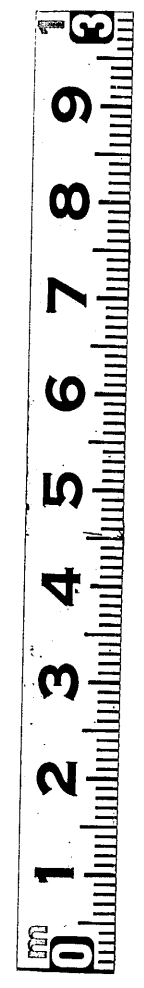


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TRACTS
Concerning the
PRESENT STATE
OF
I R E L A N D.

A

A W
COLLECTION
 OF
TRACTS,

Concerning the
Present State of Ireland,

With Respect to its

**RICHES, REVENUE, TRADE and
 MANUFACTURES.**

CONTAINING

- | | |
|---|--|
| I. Seasonable Remarks on Trade. With some Reflections on the Advantages that might accrue to <i>Great Britain</i> , by a proper Regulation of the Trade of <i>Ireland</i> .
II. An Essay on Trade in General; and, on that of <i>Ireland</i> in Particular.
III. Considerations on two Papers lately publish'd. The | first call'd Seasonable Remarks, &c. And the other, an Essay on Trade in General, and that of <i>Ireland</i> in particular.
IV. An Appeal to the Reverend Dean <i>Swift</i> , by way of Reply to the Observer on Seasonable Remarks.
V. A Letter in answer to a Paper, intitl'd, An Appeal to the Reverend Dean <i>Swift</i> . |
|---|--|

L O N D O N:

Printed for T. WOODWARD at the *Half-Moon* over-against St. *Dunstan's* Church *Fleetstreet*, and J. PEELE at *Locke's* Head in *Pater-noster* Row.
 MDCCXXIX.

COLLECTION

SEIDART

Journal to state

SEASONABLE

REMARKS

ON

TRADE.

WITH

Some Reflections on the Advantages that might accrue to *GREAT BRITAIN*, by a proper Regulation of the Trade of *IRELAND*.

Wrote in *London*, but now first Publish'd in *Dublin*, as a Preface to other ESSAYS on the Trade and Manufactures of *IRELAND*.

*Hippolitus obiit, quia novercæ creditum est;
Cassandræ quia non creditum, ruit Ilium;
Ergo exploranda est veritas multum prius,
Quam stulta prave indicet Sententia.*

P H Æ.

Printed in the Year, M,DCC,XXIX.

EXAMEN

THAT

TO
HIS EXCELLENCY

J O H N
Lord CARTERET,

Lord Lieutenant of IRELAND, and
one of HIS MAJESTY'S Most
Honourable Privy-Council.

MY LORD,

THE steady and unshaken Zeal
with which You have been
always attach'd to the public
Good of Your own Country, and
the mild and benign Influence of
Your Government here, gives me
Reason to hope, that the following
ESSAY on the Trade of these Nations
may meet with Your EXCELLENCY'S
Patronage and Protection.

D E D I C A T I O N.

THERE have been Seasons, MY LORD, when it would be vain to publish any thing, which did not square with the Opinion of those in Power: Seasons, when Truth itself, without the Wedding-Garment, would be turn'd out of Doors: But it is our peculiar Happiness, that we have a PRINCE on the THRONE, whose Royal Virtues have charm'd all the jarring Factions; all the different Interest of His several Dominions into one unanimous Joy, at His Accession: A Joy so much the more remarkable, since in it the greatest Loss which a loyal People could suffer was so quickly forgot; and to Him Truth in any Dress is welcome.

'TIS to His Care and Vigilance for our Welfare we owe, MY LORD, Your EXCELLENCY's Return to us; and the universal Acclamations of a glad People, sufficiently testify the Prudence of His Choice: You are the Medium, MY LORD, through which

D E D I C A T I O N.

which He is to view all our Occasions and Necessities. And the generous and handsome Representation which You were pleas'd to make to His late MAJESTY, on Your Return from Your Government of IRELAND, leaves this People no Room to doubt of Your Favour and Protection.

FROM these Considerations I have form'd to my self Hopes, MY LORD, that this little Tract, how opposite soever to the common Opinion, may meet with Your EXCELLENCY's Protection.

