commerce, as import or impose equal restraints on the subjects of England and Ireland, and to entitle them to equal benefits; and also all such clauses and provisions contained in any statute made as aforesaid, as equally concern the seamen of England and Ireland, or of Great Britain and Ireland, save so far as the same have been altered or repealed, should be accepted, used and executed in this kingdom, according to the present tenor thereof respectively :

In order, therefore, to carry into further effect, the earnest and affectionate desire of his Majesty's subjects in this kingdom to promote the navigation, trade and commercial interests of both kingdoms, in order to provide for securing to the subjects of both a full and equal enjoyment in all times to come of the exclusive privileges of the trade and navigation of the empire :

Mr. Pitt's Bill.

And be it therefore declared and enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all privileges, advantages, and immunities, which are now granted, or shall, by any law to be passed by the Parliament of Great Britain, be hereafter granted, to ships built in Great Britain, or to ships belonging to any of his Majesty's subjects residing in Great Britain, or to ships manned by British seamen, or to ships manned by certain proportions of British seamen, shall, to all intents and purposes whatever, be enjoyed in the same manner, and under the same regulations and restrictions, respectively, by ships built in Ireland, or by ships belonging to any of his Majesty's subjects residing in Ireland, or by ships manned by Irish seamen, or by ships manned by certain proportions of Irish seamen.

Mr. Orde's Bill.

Be it declared, by the authority aforesaid, that it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that all privileges, advantages and immunities which are now or may hereafter be enjoyed by ships built in Great Britain, or by ships belonging to his Majesty's subjects residing in Great Britain, or by ships manned by British seamen, or by ships manned by certain proportions of British seamen, shall to all intents and purposes whatever, be enjoyed in the same manner, and under the same regulations and restrictions respectively by ships built in Ireland, or by ships belonging to his Majesty's subjects residing in Ireland, or by ships manned by Irish seamen, or by ships manned with certain proportions of Irish seamen, and that all laws which shall hereafter be enacted by the parliament of Great Britain for securing exclusive privileges, advantages and immunities to the ships and mariners of Great Britain, and of the British colonies, settlements and plantations, shall secure the same privileges, advantages and immunities, in all respects, and in as full and ample manner, to the ships and mariners of Ireland, as to be ships and mariners of Great Britain, and of the British colonies, settlements and plantations; and that the like exclusive privileges shall from time to time be confirmed and secured in the same manner and under the same restraints and regulations, in this kingdom as in Great Britain, to the ships and mariners of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British colonies, settlements and plantations.

Mr. Pitt's Bill.

*Provided always, and be it declared by the authority aforesaid, That it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that such regulations as are now, or hereafter shall be, in force, by laws passed or to be passed in the Parliament of Great Britain, for securing exclusive privileges, advantages, and immunities as aforesaid, to the ships and mariners of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British colonies and plantations, shall be established in Ireland, for the same time, and in the same manner as in Great Britain, by laws to be passed in the Parliament of Ireland within months, if the parliament of Ireland shall be then sitting, and shall continue to fit for

Mr. Pitt's Bill.

months next ensuing, without being prorogued or dissolved; or, in case the Parliament of Ireland shall not be then sitting, or shall not continue to sit for months without being prorogued or dissolved, then within months after the commencement of the next ensuing Session of Parliament: Provided nevertheless, That the laws so to be passed in the Parliament of Great Britain, for the purposes aforesaid, shall impose the same restraints, and confer the same benefits, on the subjects of Great Britain and Ireland.

Mr. Pitt's Bill.

And be it declared by the authority aforesaid, That it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that Irish sail cloth shall be deemed British sail cloth, within the meaning of an act of the nineteenth year of his late Majesty King George the Second, or any other act or acts of the Parliament of this kingdom respecting the furnishing of ships with British sail cloth; and that Irish sail cloth shall be entitled to equal preference and advantage as British for the use of the British navy.

Mr. Orde's Bill.

And be it declared, that it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that Irish sail cloth shall be deemed British, within the meaning of every act respecting the furnishing of ships therewith, and be entitled to equal preference or advantage as British for the use of the British navy.

And be it further declared by the authority aforesaid, That it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that the people of Ireland now, and at all times to come, shall have the benefit of trading to and from the British colonies and plantations in the West Indies and America, and to and from the British settlements on the coast of Africa, and in all articles of their growth, produce, or manufacture, in as full and ample manner as the people of this kingdom, and shall likewise have the benefit of trading in the like ample manner to and from all such colonies, settlements, and plantations, which this kingdom may hereafter acquire or establish, and to and from such British settlements as may exist in the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Straights of Magellan, whenever the trade to those countries shall cease to be carried on by an exclusive company having liberty

And be it further declared and enacted, that it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that the people of this kingdom now, and at all times to come, shall have the benefit of trading to and from the British colonies and plantations in the West-Indies and America, and to and from the British settlements on the coast of Africa, and in all articles of their growth, produce, or manufacture, in as full and ample manner as the people of Great Britain; and shall likewise have the benefit of trading in the like ample manner to and from all such colonies, settlements, and plantations, which Great Britain may hereafter acquire or establish; and also to and from such British settlements as may exist in the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Straights of Magellan, whenever the commerce to the said countries shall cease to be carried on by an exclusive company, having liberty to import

Mr. Pitt's Bill.
to import into the port of London only.

Mr. Orde's Bill.
into the port of London only; and therefore that the commerce to and from the said colonies, settlements, and plantations, shall at all times be carried on between Ireland and the said colonies, plantations, and settlements, under the like regulations, restrictions, and prohibitions as between Great Britain and the said colonies, plantations, and settlements; and so that all articles imported from the said colonies, plantations, and settlements into Ireland, shall be made subject to the same duties as the like articles are, or from time to time shall be subject to on importation into Great Britain; and that all articles exported to Ireland to any of the said colonies, plantations and settlements, may be made liable to such duties, and entitled to such drawbacks only, and put under such regulations as may be necessary in order that the same may not be exported with less duties or impositions than the like articles shall be burthened with when exported from Great Britain; and that the importation of the articles of the growth, produce or manufacture of the colonies, plantations and settlements in America, the West-Indies, and the coasts of Africa, shall be favoured by this kingdom in as full and ample a manner as by Great Britain, against the interference of similar articles from foreign colonies; and that the importation of such articles of the growth, produce or manufacture of any British colonies or settlements beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan, shall be favoured in like manner as by Great Britain against the interference of similar articles, from any countries beyond the said Cape to the said Streights.

The remaining clauses of these Bills bear no parallel analogy to each other. They will be given in our next.

Mr. Pitt's Bill.
[The remaining Clauses, or Paragraphs, bear no parallel analogy to those in Mr. Orde's Bill.]

And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all goods and commodities whatever, which may at any time be legally imported from Great Britain into any British colonies or plantations in the West Indies or America, or into any British settlements on the coast of Africa, or into any such colonies, settlements, or plantations, which this kingdom may hereafter acquire or establish, or into any British settlements which may exist in the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan, whenever the commerce to the said countries shall cease to be carried on by an exclusive company, having liberty to import into the port of London only, may, in like manner, be imported into the said colonies, settlements, or plantations, from Ireland, subject only to the same duties and regulations as the like goods shall be subject to on importation into any of the said colonies, settlements, or plantations respectively from Great Britain.

Provided always, and be it declared by the authority aforesaid, That it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that all such regulations or restrictions as relate to the trade with the British Colonies or Plantations, which are now, or shall hereafter be, in force by laws to be passed by the Parliament of this Kingdom, shall be from time to time established in Ireland, by laws to be passed in the Parliament of Ireland within months, if the Parliament of Ireland shall be then sitting, and shall continue to sit for months next ensuing, without being prorogued or dissolved; or, in case the Parliament of Ireland shall not be then sitting, or shall not continue to

Mr. Orde's Bill.
[The remaining Clauses, or Paragraphs, bear no parallel analogy to those in Mr. Pitt's Bill.]

And be it therefore enacted, that such persons to be appointed as aforesaid, shall prepare a like schedule or schedules of such duties, prohibitions and regulations as may now be necessary for the said purposes respecting the British Colonies and Plantations, the West Indies and America, and the British settlements on the coast of Africa, to be laid before the House of Commons of this kingdom in the next session of Parliament, or as soon as conveniently may be.

Provided always, and it is hereby declared and enacted, that it is not essential to, nor is it intended by the present settlement, that any duty should at any time be imposed on the exportation of linens or provisions from this kingdom to any British colony, plantation, or settlement, or any additional duty on the importation into this kingdom of rum from any such colony, plantation, or settlement, or of any material of manufacture which is now or may hereafter be allowed to be imported duty free into either kingdom.

And be it declared, that it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental condition of the present settlement, that all rum, peltry, whale-fins or oil, imported from the countries belonging to the United States of America, or as the produce of fisheries carried on by the subjects of the States, shall be made subject to the same duties, on importation into this kingdom, as the same are or may be subject to on importation in like manner into Great Britain.

And be it therefore enacted, that the persons to be appointed as aforesaid, shall prepare a schedule or schedules of such duties as may be now necessary to be imposed for

Mr. Pitt's Bill.

fit for months, without being prorogued or dissolved, then within months after the commencement of the next ensuing Session of Parliament: Provided, nevertheless, That the laws so to be passed in the Parliament of this kingdom, for the purposes aforesaid, shall impose the same restraints, and confer the same benefits, on the subjects of Great Britain and Ireland.

Provided also, and be it declared by the authority aforesaid, That it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that all goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of any British, or of any foreign colony, in America, or in the West Indies, or of any of the British or foreign settlements on the coast of Africa; and all peltry, rum, train oil, and whale fins; being the growth, produce, or manufacture of the countries belonging to the United States of America, or being the produce of the fisheries carried on by the subjects of the said United States, shall, on importation into Ireland, be made subject to the same duties and regulations as the like goods are, or from time to time shall be subject to, on importation into Great Britain; or if prohibited from being imported into Great Britain, shall in like manner be prohibited from being imported into Ireland.

Provided always, and be it declared, That rum, being of the produce or manufacture of the British plantations in the West Indies, may be importable into Ireland at no higher duties than are now payable thereon; and also, that all goods, exported from Ireland to the British colonies or plantations in the West Indies, or in America, or to the British settlements on the coast of Africa, or to any of the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, to the Straights of Magellan, so long

Mr. Orde's Bill.

that purpose, and lay the same before the House of Commons of this kingdom on the first day of the next session of Parliament, or as soon as conveniently may be.

Provided always, and it is hereby declared and enacted, that it is not intended by this present settlement, that any duty or prohibition on any article of the growth, product, or manufacture of any foreign colony; or on any rum, oil, peltry or whale-fins, of any of the States of North America, should be imposed until the expiration of four months, if the Parliament of Ireland shall be then sitting, and shall continue to sit for four months next ensuing, without being prorogued or dissolved; or in case the Parliament shall not be then sitting, or shall not continue to sit for four months without being prorogued or dissolved, then within four months after the commencement of the next ensuing session of Parliament.

And be it also declared, by the authority aforesaid, that it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that no bounties should be payable in Ireland on the exportation of any article to any of the British colonies or plantations in America, or in the West Indies, or to the British settlements on the coast of Africa, or in the East Indies, or on the exportation of any article imported from the British colonies or plantations in America, or in the West-Indies, or from the British settlements on the coast of Africa, or in the East Indies, or of any manufacture made of such article, unless in cases where a similar bounty is payable in Great Britain, on exportation from thence, or where such bounty is merely in the nature of a drawback, or compensation of or for duties paid over and above any duties paid in Great Britain.

And be it declared, by the au-

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as the commerce to the said countries shall continue to be carried on by an exclusive Company, having liberty to import into the port of London only, or to any of the British settlements in the East Indies, whenever such commerce shall cease to be carried on by such exclusive Company, shall from time to time be made liable to such duties, and be entitled to such drawbacks only, and be put under such regulations as may be necessary, in order that the same may not be exported with less duties or impositions, than the like goods shall be burthened with when exported from Great Britain: Provided always, That linen and provisions may continue to be exported from Ireland to any British Colony, Plantation, or Settlement, duty free.

Provided also, and be it further declared by the authority aforesaid, That it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that no bounties should be payable in Ireland, on the exportation of any article to any British Colonies or Plantations in America, or in the West Indies, or to the British settlements on the coast of Africa, or in the East Indies, or on the exportation of any article imported from the British colonies or plantations in America, or in the West-Indies, or from the British settlements on the coast of Africa or in the West-Indies, or on any manufacture made of such article, unless in cases where a similar bounty is payable in Great Britain on exportation from thence, or where such bounty is merely in the nature of a drawback or compensation of and for duties paid over and above any duties paid in Great Britain.

And be it declared by the the authority aforesaid, That it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that when any

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thority aforesaid, that it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that when any goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the British West-India Islands, or any other of the British colonies or plantations, shall be imported into this kingdom from Great Britain, such original certificate of the revenue officer or officers of the said colonies respectively as shall be required by law on importation into Great Britain, shall be delivered to the collector of the port where the same shall be imported into this kingdom; and if the whole quantity of such goods included in one certificate shall not be imported at one time, then such original certificate, properly indorsed as to quantity, shall be delivered with the first parcel; and to identify the remainder, if exported within three years, new certificates from the proper officer of the port in Great Britain, extracted from the registry there, of the original documents, specifying the quantities before exported from Great Britain, by what vessels, and to what ports, shall be delivered to the collector of the port where the same shall be imported, under pain of forfeiting all such goods so imported without such certificates so respectively.

Be it therefore enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that when any ship or vessel shall arrive from any port or place in Great Britain, at any port in this kingdom, laden with goods the growth, produce or manufacture of the British West-India islands, or any other of the British colonies or plantations, no such goods shall be admitted to be imported into this kingdom, unless accompanied with such original certificates of the revenue officers in the said colonies as shall be required by law on the importation into Great Britain from the said colonies or plantations respectively, under

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goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the British West-India Islands, or any other of the British colonies or plantations, shall be shipped from Ireland for Great Britain, they shall be accompanied with such original certificates of the revenue officers of the said colonies, as shall be required by law on importation into Great Britain; and that, when the whole quantity included in one certificate shall not be shipped at any one time, the original certificate, properly indorsed as to quantity, shall be sent with the first parcel, and to identify the remainder, if shipped within new certificates shall be granted by the proper officers of the ports of Ireland, extracted from a register of the original documents, specifying the quantities before shipped from thence, by what vessels, and to what ports: Be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid; That when any ship or vessel shall arrive from any port or place in Ireland, at any port in this kingdom, laden with any goods the growth, produce, or manufacture of the British West-India islands, or any other of the British colonies or plantations, no such goods shall be admitted to be imported into this kingdom, unless accompanied with such original certificates of the revenue officers in the said colonies, as shall be required by law on importation into Great Britain from the said colonies or plantations respectively, under such regulations, restrictions, penalties, and forfeitures, as the like goods are subject to on importation into Great Britain from the said colonies and plantations respectively; or unless, when the whole quantity included in one certificate shall not be shipped at any one time, the original certificate, properly indorsed as to quantity, shall have been sent with the first parcel, and the remainder shall have been shipped within and shall be accompanied with new certificates, granted by the proper

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such regulations, restrictions, penalties, forfeitures as the like goods are subject to on importation into Great Britain from the said colonies and plantations respectively, or unless when the whole quantity included in one certificate shall not be shipped at any one time, the original certificate properly indorsed as to quantity, shall have been sent with the first parcel, and remainder shall have been shipped within three years, and shall be accompanied with new certificates granted by the proper officers of the ports in Great Britain, extracted from a registry of the original documents, specifying the quantities before shipped from thence, by what vessel, and to what port.

And be it declared, that it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that so long as the commerce between Great Britain and the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Straights of Magellan, shall continue to be carried on solely by an exclusive company, having liberty to import into the port of London only, no goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the said countries, shall be imported into this kingdom from any other place than from Great Britain, except dye stuffs, drugs, cotton, or other wool and spiceries, and except such goods as are now or hereafter may be importable into Great Britain from any other place than the said countries, which goods shall be importable into this kingdom from the same countries from which they may be importable into Great Britain, and under the same duties and regulations to which they shall be subject on such importation into Great Britain.

Be it therefore enacted, that so long as the commerce between Great Britain and the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Straights of Magellan, shall conti-

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officers of the ports in Ireland, extracted from a register of the original documents, specifying the quantities before shipped from thence, by what vessel, and to what port.

And be it declared by the authority aforesaid, to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, That so long as the commerce to the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Straights of Magellan shall continue to be carried on by an exclusive company having liberty to import into the port of London only, all ships freighted by the said company, and which shall have cleared out from the port of London for any of the said countries, shall be at liberty to touch at any of the ports of Ireland, and to take on board there any goods which they might take on board in Great Britain, any act, or acts to the contrary notwithstanding; and that any goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Ireland, exported by the East India Company to any of the said countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, shall be considered as British Goods within the meaning of any obligation which may at any time exist upon the said company to send out to those countries certain quantities of the goods of the growth, produce or manufacture of Great Britain; and that no ships shall be allowed to clear out from any port in Ireland for any of the said countries, except such as shall be freighted by the said company, and shall have sailed from the port of London; and except such foreign ships as might, by any law now, or hereafter to be in force, clear out for foreign settlements in the said countries, from Great Britain, which ships shall be allowed to clear out from Ireland in the same manner as from Great Britain; and that whenever the commerce to the countries shall cease to be carried on by an exclusive com-

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nue to be carried on solely by an exclusive company, having liberty to import into the port of London only, no goods of the growth, produce or manufacture of the said countries, shall be imported into this kingdom from any other place than from Great Britain, except dye stuffs, drugs, cotton or other wool and spiceries, and except such goods as may now or hereafter may be importable into Great Britain from any other place than the said countries, which goods shall be importable into this kingdom from the same countries from which they may be importable into Great Britain, and under the same duties and regulations to which they shall be subject on such importation into Great Britain, under penalty of forfeiting all such goods, and the ship or vessel in which the same shall be imported, with all her guns, tackle, furniture, and ammunition.

Provided always, and it is hereby declared, that it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that no prohibition shall exist or be laid in Great Britain, on the exportation of any goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the said countries from Great Britain to Ireland, and that all duties paid on importation thereof shall be drawn back in Great Britain on such exportation, or that such part of the said duties as shall be retained shall be accounted for and remitted to the revenue of this kingdom.

And be it declared, that it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that all goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Ireland, whether exported from Ireland or from Great Britain, shall be deemed British goods within the meaning of any obligation in any statute or charter

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pany having liberty to import into the port of London only, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the said countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, to the Streights of Magellan, shall be importable into Ireland from the British, or foreign settlements in the East Indies, subject to the same duties and regulations as the like goods shall from time to time be subject to on importation into Great Britain, and if prohibited to be imported into Great Britain, shall in like manner be prohibited from being imported into Ireland.

And be it declared by the authority aforesaid, That it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that so long as the commerce to the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan, shall be carried on solely by an exclusive company having liberty to import into the port of London only, no goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the said countries shall be allowed to be imported into Ireland, but through Great Britain, except dye stuffs, drugs, cotton, or other wool, and spiceries, and such other articles as are or hereafter may be importable into Great Britain from foreign European countries, which articles may be imported into Ireland from European countries, so long as the same are importable from foreign European countries into Great Britain: and that it shall be lawful to export any goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of any of the said countries, from Great Britain to Ireland; and that such duties as may now by law be retained thereon on such exportation shall continue to be so retained; but that an account shall be kept thereof, and that the amount thereof shall be remitted, by the Receiver General of his Majesty's Customs in Great Britain, to the proper officer of his

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of such exclusive company, to export any quantity or value of British goods annually, or otherwise, so as effectually to allow the exportation of such goods by the said company from this kingdom, and that such exportation shall be for so much a performance of such obligation; and that all ships freighted by the said company shall be at liberty to touch at any of the ports of this kingdom, and to take on board any goods, whether native or foreign, which the said company are or shall be permitted to export from Great Britain.

And be it declared, that it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that so long as the said trade shall be carried on by such an exclusive company, having equal liberty to carry out to the said countries from this kingdom as from any part of Great Britain all goods, whether of foreign or native produce, no ships shall be allowed to clear out from this kingdom for any of the said countries but such as shall be freighted by such company, and shall have sailed from the port of London, and except such foreign ships as might by any law now or hereafter to be in force, clear out for foreign settlements in the said countries from Great Britain, which ships shall be allowed to clear out in the same manner as is or shall be allowed from Great Britain.

Be it therefore enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that so long as the said trade shall be carried on by an exclusive company having equal liberty to carry out to the said countries from this kingdom any goods, whether of foreign or native produce, which may be carried out to the said countries from Great Britain, no ships shall be allowed to clear out from this kingdom for any of the said countries but such as shall be freighted by such company and except such foreign ships as might by any law now or hereafter

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Majesty's revenue in Ireland, to be placed to the account of his Majesty's revenue there, subject to the disposal of the Parliament of that kingdom.

And be it declared by the authority aforesaid, That it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that all goods and commodities whatever, which shall hereafter be imported into this kingdom from Ireland, or into Ireland from Great Britain, should be put, by laws to be passed in the Parliaments of the two kingdoms, under the same regulations, with respect to bonds, cockets, and other instruments, to which the like goods are subject in passing from one port of this kingdom to another; Be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all goods, which shall be shipped or put on board in any port, creek, or member of any port, in this kingdom, to be carried to any port or place in the kingdom of Ireland, shall be accompanied with the like sufferance and cocket, and subject to the like bond and security, as are required by any law in Great Britain for the like goods passing from one port in Great Britain to any other; and that no goods brought from any port or place in the kingdom of Ireland, shall be permitted to be imported into any port, creek, or member of any port, in this kingdom, without a sufferance and cocket signed by the proper officer or officers of the revenue in Ireland, nor shall be landed in this kingdom until the sufferance and cocket shall have been produced to the proper officer of the Customs here, and a sufferance granted for landing the same, under the like restrictions, regulations, penalties, and forfeiture, to which goods carried from one port of Great Britain to another are liable.

And be it declared by the autho-

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to be in force clear out [for foreign settlements in the said countries from Great Britain, which ships shall be allowed to clear out from this kingdom in the same manner as is or shall be allowed from Great Britain.

And be it further declared, that it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that all goods which may be exported from this kingdom to the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan, so long as the commerce with those countries shall be carried on by such exclusive company, shall be exported with equal exemption from or incumbrance of duties, and under like regulations as the similar goods are or may be exportable from Great Britain thither.

And be it enacted, that the said persons so to be appointed as aforesaid, shall prepare a schedule of all such duties and regulations as may be now necessary for that purpose, to be laid before the House of Commons on the first day of the next session of parliament, or as soon as conveniently may be.

And be it declared, by the authority aforesaid, that it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that all goods or commodities whatever which shall hereafter be imported into this kingdom from Great Britain, or into Great Britain from this kingdom, shall be put, by laws to be passed in the parliaments of the two kingdoms respectively, under the same regulations, with respect to bonds, cockets and other instruments to which the like goods are subject in passing from one port of Great Britain to the other.

And in order to prevent disputes touching the exercise of the right of the inhabitants of each kingdom

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city aforesaid, That it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that the inhabitants of both kingdoms shall have an equal right to carry on fisheries on every part of the coasts of the British dominions: Be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the subjects of his Majesty, residing in Ireland, shall have equal privileges and advantages with his Majesty's subjects residing in Great Britain, in fishing on the coasts of Great Britain, and the territories belonging thereto.

And be it declared by the authority aforesaid, That it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that the importation of articles from foreign countries shall be regulated from time to time, in each kingdom, on such terms as may effectually favour the importation of similar articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other, except in the case of materials of manufacture which are, or hereafter may be, allowed to be imported from foreign countries duty free.

And be it declared and enacted by the authority aforesaid, That this Act and every part thereof, shall commence and be in force on the provided that before the said an act shall have been passed in the Parliament of Ireland, which shall appropriate what ever sum the gross produce of the hereditary revenue shall amount to, after deducting all drawbacks, repayments, and bounties in the nature of drawbacks, over and above the sum of 656,000. in each year, towards the support of the naval force of the empire, to be applied in such manner as the Parliament of that kingdom shall direct in the said act; and which shall also provide that it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present set-

Mr. Orde's Bill.

to fish on the coasts of any parts of the British dominions;

Be it declared, that it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of this settlement, that the inhabitants of both kingdoms shall have equal right to carry on fisheries on every part of the coasts of the British dominions.

Be it therefore enacted, that all his Majesty's subjects, residing in Great Britain or the dominions belonging thereto, shall enjoy equal privileges and advantages with his Majesty's subjects residing in Ireland, in carrying on fisheries on the coast of Ireland.

And be it declared, that it shall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of this present settlement, that the importation of articles from foreign countries shall be regulated from time to time in each kingdom on such terms as may effectually favour the importation of similar articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other, except in the case of materials of manufacture which are or hereafter may be allowed to be imported from foreign countries duty free.

And whereas it may be expedient that the privileges of printing and vending books, engraving prints, maps, charts, and plans, which are now or may be hereafter legally possessed under the grant of the crown or otherwise, and the copy rights of authors and bookfellers, the engraved property of engravers, print and map-fellers, and the rights under patents granted by the crown, or continued by parliament, for the encouragement of new inventions, shall be protected in each kingdom:

Be it farther enacted and declared, that it is not intended by this present settlement, nor shall any thing in this act contained extend, or be construed to ex-

Mr. Pitt's Bill.

tlement, that the due collection of the duties composing the said hereditary revenue shall be at all times effectually secured; and provided that before the said an act or acts shall have been passed in the Parliament of Ireland, for carrying into effect, on the part of that kingdom, the present settlement, and all matters, provisions, and regulations herein declared to be fundamental and essential conditions thereof; and provided also, that before the said an act shall have been passed in the Parliament of Great Britain, declaring such act or acts of the Parliament of Ireland to contain satisfactory provisions for carrying into effect the present settlement.

And be it also declared, that the continuance of the present settlement, and the duration of this act, and of every thing herein contained, shall depend on the due observance in the kingdom of Ireland, of the several matters herein declared to be fundamental and essential conditions of the said settlement, according to the true intent, meaning, and spirit thereof.