IT was wrote in LONDON, and design'd to be publish'd there, till upon a more serious Reflection, I determin'd to inquire, what Improvement the Trade of IRELAND was capable of, before I expos'd it to public View; and I have spent so much Time therein, that now the following Pages throw themselves at Your EXCELLENCY's Feet, as a Preface only

DEDICATION.

only to other ESSAYS on the Manufactures and Trade of IRELAND, which I have prepared for the PRESS, if this should meet with Your Approbation.

THE Subject, MY LORD, is that on which depends the Grandeur and Prosperity of two Nations; One dear to You as it is Your native Country, and the Other as it is Yours by Adoption; and I flatter my self, from the general Bent of Your Inclinations, which have always led You to promote useful Inquiries, that how imperfectly soever it is here handled, You will Countenance the Undertaking, to incite abler Hands to so necessary an Inquiry. I am,

MY LORD,

Your EXCELLENCY'S

most devoted,

most humble Servant.

SEASONABLE

REMARKS

ON

TRADE, &c.

GOVERNMENTS that have depending upon them many lesser States, ought so to model their Affairs, that each may have its particular Occupation, and labour jointly with the rest for one great End: For the Wealth and Grandeur of the whole, without inroaching upon the Business of each other, or impairing that of the supreme Kingdom; and if we do but consider our own Concerns, with any reasonable Attention, we shall find that it behoves us more particularly to apply to this Management, and by regulating, and improving the Trade of our Dependencies to recover those Branches of Commerce from Strangers, which we have long been obliged to let them run away with.

Could any thing in its Appearance be more fortunate to the Trade of England, than our Discovery of the Port of Archangel on the White-Sea, and the many Encouragements which our Merchants on their first coming thither had from
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the Czar, to settle their Commerce with that Town: The Passage to it was incumbred with none of those Difficulties which are usually met in Voyages up the *Baltick*, and its Situation so near the River *Duina*, made the Commodities of the *Russian* Empire come so much cheaper to Market than they formerly did by *Revel* and *Narva*; that the entire Trade of that great Country was all at once devolv'd upon us, but the indefatigable Assiduity of the *Dutch* soon led them our way, and by underselling us in almost the Wants of that Country, they quickly got into our Place in the Czar's Favor, and furnish'd all the rest of *Europe* with the Produce of *Russia*, so much cheaper than we could afford them, that our Trade to those Parts fell greatly to Decay; and would entirely be lost, had it not been for the native Commodities of *England* and its Dependencies, which they require, and can be furnish'd with no way but through our Hands.

The Fisheries of *Greenland* and *Newfoundland* were first discover'd by us; we were in sole Possession of them, and claim'd a Right to monopolize those Seas and their Produce; but the *Dutch*, the *Hambourghers* and the *French*, what by Fraud, what by Connivance, and what under Colour of Right to the open and free Seas, follow'd our Example; and notwithstanding the several Encouragements, which we from time to time gave, by Acts of Parliament and otherways, to the Natives of *England*, to prosecute that gainful Business; we were however so unfortunate to see it taken out of our Hands, and to be undersold by all the World, in the Produce thereof.

The Trade to the Coast of *Africk* we were very early in the Possession of; and many Charters were granted, and at last an Act of Parliament

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pass'd for the Encouragement of those, who from time to time undertook it; but the *Dutch*, the *Hambourghers*, the *French*, and the *Danes* have encroach'd upon our Settlements and Trade in those Parts, and furnish all Nations of the World (which are not by their Dependence upon *England* confin'd to take them from us alone) with Elephants Teeth, Wax, Gums, Dying Stuffs, Negroes, &c. cheaper than we can afford them.

We were the first of any Nation this Side the *Streights*, that traded to *Turkey*, and we had Leisure enough to establish ourselves in that Commerce, for we were not follow'd by the *Dutch*, till about thirteen Years after, nor by the *French*, till yet a longer time; and yet their Success has been so much better than ours, that at present, all the Advantage we reap from that Business, is the saving only on the Article of our home Consumption, of Silk Manufactures; for the *Dutch*, the *French*, and *Italians* undersel us at all foreign Markets, and leave us no room to gain by Re-exportation of *Levant* Commodities.

Many other Instances might be given of the great Decay of our Trade, and the Disadvantages under which we lie, whenever we come to dispute that Point with Strangers; but alas, what need of particular Instances! for, in short, the *French* and *Dutch* undersel us in the Produce of any Country, to which they can resort, on the Level with us.—But the Crown of *England* has depending upon it several Kingdoms, Plantations and Settlements in *Europe*, *Asia*, *Africa*, and *America*, which abound with Commodities much sought after, and to be had no way but through our Hands: We are stored at home with a great natural Wealth, and our home Consumption of foreign Commodities is so defended by our na-

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val and commercial Laws, that we can import for our own Use, and export our own Growth cheaper than any other People can for us: These Regulations confine all the Navigation to and from *England* and its Dependencies to our own Hands, furnish our Shipping with constant Employment, and make our Navigation seem to flourish; but whenever we dip into any Branch of Trade that can be undertaken on the Level with us by other Countries, we are always unsuccessful; and this is a sure Symptom of some lurking Disease which may in time bring on the Dissolution even of that Trade which is left us; it is therefore high time to enquire what the Cause hereof may be, that we may apply such Remedies, as may be most likely to remove it.

Every Country, and every individual of a Country will always buy their Necessaries from those, who afford them the Best and the Cheapest; so that whatever People can sell the best Pennyworths at foreign Markets, must necessarily engross to themselves all those Branches of Trade, which they are so enabled to maintain: But the several Exigencies of our State (arising from a general Benevolence to Mankind, which could not let us sit tamely by, whilst the Liberty of our Neighbours was invaded) have from time to time call'd out for greater Sums of Money than our Parliaments were willing, or perhaps able, to give within the Year: This brought about Loans and Debts, and these Taxes upon all the Consumption of the People, whereby they were laid under a Necessity to exact greater Prices for Art and Labour, in order to purchase for themselves the Necessaries of Life, enhanced as they were by Taxes; and this sudden Rise in the Price of Art and Labour has made the working up of all our Ma-
nufactures

nufactures vastly more expensive than those of any other Country in *Europe*.

There are several Accidents which in dear a Commodity to the Merchant, besides the first Cost thereof; every Alteration of the *Primum*, is at the Expence of Art and Labour: Every Removal thereof from Place to Place is at the same Expence, and these travel with the Commodity through all its Modifications and Voyages, till they light at last upon the Consumer.

But the Wealth and Luxury of some Countries, and the Poverty or Frugality of others, render the Means of these Alterations and Removals different in Value; where the Necessaries of Life are cheap, there also will Labour and Art be cheap; and where they are dear, there also will Labour and Art be dear; for the Artizans and the Labourers must every where have so much for their Hire as will maintain them; wherefore when a dear and a cheap working People undertake each of them the same Business, the Manufactures of the one go to Market clog'd with a less Expence than those of the other; and can therefore be afforded at a less Price, and this is the Reason why *Holland, France, and Italy*, importing raw Silks from the *Indies*, and from *Turkey*, can undersel us in the Manufactures thereof, tho' the first Cost of the *Primum* was the same to all.

But there are several Branches of Trade that depend upon buying the Manufactures and Growth of one Country, to sell the same in the same Form to another; these suffer no Alterations, and yet tho' we buy them in the Place of their Growth and Production on a Level with the *Dutch*; &c. yet they can afford them cheaper in any Part of the World (*England* and its Dependencies excepted, where they are incumbred by the Navigation Act,

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&c.) than we: Here the Carriage of the Goods is the only thing that intervenes between the Purchase and the Sale; wherefore we may reasonably conclude, that our chief Disadvantage in this Business must lye in the Navigation; and this will more plainly appear if we consider the Nature of Navigation it self, and the Means by which it is executed.