Provided nevertheless, that all the said fundamental and essential conditions shall, in all times, be held and deemed to be, and to have been, duly observed in the kingdom of Ireland, unless it shall have been expressly declared, by an act of the Parliament of this kingdom, that the same have not been duly observed.

Here ends Mr. Pitt's Bill.

Mr. Orde's Bill.

tend, to prevent the continuing or imposing of any prohibition in either kingdom on the importation of any books, prints, maps, charts or plans, the exclusive privilege of printing, engraving and vending whereof in such kingdom shall be legally possessed by any person or persons under such grant or otherwise, or under such copy-right, nor on the importation of any article, the exclusive right of making, using or vending whereof in such kingdom shall be legally possessed by any person or persons under such patent or act of parliament.

And whereas it is just and reasonable that so soon as the necessary regulations shall be agreed upon and established by the parliament of Great Britain, for carrying the present settlement into execution, and that an act or acts to be passed by the said parliament for that purpose shall be declared by the parliament of this kingdom to contain provisions satisfactory and sufficient for the same, a provision equally permanent and secure shall be made on the part of this kingdom towards defraying, by some fixed mode, in proportion to its growing prosperity, the necessary expences of protecting the trade and general interests of the empire:

Be it therefore further enacted, that whatever sum the gross hereditary revenue of this kingdom, after deducting all drawbacks, repayments, or bounties granted in the nature of drawbacks, shall produce in the year ending the 25th day of March which shall next immediately follow the completion and commencement of this present settlement, and on every succeeding year ending the 25th of March, over and above the sum of 656,000. Irish currency, subject to the limitations and conditions herein-after

Mr. Orde's Bill.

provided, shall be appropriated towards the support of the naval force of the empire, in manner hereafter directed.

Provided always, that if in any year there shall be incurred, except on account of war, danger of war, insurrection, danger of insurrection, or such like unforeseen emergency, affecting or threatening to affect the public safety, any expence which shall produce an excess beyond the total of the estimates approved, and amount of supplies granted by Parliament for the service of such year, in every such case the said extraordinary expence may be payable out of and deducted from the surplus, if any such there be, of the said hereditary revenue, and the remainder of such surplus only shall be applicable as hereinafter directed.

Provided also, that if upon a comparison of the expences of any one year with the estimates approved of, or the amount of supplies granted by Parliament for the service of such year, any deficiency shall appear in the produce of the aids and duties, or other ways and means granted, allotted or appropriated for that service, so that as the same shall not have been equal to the amount of the supplies granted, such deficiency shall not intrench upon or be deducted from, or be made good out of such surplus of the said hereditary revenue, but such surplus as aforesaid shall be applied towards the support of the naval force of the empire as hereinafter directed; any such deficiency in the produce of the aids or duties, or other ways and means, or any thing in this or any other act contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

And be it further enacted, that such surplus as shall be applicable by virtue of this act towards the support of the naval force of the empire, shall be applied from time to time, in the first place, to the pur-

Mr. Orde's Bill.

chase of sail cloth, cordage, naval stores, gunpowder, provisions, or such other articles the growth, produce or manufacture of this kingdom, as can be conveniently and sufficiently supplied from thence for the use of the royal navy, in such manner as shall be directed by his Majesty, his heirs and successors, and afterwards to such heads of service, for the use of the said navy, as shall be directed in like manner.

And be it enacted, that an account shall be kept by the proper officer or officers of all issues made from time to time, pursuant to such directions, and for the purposes for which the same shall have been made.

And be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that exact and distinct accounts be kept by the several proper officers of the amount of his Majesty's said hereditary revenue in this kingdom, and of the exact drawbacks, repayments, or bounties granted in the nature of drawbacks, which shall be, and by law ought to be paid or deducted out of the same; and that an account of the whole be annually returned to the Lord Lieutenant or other the Chief Governor or Governors of Ireland, to be by him or them transmitted to his Majesty; and that a like account be annually laid before Parliament on the first day of every session.

And be it further declared and enacted, that it is the true intent and meaning of the present settlement, that any removal, suspension or alteration of any hereditary duties which may be made at any time hereafter, shall not be deemed an infringement of, or deviation from the present settlement.

Provided always, and it is hereby enacted, that in every such case an account shall be kept of what every such duty would have produced in case it had not been altered, removed or suspended, in order that the amount thereof may be from time

Mr. Orde's Bill.

to time duly replaced to the said hereditary revenue.

And be it declared by the authority aforesaid, that it shall be adjudged to be a fundamental and essential condition of the present settlement, that the due collection of the duties composing the said hereditary revenue shall be at all times effectually secured, and that for that purpose the said duties shall continue to be collected and enforced as well by the powers, authorities, regulations and provisions applicable to the same by virtue of the acts by which the said duties were granted, as far as the same have not been or shall not be hereafter altered or repealed, as by any other powers, authorities, regulations or provisions, which are or may be from time to time applicable by law to the collection of any additional duties which are or shall be payable on any of the said articles respectively.

And be it declared and enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that this act, and every part thereof, shall commence and be in force so soon as an act or acts shall have been passed in the Parliament of Great Britain for carrying into effect, on the part of that kingdom, the present settlement, and all matters, provisions and regulations herein declared to be fundamental and essential conditions thereof; and that an act shall have been passed in the Parliament of this kingdom, declaring that such act or acts of the Parliament of

Great Britain contain satisfactory provisions for carrying into effect the present settlement.

And whereas no law made by the present Parliament can limit or restrain the free and unquestioned exercise or discretion of any succeeding Parliaments, who must be competent, equally as is the present, to every act of legislation whatever: And whereas the continuance of the present settlement must depend on the due observance in both kingdoms of the several matters herein declared to be fundamental and essential conditions thereof, according to the true intent, spirit and meaning.

Be it declared, that the continuance of the present settlement, and the duration of this act, and of every thing herein contained, shall depend on the due observance in the kingdom of Great Britain of the several matters herein declared to be fundamental and essential conditions of the said settlement, according to the true intent, meaning and spirit thereof.

Provided nevertheless, that all the said fundamental and essential conditions shall in all times be held and deemed to be, and to have been duly observed in the kingdom of Great Britain, unless it shall have been expressly declared by a joint address of both Houses of Parliament of this kingdom to his Majesty, that the same have not been duly observed.

A Summary of the Evidence given by the Manufacturers before the Committee of the House of Lords, against the Irish Propositions.

General Chamber of Manufacturers of Great Britain.

At a COMMITTEE held in London, August 18, 1785.

IT is consistent with the design of this institution to facilitate, by every means in our power, the obtaining a true judgment on every question in which the manufacturing interest of Great Britain is concerned.

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To promote this desirable purpose, we have prepared the following abstract of the evidence, given at the bar of the House of Lords, respecting the Irish Propositions. The facts here established, and the obvious consequences they lead to, are of such peculiar importance, as renders any apology for our interference unnecessary. The fidelity of this abridgment may be depended on; most of the articles having been either drawn up, or approved, by the witnesses themselves.

We have forbore making an abstract of the evidence given in support of the resolutions, because, on comparing some parts of it with others, we find such apparent contradictions, such clear proofs that our manufactures may, under proper management, be advantageously transplanted to Ireland, that no fair abridgment of it can be made which shall not seem partial to such as do not recur to the originals.

The intention of this Chamber has always been to apply not to the passions, but to the understandings of men, and to convince by facts that cannot be controverted, instead of attempting to seduce by rash assertions or mere declamation.

It is a well known fact, that all the manufactures of Britain, without exception, are loaded with heavy taxes; such as Land-tax, Window-tax, Shop-tax, Commutation-tax, House-tax, Horse-tax, Post Horse and Carriage-tax, Auction-tax, Stamps for Receipts, Bills, Agreements, Debentures, &c. Poor's rate, Excise on Candles, Soap, Leather, Spirits, Beer, Paper, &c. &c. &c. and these immense burthens are aggravated by that most destructive impediment to the success of all manufactures that are unhappily exposed to its influence, *the System of Excise Laws.*

It appears from the following Abstract, and from the former publications of this Chamber,

1. That the manufactures of Ireland are, comparatively, almost exempted from taxes: whence the price of labour, in many instances, is not half so high as in Britain.

2. That rents are there lower, and materials for building much cheaper.

3. That the duties * on the importation of foreign raw materials of manufactures are much less, and consequently the materials themselves of proportionately lower price.

4. That the Irish manufactures have a decided advantage at all foreign markets, not only on account of the low prices they can be afforded at, for the reasons above mentioned, but likewise because the Irish government may permit them to be exported duty free, or even give bounties to any particular manufactures in which it may determine to rival the British.

* England may indeed lower the duties on the importation of raw materials, but the deficiency in the revenue thereby occasioned, must be made up by other taxes, and these have been of late so contrived as to fall mostly on the middling and lower classes of tradesmen.

5. That

5. That they have a decided advantage in most articles, even in the British market; because the nominal port duty of 10½ per cent. on the importation of Irish manufactures into Great Britain, which is in fact not more than 4 per cent. *ad valorem*, will not protect the British manufacturer in the natural and hereditary right of supplying his own country; and because no future prohibition can be made to insure to ourselves the working of our own native raw materials.

It is true that manufactures imported into the one kingdom from the other are chargeable with a countervailing duty, intended to subject them to burthens adequate to those which the home manufacture is subject to, in consequence of any internal duty on the manufacture itself, or on the raw material it is composed of. But we think it clear and certain from the evidence, that in most cases a countervailing duty cannot be ascertained, nor our manufactures protected by an immediate tax on the finished goods imported. We must likewise observe that this compensation (were it practicable) can only apply to taxes laid on specific manufactures themselves, while the much heavier burthen of the general taxes on consumption is totally overlooked.

While Britain, by granting to Ireland a full participation of advantages, without stipulating for any participation of burthens, is thus on the eve of giving away her manufactures, the policy of neighbouring kingdoms justly considers them as the sources of national industry and wealth, without which the value of lands and population must alike suffer. The Emperor of Germany, urged by the desire of encouraging his manufactures, and entertaining well-founded and intelligible notions of reciprocity, has burthened the importation of our manufactures with heavy duties, because we choose to admit, duty free, and pay in specie for the Irish linens, rather than receive German linens in return for our own commodities: and he is now vigorously exerting himself, even personally, to procure the establishment of our manufactures in his dominions. The French ministry have thought fit to encourage their infant manufactories by an edict*, prohibiting the importation of all linens and cottons, whether plain or coloured; and a later edict totally prohibits † the importation and sale of all our manufactures in that kingdom. Every civilized nation is sensible of the importance of the manufacturing part of the state, and endeavours to give success to its efforts. We will still indulge the hope that Britain, on more mature consideration, cannot pursue a contrary mode of conduct.

It is unnecessary to enlarge on the effects that must follow from a law founded on a treaty so destitute of every principle of equity and justice. The Chamber of Manufacturers reflect with pleasure, that

* Dated 10th July 1785.

† By the edict, 17th July 1785.

their

their interference has, in some degree diminished its evil tendency. Among the alterations pointed out by the Chamber, are those made in the fourteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth resolutions. Without these alterations this kingdom would have been for ever deprived of the right of preventing the exportation of prohibited articles by the way of Ireland to foreign countries; the engraved copy right of the subjects of Great Britain would have been exposed to invasion, by importation of copies from Ireland, without any legal remedy against their sale here; and all letters patent, now in force, would have been immediately rendered of no effect, from the same cause. We may observe farther, that had it not been for the vigorous steps taken by this Chamber, on the 14th of March, the eleven original propositions would have been brought forward in the House of Commons on the Wednesday following, as the Minister declared they should: in which case it is probable they would have passed without alteration; he having declared also that they must all stand or fall together as they then were. The petitions and evidence offered to the House procured so much time for reflection, as to occasion the alterations and additions that have been made, some of which are essential to the welfare of this country.

We feel our fate, as manufacturers, so involved in these resolutions, that we are determined, with the assistance of our brethren, to oppose them in the most effectual manner in our power. And we think it incumbent on us to warn others of the common danger, and invite them to unite their efforts in petitioning the legislature that the bill founded on the resolutions may not pass into a law. It is not yet too late to come forward and to convince the ministry, that this measure does not coincide with the wishes of the people. An alarming and most critical interval is before us. If the manufacturers do not seize it—if they will not now stand forward to assert their own cause—another opportunity will never offer, and the ruin of our manufactures, with all those who depend upon them, is inevitable.

A perusal of the following abstract will afford striking instances of the bad policy and destructive effects of the excise laws, which render a large capital necessary for the manufacturer; greatly enhance the price of finished goods to the consumer, without producing an adequate revenue to the state; and subject the manufacturer to the vexatious control of revenue officers, who, being at the same time admitted into the secrets of his business, act as spies upon all his operations, communicate his improvements, which have cost him great labour and expence, to others, perhaps to foreign rivals, and thus effectually check the exertions of genius and invention. The consequences of this impolitic measure have crushed not a few undertakings in their infancy, some of which are mentioned in the following sheets. The future efforts of this Chamber will, probably, be directed towards the obtaining relief in those grievances that already subsist, and preventing, by proper representations to government,

ment, the effect of such bills as may in future come before the Houses of Parliament, and contain matter inimical to the prosperity of the manufacturing part of these kingdoms. For the advancement of these and the other valuable purposes for which we are associated, we request the concurrence and support of our brethren throughout Great Britain; and have for that purpose subjoined the plan of our institution.

By order of the Committee,
WILLIAM NICHOLSON, Secretary.

PLAN of the GENERAL CHAMBER of MANUFACTURERS of GREAT BRITAIN.

THE manufacturers of Great Britain constitute a very large, if not a principal part of the community; and their industry, ingenuity, and wealth, have contributed no small share towards raising this kingdom to the distinguished and envied rank which she bears amongst the European nations. Their manufactures are the basis of our foreign commerce, and it is ultimately upon them that the value of landed property depends.

Their importance to the state, and their influence upon the rest of the community, seem, however, to be little attended to by the politicians of the present day; who, satisfied with the prosperity which the nation has already acquired, and not aware how instrumental the exertions of our artisans have been in procuring it, have proposed and adopted measures, calculated to accelerate that decline of the national prosperity, which many recent circumstances demonstrate to be rapidly advancing.

That this subject is much better understood by the rulers of other European nations, appears by their active endeavours to avail themselves of the supineness of our governors, and by the vigorous efforts they are making, both openly and surreptitiously, to transplant the British manufactures into their respective dominions, by enticing our workmen, instructed in the manual practices, and acquainted with the inventions of their masters;—by procuring from us the tools, implements, and machines of various kinds, invented and made by the ingenuity of British artisans, for perfecting their several manufactures;—by prohibiting, throughout their dominions, the sale of articles produced or manufactured in Britain, or laying immoderate duties upon the importation of them; and by applying those duties, not to the exigencies of the state, but to the encouragement of similar manufactures among themselves;—convinced (to use the just and emphatic expression of the Emperor of Germany, in his edict for that purpose) that the "*well being of the state depends essentially upon the prosperity of its manufactures.*"

Nor have the manufacturers themselves sufficiently understood their importance to, and connection with, one another. Intent on the particular

particular objects to which they are attached, they have not extended their views beyond their respective spheres, or considered the relation which they naturally bear to one another, as parts of one great whole, embarked in one common interest. Diffident of their own resources, they have not hitherto thought of uniting their strength, or acting in concert, and thereby obtaining that assistance, reciprocally, from one another, which their respective situations have often stood in need of, and which nothing but united counsels and exertions can afford. From this cause it has happened, that the interests of many distinct bodies of manufacturers have, by a variety of unwise regulations, been injured, oppressed, and themselves driven into the open arms of our rivals.

On the manufacturers, of late years, great part of the national taxes have been imposed; and a mode of taxation has been adopted, peculiarly oppressive to the subject, and destructive to that spirit of emulation and improvement, so essential to the progress of arts, and which, if persisted in, and extended to the degree that there are grounds to believe is intended, must finally prove fatal to the most certain sources of wealth and strength to this nation.

It seems hitherto likewise to have escaped the notice of the manufacturers, that whilst the landed and the funded interests, the East-India, and other commercial bodies, have their respective advocates in the great council of the nation, they alone are destitute of that advantage; and it is probably from this source that many of their grievances have arisen,—that they have so repeatedly and perhaps inadvertently been oppressed by ministers unacquainted with their real interests, and misled by the designs of interested individuals.

Common danger having at length brought together a number of manufacturers in various branches, and from various places, and these having felt the advantages resulting to each from unreserved conferences, and mutual assistance, they are now persuaded, that the prosperity of the manufacturers of this kingdom, and of course that of the kingdom itself, will be promoted by the formation of a general bond of union, whereby the influence and experience of the whole being collected at one common centre, they will be the better enabled to effect any useful purposes for their general benefit.

By this means, also, they will procure and circulate useful knowledge among themselves, and will be able to communicate to government such authentic information respecting their various manufactures as may occasionally be required, untingered with the selfish designs of individuals. For as it is their firm resolution to give a general and determined opposition to every attempt to wound the interests of the kingdom through the sides of its manufacturers; so are they equally disposed not only to submit to, but on every occasion to strengthen the hands of government, by promoting the patriotic measures of every administration, for the general interests of the empire.

With

With these views, and on these principles, is the *General Chamber of the Manufacturers of Great Britain* established, as well as the corresponding Provincial Chambers.

London, as the seat of government, and the grand magazine of the kingdom, must obviously be the place of general union, but the members of the body extend over the whole kingdom. In order that this numerous body may be conducted with prudence, and act with vigour, the following Regulations are agreed on, as the commencement and first basis of a plan that may be afterwards improved and enlarged.

R E G U L A T I O N S.

1. This institution shall consist of Manufacturers, and such Delegates (being commercial men of the same description) as may be appointed by Provincial Chambers; out of which body shall be annually chosen a President, Vice-President, and Treasurer. Every member, not subscribing to a Provincial Chamber, shall pay annually the sum of *One Guinea*. The Provincial Chambers shall pay to this institution at the rate of 5s. per annum for each of their members. Each subscription shall be understood to continue, till the subscriber gives a written notice to the Secretary of his intention to withdraw.

2. A General Meeting shall be held soon after the meeting of Parliament every year, at a time to be fixed by the Committee, besides such other General Meetings as may, from time to time, be called on particular occasions.

3. A Committee shall be annually chosen by ballot at the aforesaid General Chamber, consisting of twenty-one Manufacturers residing in London, who shall meet on the first Thursday in every month; and of this Committee the President, Vice-President, and all Delegates from Provincial Chambers shall be members, and be intitled to vote; any five of whom shall form a Committee. Every member of the General Chamber shall be at liberty to attend, but not to vote.

4. A Chairman shall be appointed to the Committee when they are chosen by the Chamber, by annexing the word Chairman to one of the twenty-one names in the list to be delivered in for the ballot; and the person who has the majority of votes, so distinguished, shall be declared elected, who shall preside when present at all times, unless the President or Vice-President shall attend, both at the Chamber and at the Committee. Their, and the Treasurer's accounts shall be audited at least twice in the year, and reported to the General Chamber. The money belonging to this institution shall be lodged in the Bank, and whenever it amounts to more than the sum of 200l. shall be invested in exchequer bills, or some productive fund. No money shall be disbursed on account of this institution, except by order of the Committee.

5. A Secretary and proper office shall be provided to this institution. The business of the Secretary shall be to attend all General Meetings of the Chamber, and of the Committee. He shall attend at the office on such days at such hours as shall be directed by the Committee. He shall fairly transcribe all the minutes into proper books, and keep copies of all letters and papers, in due order, for the inspection of the members. He shall preserve all other books and papers belonging to this institution, and shall, on all occasions, follow the directions of the General Chamber of Commerce, and its Committees.

6. The Committee shall propose to the General Chamber such regulations as they may from time to time think necessary; which shall be confirmed, amended or rejected, at a succeeding General Meeting.

7. Any five members of the Chamber shall be at liberty to call a Committee whenever they see occasion, by notice in writing to the Secretary. The Committee, in like manner, shall be at liberty to call a General Chamber; and shall be obliged so to do at the request of twenty-one members of the Chamber at least, when delivered to them in writing, signed by such members, through the hands of the Secretary.

8. Any member of this institution may, on application to the Secretary, in London, either by person or by letter, receive information respecting any matter concerning any branch of manufacture, or matter relative thereto; and if it so happen that the question shall comprize any matter of law to be decided upon, proper opinion shall, if necessary, be taken at the expence of the Chamber.

THE CUT GLASS MANUFACTORY.

JOHN BLADES, SAMUEL PARKER.

THE manufacturers of cut glass in Ireland will be able to purchase their plain glass 50 per cent. cheaper than those in England, in consequence of excise duties to which the latter are subject, and from which the Irish are exempt.

The articles are so various in their forms and dimensions, that it is impossible to ascertain a proper countervailing duty.

	£.	s.	d.
The nominal duty on plain glass is, per cwt.	1	1	5 $\frac{3}{4}$

But the duty really paid on account of the manner of collecting it, is	1	17	1
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In some instances the loss by breakage in cutting is half its first weight, and in cutting there is sometimes half the remainder reduced, so that as four cwt. of plain glass is used to produce 1 cwt. of finished goods, the duty paid on that cwt. amounts to	7	8	4
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The Irish on importation will pay only the nominal duty on the same quantity of goods manufactured, the per value paid in cutting not paying any	1	1	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
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Difference in favour of Ireland	6	6	10 $\frac{1}{4}$
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The

The port duty of 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. being only on a *rated value*, much below the real one, when added to the duty of 21 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. will not be sufficient duty to protect this manufacture. In England, no drinking glasses are made so low in value as 2s. per dozen, the rated value in Ireland, as appears by the accounts laid before the House of Commons: they are here from 3s. to 6s. 8s. 10s. 12s. and upwards, so that the rated value of 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. will not be 4 per cent. on the real value.

The English export of glass has considerably decreased of late years, and the Irish has increased so much, that from North America and the West Indies, they have more orders for glass than they can execute. The English manufacture goes out with a duty; drawing back only the nominal duty of 21 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ on the neat weight exported, from which there is a deduction of about 8 per cent. for fees and stamps to obtain it.

There are several glass manufactories lately established in Ireland, and some in other foreign states; one in particular at Paris; the agents for which were detected in procuring English workmen, and, by a union of the trade, were prosecuted, and prevented sending any more: they actually procured nine, and about sixteen others were prevented from going by a timely discovery. There is another glass work established in Russia.

The ships in service of the East India Company, being permitted to touch at the ports of Ireland, and to take in the goods of the manufacture of that kingdom, the glass trade will suffer additional injury: as the East India market is a very considerable one to the glass business, the Irish being able to under sell us, will of course gain that market.*

Unless a duty of 50 per cent. be laid on Irish plain glass imported, and a further duty on cut glass adequate to the reduction of the weight, and the risk in cutting; and unless there is a drawback allowed on the exportation of English plain glass equal to the duty actually paid, with a further allowance for the reduction of the weight, and risk in cutting, so that it may go clear of all duty; the Irish will under sell us not only in their own, but in the British, and every foreign market.

There is no method of putting the manufacturers of glass on equal terms in both countries, but by a repeal of the excise of glass paid in England.

* Since the examination, we observe that, by the 8th proposition, the trade to the British settlements is to be put under such regulations, that the Irish manufactures may not go out with less incumbrance of duties and impositions than the English: it will be as impossible to adjust this matter, so as to ascertain a countervailing duty, for the same reasons: except by a total repeal of the excise laws.

SILK WEAVERS OF LONDON.

RICHARD LEA.

The great number of persons concerned in this manufacture may be judged of from hence, that a person employed some years ago to collect 6*d.* from every loom in London and its neighbourhood, collected it from 64,000 looms. Several of the workmen are now unemployed here.

Thrown silk, on its importation from foreign parts into England, pays a duty of 7*s.* and 4*d.* per pound, of sixteen ounces, but on importation into Ireland, only 2*s.* 0½*d.* Irish money; difference 5*s.* 6*d.* sterling, which amounts to twenty-three per cent. on the average value of the silk, in favour of Ireland.

Raw silk, on importation into England, pays a duty of 3*s.* per pound, but on importation into Ireland only 1*d.* Irish; difference 2*s.* 4*d.* sterling, which amounts to nineteen per cent. on the value of this material in favour of Ireland.

The English silk weaver pays an excise duty on the manufacture itself, amounting to 4*s.* 6*d.* on a dozen of printed silk handkerchiefs; from which duty the Irish manufacturer is wholly exempt.

On one dozen of Bandanoe handkerchiefs, weighing one pound in the raw, the difference of duty gives the Irish manufacturer an advantage over the English of 6*s.* 10*d.* which is 27*l.* ½*d.* per cent. on the value.

Opening the British market to the Irish manufacturer cannot fail to occasion smuggling. Five dozen or more of the above handkerchiefs may be contained in a packet of the bulk of about six pounds of tea: the excise duty on such a packet is 22*s.* 6*d.* and the difference in the duty on the raw material between here and Ireland, 15*s.*

The home market is much superior to the foreign ones for this manufacture. The countervailing duty, by proposition 12th, will not be a sufficient protection to the English manufacturer in the home market. Even a very high duty laid upon French silks several years ago did not prevent their being imported, in such quantities, as nearly to ruin the English manufacture; and therefore a total prohibition was found necessary, which now exists. Instead of a countervailing duty, the duty on the raw material ought to be equalized.

Silk loses one-fourth of its weight in dying; and the drawback on exportation is paid only on the weight exported; and the drawback even upon that is less than the duty originally paid.

A great deal of soap, is used in preparing the silk for this manufacture. The price of this soap, per hundred weight, is in Ireland 35*s.* Irish, and in England 3*l.* 10*s.* sterling.

LEATHER

LEATHER MANUFACTURES.

JOSEPH GUTTERIDGE, WILLIAM NEWMAN, SAMUEL BEDDOME, WILLIAM ROBERTS, THOMAS RAWSON, THOMAS BELL, WILLIAM BAYLIS, JAMES MOONE.

The Irish propositions will operate very unfavourably upon the manufacture of tanned leather in England, by securing to the Irish tanner certain advantages, and fixing the English under certain disadvantages. Ireland abounds with raw hides and skins, and is subject to no internal excise upon her manufacture. The price of labour in Ireland is not more than two-thirds of the price of labour in England, and the Irish are to have the English oak bark for ever, duty free.

The British tanner is under the necessity of supplying himself with raw hides, and calf skins from Ireland, which are charged with a duty upon exportation from thence, about 2*l.* per cent. on the former, and 5*l.* per cent. upon the skins, *ad valorem.* There is a further expence incurred for salting, &c. amounting in all (duty included) to 15 per cent. and upwards, which expence the tanner in Ireland will save; and these circumstances give a decided superiority to the Irish tanner over the English.

In the year 1780, permission was granted to the Irish to export their leather manufactures to the British colonies, under certain conditions, since which time they have exported considerable quantities. The export wrought leather from Ireland in 1780, was about 2000 pounds weight, and in 1784, it increased to upwards of 47000 pounds, being in a proportion of more than twenty to one. And it appears that every market in America and the West Indies is filled with Irish leather manufactures, whilst the British manufacture is declining.

There is no reason why the Irish tanner might not purchase oak bark as cheap upon the spot as the English tanner can, and the expence of freight is the same to Ireland, as it is to many places in England and Scotland; therefore there is no advantage in this respect upon either side.

The only methods whereby an equality can be established, are these:

1. An equalization of internal duties in both kingdoms.
2. That the export to the states of America should be put upon the same footing as that to the British colonies, with respect to duties and impositions.
3. The retention of the power over the oak bark of England by the British legislature.

Without which the leather manufacture of Great Britain must sooner or later be transferred to Ireland.

In respect to cut leather, there is the greatest disparity between the situation of England and Ireland; this article receives no drawback, but

but is exported, under a charge of excise and duties of 16 per cent: therefore the advantages possessed by the Irish leather-cutter at every foreign market are irresistible; and if the Irish are permitted to send the prime parts of their hides into Great Britain, they can ruin us in that trade at home. This is evidently the case, as the leather-cutter who gives 13½d. per pound for some of his hides, is obliged to dispose of a great part of each of those hides as low as 5d. per pound.

If the customers for the finer parts can be supplied with Irish cut leather, it is impossible for the leather dealer of Britain to withstand such a rival in the British market; those parts worth only 5d. per pound, having paid exactly the same excise duty as the parts worth 3s. per pound; viz. 1½d. per pound upon the whole hide.

The whole export of wrought leather from England upon an average of five years, before the last war, at about 417,000lb. weight; and the proportion which was taken off by the American market about 194,575lb. being nearly one-half. The Irish are supplying that market with goods at a lower price than the English can afford them, to which may be attributed in some degree, the present deficiency of orders.

The duty at present subsisting upon the importation of Irish wrought leather is 77l. per cent. the commutation of that duty for a port duty of 10½ per cent. and a duty equal to the internal excise, will end in the destruction of the leather manufacture of Great Britain, which will appear from the following statement.

The countervailing duty supposing to be fully collected, is only a charge made in lieu of money, actually advanced before by the British tanner; it cannot therefore place the importer of Irish leather upon worse terms than the British tanner himself in the British market: and as to the port duty, when it is considered, that the Irish tanner has an advantage of fifteen per cent. in his favour upon the raw material of hides and skins, it is evident he will be able to afford the 10½ per cent. port duty, and meet the British tanner upon equal terms: besides which the Irish tanner possesses many other advantages, such as shaving hides before the duty is paid; exemption from any advance of duties in the early period of business, &c. &c. There is a very great waste and loss in the weight of leather which paid excise, before it is manufactured into shoes; and not one-half of the duty is drawn back even where a quantity is exported large enough to afford the expence of receiving the drawback, but many orders are too small to allow that expence, which amounts in the whole to about 29s. on each entry.

Ireland possesses greater advantages over England, in regard to the mode of conducting the leather manufacture, than Scotland possessed before the late Act of Parliament regulating that trade in Scotland. Wherefore it is to be apprehended advantages so great as these mentioned, will transfer the leather manufacture of shoes from this country to Ireland. In respect to the countervailing duty: such a duty cannot

not be calculated with precision, or any thing like it: 1½d. per lb. may be a duty of 10 per cent. *ad valorem*, or of 50 per cent. according to the value of the portion of the hide or skin imported; although the quality might be detected (perhaps) in the unwrought state, yet no man can judge of that, when the leather is disguised by being made into shoes; and of this great inequality the Irish may make the greatest advantage, to the ruin of the British leather manufacturers.

P A T E N T S.

RICHARD MARCH, VALENTINE RAWLE, JAMES WATT,
MARTIN VANBUTCHELL.

From the evidence delivered on behalf of the holders of patents, it is clear, that if some alteration be not made in their favour, great loss will be sustained by this country in general, and by the patentees in particular, by the introduction of numerous articles from Ireland, the manufacture of which is now protected by letters patent. This seems to have been so obvious to the Committee, that the following proposition was read, with the intent, as it was understood by the petitioners, that it should be adopted in the intended regulations with Ireland, and therefore they declined troubling the house with further evidence, of which they had numbers ready.

“Resolved, That it is expedient that such exclusive rights and privileges arising from new inventions as are now legally possessed within Great Britain, under letters patent from the crown, shall continue to be protected in the manner they are at present by the laws of Great Britain; and that it is just that measures should be taken by the Parliament of Ireland for giving the like protection to similar rights and privileges in that kingdom: and it is also expedient that regulations should be adopted with respect to letters patent hereafter to be granted, in case of new inventions, so that the rights, restrictions, and privileges therein granted and contained, shall be of equal force and duration throughout both kingdoms.”*

I R O N.

* On this proposition, we only would remark, that there seems to be somewhat of partiality, in giving to patents that will be taken out next month, which are denied to those passed this month or the last, and therefore it is proposed that the resolution be as follows:

“Resolved, That it is expedient that such exclusive rights and privileges arising from new inventions as are now legally possessed in either country, shall continue to be protected in the manner they are at present, by the laws of Great Britain, and that such protection shall extend to both countries, provided the several articles for which they were granted were not made and sold in both countries, previous to the 12th of February last. And it is just that measures should be taken by the Parliament of Ireland for giving the like protection to similar rights and privileges in that kingdom: and it is also expedient that regulations should

ALEXANDER RABY, WILLIAM GIBBONS, THOMAS LONG-
RIDGE, FRANCIS WALL, WILLIAM FRENCH, JAMES
GRASS, THOMAS GREEN.

Petition of the makers, importers, and manufacturers of iron, setting forth, That the very important manufactures in which they are engaged, are in great danger of being materially injured, if not totally ruined, should the resolutions pass into a law.

The capital employed in these manufactures is no less than ten millions sterling; and the value of the erections four millions.

The quantity of foreign iron annually imported into Britain, is 55,000 tons;—the duty paid to government on its importation, 155,000l.—and the number of persons employed in the manufacture, from 2 to 300,000, no women or children taken into this account.

The quantity of iron made annually in Britain, is 30,000 tons, at 14l. per ton, average value, and the annual export of manufactured iron is 30,000 tons. No part of the duty paid on importation is drawn back on the exportation of any kind of manufactured iron.

Foreign iron pays, on importation into Britain, a duty of 2l. 16s. 1½d. per ton; but on importation into Ireland, only 9s. 7½d. per ton: difference in favour of Ireland, 2l. 6s. 6d. per ton, which amounts (the average price of iron in Russia being 10l. 5s.) to 22½ per cent. in the value of the raw material.

The waste in the working iron hoops, rods, nails, anchors, &c. is averaged at 8s. per ton, which makes the difference in favour of Ireland, 2l. 14s. 6d. or 26½ per cent. And in this proportion, these articles can be manufactured cheaper in Ireland than in England, in consequence only of the duty on the raw material, exclusive of the difference in the price of labour, coals, &c. Labour, the evidence has been informed, is as 5s. or 7s. in Dublin to 13s. or 15s. here.

should be adopted with respect to letters patent hereafter to be granted, in the case of new inventions, so that the rights, restrictions, and privileges therein granted and contained shall be of equal force and duration throughout both kingdoms."

This proposed extension of the privileges to both countries, appears the more reasonable, because several patents have been passed during the agitation of the Irish Propositions, and before their effect was suspected to be injurious to the patentees, at least by them. We wish to avoid giving offence to those in power, but we cannot refrain pointing out the 10th and 18th resolutions, as striking instances of the great precipitation which has marked the progress of this momentous business.

It

It takes twenty-five hundred weight of iron to make a ton of nails, so that the duty paid upon the waste in manufacturing this article, comes to 14s. per ton; and makes a difference in favour of Ireland of 7½ to 10 per cent. in this cheap article, exclusive of other advantage, so that we cannot possibly come in competition with the Irish manufacturer.

Ireland makes steel 10l. per ton cheaper than England.

If the protecting duty of 3l. 3s. 1½d. was fairly paid upon all the iron exported from Ireland, our export trade would be safe. But this takes place only with respect to the iron ware shipped to our colonies and settlements; and even to them, all the iron used in ships built in Ireland, anchors, and all hoops used on casks, in which a principal consumption of iron consists, would be exempt from the duty, not being entered as merchandize. And wherever no protecting duty is paid, we must, in those instances, lose the iron trade.

Anchors are a very considerable article, and will be shipped to America in return for her produce, without paying the protecting duty; and being brought here likewise as stores, may be sold in the English market cheaper than we can make them here. It will be worth our merchant's while, in any considerable quantity for exportation, to order his ships to stop and take them in from Ireland.

The East India ships, touching at Ireland, will probably take in their anchors there, as they can have them 5l. per ton cheaper than here.

We have a considerable trade to Portugal for anchors likewise.

The temptations held out from these circumstances, are sufficient to induce Englishmen to transfer their capital to Ireland, by which means they would receive their profits, and this country lose its revenue.

The very great disparity of the duty between Britain and Ireland, gives advantages to the Irish in all those manufactures, in which any considerable quantity of iron is used in machinery.

In many branches of the iron trade, any labourer, by a week's practice, will become a workman; and in the nail branch, three or four years will raise a set of hands from the natives of the country.

Though Ireland already enjoys a free export to most parts of the globe, yet as the present treaty is understood to be a matter of equalization, we ought now to be put upon an equal footing; and if some alterations do not take place, we shall lose this trade.

Four-fifths of the iron hoops are made in the neighbourhood of London, on account of its being the cheapest market for foreign iron, and the place of the greatest and most constant demand for that article.

The money advanced in duty on bar iron, if manufactured by the importer, does not return to him for eighteen or twenty-four months.

Under these circumstances, it is impossible for the iron trade to

continue in Great Britain; and as the iron made here is the produce of the earth, from stone, pitcoal, and charcoal, the landed interest will feel the loss of this trade the most severely: the inland navigations will likewise suffer much from it.

The only true mode of equalizing the iron trade, is, that Ireland should impose the same duty on the importation of foreign iron as we do; or that she should impose 3l. 16s. 3½d. per ton upon all exports of iron wares; or our legislature grant us a bounty on all iron wares exported, to equal the difference of duty.

To the question asked Mr. Gibbons, "Then you give it, as a man experienced in this matter, as your solemn opinion, delivered upon oath, that if some plan of this sort be not adopted, there is an end of the iron manufacture in this country?"—he answered, "I as firmly believe as I now stand here, that the trade must by degrees, and those not slow, be removed to Ireland, unless we are to be protected by one of the methods above stated, or such better, as the wisdom of administration shall deem effectual."

MANUFACTURERS OF SILK IN MANCHESTER.

WILLIAM HANSON.

Petition of the manufacturers of silk in the town of Manchester, setting forth, That the petitioners have, within a few years, established a very considerable manufacture of silk handkerchiefs, silk and cotton handkerchiefs, and stuffs made of silk and cotton, and silk and linen mixed, to the great increase of the revenue, and by which many thousands of industrious people are now employed in this town and neighbourhood: that the duty on silk imported from all foreign countries into Great Britain is, upon the unthrown, 4s. 6d. upon the pound of 24 ounces, and in Ireland only 1s.; and upon thrown silk, is 7s. 4d. upon the pound of 16 ounces, and in Ireland only 2s. 0½d.; that from the list of prices established by the Irish Parliament, and now paid in Ireland, the petitioners find, that the price of weaving the same kind of goods in Ireland is nearly one-fifth less than in Manchester: that many of the goods manufactured by the petitioners, pay an excise duty amounting to about £. 8 per cent. on the value, for which the Irish are totally exempt: that so many accumulated advantages in favour of the above recited manufacture in Ireland must, from the nature of things, be very productive of smuggling an article of such great value, and so portable on account of its small bulk: that for the above reasons the provision in the 12th resolution, for equalizing the duty on the raw material, by subjecting Irish manufactures, imported into Britain, to burthens adequate to those which the manufacture, composed of the like material, is subject to here, appears to be extremely unsafe and inadequate, and will, in the event, be greatly detrimental to, if not destructive of, the branch of business the petitioners are engaged in: that they have not

not the least objection to Ireland participating with them in their business, provided that silk imported into Great Britain and Ireland be made subject to the same duties, and that Ireland partake of the burthens under which this country labours.

The statements in the petition were proved, and some further particulars given by the evidence. The number of looms, as near as they can compute, is about 2000, which give employment to 6000 people. The business is plain, and very soon learnt, and women and children are employed in it.

As an instance of the temptation to smuggling, afforded by the 12th resolution, he stated his having been shewn that a piece consisting of seventy Bandanoe handkerchief, on which the duty is 2l. 16s. will lie in the same compass as six pounds of tea; and that if calendered, they will lie in one-third less compass.

It appears that the Irish manufacturer has an advantage over the English of £. 30 per cent. in respect to excise and labour; and that he carries on his trade with a far less capital than the English.

E A R T H E N W A R E.

JOSIAH WEDGWOOD.

Has read the resolutions, and does not know any of them that will be beneficial to his manufacture, but there are some that will be the contrary.

Instances in the 9th Resolution.—"That ships going from Great-Britain, to any of the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magelen, should not be restrained from touching at any of the ports in Ireland, and taking on board there any of the goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of that kingdom."

There are very few ships trading to the East-Indies, which do not take of this manufacture with them every voyage.—Has reason to apprehend, from samples of clay being sent from Ireland, to be tried in the potteries in Staffordshire, and other circumstances, that potteries of the finer kind will soon be begun in Ireland, and when so established, will be able to furnish the East-India ships, as well as others, with this article, forty or fifty per cent. cheaper than they can be furnished from the potteries in Staffordshire, owing to the cheapness of provision, freedom from taxes, and consequent cheapness of labour, and to the raw materials themselves being not more than half the price which the Staffordshire potters pay for them.

The 11th Resolution takes away the protecting duty of 41l. 16s. per cent. which we now have against the cheapness of labour, and other advantages possessed by Ireland, and substitutes in its stead a duty of about 17l. per cent. only, which is not adequate for the purpose.

The 12th Resolution may be made use of, so as to prohibit any particular species of our manufacture, as well as other British manufactures,

factures, which it may not be of much consequence to the Irish to cultivate, by laying a high duty upon such species of manufacture in their own country, which will give them a right to lay a like duty on the importation of that species of British manufacture.

The 14th Resolution, stating, "That no prohibition, or new or additional duties should be hereafter imposed, in either kingdom, on the exportation of any article, of native growth, produce, or manufacture, from one kingdom to the other,"—he apprehends to be a very pernicious one, as it may deprive us of many valuable manufactures hereafter. It seems to have been formed under an idea, that all the raw materials, the exportation of which it was necessary for this country to prohibit, were already discovered, and their properties and applications, respecting manufactures, sufficiently investigated, which, to his own knowledge, is far from being the case; for raw materials do exist in this country, and so far as is yet known, are peculiar to it, which may be made the basis of valuable manufactures, and doubtless will be so, unless the policy adopted on this subject should render it improper to bring them forward.

The present prohibitions upon the exportation of fuller's earth, wool, pipe clay, &c. and which prohibitions are still to continue, were no doubt made, and are to be continued, on this principle, that Great-Britain may have the advantage over other nations, not possessing the like raw materials, of manufacturing exclusively such articles as are produced from those raw materials. This resolution will prevent our having the like advantage from any raw materials discovered hereafter.

There are orders now from a foreign nation, for a raw material peculiar to this country, and absolutely necessary for the establishment of a manufacture there, the exportation of which raw material is not at present prohibited. Other articles are in a like situation, which are of the utmost consequence to the manufactures of this kingdom; as they enable us to baffle all competition in foreign markets, against every disadvantage of the high price of labour, and all the taxes which our manufactures are burthened with, compared with the low price of labour in those countries with which we are in competition. These are the machines, presses, dyes, and tools, in which the manufacturers of Great Britain excel all the world, and which are so essential to the well-being, and even the existence of the manufactures here; that in proportion as they are exported and copied in foreign countries, in that proportion our exports of manufactured goods to those countries must decrease. So that from the moment this resolution passes into a law, from that time the British manufactures must decline, and the ultimate ruin of many of them follow.

The Emperor of Germany, sensible of the importance of British machines and tools to the infant manufactures, which he is taking every means to encourage in his own dominions, after prohibiting the importation into his dominions of almost every British manufac-
ture,

ture, gives permission himself, personally, for the importation of considerable quantities of those prohibited articles, but on this express condition, that the tools by which such articles are made shall be sent along with them.

By the 15th Resolution, Ireland is left at liberty to give bounties on the exportation of her own produce and manufactures, by which means she will have it in her power, by directing the whole force of those bounties first against one branch of our export trade, as iron, earthen ware, &c. and afterwards another, to drive those particular branches successively out of the foreign market, and place similar ones of her own in their stead. Several of our manufactures are already driven out by similar ones from Ireland.

In the 16th Resolution, if by *effectually to favour* it be understood, that when two articles of the same kind are sent from two different states, (linens for instance from Ireland, and from Germany) to the British market, and the consumption of this market is not sufficient for them both, such regulations are to take place upon their respective importation into this country, as shall prevent that article which is *not favoured* from selling in this market, and effectually to procure a sale for the other; he thinks this resolution so understood, highly dangerous, as well to many other manufactures as his own; for at present the foreign markets are closing very fast upon the manufacture in which he is concerned, either by absolute prohibitions, or by very high duties; and he apprehends that such partiality in favour of one nation against all the other European nations, is not the likeliest way, either to open those markets which are now shut, or to keep those open which now remain so.

This manufacture has increased not less than ten fold, he believes considerably more, within the last twenty years; but the difficulties with respect to foreign markets are very great. In all the dominions of the Empress of Russia, his manufacture is burthened with a duty of forty per cent.—ten per cent. of which, in the province of Livonia, is a new impost, laid on in the latter end of last year, or beginning of this. In Spain the duty is likewise very high; and on all that goes to Poland, the King of Prussia has laid a double duty, one on entering Dantzick, and another on its leaving that place. In the Austrian Netherlands the duty is four-pence per pound weight, on packages and all; which, on so bulky and cheap an article, he reckons to be not less than cent. per cent. on the value. And this bulk and cheapness renders the smuggling of it impracticable, as a whole waggon load will not amount to so much in value as a common Jew's box.

In Sweden, Denmark, Brandenburg, and Prussia, this manufacture is absolutely prohibited. The edict of the Emperor of Germany, which converts the high duties in the Austrian Netherlands, and the rest of his dominions, into an absolute prohibition, is well known. But a circumstance which happened prior to this prohibition, is material to be mentioned. An eminent manufacturer of Manchester
waited

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waited upon Count Belgioioso (the Emperor's minister) praying for permission to introduce some of the Manchester manufactures upon easier terms. The Count told him, his request was very reasonable, and such as he should make no difficulty of complying with, if there were not other things to be settled between his sovereign and us; and desired, that when he returned to England, he would tell the minister, that if the high duties were not taken off from his sovereign's linen and lace, he would advise the prohibition of British manufactures altogether. Subsequent to this, the prohibition has taken place; but whether upon those grounds, the evidence cannot say.

They have all the materials in Ireland for making the finer as well as coarser earthen wares; and there is much more probability of a successful competition from Ireland, for many reasons, than from places at a greater distance.

The workmen are more easily obtained from hence, as there are no laws against their emigration thither; and they can carry over our latest improvements, tools, &c. in the course of a few days.

The evidence came to town on this business at the unanimous request of a meeting of potters, who were all convinced of the pernicious tendency of the Irish Resolutions to their trade: he does not recollect that there was one dissenting voice.

He apprehends that though none of the direct disadvantages which he has stated, should happen to his own manufacture in consequence of the resolutions, he should nevertheless have great cause of complaint against them if they affected other manufacturers, and consequently his customers, so as to drive them out of the nation, and impoverish those who were left behind, as in the one case he should lose his customers outright, and in the other, their value to him, as customers, would be very much diminished.

That there above 150 master potters in his neighbourhood, in Staffordshire.

That the inconveniences arising from the exportation of our tools, and raw materials not being prohibited, may now be taken away when our legislature thinks proper; but that if these resolutions pass into a law, that power will be taken out of their hands, and the inconvenience rendered perpetual.

That in his opinion, likewise, a permission to export tools, &c. to Ireland, will have the same effect, with respect to our manufactures, as a permission to export them to all the world.

That with respect to the amount of an adequate protecting or countervailing duty on the importation of Irish earthen wares into Britain, no specific sum could be ascertained for that purpose, as the sum must be different according to the different stages of perfection the manufacture arrived at: whilst in its infancy in Ireland, a much less sum would be a protecting duty, than after the natives have learnt the business in as great perfection as we have it here; in which last case he apprehends that forty or fifty per cent. would scarcely

scarcely be a protecting duty, as both the raw materials and labour are cent. per cent. cheaper in Ireland than in Staffordshire.

To the question, "Whether the evidence would prefer to see the English manufacture excluded the Irish market, or to see the Irish manufacture in competition with the English manufacture in the British market;—he answered, That at present he would rather meet the Irish in the British market, than be shut out from the Irish market, the Irish being now so little able to form a competition with us here.

"Whether this opinion is not formed on the idea, that exclusion from the Irish market would throw a great number of the workmen out of employ;" he believed not, because the Irish market bore too small a proportion to all the other markets put together, to produce that effect.

Cheapness of raw materials, &c. has already had the effect of transplanting their manufacture into different parts of England, which he supposes the like circumstances will have in transplanting it into Ireland. But it happens in England, that where some of the raw materials are met with on the coast, others are wanting; in Dorsetshire and Devonshire, they have clay and flint, but want coals; whereas in Ireland (according to the account of Mr. Evans, surveyor of the grand canal, in his report to the Irish Parliament) clay, flint, coals, and water carriage, all meet together in the same place.

Coals, at the potteries in Staffordshire, are from 5s. 6d. to 8s. or 9s. per ton.

Some of the English potteries, where they have the raw materials cheaper than in Staffordshire, have brought their goods to foreign markets cheaper than the Staffordshire potters.

Upon the question, "Whether he apprehended these resolutions were consistent with the prosperity of his own particular manufacture, and upon others as far as he knew of them;"—he answered, That as far as he was acquainted with them, he certainly was of opinion that they were not; that they would be injurious to his own manufacture, and much more so to many others.

MANCHESTER SMALL WARES.

THOMAS SMITH.

The petition sets forth the manifest advantages which Ireland will enjoy over England from her local situation, the cheapness of provisions, the difference in the price of labour, the almost total exemption from internal taxation comparatively with England: That the raw materials which constitute the chief part of the petitioners' manufacture are the produce of Ireland; that for these raw materials, viz. linen and worsted yarn, the petitioners pay upon some of them, on their importation into this kingdom, 18l. per cent. and upon an average of the whole not less than 12l. ½ per cent. more than the Irish manufacturer,

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manufacturer, in freight, insurance, commission, and sundry other charges: That the petitioners humbly hope, when the House considers the very great advantages which the Irish manufacturers will enjoy over the English, their Lordships will either reject the whole system as it now stands, or make such provisions in the same, as will effectually secure to both nations a fair and equitable treaty, founded upon such principles as will for ever preclude each country from every just cause of complaint.

It appears that upwards of 6000 persons are employed in this manufacture in the town and neighbourhood of Manchester.

Nine-tenths of the worsted and linen yarn used in this manufacture is imported from Ireland, notwithstanding wool is 75 per cent. lower in England than in Ireland.

The worsted yarn is about 28 per cent. lower in Ireland than in England, of the same quality; and the linen yarn about 18 or 19 per cent.

Our export trade in this article to Ireland decreases daily.

The Irish make and export considerable quantities, and improve in the manufacture.

If the propositions pass, it is impossible that the manufacture should exist long in this country, for it may easily be transferred, as the linen tape manufacture was about thirty years ago from Holland to England; and common labourers may, in a very short time, become expert weavers.

The Irish, exclusive of the advantages they enjoy in the price of labour, are almost wholly exempt from the following taxes; land tax, window, commutation and house taxes, poors rates, soap, candles, spirits, beer, servants, horse, post horse, leather and paper, and stamps on bills, &c.

Under the circumstances here stated, and with such a load of taxes, the manufacturers in these articles must lose their trade, or emigrate to Ireland.

PETITION of the MERCHANTS, MANUFACTURERS and others of the Town and Neighbourhood of MANCHESTER.

That your petitioners, justly alarmed at the injurious tendency of the propositions moved in the Irish House of Commons by Mr. Orde, humbly petitioned the honourable the commons of Great Britain, upon their introduction into that honourable house, that they would be pleased to reject the same, as unjust, unwise, unreasonable, and impolitic; not having either equity, equality or reciprocity for their basis; nor do they conceive, notwithstanding the many alterations which they have undergone in that honourable house, that that reciprocity is by any means established, which can alone make them permanent; because, as far as your petitioners are able to comprehend

prehend, the principles upon which they are founded are by no means either equal or equitable, as not affording a sufficient protection to the manufactures of this country, in proportion to the very heavy burthens with which they are loaded, and from which those of Ireland are so nearly exempted; added to which linens, the staple manufacture of Ireland, are forever to be admitted duty free into this country, whilst not only the staple, but also every other manufacture of Great Britain, except that of linen, is to be charged with a duty of ten and an half per cent. upon their importation into Ireland, at the same time that the amount of Irish linens, imported into Great Britain, is nearly equal in value to the whole of the British manufactures exported to that country.