In the first Place, a Ship consists of many different Materials, some of which are of our own Growth, and some not, but they are all of them however to be purchased by the particular Trader; and his first Cost, whether dear or cheap, travels with the Ship a Weight upon all Commodities, exported or imported in her: In the second Place, all these *Primums* of Navigation must be wrought up, and put together by the Craft and Labour of Men, which differ in Value according to the Country wherein the Work is executed, and according to the Assiduity and Application of those employed in it; inasmuch that where Labour is dear, and where the Luxury of the People renders them indolent and slow to work, the building and fitting out of a Ship must necessarily require a greater Sum of Money, than it would in a Country where either the Poverty or Frugality of the Inhabitants inure them from their Infancy, to bear the Toil and Fatigue of the Day upon slender Fare; and this Difference of Expence is another Burthen upon the Ship, and the Goods carried in her; but when all this is done, there must be provided Victualing for the Voyage, and Sailors to navigate the Vessel; and this creates another Expence, differing also according to the dearness or cheapness of the Place where the Ship is victualed and mann'd; and according as the People are more or less accustomed to Labour, and
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this Difference also attends her in all the Voyages she performs, and is a clog upon all Merchandizes carried in her; nor do they only affect those ordinarily traded withal, but even the *Primums* of our Navigation themselves, such of them especially as we are obliged to import, either from our own Dependencies or from foreign Countries; and this being the Nature of Navigation, it follows, that as it is in a particular Manner influenced by the Price of Labour and Art, so it must be greatly dearer to us, whose Industry is incumbered with so many Difficulties, than to our Neighbours, who are so much easier in their Circumstances.

I have read (indeed) with a particular Attention Mr. E——n's View of the *Greenland* Trade, and I'm sorry that I can't submit to the Arguments which he advances to prove that we may still on our own Bottoms recover that Trade from the *Dutch*: they are to this Effect—— “ All
“ the *Primums* of Navigation we have either with-
“ in our own Country, or from our Plantations;
“ so that the Money payable for them is only a
“ Commutation amongst our selves, and no Drain
“ upon the Nation; but the *Dutch* (having none
“ of their own) are forc'd to send out Value for
“ them; therefore we navigate cheaper than the
“ *Dutch*; and the Navigation being the principal
“ Expence of that Business, there is no Reason
“ to fear but we may with proper Encouragements
“ recover it from them.

'Tis true that *England* can have either within it self, or from its Dependencies most of the necessary Materials for Ship-building; and 'tis true, that on that Account we can fit out one or more Vessels at less Expence of Treasure to the Publick, than *Holland*; but this is a very inconsiderable (if any Ease at all) to that Part of our Navigation

vigation which has respect to Trade; for by Navigation, in that Sense, is understood the Carriage of Goods only from one Place to another; and that too, as it is dearer or cheaper; for 'tis this that influences the Sale of Commodities so carried: The savings of the Publick are of no account to the particular Builder, but insomuch as he is benefited by them: He must pay for the Growth of *England* and its Dependencies as well as for those of foreign Countries: 'Tis what he alone is out of Pocket for either, that will always be his Direction in the Freight of his Vessel; and he must get the Interest of his Money, the Expence of the Voyage, and a reasonable Ware and Tare, or he will be a loser, let the the Ship be built of home produc'd Materials or not: So likewise must the Merchant consider the Expence of his Freight in the Sale of his Goods, and not the National Loss or Gain in the Building of the Ship: 'Tis that he must provide for over and above his first Cost, the Interest of his Money, and a reasonable Profit; and so much as it stands him in more than the *Dutch* Merchant, so much must he sell dearer than the *Dutch* Merchant, to gain only as much by the Sale as the other: Wherefore if the *Dutch* can import from Abroad all the Materials of Navigation, cheaper than we can procure them at Home, they will be able to let out their Ships to Freight so much cheaper than we can ours, and consequently all Goods carried on Board their Ships, tho' bought at the same first Cost, with these carried in our Bottoms, may be afforded at foreign Markets so much cheaper than ours, as the Expence of Carriage is less; and this Difference in the Navigation (that is the Carriage of Goods) is that which gives them the Advantage of us in all those Branches of Trade which they

they can undertake on the Level with us.
 This is indeed a very great Misfortune, but however, whilst the *Dutch* are a more laborious and frugal People, whilst they can live upon cheaper Fare, and work harder; whilst their Interest-money is lower, and whilst the consumption of their labouring People is less loaded with Taxes than ours, so long will it continue, and so long will they be our Rivals in Trade; unless some other People rise up, cheaper to feed and more hardy to work, freer from Taxes and more favoured by the Interest of Money, than they; but whensoever that happens in *Europe*, the States of *Holland*, who from poor Fisher-men have extended their Trade over all the Ocean, and unto all the Kingdoms of the Earth, must tumble down, and we shall no longer suffer those Rivals in Trade, who have more than once disputed with us the Empire of the Sea.
 The Balance of Trade is as variable as the Balance of Power, and has as often shifted Sides: There have been as many universal Empires (if I may so call them) established upon the ocean as upon the Land; but like those they have fallen to Decay, and given Place to others; for as Industry begets Trade and Wealth, so whenever the Minds of a People are unbent by excessive Riches into Indolence and Luxury, and the Price of their Labour and Navigation is thereby rendered dearer than that of their Neighbours, they soon see their Grandeur moulder away, and their slow acquired Riches, depart with hasty Strides to their rising Successors; these by indefatigable Labour and Industry, by the Parsimony of Particulars, and the Oeconomy and good Government of the State for a while hold the Dominion of the Seas, till the same

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same Distemper brings upon them the same Fate, and they also give way to others.

Such has been the fickle Temper of Trade since her first Appearance in the World under the *Phœnicians*, to her present Settlement amongst the *Dutch*; these indeed have extended her Dominion farther than any of their Predecessors, but they seem at present not far from that fatal Period, when they in their Turn must yield to others that Province, which they with so rapid a Course have over-run, and so long ingross'd to themselves; but who the fortunate Successor is likely to be, is not much inquir'd, tho' the Search might well deserve our Pains, since, if we pursue Trade thro' all the various Turns which it has already taken, we shall always behold it rendring Great and Considerable those People, who before it smil'd upon them, were weak and unnoticed amongst us; but striking Terror into the rest of the World, whenever it added itself to a State already great and powerful.

Trade, which through the perpetual Wars and Calamities that attended the Dissolution of the *Roman* Empire was almost lost in the World, begun to revive again amongst the *Italians* in the 11th Century, and divided, as they were, into several petty Principalities and Commonwealths, we shall find them however grow very Considerable in general from their Acquisitions by Trade, and courted by the Contenders for Empire; tho' they themselves were in no Capacity by reason of their inward Divisions, and the little native Power which they respectively possess to invade the general Liberty.

In the 12th Century another trading People begun to appear in the World by the Name of *Oesterlings*, these were the Inhabitants of several
little

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little maritime Towns in *Germany*, who to defend themselves against the frequent Pyracies, with which the *Northern* Seas were then infested, associated themselves together, and in that Situation became so considerable, that they continued to the latter End of the 15th Century the sole Arbiters of Peace and War in the *North*, and were indeed greatly considered by all the Princes of *Europe*; tho' their remote Situation, and their divided Interests, rendered them but little formidable however to the Liberty of the World.

But about the latter End of the 15th Century the Trade of the Universe suffer'd a greater Revolution, than perhaps it ever did before, and that Part thereof which was added to the Power of *Spain*, made all *Europe* tremble; the *Portuguese* having found out a way to the *East-Indies* by the Cape of *Good Hope*, made *Lisbon* the Staple of all those *Eastern* Commodities which the hither World was formerly supplied with, through the Ports of the *Mediterranean*: The new World was discover'd by the *Spaniards* under *Ferdinand*; and Gold and Silver (which till then was only to be acquir'd by long and painful Applications to Industry) came in Ship-loads from the conquer'd Kingdoms of *Peru* and *Mexico* into *Spain*; and in the Year 1500 the *Hans-Townes* or *Oesterlings* thro' excessive Riches and unfortunate Division amongst themselves, gave the *English* and *Dutch* an Opportunity to furnish the World with those Commodities, which before came only through their Hands: And here it may not be amiss to observe, that so sudden was their Fall, who for upwards of 200 Years ingrossed to themselves almost all the Trade of the World, that in 1506 they had scarce any Business at all: A surprising Instance of the speedy Departure of Trade from those
who

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who have once pass'd the Summit of good Fortune.