Your petitioners humbly beg leave to state to this right honourable house, the disadvantages they labour under now, and have for some time suffered in their foreign markets, through the partial, not to say impolitic laws, in favour of Irish linens, to the exclusion of foreign linens, from our market, and the depression of the British linen manufacture. In Russia there is now existing an impost of thirty per cent. *ad valorem*, upon some of our English manufactures; and in Germany a prohibitory edict has either already taken place, or is upon the point of so doing, and which in all probability the determination of the British legislature on the Irish propositions, will tend to annul, or for ever confirm: If, therefore, instead of leaving an opening for a commercial regulation with those states, who are so able, and have hitherto shewn themselves so willing, upon the true principles of reciprocity, to increase in a very considerable degree the consumption of British manufactures; the legislature of this country should preclude themselves from the power of hearkening to fair and advantageous offers, and should for ever bind themselves from so doing; it may merit the most serious consideration of this right honourable house, what measures your petitioners, as subjects and manufacturers of this nation, are to expect from powers so circumstanced.

But your petitioners do not confine their views to the danger arising immediately and directly from these propositions, as affecting the manufactures of the town and neighbourhood of Manchester only; but feel themselves equally entitled, as subjects of this country, to protest against all the propositions taken aggregately, as a new and destructive system of policy, which, by universally undermining the commercial interests of Great Britain, must consequently affect every interest, trade, and manufacture within it, the prosperity of which depends evidently upon the general wealth, commerce and prosperity of the whole nation.

Your petitioners humbly beg leave to observe to this right honourable house, that if the propositions had passed in the state in which they were originally introduced into the British house of commons it is evident from the alterations which that honourable house has since judged it expedient to make in them, the most fatal consequences

must

must have ensued to the landed, funded, and commercial interests of Great Britain; and though something has been done, much more remains to be effected, and which your petitioners hope for, from the wisdom, integrity, and independence of your lordships.

Your petitioners are fully convinced that no system but what prescribes a participation of burthens, as well as advantages, can either be fair, equitable, or permanent, and therefore they are of opinion, that a complete union in commerce, policy and legislation, is the most probable means of establishing a lasting harmony, and good will between the two nations, and preventing that jealousy and discord which the present propositions are so likely to promote and encourage; but such system, they humbly apprehend, can only be the result of the most mature deliberation, and which your petitioners presume there is not time to establish, at this advanced period of the session.

COTTON MANUFACTURE.

THOMAS WALKER, ROBERT PEELE, and THOMAS SMITH.

The number of people employed in this manufacture is, on a very moderate computation, 300,000; and the sum they pay to the revenue, upon various articles of their own consumption, and in postage, duties upon bills, receipts, paper, &c. cannot amount to much less than one million sterling per annum, independent of the duties paid upon printing, and drugs, &c. used in the manufacture, which amount to at least 150,000*l.* more.

From the above burthens, the consequences of which cannot but be very severely felt in a manufacture, three-fourths of the value of which is the effect of labour, Ireland is nearly exempt.

The materials of which this manufacture is composed, are linen yarn, and cotton.

Linen yarn, which forms the warp of all the low priced, and many of the middle low priced fustians, is the produce of Ireland, and is from 7½ to 13 per cent. (and in some instances more) cheaper to the Irish manufacturer than to the English.

Cotton wool, at the present moment, may probably be dearer in Ireland than in England, because she at this time imports considerable quantities from England. But when this manufacture is completely established in Ireland, it cannot be doubted, but that she will import it directly from the place of its growth, with this advantage over the British importer, that her situation affords her an opportunity of making three voyages, in the same time that two can be made from Great Britain.

In the manufacturing part, the advantages of Ireland over England are great indeed. Spinning is so much cheaper there, that worsted yarn, for the raw material of which, they pay 75 per cent. more than we do in England; they can sell in the Manchester market 18 or 20 per cent. cheaper than we can ours, after paying freight and

and all other expences; and the spinner of worsted can very easily become a spinner of cotton. What then will the superiority be, when to this great cheapness of labour, is added an advantage in the purchase of the raw material!

Our machinery they are already in possession of.

In the West of Ireland, cotton is now spun by women for two-pence a day.

If the price of weaving has in some instances been rather higher in Ireland than in England, it must have been owing to the manufacture having been attempted in improper places; first, in a dissipated metropolis, from whence the high price of weaving has already driven it; and since, in a place where the establishment of the manufacture, as such, was not perhaps the principal object. But whenever the business shall be established in proper situations, and be conducted by men of character, knowledge, industry and capital, weaving will unquestionably be done, as well as spinning; on much lower terms than in England; for the price of weaving linen in Ireland is lower than the price of weaving cotton in England, in the proportion of at least five to eight; and any linen weaver can be made a cotton weaver in a few days; added to which, it is an incontrovertable fact, that linen weavers make the very best cotton weavers.

The various branches of finishing, such as dyeing, cutting, dressing, &c. will be in favour of Ireland, in the same proportion as the weaving.

A gentleman just returned from America affirms that he saw Irish corderoys there on much better terms than any he ever got from England.

Though the cotton manufacture in Ireland has hitherto been carried on by gentlemen, who, from their situations in life, cannot have had any opportunities of becoming acquainted with the business themselves; and who have been so unfortunate as to have, for their agents or managers, persons deficient in most, if not all the qualifications necessary to make a manufacture flourish; yet, notwithstanding these temporary disadvantages, it has already increased to a great degree, except in some of the fine articles. The consumption of fine articles does not bear the proportion of one in twenty to those of the low and middle price, which are of the greatest value to every manufacture, of which they are the nursery and support, by employing the young and the aged; and their sale is the most certain and extensive. So much so that the very existence of the cotton manufacture absolutely depends upon retaining the market for low and middle priced goods. In the manufacture of which, Ireland has already made so great a progress, that besides supplying her own consumption, her export has increased from 1108 yards, in the year 1781, to 47,237 yards, in the year 1784; which England has felt, by the decrease of her exportation to Ireland, during the same period, from 22,619 ends to 989 only.

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EXPORTATION OF TOOLS AND RAW MATERIALS.

JAMES WATT AND THOMAS KEIR.

A petition of fundry manufacturers, setting forth, That the existence of many of the valuable manufactures now carried on in this kingdom, depends upon the exclusive use of numerous materials, the natural produce of this kingdom, and of a great variety of tools, implements, and machines, invented and made by our artists, for the better carrying on their several manufactures: That the exportation thereof will be productive of great loss to this kingdom in general, and particularly to the petitioners and other manufacturers; as the Irish manufacturers will thereby be enabled to rival us in our own and foreign markets, and the merchants of Ireland will be enabled to supply foreign countries with the materials, tools, and machines before mentioned: That the nature and extent of the mischief contained in the 14th resolution [under which the exportation of the said raw materials and tools will be permitted for ever,] has hitherto escaped the notice of the framers and promoters thereof, or has not met with the consideration it requires.

Attempts are made to export to foreign countries some of the most essential tools employed in the Birmingham manufactory. About a fortnight ago, at a meeting of the Birmingham Commercial Committee, a letter was produced from a person at Vienna, containing an order for goods, together with tools used in some of the most important of the Birmingham manufactories.

These last were described with a degree of precision that could only have been used by one who had been very conversant with, or had actually used them.

At the same meeting, a capital merchant either acquainted the meeting, or produced a letter, containing an order for a considerable quantity of goods, the profits of which would amount to 1000l. sterling to himself; but it was annexed to the order, as an express condition, "That the goods should not be sent, or would not be admitted into the Emperor's dominions, without there were sent along with them a number of tools, which are essential in the making of buttons, and also of some other goods." The correspondent at Vienna said, that he had obtained this proposal directly from the Emperor himself, and wrote by his express desire. The merchant said, that he gave public notice of the order, that an attempt might be made to obtain a law to prevent such exportation of tools. Application has been made to the Treasury, in consequence of this representation of the affair.

An order came very lately to London from France, for a pair of very large rolls, used for rolling copper into sheets, which were then actually ready for shipping. The fabrication of these rolls is a work of considerable difficulty, and has not been performed with success, except by certain workmen in Great Britain, as well on account of the

the superior properties of the cast iron of England for such purposes, as of the superior skill of the workmen. Rollers made of steel and iron, united in a certain manner not practised in foreign parts, and used for rolling iron, had been exported from this country, as well as the tools, called flitters, which are used in dividing the flatted iron into nail rods.

Besides this, the cast iron hammers for forging of copper or of iron, are made better in England than in any other country: so that the English hammers will last four months, though it rarely happens that the hammers of Russia will last a week.

The shells of buttons, and the external coverings of buttons, have been exported in considerable quantities to France, or to other parts of the continent, during the last twelvemonths, if not for a longer term. Plated metal, in form of sheets ready for working has also been exported to Germany. The object of these exports is, either that some parts of the work might be cheaper in foreign countries, or else to avoid paying the duties these articles are respectively liable to if exported in a finished state.

The button manufacture, to which the German order was directed, is one of the principal in Birmingham. There is no doubt but the manufacture could be established in the Emperor's dominions, provided the necessary tools were forwarded thither, and some able workmen were enticed away, especially if the makers of the tools were among them. The machines required to be sent into Germany are not too bulky to be exported in a perfect and complete state, and the German manufacturer will have the advantage of selling his goods in that market without the burthen of freight, commission, carriage, or any of the high duties laid by the edict of the Emperor on imported goods of certain kinds, specified in a list that includes the Birmingham, Manchester, and Norwich manufactures.

The mischief, as far as respects the tools, might be prevented, if the same laws were made with regard to the tools used in the Birmingham manufactures, as are with respect to tools used in the woollen, silk, and cotton works. But if the 14th resolution should pass into a law, such a prohibition will become a nullity; for the tools may be carried to Ireland, and exported from thence, a place where nobody would be interested in detaining them.

It will be easy for an artificer to emigrate to Ireland, and thence to foreign parts; and submitted to their Lordships, whether the Parliament of Ireland could prevent this by making a law that must circumscribe the liberty of the subject passing through or residing in that kingdom. And in general, prohibitory laws will probably be much less effectually observed in Ireland, while those who are aggrieved by the breach of them reside in England, and cannot enforce them.

There are not many tools capable of such accurate description, as shall enable a custom-house officer to know them on inspection; but, nevertheless, the laws in being have deterred people from exporting the

the tools therein mentioned; but while there is no law to the contrary, it is a fair trade.—If there was such a law, it might prevent men of character from doing such things.

There are great quantities of nails made at Liege, but they may have obtained their rollers from England.

There is danger, that ships clearing out for Ireland with tools, might carry them to a foreign country, notwithstanding any prohibition.

With respect to raw materials, Mr. Watt received a letter from a capital manufacturer near Paris, in a very considerable manufacture, which the French are now taking from us, wherein he is requested to send a quantity of a certain raw material, absolutely necessary to the protection of his manufacture, and not to be procured of equal quality elsewhere. On inquiry it appeared to his great surprise, that it was not prohibited to be exported.

He apprehends that in a law to prohibit the exportation of tools, it is necessary that the list of such tools be furnished by the manufacturers who use them.

It is highly probable new substances of utility in the arts may be discovered in this country, as well as new applications of substances already known.

PLAIN FLINT GLASS.

JAMES KEIR, AND JOHN HOLMES.

Mr. Keir said he had been a glass maker to the present year, but was not now in any respect interested, further than every individual is interested in the prosperity of the kingdom.

He had manufactured flint glass, bottle glass, and window glass, all of which will be very materially affected by the Irish propositions passing into a law; principally from the Irish manufacturer being free from excise laws, which are a source of great and complicated evils to the British manufacturer. The duty actually is much greater than the nominal one expressed in the act; of which difference there are several causes; such as, the allowance for waste being very inadequate, the pot being gauged before it is burnt, whereas in the burning it contracts considerably in its dimensions; taking the measure of the glass in its hot, expanded, and light state, whereas the calculations for laying the duty have been made in its cold and condensed state.

There are other disadvantages, equal to 20 per cent. besides the duty paid; which are the various restraints the manufacturer is laid under from the nature of the excise laws, and the presence of excise officers in a manufactory;—being precluded from making experiments and improvements for the introduction of new branches into their manufacture;—because the heavy duty is paid over and over again upon the repetition of every experiment, whether successful or not, and upon all accidents of waste, breakage, &c.

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Some manufacturers having attempted a manufacture of German sheet glass, to put before prints, not made here before, but brought from foreign countries, they failed intirely from the abovementioned circumstances, having paid, in duty alone, near 20s. per pound weight on the saleable glass.

Ireland wants some of the materials for making glass, such as fine sand for flint glass, clay for making the pots to melt the glass in, and red lead. Others she has, and may have to much greater advantage than England, such as pearl ash, barilla, and common salt free of duty. From the latter a salt may be manufactured, not only for making glass, but also for soap-making, bleaching, dying, and a great number of other manufactures.

A law passed about two years ago here, to take off the duty upon common salt employed for that purpose, but certain restraints annexed to it rendered it ineffectual. One was, that the acid of sea-salt, unavoidably made in the process, should be thrown away. Another was, that though the act was expressly made for the encouragement of alkali, a duty was laid upon that alkali when made. But the most important was, that the manufacturer should immediately become subject to the control of the excise; and these conditions have entirely frustrated the intent of that act.

Ireland being free from excise laws, &c. is the most advantageous situation for the export trade in glass, and their manufacturers might certainly undersell us in our own market.

Mr. Holmes states, that the duty on the materials used in making flint glass, previous to their being worked into goods, is 21s. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hundred weight. The drawback on exportation is at the same rate, but is received only upon the weight of the goods manufactured and shipped.

The difference between the weight of the materials charged, and the weight of goods produced from those materials, is on an average nearly as 37 to 21 $\frac{1}{2}$, for the manufacturer actually pays 37s. 1d. while the law supposes him to pay only 21s. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hundred weight on his goods.

The stamps and fees on exportation amount to 1 per cent. on the drawbacks, consequently the exporter receives no more than 19s. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. for 37s. 1d. actually paid.

The duty paid amounts to 37l. $\frac{8}{10}$ per cent. on the value of goods for home consumption, and to 39l. $\frac{3}{10}$ on exportation, including the expences of gaining the drawback. The drawback to 19 $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. The excessive advance of the price of goods exported in consequence of the duty, is 20 per cent. on their value, exclusive of risk and interest of increased capital, besides the many disadvantages and inconveniences which attend working under the present mode of levying the duty, as well as being deprived of working in a manner the most conducive to improvement, which is impossible to be computed; for if the manufacturer, instead of being subject to the present mode of working,

working was admitted to work in a manner most agreeable to himself, he would deem the privilege inestimable.—None of which duties, disadvantages, and inconveniencies the Irish manufacturer is subject to, but is at liberty to work his materials in a manner the most conducive to his interest, or the improvement of his manufacture.

Insurmountable difficulties will attend the fixing a countervailing duty, even on plain glass, with any degree of precision or equality; the articles are so numerous, and of such a variety of figure and size. The waste in manufacturing being as various as the articles and size; from the nature of the business it will be impracticable to ascertain it on them separately; nor can it be ascertained on the average value or weight of the goods; the waste, and consequently the duty on them, not being in any certain proportion, either to the value or weight of the goods manufactured. So that by a selection of articles, an exceeding great advantage will arise to the importers of Irish glass, if the countervailing duty be laid either on the average value or the weight.

Supposing a countervailing duty fully adequate to the duty paid by the English manufacturer: the Irish will ingross the greatest part of the exports from hence, as by the resolutions he would receive back on exportation, every farthing he had paid on importation. At the same time the native would receive no more than the nominal duty of 2s. 5½d. per hundred weight.

It is impossible to suggest any plan, by which the British and Irish manufacture of flint glass, can be put upon an equal footing, without repealing the acts of parliament which lay an excise duty on that article in this country.

W O O L L E N T R A D E.
RICHARD SHARP.

The Irish wool is peculiarly adapted to the manufacture of shal-loons, and other slight woollens; but it is at twenty per cent. dearer than the English.

Notwithstanding the difference in the price of wool is so much against the Irish manufacturer, the price of combing and spinning is so much in his favour (particularly spinning, which is little more than one third of the English price); that woollen yarn is upwards of twenty per cent lower in Ireland than in England, and is sold here, with the addition of freight, insurance, and profits, from eight to twelve per cent. under the English.

The Irish have the advantage, both in the quality of the raw material, and the price of labour, and now make slight woollens of superior quality to the English.

The Irish now export considerable quantities of slight woollens.

The intended duty on the importation of Irish woollens, called new draperies, being between eight and nine per cent. will not be sufficient protecting duty to the English manufacturer.

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The proceedings of the meeting of clothiers, held at Salisbury, was conducted in a manner, which by no means tended to a fair and deliberate discussion of the probable effects of the Irish Resolutions on the woollen manufactures of this kingdom.

[The import of this evidence has been confirmed by letters to the General Chamber from divers very considerable manufacturers in the west of England, who express their apprehensions of the very mischievous effects which the resolutions will have on the manufactures of slight woollens, with which the greater part of the lower ranks of women in this kingdom are clothed.]

EXPORT TRADE TO THE EAST-INDIES.
GEORGE VANDER NUENBURG, THOMAS WRIGHT.

The petition sets forth, that one great advantage (if not the greatest) resulting to this country from its East-India trade, is the exportation of the articles furnished by the petitioners and others: that they are impressed with great apprehensions of the dangerous tendency of certain resolutions respecting Ireland now before this house, which if passed into a law, will, in their opinion, be productive of great injury to the trade of this kingdom, and particularly to that of the petitioners; inasmuch as one of the said resolutions permits the East-India company's ships to stop at Ireland, in order to take in the manufactures of that country, for which privilege the petitioners do not perceive any compensation to be made to this kingdom, more especially to the petitioners: they, therefore, intreat the house to take their case into their most serious consideration, and either to reject the said propositions, or grant them such other relief as to the house shall seem meet.

The export to the East-Indies, in the article of glass, amounts to 30,000l. per annum, being about one-fifth of the whole export in that article.

The Irish manufacturers, having it in their power to furnish the article at a much lower rate than the English, will unquestionably get possession of the market, which (owing to the heavy excises laid on glass in England) is the best we have left.

With respect to the proposed regulations of duties and impositions, agreeably to the 8th resolution, the evidence states that "such duties can never be collected in Ireland in such a manner as to countervail what the British manufacturer has paid in the stages of manufacturing. There will, when carried into practice, appear a great difference between the entry of goods where a drawback is to be received on shipping, and where a duty is to be made upon exportation of such articles. In the first instance, it is the business of the shipper to prove the amount of what goods he exports, otherwise he cannot obtain the drawback. In the latter instance, it is the interest of the

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exporter to conceal what he ships, because, if the quantity be great the duty will bear a like proportion. The revenue of this country has particularly guarded against any attempt the shipper may be inclined to make to its injury upon exportation: the excise officer attends the exporter, and afterwards sees the goods on board the ship; for which bond is given, and every parcel of goods is subject to seizure if not entered at the Custom house. I do conceive that this business will never be so conducted in Ireland as to guarantee the subjects of this realm from the danger of collusion; for it is possible the revenue officer in Ireland, whenever he has it in his power to pass unnoticed a case of goods, or under-rate them, may consider he is doing the state a very meritorious service, in as much as he is encouraging the manufacturers of his country; but if the officer was ever so much inclined to do his duty, there appears to be an utter impossibility of countervailing the duties paid by the British manufacturers; for this reason, that the duty drawn back on exportation is not so much as the duty paid; because in the article of cut glass, which we purchase of the glass manufacturer as our raw material, there is no allowance made to us by them for a reduction; and the waste is so various, according to the different patterns, that it is impossible to ascertain it in any one parcel of goods."

The articles of clocks and watches, to the value of £.500,000 at least, are exported annually to the East Indies; the amount has been estimated at twice that sum.

If East India ships are permitted to take in these articles in Ireland, this very important branch of trade must be greatly hurt, if not totally lost, because the wages of the workmen in Ireland being not more than half so high as in London, the trade will be easily transferred thither, and the advantages will be so considerable to Ireland, it will be scarce worth pursuing here.

If the resolutions pass into a law, the evidence himself, by transferring his capital and workmen to Ireland, would undersell any person he might leave behind.

There is great reason to believe that clocks and watches from Geneva, and other foreign parts, will be sent through Ireland to India; especially as the duty on gold, and the difference of the standard, enables the Genevans to sell gold watches for little more than half the price of the English.

[Although evidence was given on two branches of this trade only, there is a great number of other articles exported from hence to India, which the ships can take on lower terms from Ireland than from hence. If this export trade shall be lost, the East-India trade must in future be considered only as a drain of the specie of this kingdom*.]

* See the reasons for this explained at large under the article of cut glass, and plain flint glass.

COAL AND SALT WORKS OF SCOTLAND.

GAVIN HOG.

The Petition of the proprietors of the Coal and Salt Works in Scotland, sets forth, That the works belonging to the petitioners and others in Scotland, are numerous, and have been erected at very great expence: That there is annually consumed at these works 120,000 tons of coals: That the coal so used are all small coal, of the nature of culm; and not having the quality of adhesion, like the Newcastle coal, are unfit for any purpose but making salt, or burning lime stone: That if the small coal cannot be used in making salt, it will not only ruin the salt works of the petitioners and others, but make it impossible for them to continue their coal works from the want of consumption of the small coal: That the petitioners apprehend this will be the case, if the present commercial intercourse with Ireland, as to salt, is not put under the same regulations, and made liable to the same duties of excise, as salt brought coastways from England into Scotland: and that the petitioners were not informed of their dangerous situation, until it was too late to bring their representations under the consideration of the House of Commons.

The evidence proved the several particulars set forth in the petition.—There are in Scotland 120 boiling-houses for salt, most of which employ two men each. The coals they consume (120,000 tons annually) being about one-fourth of the whole produce of the collieries, are of such a kind as would not be consumed for any other use, though the consumption of them is absolutely necessary for enabling the proprietors of the mines to get the other coals. The price of these small coals is 2s. 6d. per ton.—Nine tons are reckoned to make thirty bushels of salt (so that the quantity of salt made annually must be about 400,000 bushels). They make salt sufficient for the supply of all Scotland, and could make more, if they had a market for it; so that whatever is imported irregularly, is so much loss to them.

The duty on this salt is 1s. 6d. per bushel (amounting to £.30,000 per annum). The price of the salt is 14d. or 15d. per bushel. The price of salt at Liverpool is 6d. to 8d. per bushel.

If the Irish resolutions pass into a law, the English rock salt may be taken into Ireland, manufactured there, and sent from thence into Scotland, on the Scotch duty; by which the salt works in Scotland (and the collieries depending thereon) would unavoidably be ruined, as the rock salt from Ireland, being purer and stronger than the Scotch salt, which is made from sea water only, would of course have the preference.

The English rock salt would be too expensive to be used in Scotland, on account of the length of carriage.

There is no salt brought from England to Scotland, but very considerable quantities are now smuggled from Ireland on the Western coasts.

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coasts of Scotland, and sold in the Glasgow market at 2s. a bushel, whilst the Scotch, though inferior in goodness, is sold for 3s.

If the importation of Irish salt into Scotland was put on the same footing as that of the English, and if smuggling could be prevented, this, and nothing less than this, would protect the salt works and collieries of Scotland from ruin.

G L A S G O W A N D P A I S L E Y.

WILLIAM BUCHANNAN, JOHN MAIR.

A Petition of the manufacturers of the City of Glasgow, setting forth, That the petitioners, deeply interested in the manufactures of this country, by having large capitals employed in them, cannot help being greatly alarmed at the progress of the bill relative to a commercial treaty with Ireland. That from their knowledge and experience of the state of this country, comparatively with that of Ireland, they are convinced, if carried into execution, it will produce the immediate decline and ultimate ruin of their manufactures. That while Ireland is exempted from the greatest part of the public burthens to which Britain is subjected, the British manufacturers will be unable to maintain a competition with the Irish. That with respect to the market at home, the duties proposed to be laid on Irish manufactures when imported into Britain, considering the facility of smuggling, and the temptation to do it, will by no means prove an effectual security to this country. That they behold these consequences with the deeper concern, because, how severely soever they may be felt, after this treaty shall be concluded, no power will remain in Britain capable of removing or alleviating them.

And a Petition of the manufacturers of Paisley to the same purpose; setting forth more particularly, That a considerable trade has for many years been carried on with Ireland, by the exportation of various articles of British manufacture; receiving, in return, the linens of Ireland to a great amount, which are imported into this country duty free. That after that period the striped and spotted lawns, and gauzes, and also the kenting handkerchiefs of Scotland (in consequence of a small mixture of cotton) were considered as un-rated merchandise, and charged with a duty of 10 per cent. *ad valorem*. That in the year 1779, the construction of two old acts of Parliament, laying a duty of 5s. per dozen on the fine needle wrought handkerchiefs of Holland, was extended to the kenting handkerchiefs of Scotland, which, in value, are on an average about 12s. per dozen. That in the year 1781, the same construction of acts of Parliament was extended to silk gauze handkerchiefs, which do not average above 10s. per dozen, consequently the duty of 5s. amounts to 50 per cent. *ad valorem*. That other heavy duties have likewise been lately laid on the importation into Ireland of several other articles manufactured in Paisley. That these progressive im-

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posts and duties have operated as prohibitions to the legal importation of the above mentioned articles into Ireland, while the illicit importation has greatly increased, to the manifest injury of the Irish revenue, and the fair traders in both countries. That the propositions now under consideration, do not make the proper and necessary provisions for fixing and ascertaining, in future, the duties to be paid on the importation of the manufactures of Paisley into Ireland; and though the 11th article provides that the *minimum* duty shall not be under £. 10½ per cent. yet it sets no bounds to the *maximum*, which cannot be regulated under that resolution, there being no duties paid on similar articles imported into this country from Ireland. That although the 13th provides, that no new or additional duties should hereafter be imposed, yet it gives no security against the strained construction of former statutes, under which the above-mentioned prohibitory duties are now charged, contrary to the true spirit and original intention of those statutes. That unless these propositions are altered and amended in the aforesaid particulars, sundry manufactures now established at Paisley, and its neighbourhood, must be totally destroyed, many thousands of his Majesty's useful and industrious subjects thrown out of their employment, and they and their families reduced to beggary.