So considerable an Addition as was made to the Power of *Spain* by the Trade of the Galleons to *America*, changed the Face of Affairs in *Europe*; for *Charles*, with all those Treasures at command, could not fail of his Election to the *German* Empire; by which he was all at once made an Overballance for the rest of *Europe*; and had not so many things conspir'd to rescue Mankind from such an immoderate Growth of Power, it is much to be doubted whether all those Alliances which were form'd against him by his warlike Contemporaries could ever have kept him within Bounds.

Spain by the Expulsion of the *Moors* and *Jews*, after a long Succession of intestine Wars, was in a Manner exhausted of People; its Conquests in *America* were a perpetual Drain upon the few that were left; and the excessive Plenty of Money, which all at once devolv'd upon them (for Trade begun with *Spain* where it ends with others) occasioned such an intire Disuse of Industry and Manufacture, that they were quickly under a Necessity to send out the Wealth of the *Indies* as fast as it came in: All the Dominions of *Spain* were but newly acquir'd, and the unweildly Fabrick had not time to consolidate or cement itself together, before it was on all Sides attack'd. The *Spaniards* and *Flemmings* were jealous of each other, and the *Germans* of them both, which made it for a while Work sufficient for *Charles* the 5th to reconcile the jarring Interests of his several Dominions: But before that could be done, the uneasy Jealousy of his Subjects obliged him to have his Brother *Ferdinand* elected King of the *Romans*, and that intitling him to the Succession of the Empire, divided the Power of *Spain* before it was able to exert itself against her Neighbours.

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To *Philip* the Second descended (together with *Spain*) the *Belgick* Provinces, the Principalities in *Italy*, and the Kingdoms in *America*, to which he added that of *Portugal*, a Place at that time very considerable for Trade; but the same fundamental Evils still lurked within the Body of *Spain*, its want of People became a more sensible Misfortune by the Loss of *Germany*, which before in some Measure supply'd that Defect; a universal Disuse of Industry requir'd still an Expence of most part of that Treasure which was brought in by Trade: The Support of the League in *France* was a great Drain upon what remain'd; the Defection of the *Belgick* Provinces, through the Severities of the Duke of *Alva*, put its Affairs into Confusion; and the intire Defeat of the invincible *Armada* (which not only took up the ready Moneys of *Spain*, but run the State also into Debts, from which they have not been able, even to this Day, to extricate themselves) gave the finishing Stroke to its Power. All these complicated Misfortunes of State (I say) were Cause sufficient why *Spain* in those two Reigns, wherein their Power seem'd at so high a Pitch, by the Accession of Trade to their Possessions by Land, did however so little incroach upon the Liberty of her Neighbours.

The Defection of the *Belgick* Provinces ended in the States of *Holland*. These Children of Oppression (if I may so call them) being, under the severest Penalties, forbid any Commerce with *Spain* or *Portugal* (from whence they hitherto had all those Commodities of both the *Indies*, with which they furnish'd the rest of the World) open'd for themselves a way to the Place of their Growth; and the *Portuguese* after their Union with *Spain* (being lost as it were) in so great a

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Kingdom (and no longer a People) forgot their former Spirit and Resolution, and made so poor a Resistance, that before they recover'd their Liberties in the Reign of *Philip* the third, the *Dutch* had possess'd themselves of most of their Settlements in both the *Indies*, and upon the Coast of *Africk*.

'Tis true, the *Dutch* had in their Infancy several Difficulties to wrestle with, but on the other Hand, so many things conspir'd to encrease their Power and Riches, that in a short Time they surmounted them all: The Misfortunes of *Portugal*, the Severity of the Inquisition throughout all the Dominions of *Spain*, the Persecution in *France*, and the Troubles in *England*, made *Holland* (as it were) an Asylum for all the trading and rich People of *Europe*; thither they resorted with their Wealth and their Families, so that in a short time *Amsterdam* became what *Lisbon*, *Bruges* and *Antwerp* formerly were, the chief Staple of all the Trade of *Europe*: They proceeded intent upon Trade only; engaged in no Wars this Side of the World, but such as were necessary for their Preservation, and even those within their own Country, which were therefore to them rather an Inlet than a Drain of Treasure; they kept the Consumption of their Poor free from exorbitant Taxes, at a time when most of their Neighbours were under heavy Debts, and by this Means continued the Price of Labour at a moderate Pitch; OEconomy and Temperance were the usual Recommendations to Places of Trust and Power in the State, this begot a universal Parsimony amongst the People, and suspended for a Season the Evils of an excessive Riches, which their Neighbours already began to feel in an encreasing Luxury and Profusion; all these Accidents and prudent

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dent Councils (I say) have advanc'd them to a higher Station in Trade, than any other People, and (little as their Country is) if they have not extended their Dominions in *Europe*, it seems to be not from any want of Power, but from a Defect in their Constitution, which is fitted rather for Preservation than Conquest, since one negative Voice (a thing not hard to be purchas'd amongst a People, who are rather studious of Wealth than of Glory) is able to overthrow the best concerted and most prosperous Enterprize.

But the Parsimony, and other domestick Virtues of the *Dutch*, by which they were so long enabled to transact almost all the Trade of the World, have within a few Years greatly given way to Expence and Figure; they have already a Taste for elegant Living, and sumptuous Equipages; and they can indulge themselves in Riot and Luxury, without becoming odious to their fellow Citizens; but whenever they arrive to such a Pitch, that OEconomy and Temperance shall no longer be the necessary Recommendations to Places of Power and Confidence in the State; when the Ambitious in the Commonwealth have found out the more agreeable way to Popularity, by Expence and Profusion, and when the People begin to taste the Sweets of such Engagements, the States of *Holland* (perhaps in as short a time as the *Hans-Towns*) will cease to be High and Mighty; their Power at Sea will devolve upon some other People, and they may chance to be reduced to their primitive Fishing-boats again.

The Symptoms of this Decay are already upon them; it is therefore highly proper for us to think of Means whereby to prevent so great an Addition as their Loss of Trade would make to the Strength of any other State already considerable

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able in *Europe*, lest such a Union of Power and Riches might in time prove dangerous, not to ours alone, but to the Liberty of the World in general.

'Tis plain, that upon our own Bottoms, we are unequal to the Undertaking; our Condition is already what that of *Holland* is about to be, our Luxury devours more than our Industry can provide; and the Expence of our Manufactures is greater than any Price which we can expect for the Produce of them Abroad! But as melancholy a Reflection as this seems to be, it is however no small Comfort to think that we have it still in our Power, by a prudent Regulation of our Dependencies, to supply all these inward Defects, and to recover from Strangers a great Part of the general Commerce, with the Hands of those whose every Acquisition by Trade and Industry must always flow in upon us, to feed and supply us with Money.

The Crown of *England* has annex'd to it many Dependencies, where Labour is cheaper, the People hardier, easier to feed, and freer from Taxes, than any of our Neighbours; these like so many Sponges (if I may be allow'd the Comparison) must be employ'd to suck up Treasures from the Ocean, in order to squeeze them out again into the grand Receptacle of all the Riches of her Dependencies, *Great Britain*. These must, I say, be employ'd to manage those Branches of Trade, which we, by reason of an immense Wealth, an encreasing Luxury, and an over-bearing Debt, are at present under a Necessity to let Strangers run away with.

Our Plantations in *America* are very considerable, as well for their Extent and the Numbers of People already settled there, as for the great
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natural Wealth which they produce. Labour is there universally cheap; and all the Materials of Navigation at the easiest Rates; so that there is not in the World a Place better adapted for Ship-building, which however is the only Article of the Plantation Business unprovided for. If therefore the Importation of Ships from thence, (if I may be allow'd the Expression) were encouraged, it would ease our Navigation of a very great Burthen, and very much assist our Trade; for there is no Dispute, but as the *Primums* of Navigation are there to be had in a manner for taking, so they might be put together much cheaper than they can in *England*; and when a Vessel is once fitted out, the Ingredients of which it is compos'd, and which come at present to us, incumbred with the Expence of a long and dangerous Voyage, a costly Freight, &c. would then become cheaper in the Passage, and might be afforded in *England* at a lower Price, by so much as it had defray'd the Expence of the Building by the Freight of Goods carried in her; but when this is said the Plantation Trade is capable of very little other Improvement, for their remote Situation, and the Abundance of Employment with which the People are already, in a manner, overcharg'd, and from which, it is by no means, our Interest to divert them, renders them unfit for so extended a Trade as they were to be wish'd capable of.