The evidences proved the several particulars stated in the petition.

It appears that Paisley is a manufacturing town, containing 20 to 25,000 inhabitants, with a populous neighbourhood, and that its trade employs workers for twenty miles round at least: and that the same, and almost all other British manufactures, are carried on in Glasgow. The kenting handkerchiefs above mentioned are woven chiefly by apprentice boys, and by old men whose sight have failed them.

The duty of 5s. per dozen, laid on by the Irish since the year 1779, is upon handkerchiefs and neckerchiefs of every species, linen gauze, printed cotton and linen, and muslin,—even those made of linen alone. The kenting handkerchiefs are from 7s. to 18s. per dozen; the gauze about 2s. cheaper; but all are charged alike the duty of 5s. if their value was not 2d. The effect of this duty in respect to Ireland is, that none have been, nor can be exported thither, except a very few of a fine kind, above 20s. per dozen. The annual export to Ireland before this duty took place, is supposed to have been to the amount of £. 40,000. If this duty of 5s. was repealed, the trade to Ireland could be again carried on to advantage.

Since the manufacture of Paisley has thus been shut out from the Irish market, the Irish have themselves established a similar one at Dundalk, under the direction of Mr. Wright, a native of Scotland, who, for two or three years past has been enticing our best workmen thither.

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There is not the least doubt but that the Irish manufacture will very considerably hurt, or in time destroy, that of Paisley, from the encouragement of the Irish Parliament, the low price of labour, and the low price of materials for bleaching, the Irish paying no duty on soap or ashes, whilst the Scotch pay a duty on both. The price of labour, in these particular articles, is at present indeed higher at Dundalk than at Paisley, because they entice away our best workmen, and give them good wages on purpose to teach their own people.

A G A I N S T E M I G R A T I O N .

THOMAS BAYLEY, ROBERT WYATT.

A Petition from various manufacturers, setting forth, That the petitioners, and other manufacturers, are obliged, in most instances, to communicate their knowledge and inventions, by which their respective arts and manufactures are perfected, to the workmen employed therein: that it is therefore in the power of these workmen, so instructed, to carry these arts and manufactures to any other country, and that they have in many instances done so; and the petitioners are informed that several agents are at this instant employed to seduce their workmen into foreign service. That the petitioners' interests are guarded by severe laws against the seducers of their workmen into foreign service, and likewise against the workmen so seduced: but these laws not in any wise extending to Ireland, their several arts and manufactures are not only liable to be carried into that nation, now independent of the legislation of Great Britain, with perfect security both to the seducer and the seduced; but a door is left open for the emigration of their workmen, through that kingdom into any other foreign kingdom with equal security, and the laws now subsisting against the emigration of our workmen thereby rendered of no effect; to the great damage and loss of the petitioners, many of whom have their whole property and dependence, for the support of themselves and families, engaged in such arts and manufactures; and to the diminution of the strength of this kingdom.

One of the evidences, a manufacturer of cut glass, stated, that ten workmen in glass had been seduced into France, four of them in the latter end of last year, of different branches of the art, drop cutters, lapidaries, scollipers, and glass blowers; and that since these workmen left us, the French had made a very considerable progress in this manufacture at Seve;—that a workman in cut glass and an engraver, are now preparing to go to Ireland; and that Ireland cannot prevent the emigration of a British subject from thence to any part of the world.

The other evidence, a currier and a leather cutter, stated, that several journeymen in that business had gone over to France;—that he had lately prosecuted six, who had been stopped when they were just ready

ready to go to France to carry leather there; that two had been convicted of seducing men to go thither, and were now in prison; that the workmen in this business are frequently going to and from Ireland; and from thence may go, without molestation, to foreign parts; that a great manufactory is carried on in Normandy, which has its oil for making the leather, as the Irish have their bark for tanning it, from this kingdom:—that there are very great orders now in town for oil, and no prohibition against it.

P A P E R A N D S T A T I O N A R Y .

WILLIAM GROSVENOR, THOMAS VALLANCE.

It appears by the evidence on these articles, that the Irish enjoy such manifest advantages over us already, as will infallibly put them in possession of the whole export trade in paper, stationary, books, and paper hangings, unless some effectual measures, are taken to prevent it; and therefore the manufacturers and dealers in these articles are less able to bear the additional grievance of having their own markets opened to the Irish, who will be enabled to undersell them in England, in defiance of every countervailing duty that can be devised.

The English paper-maker pays a duty of £. 20 per cent. at his mill, before he can dispose of his goods; but on account of the consequent increase of capital, he is obliged to lay an additional 5l. per cent. so that the duty must in fact be estimated at 25l. per cent.

On exportation, the whole amount of the duty paid is drawn back, that is the 20l. per cent. but the 5l. per cent. still remains on the goods, to which must be added, the heavy expences incurred in recovering the drawback, being one fourth thereof, or 5l. per cent. on the total amount, which added to the 5l. per cent. before-mentioned, leaves a clear 10l. per cent. advantage to the Irish exporter of paper which has paid no excise.

On small quantities the difference is still greater, for the expences amount to the whole drawback, and therefore none is demanded.

But the advantages enjoyed by the Irish in the export of paper made into books for accounts, printed books, and paper hangings, are yet superior, for the English laws allow no drawback whatever on paper manufactured, and therefore our goods are exported with the whole 25l. per cent. advance on them above the Irish, and under these circumstances, the export of these articles from Ireland increased rapidly.

The evidence have stated in a very clear manner, that a countervailing duty cannot be ascertained, because

The sizes are not regulated by law in Ireland, as they are in England, nor is there any mode of distinguishing the sizes and the quality of the paper not so regulated, so as to prevent frauds on importation: that even if such a mode could be adopted, the Irish would have this advantage

advantage, that being able to undersell the English, and the prices being taken from their invoices, which they may make at pleasure, they might, without hazard, enter in the second table such paper as the English maker must put in the first, and thereby they will gain such an advantage, as added to that in the price, will make 20l. per cent. difference, even when the duty is paid.

There is this further difficulty in ascertaining a countervailing duty, that books of account, and printed books, when bound, consist of a great variety of articles, viz. paper, pasteboard, and leather or vellum, all which pay excise duties in England, and are subject to waste in the manufacture, which cannot be estimated with precision.

It also appears, that the Irish import large quantities of paper from foreign parts, which when made into books, cannot be distinguished from Irish or English, and will be brought into this country as such; and there is reason to believe that the revenue of this country will be injured by the resolutions, as they will tend to lessen the duties collected on paper.

The article of rags, from which paper is made, is so scarce in England, that at least one third of its consumption is imported, and the mills are frequently stopped for want of materials. The London fine rags are superior to any, and without them our best papers cannot be made; for these rags large orders are now in town from Ireland, as they cannot make fine paper without English fine rags. And if no prohibition be laid on the exportation of rags, before the resolutions pass, none can be afterwards; and such a prohibition seems necessary for the preservation of the trade.

Coarse rags are cheaper in Ireland than in England, and what the Irish want, they can get from Germany as cheap as the English can.

The manufacture of paper is daily increasing in Ireland: premiums are given there for its encouragement, and the difference in labour, rent, provisions, and taxes is so great, as to give them a decided superiority, even if that they enjoy in consequence of our heavy excises did not exist.

S O A P.

GEORGE RUSSELL.

Hard soap pays a duty upon making, in Britain, of 2½d. per lb. and soft soap 1½d. Barilla (one of the raw materials for making soap) pays a duty, on importation here, of 5s. 2d. per hundred weight; and common salt (used likewise in this manufacture) pays an excise duty of 9s. 9d. per hundred weight, from all which duties and impositions the Irish soap maker is entirely exempt; and nearly so from 10s. per chaldron upon coals, paid by the London soap boiler. Irish tallow is likewise used in this business, upon which the Irish lay a duty of 1s. 6d. per cwt. on exportation.

W.

We draw back no part of the duties paid on the raw materials, which duties amount, as near as can be computed, to 2s. 6d. per hundred weight upon hard soap, and 2s. 6d. per barrel upon soft.

All our duties are paid in the early stage of the manufacture, as soon as the soap comes out of the copper; and it is, upon an average, six months before the money, so paid, is returned to us in the course of trade; so that it requires a greater capital to carry on our trade in this country, than it would to do the like in Ireland.

If the Irish soap boiler can import his soap into this country upon the same duties that we pay in excise, he will be able to undersell us in our own market. Great quantities are smuggled upon the western coast of England, and from thence, by inland navigation, communicated through the whole country.

The evidence speaks from his own knowledge, having been at different times in Ireland: that labour in his manufacture is not more than half the price there that it is here; and they have coals from England nearly one third cheaper than the London prices.

For the M E R C H A N T S M A G A Z I N E.

Those who are acquainted with the Influence of the Press * in North America, will readily credit the information, that the arguments contained in the following paper which was distributed throughout the Eastern States, to prepare the minds of the people for a law, which quickly followed, for prohibiting and regulating the British trade with those states, has been the cause of that law; the paper therefore is worth preserving, and is a proper explanation of the said prohibitory act, which I am informed has been passed in all the Eastern States.

MERCATOR.

To the GOOD PEOPLE of AMERICA.

THE necessity of some measures being adopted to remedy the embarrassments of our commerce seem to be the general opinion. Our enemies are anxiously looking for some decisive proceedings from our legislative body, as they have for many months been alarmed with such threatenings; it is therefore become absolutely necessary, to do something that those who are planning our ruin may not have reason to retort upon us, and laugh at our irresolutions.

The question therefore is, *what ought to be done?* I have only to answer, reverse the conduct of Britain; where they embarrass us let us embarrass them; what articles they permit their vessels to carry

* The celebrated pamphlet was published previous to the Declaration of Independence, with a view to prepare the people for that event, and it answered the intended purpose.

from America to any part of their dominions, let us forbid such articles being exported in British bottoms ; if Newfoundland or the West-Indies are allowed to be furnished with provisions or lumber from this country in British bottoms only, let us pass an act directly opposite ; if our vessels are restrained from going to their ports, or our articles of remittance burthened with severe duties, let us follow them in this tract, and we shall effectually retaliate.

Our ship-building and carrying-trade are so essentially important to the commerce of this country, that our whole strength must be exerted to promote those extensive branches ; and provided we adhere with firmness and resolution to follow Britain through her various labyrinths, we shall bring those objects into operation. The staples of this country are so greatly in demand, in the several parts of Europe and the West Indies, that we can establish large and extensive commercial connexions in all mercantile countries in Europe. Our articles of lumber, provisions, tobacco, naval stores, pot and pearl-ash and fish, are so essentially important to the commerce of Britain, that by withholding them from being shipped in European vessels, would quickly bring them to comply with our determinations.

Lord Sheffield says, " The carriage of what Britain sends to America, is much less than what they bring from thence. A few tobacco ships will carry back as much of merchandize as all the American states will consume ; Britain therefore must retain the carrying trade by all means they possibly can." From which we see how anxious Britain is to engross our carrying trade to themselves : and for this purpose they are laying embarrassments on our vessels, and trying by every possible means to annihilate our shipping. But it is in our power to frustrate their intentions, as but few British articles are so necessary to us as our tobacco and other staples are to them ; we can easily check them in their career, by prohibiting those valuable exports from being shipped in any other bottoms than American.

The West-Indies (as by the petitions presented by the West-India merchants) would soon feel the distress a prohibition of our supplies would occasion. These petitions were presented immediately on the prohibitions taking place, as the merchants supposed we should retaliate by similar measures ; but when they found we did not prohibit their vessels from supplying them, they ceased their petitions, and acquiesced in the act of the British parliament ; as they did not experience those wants they apprehended by our ill-judged lenity. It was then in our power to have brought the British parliament to a repeal of that prohibitory act.

But, my countrymen, so far from any exertions on our part, we have tamely submitted to their impositions ! humiliating idea ! we have even kissed their hands, though red with the blood of our country. Our eastern ports are thronged with British vessels, which are taking away our lumber without any hindrance or duty whatever. Our tobacco, provisions, and every other article of staple, are constantly shipping

shipping from us in British vessels. Our masts on which greatly depends the Colossus of Britain's strength, are daily freighted away to British ports ; while our vessels are rotting at the wharfs, for want of employ. Still further to add to our mortification, even the goods which they permit our vessels to bring from Britain, cannot be disposed of, owing to our suffering a set of hawking factors to reside among us, and indulging them with every privilege equal to our own merchants.

Our views should be to make all British articles imported in British bottoms, turn out, at our markets as dear as possible, so that our merchants may be able to undersel any British merchant or factor whatever, which would discourage their bringing any articles for sale ; and our exports of tobacco, &c. &c. being valuable in British markets would bring them to trade among us, not with cargoes of superfluities, but with cash.

I need not enlarge, my countrymen, you know your difficulties : it even wounds my feelings too sensibly to rehearse them. Britain laughs at our inactivity ;—our friends pity us, and enquire where is that wisdom, energy and public virtue, which prevailed among us, during the war.

We are all persuaded something must be done, but the grand objection is, " That if this state should lay duties and prohibitions without the other states adopting similar measures, would drive our trade to other places."—But the question now is, Are we not pursuing a most destructive commerce ? Are New-Hampshire, Rhode-Island, &c. better able to carry on this trade than this state ? Would not their ship-building and carrying trade be equally ruined with ours, if they permitted British bottoms to carry away their staples ? Will they then put the supply of lumber, &c. in competition with those essential branches ? This state has tried the experiment ; if they attempt to carry it on, we know from experience, they will repent it : This being the case, where are our fears to quit so destructive a practice ! to persist for fear others should take a trade from us, which we all know is destructive, is madness in the extreme.

This state is viewed in Europe, as the grand mart, and if in England, they find the commonwealth of Massachusetts has denied any exports in British bottoms, and has passed an alien act, such measures on our part will put that nation upon considering of their own conduct, knowing that the other states would soon experience the same effects in prosecuting so destructive a commerce with them, and from necessity they must soon adopt similar measures.

As to our waiting for relief from Congress, our exigencies will not suffer us ; something decisive must be done by us immediately. It is expected, that this state gives the lead, and by experience, from our first opposition to Britain, we know how far our examples have been followed—The same discouraging objections were then held up, by a few designing and timid individuals ; and if we do now attend to them,

the consequences will be equally fatal as if we had minded their bugbears at that time. Therefore let us be up and doing; let us not be discouraged; the success of our former exertions will justify the experiment.

The following is a Correct Copy of the PROHIBITORY ACT lately passed by the Legislature of Massachusetts in North America.

Commonwealth of MASSACHUSETTS.

In the year of our Lord 1785.

An ACT for the Regulation of NAVIGATION and COMMERCE.

WHEREAS it is become expedient and necessary for this Commonwealth to make some commercial regulations for the encouragement of their own trade:

Therefore be it enacted, by the Senate and House of Representatives, in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, That from and after the first day of August next, and during the continuance of this Act, there shall not be exported from any port, harbour, creek, bay, or inlet, river or shore, or any other place within this commonwealth, any goods, wares or merchandizes the growth, manufacture, or produce of this or any of the United States, in any ship, vessel, or craft of any kind, belonging (either in whole or in part) to, or being the property of, any of the subjects of the King of Great Britain.

Provided nevertheless, And whereas proclamations and orders have been issued by the Governors of several parts of the British dominions, for prohibiting vessels belonging to any of the United States from entering their ports or trafficking there.

Be it further enacted, That in case the said proclamations and orders shall be reversed, and an open trade allowed to such vessels, and the Governor of this commonwealth being certified thereof, shall by advice of Council, publicly signify the same by his proclamation, then shall the foregoing clause of this Act be discontinued, and shall cease to operate during the time such open trade shall be allowed.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the said first day of August next, if any ship, vessel, or craft of any kind, as aforesaid, be found in any port, harbour, or creek, or any other place within this commonwealth, taking on board, or having taken on board, while in this commonwealth, any of the articles aforesaid, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this Act, every such ship, vessel or craft, together with their lading, shall be forfeited, and shall and may be seized by any naval officer, collector of Excise or his deputy, or by any other citizen or citizens of the United

United States, and the same may be issued for, prosecuted and recovered in any court of record within this commonwealth, proper to try the same; and after deducting the charges of prosecuting the same, from the gross produce thereof, the remainder shall be given, one moiety to the person or persons who shall have made the seizure and prosecuted the same, and the other moiety shall be paid into the treasury of the commonwealth, for the use of the same.

And be it further enacted, That from and after the first day of August next, there shall not be taken out, or landed from on board any ship, vessel, or craft, not wholly belonging to, or the property of the citizens of the United States, any goods, wares or merchandize in any port, harbour, or creek, or any other place within this commonwealth, except the ports of Boston, Falmouth (in Casco Bay) and Dartmouth; and if any ship, vessel, or craft, not wholly owned as aforesaid, shall be found in any port, harbour or creek, or any other place within this commonwealth, except the ports of Boston Falmouth (in Casco Bay) and Dartmouth, as aforesaid, discharging her loading, or any part thereof, or having discharged her loading, or any part thereof, otherwise than abovementioned, the said ship, vessel, or craft, together with her loading, shall be seized and forfeited, to be recovered and appropriated as aforesaid.

And be it further enacted, That from and after the first day of August next, there shall be paid by the master, owner or consignee of every ship, vessel, or craft, owned either in part or in whole by any foreigner, at the time of entering the said ship, vessel, or craft, into the hands of the naval officer of the ports of Boston, Falmouth, and Dartmouth aforesaid, for the use and benefit of this commonwealth, a duty of five shillings per ton, for each and every ton said vessel may measure by carpenters measurement, and a further duty of two shillings and eight-pence per ton, as light money, in addition to what by law they are now subject to pay for the use and service of the light-houses; and likewise pay unto the Collector of Impost and Excise, for the counties of Suffolk, Cumberland, and Bristol, double the duty on the goods imported in said vessel, as is or may be paid at that time upon the like goods imported in a vessel belonging wholly to the citizens of the United States; and a further duty of sixpence shall be paid upon every bushel of salt imported in any ship, vessel, or craft, owned either in whole or in part, by any of the subjects of the King of Great Britain, and previous to their breaking bulk, they shall give bond to the said collector for the payment of the same.

Provided nevertheless, That the said duty of sixpence per bushel on salt, shall not be paid in case an open trade shall be permitted in the British dominions, and during the continuance of such open trade; such permission to be signified by the Governor's proclamation, as aforesaid.

And

And whereas some persons for the sake of enjoying more extensive privileges in commerce have had double sets of papers for their vessels, in order that they might appear the property of one nation or another, as might best answer their purposes; for the prevention of which impositions:

Be it enacted, That from and after the first day of August next, any vessel which may appear to have two sets of papers. By the one of which she may appear to be the property of the citizens of the United States, and by the other the property of foreigners; or if it shall be made to appear, that any vessel that has cleared at any naval-office in this commonwealth, as the property of the citizens of these States, shall afterwards enter and discharge her cargo taken in and cleared as aforesaid, in any foreign port, as the property of a foreigner; said vessel, upon her return into this commonwealth, shall be forfeited, and may be seized by the naval officer of the port where she may be found, or by any other person or persons, who may prosecute for the same, to be recovered; and the money arising from such forfeiture to be applied as aforesaid, and the master of such vessel so offending, shall forfeit and pay for the use of this commonwealth, a sum of 100l. to be recovered as aforesaid.

And be it further enacted, That each naval-officer in this commonwealth, previous to his admitting any vessel to an entry, shall administer the following oath or affirmation, to the master, or one of the principal owners thereof (provided said vessel shall appear to be the property of the citizens of these States) and certify it on the back of the register (if not done before) in the following words:

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Then personally appeared before me one of the principal owners (or the commander, as the case may be) of the and made solemn oath (or affirmation) that the said is the sole property of the citizens of the United States, and that no foreigner, directly or indirectly hath any part or share therein.
NAVAL OFFICER.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any naval officer, or his deputy, shall presume to enter or clear any vessel, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, or if any naval officer, collector of impost and excise, or their deputies, shall neglect any of the duties required of them by this act, he or they so offending or neglecting their respective duties, shall forfeit and pay the sum of 300l. one moiety thereof for the use of this commonwealth, and the other moiety thereof for the use of the person or persons who may prosecute for the same, to be sued for, and recovered in any court of record in this commonwealth, proper to try the same; and in addition thereto, shall be rendered incapable of any further exercise of his or their respective offices.

Provided

Provided nevertheless, That nothing in this act shall be construed to prevent any ship or vessel built in this commonwealth, and owned either in whole or in part by any of the subjects of the King of Great Britain, from taking a cargo upon their first departure from this commonwealth, upon the same terms, and no further restrictions than if the said vessel was owned by the citizens of these States.

And be it further enacted, That this act shall continue in force until the United States in Congress assembled, shall be vested with competent power for the purpose, and shall have passed an ordinance for the regulation of the commerce of these States; and the period may arrive when the said ordinance is to take effect, and no longer.

In the House of Representatives, June 23, 1785.—This bill having had three several readings, passed to be enacted.

NATHANIEL GORHAM, Speaker.

In Senate, June 23, 1785.—This bill having had two several readings, passed to be enacted.

SAMUEL PHILIPS, jun. President.

By the Governor,

Approved.

JAMES BOWDOIN.

True copy.

Attest.

The dreadful hurricane, that happened on the 27th and 28th of August last, on the island of Jamaica, being very interesting to the commercial world, we have procured the following particulars of that awful event.

The London Gazette of the 29th of October has the following article:

Jamaica, Sept. 10. "This island has been again visited by a hurricane equally violent, of much longer duration, and it is feared much more general than that of the last year. It commenced about six o'clock in the evening of Saturday, the 27th ult. and continued with very little intermission, during the greatest part of the night. The damage sustained by the inhabitants has been immense, and must be the more severely felt by them, as they had not recovered the heavy losses occasioned by the last. The island was fortunately full of provisions, which were selling at a low price; and, to prevent the exportation of them, an embargo has been laid upon the shipping for six weeks."

Particulars of the HURRICANE.

Kingston, August 31, 1785.

SATURDAY afternoon, a most terrible and destructive storm, the fourth that has visited this ill-fated country within these last five years, happened here.—It began to blow from the North West, about four o'clock in the afternoon, accompanied with showers of rain, in which quarter the wind continued until six in the Evening, when it shifted nearly due North, and gradually increased until nine at Night, at which time the warring elements produced a most dreadful hurricane—About half past ten the tempest moderated, and was flattering for upwards of two hours; but at one in the morning the whole hemisphere was once more involved in pitchy darkness, save the awful and momentary flashes of vivid lightning, which rendered

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rendered the dreary scene more visible, and the wind blew from the East and North-East, if possible, with additional violence, raging with inconceivable fury until five o'Clock on Sunday morning, and appearing in the inimitable language of the immortal Shakespeare—"a tempest, dropping fire."

During the whole of Sunday the wind blew from the Eastward in sudden and violent squalls, and Nature, seemingly repentant for the injuries she had already inflicted upon the frail and fretful tenants of mortality, poured forth her sorrows in copious and incessant floods of rain, which covered the whole face of the earth—Every street in town was as a roaring river, and every lane as a rapid creek—The squalls of wind, and showers of rain, continued all day on Monday, and yesterday, with little intermission.—The following vessels, are damaged, sunk, or destroyed.

The brig Swift, Dove, foundered, seven white people and four negroes perished; a ship and sloop sunk a-stern of the Europa, eleven hands, belonging to the former, drowned; ships Hornet, Campbell; Amity's Production, Dale; Alexander, Rosiere—brigs Neptune, Thomson; Washington, Kain; Philadelphia, M'Cann; Adventure, Porand—schooner Holland, Erman, and sloop Sally, Patterson; together with several other small craft, the names of which are not known, are a-shore on the pallisades—many of them dismantled—the ship Molly, Aspanall, is a-shore near Greenwich, totally dismantled; brigs Hope, Penlerick; Success, Darrell; Mary, Cottam; Rover, Jones, from Savannah-la-Mar; and ship Henry, Dennison; are ashore at the West-end of the town, and utterly lost; with several other small vessels,—names unknown.

Captain Tunich, of the Charming Kitty, who arrived at Port Royal about half an hour before the hurricane came on, fell in with eleven sail of vessels on Saturday morning, all bound to this port, none of which have yet arrived, and it is apprehended most of them have perished.

A plantain boat, belonging to Doctor Lythgow, with four valuable negro men and a wench, perished on Bush-key. A mulatto boy, who was on board, saved himself by swimming to the pallisades.

A ship, two brigs, two schooners, and four sloops, were dashed to pieces on the chain of rocky kays, about a league to the Southward and Eastward of Port-Royal, and most of their crews have perished.—The names of these vessels have not yet come to our knowledge.

The ships Mary and Ann, and Jamaica, are totally lost at Annotto Bay.

Two canoes overset on Saturday evening, between Port-Royal and Fort Small, having on board seven prime carpenter negroes, the property of Mr. David Small, who all perished.

The parish of Liguanea, and the circumjacent mountains, exhibit an awful picture of ruin and desolation.—The soldiers barracks at Spanish Town, at Stoney-hill, where four men were crushed to death, at Up-Park Camp, and at Fort Augusta, have suffered great damage.

A person, who coasted the inside of the harbour on Monday, from Travers's hulks almost to Port Royal, says he counted upwards of 100 dead bodies in the progress of his journey.

To enumerate the mischiefs done to the buildings in Kingston, Spanish Town, Port Royal, St. Jago de la Vega, and the neighbouring parishes, would fill a volume.—Suffice it to say, that the loss in private property is immense; and the number of lives lost, impossible at present to determine.—St. James's parish, St. Thomas in the Vale, Rocky Point, Anotto Bay, Port Henderson, &c. are also great sufferers.

For the MERCHANTS MAGAZINE.

A Letter from the IRISH SECRETARY OF STATE to the MAYOR of CORK, on the subject of the Bill presented by Mr. ORDE on the 15th of August, 1785,

For effectuating the Intercourse and Commerce between Great Britain and Ireland, on permanent and equitable Principles, for the mutual Benefit of both Kingdoms.

DEAR SIR,

I mentioned to you, during your magistracy, my intention to address you on the subject of the Commercial Bill. My letter, of the same date and tenor with that which you will now receive, was prepared, but not sent to you. Reflecting that I had declined to debate the commercial part of the Bill, till our merchants and manufacturers should have had an opportunity of laying their evidence and observations before the House of Commons, I doubted whether the same reason did not then conclude against my declaring any opinion, or entering into any argument. On a subject of great importance and complication I wished for every possible information. The address from the late sheriffs and grand jury of Cork, has since determined me to deliver my opinion; and, having been censured for not assigning my reasons, I think I should no longer withhold them from my fellow-citizens, and that my letter as originally written to you will fully explain my sentiments. I am an advocate for truth alone; and shall be as readily disposed to acknowledge, on conviction, any error in my sentiments, as I am firmly determined not to surrender up my reason to unmerited reproach.

I have the honour to be,

Dear Sir,

Your most faithful and obedient servant,

JOHN HELY HUTCHINSON.

Knocklofty, Oct. 14, 1785.

To JAMES MORRISON, Esq.

A L E T T E R, &c.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE sent you printed copies of the Bill for effectuating the Intercourse and Commerce between Great Britain and Ireland, for the information of my constituents; and think it my duty to address them, through their chief magistrate, on a subject of such general importance, and in which the merchants and traders of the city of Cork are peculiarly interested. My object in this letter is not so much to influence their opinions, as to rouse their attention to the different parts of this Bill; for the purpose of informing their

judgments and my own. When I see in some of the public prints the grossest misrepresentations of this measure, and statements of several particulars as contained in the Bill, which are not to be found there, but are contrary to the whole tenor of it; I consider those attempts as tending directly to alienate the affections of Ireland from Great Britain, and to disturb that mutual concord, so essential to the happiness, strength, and security of these two sister kingdoms. If these execrable attempts to promote discord and disunion tended only to misrepresent and calumniate individuals, I should have suffered them to pass with silent contempt; knowing that these shafts have but momentary effects, and that every man's character will finally find its own level, and be appreciated by his fellow citizens according to the tenor of his conduct.

Though the public has been assured by authority, that the Bill, brought in this session for a Commercial Arrangement between the two kingdoms, should never be revived if not called for by public voice, yet attempts are still making to disturb the public mind, as if this measure was to be carried through against the sense of the nation. An Arrangement of Commercial Intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland is generally desired, or our House of Commons was mistaken in its unanimous Address at the close of the last Session. The interval between this Session and the next should be employed in the investigation of this subject; the Bill should be dispassionately and carefully read; the objections to it fairly stated, and the advantages likely to arise from it, candidly considered. I presume, it will not be thought inconsistent with the character of an honest man for any of you to do this, though this is the crime objected to such of your representatives, as thought that the House of Commons should have taken the very same course. For the man who asserts, that those who voted for the introduction of this Bill, had by such conduct declared in favour of any particular clauses in it, is ignorant of the course of Parliamentary proceedings, or wishes to misrepresent.

The objections to this Bill were partly of a constitutional and partly of a commercial nature. On the first, the introduction was principally opposed; and the great ground of argument for establishing the objections on constitutional principles was taken from those parts of the Bill, which relate to the trade with the British colonies and settlements; to the four enumerated articles from the United States of America; the grant of the surplus of the hereditary revenue; and the trade to the East Indies.

By this Bill we should have taken the British colony trade on the same terms with Great Britain herself; rum excepted, which we had many years since obtained liberty to import from the British colonies, and had imported, on lower duties still to be continued. She gives her colonial produce a preference to similar articles from other countries; for, having the monopoly of that produce, she always thought

thought it just to encourage it by such a preference, and expects that we, as equal partners in that monopoly, should do the same. To this principle we have conformed since we obtained the trade. If we should at any time dislike any of the terms, we may by this Bill refuse to abide by them, and determine the agreement. Those colonies are British property; she has a right to grant them on what conditions she pleases; she now grants them to us in the same manner she holds them herself, with the exception before-mentioned which is in our favour.

On these terms, but without any exception, our House of Commons in the year 1779 gratefully accepted the grant of this trade, in the following Resolution of the 20th of December in that year:—“Resolved *nem. con.* That a liberty for this kingdom to trade with the British colonies in America and the West Indies, and the British settlements on the coast of Africa, *in like manner as trade is carried on between Great Britain and the said colonies and settlements,* will be productive of very great commercial benefits, will be a most affectionate mark of the regard and attention of Great Britain to our distressed, and will give new vigour to the zeal of his Majesty's brave and loyal people of Ireland, to stand forward in support of his Majesty's person and government, and the interest, the honour, and the dignity of the British empire.” But the British act of that Session, passed subsequent to the resolution last mentioned, having required equal duties and drawbacks, and the same duties, regulations and restrictions, only in such part of the trade between Ireland and the British colonies in America, the West Indies, and British settlements on the coast of Africa, as was not enjoyed by us previous to that Session, our Acts of Parliament followed this distinction. In the first of these * there is the following clause:—“Whereas such part of the trade between this kingdom and the British colonies in America, the West Indies, and British settlements on the coast of Africa, as was not enjoyed by this kingdom previous to the present Session, *can be enjoyed and have continuance so long and in such case only,* as the goods, to be imported from the said colonies, plantations or settlements, shall be liable to equal duties and drawbacks, and be subject to the same securities, regulations and restrictions, as the like goods are liable and subject to upon being imported from the said colonies, plantations or settlements into Great Britain, or exported from thence to such colonies, plantations or settlements respectively.”—And this clause, copied from a British Act of that Session, is to be found in every Irish Act from the year 1780 to this time, including the present Session. †

* 19th & 20th Geo. III. chap. 11.

† See 21st & 22d Geo. III. chap. 5. 23d & 24th Geo. III. chap. 5. and 25th Geo. III. chap. 4.

These terms were enjoined by the legislature of Great Britain as the condition of the grant, which the legislature of Ireland has uniformly recited and performed in every material article. The enjoining or complying with this condition was never thought a violation of our constitution; it was a condition annexed to the commencement and continuance of the commercial grant of the colonies; it is a condition, which this Bill still annexes to the same grant, and also to the new grant of the British markets. The nature of the new grant has made it necessary, that the condition should be expressed with more clearness and precision; but its principle is in no respect varied. The same liberty of performing or not performing the condition would still remain; because the national faith is not pledged by the agreement of 1779 or the Bill of 1785, to adopt any British law. The condition was not obligatory to Ireland; it is not now proposed to be obligatory; it did not violate the constitution from 1779 to 1785; it does not violate the constitution now.

On one of the laws of this period, introduced by some of the great supporters of our legislative independency, and passed in the year 1782 * after the restitution of our constitutional rights, the present bill in the parts that relate to legislation is founded, but is not carried so far. A law, formed at such an important æra by men of such high characters, well deserves our most serious attention, when we are considering the propriety of uniformity of laws, or concurrence of legislation. It recites as a fact, "that it is the earnest and affectionate desire of his Majesty's subjects of this kingdom," and lays it down as a principle, "that it is their true interests, that a similarity of laws should at all times subsist between the people of Great Britain and Ireland;" and with this view it enacts, "that all such clauses and provisions, contained in any statutes theretofore made in England or Great Britain concerning commerce, as import to impose equal restraints on the subjects of England and Ireland, and to entitle them to equal benefits, should be accepted, used, and executed in this kingdom—provided always, that all such statutes, so as aforesaid concerning commerce, shall bind the subjects of Ireland, so long as they continue to bind the subjects of Great Britain." By the latter part of this law we give to the British legislature the power of repealing laws of Ireland, the duration of which is referred to that legislature; and from this clause a probable intention may be inferred of adopting such laws, as should be made in Great Britain in the place of the laws so repealed, provided the restraints and benefits were equal in respect to both countries. The opinion of the legislature at that time is express, that uniformity of commercial laws would promote the interest of both kingdoms; and, if that advantage could not have been obtained

* 21st & 22d Geo. III. chap. 48.

without

without injuring the independency of Ireland, that opinion would not have been advanced at the moment of its establishment.

Compare that act and the present bill. The act establishes the British commercial laws, which contain equal benefits and restraints, as laws in Ireland, with a retrospect of 290 years; and extends the idea of similarity of laws between the two kingdoms not only to seamen, but to commerce generally. This Bill makes it a fundamental condition of the proposed agreement, that the ships and seamen of both countries should, by the laws of both, be secured in the same privileges, advantages, and immunities; but as to commerce, restrains the similarity of laws to that commerce only, which consists of British property, and arises to Ireland from British concession, or is immediately and necessarily a part of that system; and even there binds the British legislature to the rule of equal restraints and equal benefits, of which the Irish legislature being also to judge, a concurrence of legislation would have grown out of this system, in the exercise of which the sentiments of both nations must have been consulted, and the consequence would have been an enlargement of the objects and power of Irish legislation, and certainly no diminution of dependency. By the operation of this bill, the subject of every law proposed for our adoption, would be distinctly considered either during its progress, or soon after it passed in Great Britain; but by the act of 1782, the acts of near three centuries were adopted in one heap. If the bill is unconstitutional, the act is infinitely more so. But neither is subject to that imputation, because similarity of laws is a just and constitutional principle, if neither of the countries can be bound without the assent of its legislature.

The justice of the rule, that *Cujus est dare ejus est disponere*, was never questioned! but Great Britain offers to relax this rule in favour of Ireland, and to engage to give herself no benefit in her own colonies that she does not give to her sister kingdom; to impose on her no restraint in that commerce which she gives, that she does not impose on herself; and to make Ireland in some measure a joint legislator with herself over a part of her own empire. It is and ever has been a part of the British colony system, to favour the produce and manufactures of her colonies against the interference of similar articles from foreign colonies and states. She expects, that, as long as you choose to enjoy the benefit of this system, you should do the same, and that these similar articles should be made subject to the same duties on importation in this kingdom as in Great Britain. To this we have hitherto conformed without objection or inconvenience. The same principle applies equally to the like articles imported from the united states of America; and therefore to four of these articles, namely rum, peltry, whale-bone fins, and oil, of which the British colonies can furnish a complete supply, the same condition is annexed. That this was considered as part

part of the colonial system, and not founded on any intention to regulate the trade of Ireland by British law is manifest from this—that motions made on this occasion in both houses of the British Parliament, to regulate our trade with the states of America in some articles unconnected with the colony system, were rejected on this avowed principle, that Great Britain had no power to regulate any part of our foreign commerce. If by this agreement Ireland was to retain the liberty of importing from other countries produce or manufactures similar to those of the British colonies, she would not take the colony trade on the same terms with Great Britain.

It is true the British act of 1780 allows Ireland a selection; but we framed our import duties from the year 1779 pursuant to the resolution of our House of Commons in that year, and followed the British laws; and, as by the proposed agreement we were to have the liberty of importing British colonial produce from this kingdom into Great Britain, she thought it necessary to annex it as a condition to this agreement, that we should subject similar articles from foreign countries to the same duties, regulations and restrictions as in Great Britain! because otherwise we might import those articles, as the produce of the British colonies, into her ports with little probability of detection, and subvert her whole colony system. This argument applies equally to the four enumerated articles from the American states.

But whether we adopted British colony laws in a smaller or greater number of articles, makes no difference in the constitutional principle. If it violated our independency in one case, it would be equally a violation of it in the other. But it is a violation of it in neither. The objection, that if we refuse to adopt the British law we should lose the benefit of this agreement, applied with more weight to the condition of 1780, because Great Britain gave us then more than she has now to grant.

When I reflect, how long Scotland had endeavoured to obtain from England the protection of her navigation laws and the benefits of her colony trade; that, what is now offered to be permanently granted to Ireland without any infringement of her rights of legislation could not be purchased by Scotland without the surrender of her legislative sovereignty; when I reflect with what effusions of public gratitude we received that very boon, which some of us seem now to disdain and spurn; and how carefully and affectionately it had been cherished by our legislature in the acts of every succeeding session; I view with amazement the wonderful revolutions of human sentiments, and consider the constitutional jealousy arising from the proposed system of colonial legislation, as one of those popular delusions, which have too often inflamed the passions and misled the reasons of men.

A further constitutional objection has been made to that part of the Bill, which grants in perpetuity the surplus of our hereditary revenue

revenue above 656,000l. and to the support of that grant by a supposed perpetual revenue bill. As to the grant, it is necessary to observe, that the guarding the seas had been a heavy expence to this kingdom as early as the reign of King Charles the First †. At the restoration specific duties were granted, and granted in perpetuity, “for the better guarding and defending of the seas against all persons intending, or that may intend the disturbance of the intercourse of the trade of this your Majesty’s realm, and for the better defraying the necessary expences thereof, which otherwise cannot be effected without great charge; and for increase and augmentation of your Majesty’s revenue §.” The probable amount of the proposed grant for many years to come would be far inferior in value to one year’s amount of the duties granted by that act, and granted in the first place for this specific purpose. This part of the Bill would provide for the same service with more oeconomy, and with much better effect. When I say with much better effect, I speak from experience. In the late war frigates were stationed off the coast of Scotland to protect the trade of that country. I presented a memorial from Cork to the then administration of Ireland, praying that the same attention should be shewn to the southern and western coasts of this kingdom. I was not able to prevail. But when this navy becomes the navy of the empire, to the support of which Ireland contributes, it would be Irish as well as British; and there could be no longer a foundation for any distinction. Our contribution would center among ourselves, and would encourage our industry, by the investment of our quota in our own manufactures.

As to the second objection to this part of the Bill, the fact has been misapprehended. It is no part of the Bill that this grant should be supported by a perpetual Revenue Bill. It would have been supported with good faith; but, like the rest of our revenue, by annual bills in aid of the acts of excise and customs, which are now perpetual.

It has been objected in a neighbouring kingdom, that the grant of this surplus is a diminution of the royal power and property. It certainly is so, and has justly and liberally been conceded, to strengthen the whole empire by a great commercial adjustment between these two countries. But to state this part of the Bill as an incroachment on the rights or power of parliament, or as weakening or limiting the freedom of the constitution, is a strange perversion of the most obvious tendency and effect, of a regulation calculated to promote the manufactures, protect the commerce, strengthen the constitution, and provide for the defence of the nation.

† Strafford’s Letters, vol. i. p. 68, 152.
§ 14th and 15th Ch. II. chap. 9.

As to objections made, on constitutional principles, to those parts of the Bill that relate to the British East India Company, I shall consider them more fully when I come to the commercial parts of the subject, to which they properly belong. I will only say in this place, that I consider those parts of the proposed agreement as an exchange, by mutual consent, of a commerce which exists in theory only, and which may never be productive, for a certain immediate and advantageous commerce to a great empire in that part of the globe, and to Great Britain, neither of which we can acquire without such an exchange; and, this possible commerce being re-assumable at our pleasure, by parting with the consideration given for it, and as we barter commerce for commerce, and not commerce for constitution, that no objection of a constitutional nature can justly apply to those paragraphs of the bill.

I cannot discover in any of those instances the smallest particle of legislative power gained by Great Britain or lost by Ireland. The former has always made laws to regulate the trade with her colonies and settlements in Africa and America; by this agreement she is to continue to do so. The Irish legislature now follows those laws, and has declared by several of her statutes, that it is reasonable to do so. After this agreement, she will continue to follow them as long as she thinks it reasonable. But, when this event shall have taken place, Great Britain in making those laws must consider, what regulations appear equal to the Irish legislature, or the hazards the continuance of this agreement. What legislative power is Ireland to lose? When a bill shall be brought into either of our houses of parliament, relative to the British Colonies, or to the four articles from the American States, shall we not have the same power over that as over every other bill? Can we not amend any part, or reject the whole? Can we not say, the restraints and benefits are not equal, or, though they are equal, they are not wise, and they shall not be the law of Ireland? But then you risk the agreement—so would the British legislature, if she made any law relative to her colonies and settlements, which the Irish legislature should think unjust. But the determination of the agreement would not necessarily follow our varying or rejecting their Bill; for by the proposed agreement the dissatisfaction of the British legislature must be first declared. If our conduct should be founded on just grounds, it is not improbable that no such dissatisfaction would be declared, but that wise and moderate men might suggest some expedient, or recommend some middle course that would be agreeable to both countries, and that the British legislature would vary or change its law. But, it is said, you could not originate the Bill. In respect to the British colonies and settlements, no man could be so unreasonable as to desire it; as to foreign colonies and the four enumerated articles, our right to originate would be unquestionable. I speak of the right, not of the exercise of it, the prudence of which must depend on the occasion.

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If Great Britain neither gains, nor Ireland loses any power of legislation, where is the injury to our independence? Where is the bridle that is to be thrown, it seems, over the neck of the high-spirited steed? It is held out, not by those who offer, but by those who would scare him from his provender.

I therefore thought and still think, that there was no good reason on constitutional grounds against the introduction of the Bill; for which introduction I voted. Considering the subject in its true light, as merely commercial, I thought that there were strong reasons to induce even those, who objected to some of the commercial regulations of the Bill, to vote for liberty to bring it in. A commercial settlement between the two kingdoms is acknowledged by every reasonable man to be much wanted; and how this can be obtained, without temperate discussion, and the communication to each other of the points in which they agree, and of those in which they differ, I cannot comprehend. In the accomplishment of the British union many delays and differences in opinion had arisen. Though the commissioners, appointed for that purpose under the authority of the Parliaments of both kingdoms, had on both sides signed and sealed the articles of union, yet the Scotch Parliament made many important alterations, which were adopted by the English Parliament. In the proceedings to establish a commercial union between Great Britain and Ireland, difficulties and differences in opinion must necessarily have arisen among men of the best intentions. Our propositions have been altered by the British House of Commons; their resolutions have been altered by the Lords of Great Britain; and these alterations were adopted by the House of Commons of that kingdom. In the progress on the Irish Bill the fullest discussion was intended. Every objection would have been heard, and every well-founded objection doubtless must have been allowed, and every proper alteration made. Nothing final during this session was ever in contemplation. A great length and variety of examination must have preceded the settlement of the schedule of duties and regulations. This schedule must have been laid before our two Houses of Parliament in the next session for their approbation; and, after all this had been done, nothing could have been concluded, until the Irish Parliament had declared its satisfaction in the acts of the British legislature.

The Bill offered to Ireland many commercial advantages of the most important nature. It secured for ever the linen trade of this kingdom. The agreement, effectually to favour our manufactures, would have been of great value to us. The encouragement, which it gave to our sail-cloth manufacture, would have occasioned an annual profit to a very great amount. The perpetual supply of rock salt would have been useful to our victualling trade and fisheries; of bark to our manufacture of leather; and of coals to all our manufactures. The perpetual exemption of this last article from

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duty on the export to Ireland, would have been a great and peculiar advantage to our manufacturers. The inhabitants of Great Britain pay for their own coals, from port to port, five shillings the chaldron. An intention has been mentioned not long since to tax this commodity at the pit. If this Bill had passed, the tax would be drawn back, and this kingdom secured against any imposition, which the necessities of Great Britain may induce her to lay on the export of this necessary article. If Great Britain had not given of late years the strongest proofs, that she is not disposed to look to times of less liberality, for precedents to govern her conduct in respect to her sister kingdom, it would not be prudent to mention, that English coals came formerly to Ireland under a duty of four shillings the ton, imposed on the export by an English act †.

I also thought the circuitous colony trade from Ireland to Great Britain would have been highly useful to this kingdom, and particularly to the city of Cork. I thought the opening of the British markets to our manufactures would be, in one respect, of the utmost importance to this kingdom, I mean by the re-exportation of Irish manufactures from Great Britain with a drawback of all duties; and, if this opinion is well founded, we should consider the advantages of having our manufactures exported to all parts of the world, by the capitals and credit of Great Britain. By this assistance our linens to a great amount are re-exported from England; and this assistance has ever been one great source of the prosperity of that manufacture. Under the proposed agreement, all our other manufactures would have been re-exported from thence equally free from duty.

That the British markets would have produced consequences so extensive in favour of Ireland, as her principal manufacturers affirmed, it is not my opinion. That Ireland would have been materially benefited by it in some of her manufactures, I entertain no doubt. And, whenever Great Britain can lighten the taxes on her manufactures and on the materials of them, which must naturally be one of her first objects when her circumstances permit, this part of the proposed agreement would effectually open the best, the nearest, and the most certain markets in the world to Ireland; and would promote the most beneficial of all trades, because the whole profits would belong to the subjects of the same empire, and because a capital employed in a home trade, which this may be justly considered, may be sent out and brought back many times, before the capital employed in a foreign trade has made one return; which must be peculiarly advantageous to a country deficient in capital, and would at the same time be attended with all the advantages of foreign trade, by increasing the quantity of specie and the number of ships and seamen. The re-export of our manufactures

† Carte's Life of Duke of Ormond, vol. i. p. 84.

from

from Great Britain ensures their admission wherever British are received, and baffles the ungenerous policy of Portugal.

In all those particulars the advantages are on our side; and, if we hesitate whether to accept or not the colonial and domestic markets of Britain on terms equally beneficial with herself, I will venture to tell you that no nation in Europe, which had no colonies of her own, would follow your example. If this part of the subject admitted no doubt, the questions then for the consideration of our Houses of Parliament would have been, whether they thought it reasonable and just to agree to the parts of the Bill, that related to the East India trade; and to the prevention of prohibiting the export to Great Britain of our yarn? The first of these considerations have depended on the evidence of our merchants, as to the parts of the East which were open to us, for no European settlement there would admit us; whether we had sufficient capitals to carry on the trade; and whether any probable future advantages (for present there are none, as we have never sent a ship there, though at full liberty so to do during the last six years) were of sufficient weight to prevent a commercial settlement between the two kingdoms, in which Great Britain offers you access to all her markets foreign and domestic, on the same terms with herself; with a covenant on her part effectually to favour every article of your growth, produce, or manufacture, materials from foreign countries excepted, which are to be imported in both kingdoms duty free: and in which she offers an export of your manufactures with all duties drawn back, through the medium of her Company, to her East Indian territories, by which channel alone she can convey her own manufactures thither—the benefit of whatever revenue shall arise on India goods sent to Ireland, or a drawback on the exportation from Great Britain, which would give them to us free of all duties—and an equal trade with Great Britain in her possessions in India, in the event of a dissolution of the Company; in which Company, during its continuance, you have an equal right with Britons of becoming adventurers; and from which you can purchase the produce of the East in an open market and at a public auction, on the same terms with your fellow subjects of Great Britain, and on cheaper terms than at any other market.

These several circumstances appeared to me to have been worthy the consideration of the House of Commons; which, after having been fully informed on this subject, would have been more competent to determine, whether we should or should not, in favour of the British East India Company, and in consideration of the other commercial benefits proposed to us, impose this limitation on our commerce, determinable at the discretion of our two Houses of Parliament; which, while we allowed it to continue, would have placed Ireland in precisely the same circumstances with every part of Great Britain, London excepted.

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Had this part of the agreement been found injurious to the probable hopes of our rising commerce, it ought to have been, and unquestionably would have been, rejected. If it had appeared, that, without prejudice to ourselves, we could have strengthened the staff on which our sister kingdom leans in the day of her adversity, what generous Irishman would have withheld his concurrence? But if this part of the Bill, instead of imaginary prospects, in the place of commercial visions, offered us some immediate, real, and substantial benefits, the choice would have been difficult to make.

The agreement not to prohibit the exportation of our yarn would be an engagement not to relinquish a beneficial and profitable part of our commerce; beneficial and profitable to the whole kingdom, but to Munster in particular: it would be an agreement not to do what we shall never do, though no such agreement existed. When it is considered that Ireland gains by this export above 340,000l. yearly †. that it is a manufacture, though an imperfect one, which employs great numbers of our people, for whom it would be difficult to find any other employment; it seems to be a proposition almost self-evident, that the exportation should never be prevented by any other means, than by giving every possible encouragement to our own people to manufacture it at home, the only rational and effectual means of preventing the export.

But it is objected, that Great Britain prohibits the exportation of her yarn, and that there is no equality in our agreeing not to prohibit. I answer, that the policy of that nation in this respect has been condemned by persons of great commercial information; that these prohibitions were laid on to gratify the manufacturers of that country, who have been sometimes much mistaken in their opinions on this subject. In 1698 they petitioned, that the importation of all worsted and woollen yarn from Ireland should be prohibited, and represented that the poor of England were perishing by this importation; and in 1739 § they petitioned against taking off the duties on those articles from Ireland to England; but now they insist that it should be made a part of this agreement that the exportation from Ireland to Great Britain should never be prohibited—a caution to manufacturers not to be too confident of their present opinions, and to the public, not to give way to such opinions without hearing proofs or reasons. As to equality, it is to be estimated by the sum of advantages on each side, and not by a comparison of each article separately. Thus Britain gives bounties on Irish linen exported from her ports, but we give none on British exports from ours. In yarn the inequality is merely nominal. In

† At a medium of seven years, ending 25th March 1784, it amounted to 348,927l. 5s. od.

§ English Comm. Journ. Commercial Restraints, p. 115.

coals

coals the equality is but nominal, and the whole advantage is in the Irish scale.

In these and other articles the exercise of the legislative power would be restrained in this kingdom during the continuance of the agreement; and in many articles similar restraints would be imposed on the British legislature; but without such restraints no commercial agreement could ever be framed between two independent legislatures. Restraints of the same nature made a part of our Propositions, which were almost unanimously agreed to, and were never considered as subversive of constitutional rights. Limitations, which arise out of the power of the legislature, and depend for their duration on the same power, are not arguments against but the clearest proofs in support of legislative independence. Agreements to direct the channels in which trade shall flow, or to commute the barren speculation of a possible distant trade, which is open to us, but which we are not now able to enjoy, and perhaps may never be worth our having; for a beneficial trade which is not open to us, and which we may acquire by the suspension of an useless right, re-assumable at our pleasure, would not be a relinquishment, but an enlargement of commercial freedom, and a just and constitutional exertion of legislative power for salutary purposes. Let us apply this reasoning to the East Indian commerce. You have no liberty of trade with the British empire in India. Great Britain offers you an export of your manufactures to those countries from Great Britain and Ireland, on the same terms with her own, through the medium of her East India Company, to which she limits herself. She offers you at the same time her own markets in the same manner that she enjoys them herself; but to this she annexes a condition, that, while you think proper to enjoy those benefits, you should agree not to trade to the few hospitable shores that will receive you between the Cape of Good Hope and the Streights of Magellan; and that, when you choose to relinquish that profitable liberty of trade which she offers, and which you have not, you may then re-assume that unproductive liberty of trade, which you have now in theory only.

Some of the commercial regulations of this Bill have been misunderstood, I mean those which relate to bounties, and the breweries.

As to the first the Bill directs, that all bounties, except such as are in the nature of drawbacks or compensations for duties paid, on any articles to Great Britain, shall cease, with an exception of corn, malt, flour, and biscuit; that no bounty to or from a British colony or settlement, or to the East Indies, shall be payable in Ireland, unless in cases where a similar bounty is payable in Great Britain; with an exception when such bounty is in the nature of a drawback or compensation for duties paid. The bounties to her own settlements Great Britain has a right to regulate. The ceasing of all bounties on articles from Ireland to Great Britain is followed by her

her Bill as to bounties from Great Britain to Ireland, to prevent a war of bounties, which would be hurtful to both countries. The bounties, payable in this kingdom to encourage the sale of our manufactures in our own markets, or on exportation to foreign States not British colonies or settlements, are in no sort restrained.

The parts of the Bill relative to bounties, which are highly advantageous to Ireland, have been perverted into objections against the Bill. A proof of the great utility of those regulations is to be found in the fate of the sail-cloth manufacture. It flourished before the British bounty. It was ruined by that bounty. It will flourish again by the withdrawing that bounty; and, by the preference given to it by this Bill over foreign in the British navy, by the other encouragements which it is to receive in the out-fit of British and colony ships in being considered as British, and by the export to India, will flourish in a far greater degree than at any other period, and will become one of our most important branches of manufacture.

In respect to the breweries, we should have been gainers by the proposed agreement, as the duty on British beer, now 4s. 1d. would have been then 5s. 4d. the barrel.

I thought those commercial matters were proper subjects for investigation; that the Bill, which related to them, should be brought in and printed, and dispersed through the kingdom; that our merchants and manufacturers should be examined to every part of it; and that not a step should have been taken in it, without seeing our way clearly, and without the concurring sense of the trading part of the nation. I did not think myself at liberty even to debate the commercial parts of the Bill, before the commercial evidence of Ireland was heard; but I am forced by the most unfounded and malicious misrepresentation to mention my present sentiments, with the readiest disposition to change any of them on better information, but with the firmest disdain of groundless clamour.

On those principles I voted for the introduction of the Bill. Had it appeared, on the introductory statement of it, to have contained any thing derogatory to the independence of our legislature, or that could have justly raised a doubt of that kind, I would have voted either against the introduction, or for the immediate rejection of it.

Many of my fellow-citizens petitioned against the resolutions of the British parliament. I stated their petition more fully than petitions are usually stated. I was not called upon to give my opinion on those resolutions. As to the legislative rights of Ireland, the address of the British Lords and Commons to the throne has declared their sense; and the Bill of the British House of Commons has spoken most explicitly and decidedly on that subject. The Irish Bill differs materially from those resolutions, and contains many new provisions in favour of our constitution and commerce. I speak

speak of that Bill for the introduction of which I voted; and on the ground of that Bill I will maintain this position against any man. That it neither surrenders nor impairs, nor promises, or engages, or tends in any respect to impair the independence of the legislature of Ireland; but that on the contrary, it expressly reserves to this and all succeeding Parliaments the full exercise of legislative rights, in all acts of legislation whatever; and gives to our Houses of Parliament a greater power than any Houses of Parliament ever had before, by placing in their hands, without the royal assent, the repeal of a Legislative agreement.

Consider the present state of the British empire. Survey your own country, with an honest pride, as a most important part of that empire; conscious of your own weight in the general scale, be not too prone to suspect, that any English ministry would be mad enough to invade your liberties, or to impair either your commercial or constitutional rights. What is now the necessary object of British councils? To strengthen and connect the remaining parts of the empire. What are the principal means of effecting this? Multiplying the resources, increasing the wealth, promoting the population and industry, and establishing the tranquility and contentment of Ireland. No two countries on the globe are more necessary to the happiness of each other than those two islands. The man who considers them as adversaries, and not as partners in commerce, is not a judicious friend to either. The man, who attempts to serve one at the expence of the other, would injure both. What is the obvious wish and interest of the enemies of the British empire? To separate these two kingdoms. First to weaken and disunite the British empire, and then to subvert it. What would become of the liberties of Ireland then? Counteract your enemies, co-operate with your friends, and consolidate the strength of the two kingdoms on such terms, as shall appear to be of equal advantage to each.

Let me ask any of my fellow-citizens some few plain questions. Have we since 1779 to this time followed British laws, by laying the same duties on all colonial produce, foreign as well as British? Have you felt any commercial or constitutional prejudice by this? Do you think it reasonable, that Great Britain should allow you to bring into her ports the produce of foreign colonies, whilst she prohibits herself from doing so? Have not her colonies been the great source of her superior commerce and maritime strength? Would you promote the trade and navigation of Great Britain, and in effect of Ireland, or of foreign nations? Would you strengthen the fleet which protects, or that which may be destined to invade you? Is there any country, the trade to which is more valuable to Ireland, than her trade with the rest of the world? Is not Great Britain that country? Can more effectual means be devised for promoting your trade, than by extending the most valuable part of it?

it? Was not this the object of our propositions, and is not this the object of our bill?

What would you have? To remain as we are. How, would you have Britons keep their markets shut against you, whilst you keep your markets open to them? Shall they supply you with colony produce, and refuse to receive it from you? Is this equality of commerce or constitution? Give us similar prohibitions or prohibitory duties. Are you inclined to bring your linens within this rule, and can you justly expect that Great Britain should encourage your staple manufacture, with prejudice to her own in other countries, if you discourage hers? Are you aware, that every protection to a manufacture by a duty, which excludes a better or a cheaper manufacture of the same kind, is, to the amount of the difference in price, a tax on every other manufacture, and every other man in the community who buys the protected manufacture? Do you prefer a system of mutual prohibitions, that tends to protect idleness or ignorance in both kingdoms, to a system that sets up the industry and skill of each nation as an example and rival to the other? You certainly feel no dastardly repugnance to this noble emulation? Do you prefer exclusion to comprehension; reciprocal restraints, prohibitions, perpetual jealousies, and ill will, to the mutual intercourse of kindness and encouragement, which bids the mixing commerce of the two kingdoms roll in one common flood?

There is no kindness, you say, in the attempt to exclude us from a trade to the East †. Is there none in offering you a trade to her extensive dominions there? Does she give greater liberty to the inhabitants of Great Britain? Which is most valuable, the trade she offers, or that of which she proposes to you still to suspend the exercise? If the exchange is in your favour, is there any thing dishonourable in accepting of it? or any thing indecorous in proposing it? Would you have her violate her national faith, and dissolve her India Company? No, you say, that expectation would be unreasonable and unjust. Tell me then what can she offer more than she now proposes to you, either whilst that Company exists, or in the event of its dissolution? I ask you but one question more. Does Great Britain possess in any one part of the globe any one article of free commerce whatever, in her power to participate, which she does not open as freely and beneficially to Ireland as to herself? And then consider, my fellow-citizens, what nation upon earth has the widest and best regulated range of commerce.

† The most valuable part of that trade, which consists in teas, we have already relinquished in favour of the British East India Company, without murmur, though without any equivalent. We are now offered an equivalent, for what we have, in effect, already conceded without any.

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In considering the Bill, examine the fundamental principles in the first place. What are they? 1st, To encourage and extend as much as possible the trade between the two kingdoms, on permanent and equitable principles. 2dly, That the inhabitants of each should trade to and from the British colonies, settlements and dominions in every part of the globe, now or hereafter to be planted, made, or acquired, on equal terms both directly and circuitously. If you disapprove of the principles, reject the Bill; if you approve of the principles, go into the detail of the Bill; approve, or amend, or reject, according to your judgment, applied coolly to every distinct and separate part of this comprehensive system. In this you will act with that wisdom and temper which become a great commercial city. Consider whether any clause or expression in it can have the most remote tendency to injure your constitution. If you find any such, reject it, whatever commercial benefits the Bill may offer. But pray, let the clause be first read, and a little considered, and a little understood. Judge of it from the plain words of the text itself, and not from the brilliant paraphrase of eloquent commentators; and let not every man, who thinks proper to beat on the spirit-stirring drum of the constitution, make you start and tremble, and frighten you out of your wits.

I certainly consider myself accountable to my constituents for my parliamentary conduct; but on great national questions it is my duty to think as well as to act for them. I desire only that they will read the Bill, make themselves, as I have endeavoured to do in respect to myself, masters of the many important and complicated subjects which it comprehends; and then say, whether a member for the first trading city of Ireland, who was not unversed in subjects of constitution and commerce, would have acted as became him, if he had voted that a subject of this nature should not have been considered. I have voted only that it should be considered; and was never more thoroughly convinced, that I never gave a vote of more beneficial tendency to the city of Cork; and have no doubt that my constituents will hereafter view my conduct in this light. I affectionately regard my fellow-citizens, and there is nothing I value more than their esteem, except the lasting interests and happiness of them and their posterity. I desire only that they may judge for themselves, and of the Bill itself by its own merits; and not view it through the medium of misrepresentation, which so many men in both kingdoms have, or think they have, an interest in placing between the public and the real subject for their consideration.

The great principle of this Bill, namely, equal freedom in each kingdom to the merchants and manufacturers of the other, has been long my decided opinion*. When for your service I endeavoured

* See Commercial Restraints of Ireland, Letter 9.

voured to give some light to this subject, I pointed out this inequality as one of the just grounds of our commercial complaints. Are my fellow citizens, after twenty-five years experience of my conduct as one of their representatives, so little acquainted with my character, as to suppose me capable of expressing to the public the warmest feelings on the subject of their former oppressions in trade, and that I should now have any design to renew those grievances or to impair those constitutional rights, which alone can protect them in the enjoyment of commercial freedom! Apply all the exertions of your knowledge and experience to this subject; its importance deserves them all. Shew your veteran, and, let me add, faithful representative, that any part of the measure injures your rights as merchants, manufacturers, or freemen, and then see whether any man will use more vigorous exertions for your service. But consider it with that temper and good sense with which the conduct of my fellow-citizens has been usually marked; and do not suffer it, before it has been read or understood, to be encountered by violence and outrage.

I have the honour to be,
Dear Sir,
your most faithful
and obedient servant,
JOHN HELY HUTCHINSON.

Palmerston,
5th September, 1785.

To the Right Worshipful
James Morrison, Esq. Mayor of Cork.

For the M E R C H A N T S M A G A Z I N E.

N E W Y O R K, Sept. 2, 1785.

The following is a letter to Mr. Jay, from Mr. Shaw, who went in the ship Empress of China, to Canton, as commercial agent for the owners. It contains an interesting and well written account of that voyage. This gentleman served the United States, during the late war, as a Captain in the American army; and such was his conduct and character, that he acquired the confidence and esteem of Major General Knox, and became an Aid-du-Camp to that brave and distinguished officer.

New York, May 19, 1785.

S I R,

THE first vessel that has been fitted out by the inhabitants of the United States of America, for essaying a commerce with those of the empire of China, being by the favour of Heaven, safe returned

returned to this port, it becomes my duty to communicate to you, for the information of the fathers of the country, an account of the reception their citizens have met with, and the respect with which their flag has been treated in that distant region; especially as some circumstances have occurred, which had a tendency to attract the attention of the Chinese towards a people of whom they have hitherto had but very confused ideas, and which served in a peculiar manner, to place the Americans in a more conspicuous point of view, than has commonly attended the introduction of other nations into that antient and extensive empire.

The ship employed on this occasion, is about three hundred and sixty tons burthen, built in America, and equipped with forty-three persons, under the command of John Green, Esq. The subscriber had the honour of being appointed agent for their commerce, by the gentlemen at whose risque this first experiment has been undertaken.

On the 22d of February, 1784, the ship sailed from New York, and arrived the 21st of March at St. Jago, the principal of the Cape de Verd islands. Having paid our respects to the Portuguese Viceroy, and with his permission taken such refreshments as were necessary, we left those islands on the 27th, and pursued our voyage. After a pleasant passage, in which nothing extraordinary occurred, we came to anchor in the Straits of Sunda, on the 18th of July. It was no small addition to our happiness on this occasion, to meet there two ships belonging to our good allies the French. The Commodore, Monsieur D'Ordelin, and his officers welcomed us in the most affectionate manner: and as his own ship was immediately bound to Canton, gave us an invitation to go in company with him.

This friendly offer we most cheerfully accepted, and the Commodore furnished us with his signals by day and night, and added such instructions for our passage through the Chinese seas, as would have been exceedingly beneficial, had any unfortunate accident occasioned our separation. Happily we pursued our route together. On our arrival at the island of Macao, the French Consul for China, Monsieur Viellard, with some other gentleman of his nation, came on board to congratulate and welcome us to that part of the world, and kindly undertook the introduction of the Americans to the Portuguese Governor. The little time that we were there, was entirely taken up by the good offices of the Consul, the gentlemen of his nation, and those of the Swedes and Imperialists who still remained at Macao. The other Europeans had repaired to Canton. Three days afterwards we finished our outward-bound voyage. Previous to coming to anchor, we saluted the shipping in the river with thirteen guns, which were answered by the several Commodores of the European nations; each of whom sent an officer to compliment us on our arrival. These visits were returned by the Captain and

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Supercargoes, in the afternoon; who were again saluted by the respective ships, as they finished their visit. When the French sent their officers to congratulate us, they added to the obligations we were under to them, by furnishing men, boats, and anchors, to assist us in coming to safe and convenient moorings. Nor did their good offices stop here; they furnished us with part of their bank-fall, and insisted that until we were settled, we should take up our quarters with them at Canton.

The day of our arrival at Canton, Aug. 30, and the two following days, we were visited by the Chinese merchants, and the chiefs and gentlemen of the several European establishments.—The Chinese were very indulgent towards us; they stiled us the New People; and when by the map we conveyed to them an idea of the extent of our country, with its present and increasing population, they were highly pleased at the prospect of so considerable a market for the productions of theirs.

The situation of the Europeans at Canton is so well known as to render a detail unnecessary. The good understanding commonly subsisting between them and the Chinese, was in some degree interrupted by two extraordinary occurrences, of which I will, with your permission, give a particular account.

The Police at Canton, is at all times extremely strict, and the Europeans are circumscribed within very narrow limits. The latter had observed with concern, some circumstances which they deemed an encroachment upon their rights. On this consideration they determined to apply for redress to the Hoppo, who is the head officer of the customs, the next time he should visit the shipping. Deputies accordingly attended from every nation, and I was desired to represent ours. We met the Hoppo on board an English ship, and the causes of complaint were soon after removed.

The other occurrences, of which I beg leave to take notice, gave rise to what was commonly called the Canton War, which threatened to be productive of very serious consequences. On the 23d of November an English ship, in saluting some company that had dined on board, killed a Chinese, and wounded two others in the Mandarin's boat along side. It is a maxim of Chinese law, that blood must answer for blood; in pursuance of which they demanded the unfortunate gunner. To give up the poor man, was to consign him to certain death.—Humanity pleaded powerfully against the measure. After repeated conferences between the English and the Chinese, the latter declared themselves satisfied, and the affair was supposed to be entirely settled. Notwithstanding this, on the morning after the last conference (the 27th) the Supercargo of the ship was seized while attending his business, thrown into a sedan chair, hurried into the city, and committed to prison.

Such an outrage on personal liberty spread a general alarm; and the Europeans unanimously agreed to send for their boats, with armed

armed men from their shipping, for the security of themselves and property, until the matter should be brought to a conclusion. The boats accordingly came, and ours among the number; one of which was fired on and a man wounded. All trade was stopped, and the Chinese men of war drawn up opposite the Factories. The Europeans demanded the restoration of Mr. Smith, which the Chinese refused, until the gunner should be given up. In the mean while, the troops of the province were collecting in the neighbourhood of Canton—the Chinese servants were ordered by the Magistrates to leave the Factories—the gates of the suburbs were shut—all intercourse was at an end—the naval force was increased—many troops were embarked in boats, ready for landing—and every thing wore the appearance of war. To what extremities matters might have been carried, had not a negociation taken place, no one can say. The Chinese asked a conference with all the nations, except the English. A deputation (in which I was included for America) met the Fuen, who is the head Magistrate of Canton, with the principal officers of the province. After setting forth, by an interpreter, the power of the Emperor, and his own determination to support the laws, he demanded that the Gunner should be given up within three days, declaring that he should have an impartial examination before their tribunal, and if it appeared that the affair was accidental, he should be released unhurt. In the mean time he gave permission for the trade (except that of the English) to go on as usual; and dismissed us with a present of two pieces of silk to each, as a mark of his friendly disposition. The other nations one after another, sent away their boats under protection of a Chinese flag, and pursued their business as before. The English were obliged to submit—the Gunner was given up—Mr. Smith was released—and the English, after being forced to ask pardon of the Magistracy of Canton, in presence of the other nations, had their commerce restored. On this occasion, I am happy that we were the last who sent off our boat, and that without a Chinese flag; nor did she go till the English themselves thanked us for our concurrence with them, and advised the sending her away. After peace was restored, the Chief and four English gentlemen, invited the several nations (among whom we were included) and thanked them for their assistance during the trouble—the Gunner remained with the Chinese, his fate undetermined.

Notwithstanding the treatment we received from all parties, was perfectly civil and respectful, yet it was with peculiar satisfaction that we experienced on every occasion from our good allies, the French, the most flattering and substantial proofs of their friendship. "If, said they, we have in any instance been serviceable to you, we are happy, and we desire nothing more ardently than further opportunities to convince you of our affection."

We

We left Canton, the 27th of December, and on our return, refreshed at the Cape of Good Hope, where we found a most friendly reception—after remaining there five days, we sailed for America, and arrived in this port on the 11th instant.

To every lover of his country, as well as to those more immediately concerned in commerce, it must be a pleasing reflection, that a communication is thus happily opened between us and the Eastern extreme of the globe; and it adds very sensibly to the pleasure of this reflection, that the voyage has been performed in so short a space of time, and attended with the loss only of one man. To Captain Green and his officers every commendation is due, for their unwearied and successful endeavours in bringing it to this most fortunate issue, which fully justifies the confidence reposed in them, by the gentlemen concerned in the enterprize.

Permit me, Sir, to accompany this letter with the two pieces of silk, presented to me by the Fuen of Canton, as a public mark of his good disposition towards the American nation. In that view I considered myself as peculiarly honoured in being charged with this testimony of the friendship of the Chinese for a people, who may in a few years prosecute a commerce with the subjects of that empire, under advantages equal, if not superior to those enjoyed by any other nation whatever.

I have the honour to be, with most perfect respect, Sir, your most obedient, and very humble servant,

S A M U E L S H A W.

To the Honourable the Minister of the United States for Foreign Affairs.

Mr. Jay laid this letter and the two pieces of silk mentioned in it, before Congress: They were pleased to return the silk to Mr. Shaw, and ordered Mr. Jay to inform him, "That they felt a peculiar satisfaction in the successful issue of that first effort of the citizens of America, to establish a direct trade with China, which did so much honour to its undertakers and conductors."

For the M E R C H A N T S M A G A Z I N E.

To the Right Honourable JOHN HELY HUTCHINSON, Representative for the City of CORK.

S I R,

THE Grand Jury told you, that were this bill to pass into a law, "it would be a base, treacherous, and unlawful surrender of the constitutional independence of this realm;" and your reply to them was, "it would not impair the constitution of Ireland,

land, and that you never heard any argument for the contrary opinion, that was not founded on a misconception of the bill." On your own statement of the general misconception, you should forbear to give it any farther support. It has been always understood, that clearness and perspicuity were essential points in all treaties, and that those employed in framing them should endeavour to leave as little as possible to future cavil or misconstruction. But contrary to this established opinion, you wish to justify your support of this measure. If the great mass of the people have misunderstood it, if individuals of the brightest talents and acutest judgment have misconceived it (as you insinuate) is it that kind of treaty that any but a besotted nation would be induced to ratify and confirm? But the truth is, that the fatal tendency of the bill is not misconceived, and the sentence of the Grand Jury cannot be reversed, even by the chicane of the law. Though the most artful means were used to conceal the Fourth Proposition in the bill, yet it most evidently appears, and appearing, justifies the strongest execration of the measure; but you will perhaps insist that it is not in the bill; if it be not, there is an end of the treaty, for it is declared to be essential and fundamental. It is in the English bill, and the Irish must be conformable to it, or no treaty can be ratified. It is insidiously introduced in the clause which pledges us to enact the voluminous code of navigation laws now in existence, or hereafter to be enacted by the British Parliament; it appears in the clauses for prohibiting our trade from the Cape of Good Hope to the Streights of Magellan, so long as British monopoly shall exist; it is in the clauses to regulate our trade with the Independent States of America, with the British Colonies, and with foreign countries: and to what would all this tend? To surrender (what cannot be surrendered) the inalienable privileges of Parliament, by depriving it of the power of originating, deliberating, propounding, altering, rejecting. To transfer to another legislature the power of taxing this country internally and externally, to rob our Commons House of the controul over the purse of the nation, to deprive it of all its essential attributes, and reduce it to be the mere register of the edicts of another Parliament; but this is a state of disgrace and degradation, which, were our legislature base enough to attempt, their powers could not extend to, and if attempted, would be opposed on principles of just resistance. Perhaps you will tell us that Parliament is competent to every thing,—that it is omnipotent: I laugh at the bigoted idea. Parliament is but an abridgment of the whole body of the people, who to avoid the inconvenience of too numerous an assembly in debating themselves, do it by attorney. From the people originates every principle of power in the constitution, which though delegated, is never alienated. In them is the inherent right individually to assent, (by their representatives) to laws framed for the general good; in them is equally the indefeasible right to reject and abrogate any nefarious

nefarious act that may be basely and surreptitiously introduced. Parliament then is but a trust, and all its powers but a delegation for particular ends. This trust may be misapplied or abused; it may be employed to subvert the very rights which it ought to protect; chosen for a limited period, it would forfeit its authority by making itself perpetual, by nominating its own members, by surrendering their power of legislating to the controul of a foreign authority.—Such a cession being inconsistent with the inalienable rights of human nature, would either not bind at all, or bind only those who made it:—This is a blessing which no one generation can give up to another, and which when lost, a people have a right to reassume. If omnipotence can be ascribed to a legislature, it must be lodged where all legislative authority originates, that is, in the people; for their sake government is instituted, and theirs is the only omnipotence. There are constitutional as well as natural impossibilities: there are some things which without a subversion of the frame, cannot take place in either the physical or political world. Parliament has its own gravitation; it cannot fly from its proper sphere, the constitution is the centre round which its moves, and to the same orbit it must eternally be confined. If any statute wounds the constitution, the constitution cancels its force: if it had not this internal balm to heal its own wounds, it would soon decay. If then, Sir, this fourth Proposition be enacted, the law would be a *felo de se*; Parliament would far exceed its power, and the Grand Jury were well founded in asserting, that it would be a base, treacherous, and unlawful surrender of the constitutional independence of this realm.

But perhaps you will tell me, (for I must only conjecture your *reasons* and *proofs*) that this covenant would be no longer binding on us than while we found it our advantage to continue it—that an address of both Houses of our Parliament would dissolve this treaty. Then what would be the consequence? A breach of all former contracts hitherto held inviolable, by which we possess some advantages; a dissolution of all government, and perhaps a dismemberment of the Empire.—Dreadful alternatives! But supposing these calamities were not to be the consequence of such a violation of treaty, can we imagine from the experience of centuries, that the people of this country could avail themselves of such advantage, when we consider how much British Interest has always preponderated in the scale of Irish Justice—when we reflect on the degraded state of our Peerage—when we know the decayed representation of this country, and the majority of the Commons are *propriety*, and returned by a few individuals—when we see some of those who are chosen by the many, temporising and fashioning their conduct to their own present exigencies—when at one period they assure their constituents, that they will conform to, and reflect their sentiments; at another, declare decisively against them, and with unpa-

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ralleled indifference, refer their constituents to some occasional pamphlet for their reasons. In this miserable situation, what hope, what resource could be felt for this country? None—but to hug her chains, or fly to the contest, and dubious event of arms!—On the whole, were Ireland base and mad enough to confirm this treaty, she would exchange certainty for uncertainty—permanency for instability—she would yield up her right to a general trade for a particular one, limited, restrained, and regulated by another nation, whose partial interest would be ever clashing with her's. She would give up the cheapest market for the dearest—she would abandon her infant manufactures, and leave them friendless, and unprotected—she would impoverish herself by anticipating heavy taxes, which great opulence and extensive resources could alone justify. Involved in debt, she would deprive herself of the means of discharging her incumbrances, and that too, by a grant to strengthen the arm of power, which (judging from past events) might be employed for other purposes than protection. To complete all, she would exchange Freedom for Slavery—Independence for Dependence.

I have done with this subject, and I hope you will allow that I have pursued the consideration of it dispassionately and impartially. I have always had in contemplation your own maxim, that “facts and arguments will influence prudent men—abuse of the measure will not.” There ere many who can give good advice, but few who act up to the rules they lay down. In your answer to the Grand Jury, this was unfortunately exemplified, when we consider your successful progress through life, we cannot hesitate to pronounce, that you are amongst the most *prudent* of this age, but when we view your letter, we must attribute to you a degree of temerity, which the intemperance of youth could not even justify.

I am sensible that there are many in this city who could have more ably supported the sentiments of the Grand Jury; but weak an advocate as I am in their cause, I trust that I have proved that they were well warranted in all their assertions, and having taken so zealous a part in favour of the commerce and constitution of this country, that they are entitled to the gratitude and applause of their fellow-citizens. I must add that their pregnant words will be a lasting record of their good sense and public spirit. They were expressions not dictated by pique, nor influenced by party rage. They are sentiments of men moderate in their dispositions, and steady in their resolves. They are the language of the first magistrates of this city, of some of the most opulent merchants, and independent country gentlemen in the neighbourhood—and however lightly you now appear to estimate their opinions, yet in the year 1779, when you were instructed in a peremptory address to vote for a Six Months Money Bill—a measure that hazarded the existence of this country and its connection with Great Britain, you did not hesitate to conform to their opinion, and then to profess sentiments, which,

though not at present convenient for you to recollect, I cannot do you the injustice to withhold from the public. "The instructions of constituents are always entitled to great respect; but when given without a negative voice upon subjects of the greatest national concerns, on which they are particularly conversant and highly interested, their sentiments ought to be received with reverence: They are TRULY the VOICE of the PEOPLE; I claim no merit in the performance of my duty, the public principles which influence your conduct, are the *guide* and incitement to mine, and whilst I endeavour to reflect your sentiments and to *conform myself to your opinion*, the merit which your generosity ascribes to me, is your own."

It is unnecessary to insist, that every reason you then used, should now operate in full force—so striking an analogy needs no farther comment; I shall only observe, that the year seventy-nine was not far distant from a general election—that at present the event is probably more remote—that at the former period, the *sage* Heron denied you his councils, the *insidious* Orde now admits you to his confidence; but before you gave so decided a negative to the address of the Grand Jury, you should have paused, to have considered the solemn language in which these grave citizens appealed to their Representative. They called upon you, "as you VALUED the PEACE, PROSPERITY, and FREEDOM of IRELAND, to oppose in every stage, in every shape, the revival of this bill." And were the spells and magic of the Minister so alluring, as to close your ears against this strong requisition, these seasonable admonitions? Did it not occur that the British empire was so lately shaken to its center, by not timely attending to the entreaties, to the petitions of the people?

Should this country, in consequence of forcing this measure, be thrown into confusion, which Heaven avert, will you not feel some stings of conscience, some pangs of remorse, for having in any degree contributed to the calamity, by an obstinate adherence to the destructive politics of the Minister? Or, will you risque the event on the opinion of that great luminary of the law, who says, that "this is a besotted nation, easily irritated, and easily appeased?" If you rest on this opinion, be assured you will discover the misconception when too late. The nation that unites with one voice, in declaring that this would be an unlawful measure, in which they are supported by the greatest opinions of the past and present age, will never tamely submit to such despotism.

The people of this country are courteous in their manners, but not slavish in their principles; if even the Representative of M—y, attended with all the pomp and circumstance of station, should become the itinerant advocate of this system, they would with indignant pride spurn at the measure, though they should with hospitality receive the individual.

I should,

I should, now that I have discharged my promise to the public, retire with more pleasure, could I hope that any thing I have advanced would change your opinion, or produce an alteration in your conduct; but I fear that such an hope would be vain and delusive. It is said in this town, that your letter to the Grand Jury was your last farewell to your constituents.

A FREEMAN OF CORK.

For the M E R C H A N T S M A G A Z I N E.

To the Trustees for promoting the Manufactures of Ireland.

GENTLEMEN,

NOT long since I had the honour of addressing to you, through the medium of this paper, some observations on the difficulties which lie in the way of the manufacturers, in the acquisition of the bounty granted last session on manufactures, and at the same time, took liberty to offer a hint or two on the impropriety and inutility of the grant, which for some time past has been given to the working men removing to the country. I now beg leave to say a few words more on this latter subject, professing with the utmost sincerity, that I have in view no other end in doing this, than that of advancing the real interests of both the working and master manufacturers, and preventing what, in my apprehension, is a misuse of the public money.

I have been told, Gentlemen, that you entertain a design of disseminating through the interior parts of the kingdom, the manufacturers who are at present crowded in the metropolis. I say I have been told—for were I to judge of your intentions by your conduct, I would conclude, that your only aim was the increase of highwaymen; for certainly, that alone can be the result of the mad scheme of sending men where they can find neither employers nor employment, and inflicting a penalty on them if they return. If you have such a design, Gentlemen, you have certainly begun at the wrong end, in sending away the working men, and permitting the masters to remain behind.

At present, Gentlemen, this city is the chief, if not the only place in which the weaving business is carried on in any considerable extent. It is the *dernier resort* of the unemployed artizans in every quarter of the kingdom, and, to the honour of the working men of Dublin be it spoken, here they meet a free and cordial reception, and however the natives may themselves suffer from a slackness of employ, no combination among them precludes the stranger from receiving a share. Cork, I confess, did once possess a very considerable share of this business, while our intercourse with Portugal

continued free and uninterrupted, but since that intercourse was destroyed by the *open, fair, and liberal* negotiations of our *very generous and affectionate* sister kingdom, that trade has been lost, and the workmen of that city have come hither in very considerable numbers to seek employment. In Mountmellick, and some other towns, where there is something done in the single line, the inhabitants are combined against admitting strangers to a participation of their employment. Every avenue being thus shut, whither must the unhappy wanderer, whose improvidence has tempted him to swallow the golden bait, turn himself for bread? he cannot dig—to beg he is ashamed;—there remains then no alternative, but robbery or famine, and though his virtue might have heroism enough to chace the latter, if alone, a weeping wife and famishing infants, will, in all probability, impel him to the former. Such, Gentlemen, will be the happy effect of your present sagacious plan. But not only the men thus sent away, will be reduced to the extreme of misery, for the reasons already mentioned; your design will also be frustrated, and all the money expended in the execution of this Quixottish undertaking, totally lost. In the animal œconomy, however forcibly the blood may be driven through the arteries by the systole of the heart, it returns thither immediately through the veins as to the center of life and vital motion. So, Gentlemen, however forcibly the workmen may be circulated (permit me to use a phrase the most expressive I can find) by the impulse of this bounty, they will certainly return to Dublin as soon as with safety they may, while that city continues the center of trade, by being the residence of the master manufacturers.

Thus, Gentlemen, in twelve months a perfect circle will be completed, and you will find yourselves just where you began. A large sum of money will have been wasted, and the same number of workmen will be found in this city. I except those who shall be hanged for robbery, &c. which as I hinted above, must necessarily be the consequence of banishing men to places where their trade can procure them no support: every thing will remain in *statu quo*; and, which is not the least mischievous consequence of your error, you will have furnished our enemies with a new instance of our proclivity to *blunder*.

I am sure, Gentlemen, the absurdity of such procedure must appear on a moment's reflection, and I am amazed that it has so long escaped your notice. Like those blessed with a *penetrating genius*, you have overlooked the ready, obvious, natural means of attaining the object you pursue, and which men of more superficial talents would certainly have made use of, and laid hold on the hidden, obtruse, and problematical ones, which *deep thought* and *mature deliberation* alone could have suggested. Seriously, Gentlemen, is it not likely that you would more certainly succeed by beginning with the removal of the master manufacturers?—They once settled in

in the country, the journeymen would *sua sponte* follow them. No bounty would then be needed; they would willingly go where they would be certain of employ, and their change of situation would probably produce the happiest effects on their morals and their fortunes.

It is answered, perhaps, that encouragement has been holden forth to manufacturers, and has had no effect.—No effect, Gentlemen, can such encouragement ever produce. The grants of a few utensils on the terms you prescribed, can never weigh with men who are already furnished with every convenience necessary for carrying on business, and have considerable sums sunk in settlements.—A pecuniary grant alone, Gentlemen, proportioned to the sum the manufacturer shall swear himself to be worth, or the trouble and expence he may be at in removing, and a certain sum *per cent.* premium on all goods manufactured by him within a limited time from his removal, are the only means likely to be effectual in inducing him to remove.

This plan may be extensive I grant—but let it be remembered, Gentlemen, that it will afford a radical and permanent cure for the evil complained of. There will be no room to apprehend that gyration, if I may use that word, which must be a necessary effect of the present system: for the manufacturers once settled in the country, the difficulties which now impede their removal, will then obstruct their return; and to prevent fraud, let a penalty be imposed on any who shall return within the space of two years, within which period necessity will oblige them to settle or be ruined. Let it be remembered also, Gentlemen, that according to your present plan, vast sums must be expended without the smallest effect—which sums, if disposed of in the manner I have mentioned, would go a great way in effecting the total removal of the manufacturers, and doing away every danger, and almost possibility of their return. Every thing given in one case will be lost: in the other every expence would be usefully applied. If this mode should be found on trial insufficient to remove ALL the manufacturers; or if the few who would remain should be exorbitant in their demands, why then let the lash of penalty be added to the stimulus of encouragement, and their united force cannot be ineffectual.

I have spoke only of that encouragement which has been made public: if there be any other, it is a secret to me; the majority of the manufacturers are acquainted with it, and therefore it cannot be expected it should have any effect.

Thus, Gentlemen, I have presumed to offer a few thoughts on your present conduct, and suggested briefly the outlines of a scheme, which many persons better qualified than I am to judge, consider as the most probable method of attaining the object of your pursuit. Whether you will adopt it or not, it is the province of your wisdom to determine; if you do not, Gentlemen, at any rate, for
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Heaven's sake stop a moment—and if you can find no purpose to which the money in your hands can be applied with some probability of being useful—at least do not do mischief with it. Do not send forth by hundreds, men who cannot possibly subsist but by plunder and rapine; spare the public, and have compassion on those who cannot see the calamity into which they are running.

I shall now conclude, Gentlemen, by recommending to your observance, in the perusal of this paper, that excellent precept of the sagacious Bacon—read not to contradict and refute, but weigh and consider.

A WORSTED MANUFACTURER.

Dublin, Nov. 12, 1785.

For the MERCHANTS MAGAZINE.

COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE.

Manchester, Nov. 22, 1785.

PURSUANT to an advertisement from the Boroughreeve, and Constables of the 19th inst. a respectable meeting of the Merchants, Manufacturers, and others interested in the welfare and commerce of this country, was held at the Exchange Coffee-house this day, to consider of the best means of giving a proper and effectual support to that useful and highly necessary institution, the *General Chamber of Manufacturers of Great Britain*.

Mr. Peter Drinkwater in the Chair.

Mr. Thomas Walker, jun. begged leave to open the business of the day, by giving a short history of the origin of the General Chamber of Manufacturers of Great Britain—the measures it had hitherto pursued—the effects of those measures—and the objects, which at the present moment employed the attention of the Committee of the Chamber.

With respect to the origin of the Chamber, he had only to observe, that every one who heard him, well knew the occasion of its being instituted at the time it was; and must be sensible, that it was intended to give that union and strength to the Manufacturing Interests of Great Britain, which they had never before obtained, and which they never stood more in need of than at that period—to arrest the hand then lifted up to give a most deep and dangerous wound to the Manufactures of this kingdom. It would be needless, he observed, to say, that he now alluded to the Eleven Propositions sent from the Irish to the British Parliament, for its assent and ratification.

When the alarm had taken place to a considerable degree, he said, it was observed with concern, how little effect was produced by applications from single and unconnected individuals.—Their voice were

were too feeble to be heard alone.—A meeting was therefore proposed, and held, of Manufacturers in London, and such Delegates and individuals from the country as were then in town, to consider of their situation, as well as that of the British Manufacturers at large, and the steps necessary to be taken, both for their present safety and future protection. The Resolutions entered into at that and the subsequent meetings, had long been before the Public, and did not stand in need of any comment from him.

Thus, he said, did the General Chamber of Manufacturers of Great Britain originate, from the too well-founded apprehensions of imminent danger to some of their most essential interests as Manufacturers; and not from any party or factious motives, as had been falsely asserted by some, and too easily believed by others; though the number of the latter, among those who think for themselves, could not now be great.

He remarked, it was not necessary for him to dwell upon the measures which the Chamber had pursued since its first meeting, as it had, from time to time, published an account of its proceedings, both in the Public prints and in detached papers, to its correspondents, and the Manufacturers at large.—But one circumstance he could not omit, as it exhibited a spirit of true patriotism in the Gentlemen who composed the Chamber, and a confidence in the honour and integrity of their brethren, which did the highest credit both to the one and to the other. The Chamber (he asserted, he spoke from his own personal knowledge) finding, that in the business before them, there was not a moment to be lost, nobly disdained to waste any time, or a single thought, upon pecuniary matters, which might be adjusted afterwards at greater leisure; but advanced, without hesitation, the money necessary for all immediate calls, and pledged themselves for the rest. This, he said, was an instance of that unbounded confidence, which, when occasion calls for it, one honest member of a community ought to place in another; and this confidence would be continued among members of any society, so long as there remained sufficient virtue to deserve it. And whilst this confidence was preserved, and kept up between the body of Manufacturers and their General Chamber, it would be the surest pledge to them of protection against any future intended blow, which might be too sudden in its approach to admit of otherwise collecting the scattered strength of the Manufacturers to withstand it, and too weighty in its nature for any single arm to defend itself against.

With regard to the effects of the measures which had been taken from time to time, by the Members of the Chamber, it would require much detail to bring them forward to their view; but one of the principal ought by no means to pass unnoticed.—When, to their utter astonishment, they were first informed, from undoubted authority, that the Eleven Propositions must neither be altered nor modified

modified in any respect whatever, but must stand or fall precisely in their original form ; they immediately sent a deputation to the Minister to pray for time, if it was even but for a few days, till they could consult their constituents in the country ; and, upon receiving an absolute refusal, together with a confirmation of the above from the Minister himself, and a declaration, at the same time, that the business should be brought on in the House of Commons, in two days at farthest—a Petition was immediately drawn up, signed, and presented the next day to the House, praying, that the Petitioners might be heard by themselves and Counsel, against the Propositions.—It was by this judicious and well-timed measure, that the ruin attendant upon the Irish Propositions was first averted ; and it was to the subsequent spirited and unwearied exertions of the Chamber, together with the support they received from the friends of our manufactures in both Houses of Parliament, that we owe the alterations which the Propositions underwent, and the change of the original *eleven* into *twenty* : which, by procuring *time for due consideration*, caused the ultimate disgust conceived against the *whole*, by the most respectable and independent part of Parliament, and by almost, if not the whole, of the people of Ireland ; notwithstanding which, it was confidently asserted, that Ministers meant to revive the same, contrary to the wishes of the people of both kingdoms.

It was well worth pausing a moment here, to remark, and to fix it in their minds, that if, at that important crisis, there had not been a body ready to act with that promptness and resolution, which the occasion demanded ; if the Manufacturers in this and other towns throughout the island, must first have been consulted, the opportunity, so happily seized, would have been lost for ever, and the consequences in all probability, would have been fatal to our best interests. The original propositions would, most probably, have been, at this day, the established law of the land ; and many British Manufacturers would have felt the ruinous effects of that law, before they became acquainted with its nature, or mode of operation. How many other important matters may yearly arise, and call for the like promptness both in decision and execution, the wisest amongst us could not now foresee ; and if this institution, even in its infant and unsupported state ; (rendered also, by the complexion of affairs at that time, so obnoxious to the Treasury Bench, that it was determined it should, if possible, be crushed) if, in that situation, it had rendered us such essential services, what might we not expect from its riper years, when Government should be convinced of its integrity and impartiality, and place confidence in its informations—when it should be guided, patronized, and supported by the wisdom and counsel, as well as by the purses, of the principal and most experienced Manufacturers throughout Great Britain ?

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He asked if, after so many alterations had been found necessary, in a proposed commercial arrangement with a sister kingdom, whether it could be supposed that any, which might now be in agitation with France, Germany, or other foreign powers, would not stand in need of great alterations and amendments ? and which could best be pointed out by such a body as the Chamber.

After what he had already advanced, little more would be necessary to add in support of an institution, the sole object of which, he asserted, was to prevent future commercial evils, and to apply the best possible remedies against those which now existed. To prevent the extension of the Excise Laws ; the emigration of our workmen ; and the clandestine exportation of our tools and machines, he said, were amongst the first of his wishes. He gave a few striking instances of some recent injuries arising from the last ; and dwelt for some time upon the very fatal tendency of any further extension of the Excise Laws, which, he lamented, had been so lately attempted, not only in the Cotton Manufacture (upon the repeal of which he most warmly congratulated them) but in the Hat and Silk Manufactures, and also in the making of Bricks ; he spoke of the peculiar hardship which the whole Glass Manufacture laboured under, from the extreme oppression of the Excise Laws ; and dwelt, with the greatest satisfaction, upon the general good, which, he trusted, would accrue to every interest in the empire, from the support of the Chamber. He could not, he said, take leave of the subject of Excise, without first saying, that he was most respectably informed, that one principal objection which the Irish had to a union with this country, was their utter abhorrence of our Excise Laws, in which they must consequently participate.—As a proof of this their just detestation, he begged leave to give the following quotation from Mr. Grattan's speech, upon the introduction of the Bill which was to have passed the Propositions into a Law.

“ Contemplate, for a moment, the powers which this Bill presumes to perpetuate—A perpetual repeal of Trial by Jury—a perpetual repeal of the Great Charter—a perpetual Writ of Assistance—a perpetual felony to strike an Exciseman !

“ The late Chief Baron Burgh, speaking on the Revenue Bill, exclaimed, ‘ You give to the dipping rule what you should deny to the sceptre.’—All the unconstitutional powers of the Excise we are to perpetuate—the constitutional powers of Parliament we are to abdicate—Can we do all this ?—Can we make these bulky surrenders, in diminution of the power, in derogation of the pride of Parliament, and in violation of those eternal relationships, which the body that represents should bear to the community which constitutes.”

These ideas, he said, were so congenial with the feelings of the subjects of the British Empire, and of every Friend to civil Liberty, as to render any comment unnecessary.

He would now proceed to inform them of the objects which employ the present attention of the Committee, and which the Chamber purposes to take into consideration, when it next assembles. The following are the principal :

1st. A review of the Excise Laws, as they affect Manufactures,—in order to prepare the way for obtaining some relief in the grievances arising from those which now subsist, as well as to prevent any farther extension of a system so ruinous, so vexatious and distressing to the Manufacturer, so inimical to the exertions of genius, the spirit of invention, and the consequent and material improvement of Manufactures and Arts ; and so unproductive to the revenue itself, comparatively with the great enhancement which it occasions in the prices of commodities to the consumer.

2d. The Committee are collecting and arranging all the information they can procure respecting the prohibitions against, and imposts laid upon, British produce and manufactures imported into foreign countries, and upon foreign produce and manufactures of the like and all other kinds imported into Britain. These enquiries are evidently necessary, for enabling the Chamber to ascertain our true situation in regard to foreign commerce, and any particular disadvantages or restraints we may labour under in foreign markets ; which being clearly stated to our present or future Ministers, may give rise to such regulations, to such a system of equitable and unexceptionable reciprocity with foreign states, as may tend to the preservation and extension of that Commerce, upon which not only the interests of our Manufacturers individually, but the prosperity of the nation at large so essentially depend.

3d. The emigration of our workmen, and the clandestine exportation of the tools and machines invented by British artists, to foreign countries ; by which our competitors become masters of the principal advantages which the British Manufacturer possesses over them. These evils the Chamber has itself, in the public prints, declared its attention to.— An Act was obtained, towards the end of the last Session of Parliament, for preventing the exportation of tools used in the Iron Trade ; but as it was necessarily drawn up in great haste, it will not only require a revision, when the Parliament meets again, but ought to be extended to those of every other branch of Manufacture.

4th. The Committee have also a watchful eye over those foreign emissaries, who come among us to learn, and carry home to their own country, our new improvements and inventions ; and who, applying to the unapprized and unsuspecting Manufacturer, under various disguises and plausible pretences, often obtain, from his civility or inadvertence, what his own interest, and that of the community, require him most studiously to conceal. Some instances have lately happened, in which the Committee have put the Manufacturers upon their guard against those dangerous intruders.

Such,

Such, he said, were the objects of the present moment. If they appeared to the Gentlemen, then assembled, of the same importance they did to him : if the wisdom and spirit, with which the proceedings of the Chamber seemed hitherto to have been guided, might be considered as a pledge for their conduct hereafter, and their past success as a presage of the future, they would glory in setting a generous example of support to an institution, so highly necessary, and so well calculated to protect and extend their essential interests as Manufacturers.

Mr. Drinkwater, from the chair, next expressed his hearty approbation of the business they met upon. He observed, that an institution of this kind was of the utmost consequence ; not only to watch over, and protect the trade of this kingdom, at large, from any encroachments which might eventually depress or injure it ; but it would also be a powerful check to the designs of interested men, who, too frequently, from the narrowest principles, lay open the secrets of trade, and, by procuring partial prohibitions or imposts, benefit themselves, to the injury of thousands. The continual communication, and extensive information, necessarily received from such a general connexion, would keep those men in awe, who thus bent, have it in their power to do much mischief, and may be considered as an evil of no small magnitude. Upon the whole, considering the present precarious state of Commerce, the treaties forming around us by enterprising powers, and the daily attempts made by those powers to carry off our most useful inventions, he must give the measure his warmest countenance, and hoped Gentlemen would see it in the same point of view.

Mr. J. Potter viewed the Chamber as an institution of the first magnitude. Various, he observed, in such cases, were the opinions of men ; nor could they be brought immediately to see their own interests clearly, if they lay at any great distance. Nothing, however, could be plainer, from the good which had already resulted, than that the institution was well meant, and also capable of being highly useful. He must look upon the principal resources of this country to spring from Commerce. The protection of it, therefore, was obviously necessary. The Chamber was the only means by which this could be effected ; nor was even this, in his opinion, the only good to be expected from it ; as the information received from so great a channel, would, on particular occasions, be such as would prove essentially serviceable to Government. He therefore gave his concurrence to the business they were met upon, and earnestly hoped it would be generally forwarded with spirit.

Several other gentlemen spoke to the propriety of the measure, and expressed their warmest wishes that it might be immediately carried into execution : after which the following Resolutions were severally moved, highly approved, and passed *nem. con.* and a Subscription was immediately entered into, which, from the importance of the object, we doubt not, will become general through every part of Great Britain.

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MANCHESTER EXCHANGE COFFEE-HOUSE,

November 22d. 1785.

AT a Public Meeting held this Day, of the Merchants, Manufacturers, and others, interested in the welfare and commerce of this country, to consider of the best means of giving a proper and effectual support to the GENERAL CHAMBER of MANUFACTURERS of GREAT BRITAIN, the following Resolutions were passed.

Resolved unanimously, That the General Chamber of Manufacturers of Great Britain is a useful and highly necessary institution; and appears to us to have been conducted with equal good sense, moderation and firmness.

Resolved unanimously, That the views of the Chamber appear to us to have been confined solely to the welfare of the manufacturing interests of this kingdom.

Resolved unanimously, That we think it incumbent upon the British Manufacturers at large, and of this town and neighbourhood in particular, to give an immediate and liberal support to the Chamber, in order to enable it to indemnify such of its members, as have already advanced more than their quota of the expences incurred in carrying on the necessary measures in which the Chamber has been hitherto engaged.

Resolved unanimously, That this Meeting enter into an immediate subscription for that particular purpose; and that a Committee of 21 gentlemen be appointed to wait upon, and receive the donations of such Merchants, Manufacturers and others, as are not present.

Resolved unanimously, That the following gentlemen are requested to form, and do form, the said Committee:—

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| Mr. James Ackers | Mr. John Heywood |
| Mr. James Barton | Mr. Nathaniel Kirkman |
| Mr. James Billinge | Mr. Samuel Oldknow |
| Mr. Jonathan Beever | Mr. John Pilkington |
| Mr. Thomas Braddock | Mr. James Potter |
| Mr. Nathaniel Crompton | Mr. James Ranicar |
| Mr. Thomas Darwell | Mr. Thomas Scholes |
| Mr. Peter Drinkwater | Mr. Thomas Starkie |
| Mr. James Edge | Mr. Thomas Scott, jun. |
| Mr. James Entwisle | Mr. Thomas Walker, jun. |
| Mr. William Gould | |

Resolved unanimously, That this Meeting enter into an immediate annual subscription, towards defraying the necessary yearly expences of the Chamber for the future; the payment of the subscription for the year 1786, to take place on the first of January next; and that the above appointed Committee be requested to wait upon such Merchants, Manufacturers, and others, as are absent, to receive and to take an account of their subscriptions for the same purpose.

Resolved unanimously, That this Meeting sees, with the greatest pleasure and satisfaction, the objects which at this time occupy the attention of the Committee of the General Chamber, but particularly respecting the EXCISE LAWS, as they affect Manufactures; the extension of which cannot possibly fail of being as injurious to the revenue, and destructive to our property, as eventually they must and will be fatal to our liberty.

Resolved unanimously, That it be submitted to the consideration of the General Chamber, whether it would not, in our present situation, knowing that we have such numbers of foreign spies amongst us, be a wise and a necessary measure for the Chamber to send a circular letter to the Manufacturers in its correspondence, requesting them not to shew the process of their Manufactories to any foreigners, however they may come recommended; as some foreigners, even of rank, who have for themselves obtained recommendations from English Noblemen and Gentlemen, to Manufactures in different places, have, under those recommendations, been strongly suspected of introducing Engineers and Manufacturers in their suite.

Resolved unanimously, That these Resolutions be signed by the Chairman, and published in as many of the London and country papers as the Committee shall think necessary.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this Meeting be given to the Chairman.
PETER DRINKWATER.

We are happy to assure the Public, that the Subscription towards defraying the expences of the General Chamber of Manufacturers, is carried on with the greatest spirit; and that the Institution meets with general support here, as, we flatter ourselves, it will do in every other manufacturing town in Great Britain.