Scotland by its Union with *England*, enjoys already all the Advantages of a free Trade; but the Barrenness of the Soil, and the want of Communication between the inland and maritime Countries, through the almost inaccessible Mountains, which detain the Growth and Manufactures of the Country from Exportation, and the Commodities brought in by Trade, from a proper
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Distribution amongst the working People, leave us but little Room to hope for any great Assistance from thence: But *Ireland* is under none of these Inconveniencies, its Situation for an extended Trade is more advantageous than that of any other Nation in *Europe*: its Harbours are many and commodious, its Inhabitants numerous and hardy, inur'd to Want and Labour, easy to feed, and able upon poor Fare to run through a great deal of Work: All the Necessaries of Life are in that Country at lower Prices than they are in any other this Side the Globe; the People are incumbered with very few Taxes, and their Labour is cheaper than that of any of their Neighbours: Their near Situation renders the Intercourse between us very easy, and enables us to protect their Trade, and to take such Care of our Interest there as would almost be impossible, had they been more remote. The Politeness, the Gayety, and the Power of our Court allure all those who are studious, either of Improvement, of Pleasure, or of Preferment; this drains from thence the Penny-rents of most of the great Estates of that Kingdom, and every Increase of their Wealth will (by enlarging the Rent-rolls of those already settled here, and by enabling others to taste the Delights of a Court, who by the Narrowness of their present Fortunes are confin'd at home) greatly enlarge this Inlet of their Money, and increase our Drafts upon them; which together with the Restrictions on the Exportation of their Wool, and the other Advantages which we already have of them in Trade, will Cause to center in *England*, all or the most Part of their Acquisitions on the general Ballance.

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I am sensible that the Proposition which I here advance is a very bold one, as it is so opposite to the universally receiv'd Opinion, that it were better for *England* if *Ireland* were no more; but if we consider (apart from Prejudices and particular Interests) how greatly we are already Gainers by the Trade and Industry of that Country, poor as it is, we shall perhaps give into a Notion so greatly exploded, and begin to think, that the Wealth and Prosperity of *Ireland* is not only compatible with that of *England*, but highly conducing also to its Riches, Grandeur and Power.

Sir *William Petty* (the most ingenious Observer of the last Age) in his political Anatomy of *Ireland*, computes that at the Time when the Landlords Rent of the whole Kingdom was but 432,000*l. per Ann.* there was remitted yearly for the Support of Outliers in *England* 200,000*l. Sterl.* And this Article alone was lately, and I believe very justly, estimated in a Book, called the Defence of the Conduct of *Ireland*, at 600,000*l. per Ann.* but we had also (when Sir *William* made his Calculation) almost the entire Trade of that Country in our Hands; we took of all their Commodities, and imported to them all or most of their foreign Consumption; so that it is more than probable that we had even then coming to us out of that Country one way or another a Sum equal to the Landlords Rent of the whole; at present indeed they begin to manage their own Trade, and well for us it is that they do so, for else the *Dutch* and the *French* (who navigate so much cheaper than we) would do it for them; and by draining away their Wealth would leave the less thereof to Issue to us; but however, it is more than probable that they annually send us at present,

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For

	l.
For Coals,	100,000
For Corn,	080,000
For broad Cloaths, <i>East-India</i> Goods, and Mercers Wares, Hops, Toys, &c.	} 250,000

We have all their Wool raw and unmanufactured, which as appears by the Register thereof at the Custom-House, for the Year ending *Midsummer* 1723, amounts to, Yarn included, 271291 Stone, which because of the Monopol. thereof we buy in *Ireland* at 6 s. per Stone, in all 81382—

750,000
first Cost; this by the Art and Labour of *Englishmen* is converted into Cloaths, Kerfies, Stuffs, and other Manufactures, and by a reasonable Computation is a Means of saving or gaining annually over and above the first Cost

By the Expence of <i>Irish</i> Outliers amongst us as per Estimate	} 600,000
So that we are Gainers or Savers by our Dealings with that Country per <i>Ann.</i> about	} 1780,000

And if the Gain of *England* on the general Balance of her Trade with all the World, is no more than two Millions yearly, as is computed by the ingenious Doctor *Davenant* and others, how should we have been able to furnish our selves with Matter for such an Excess of Luxury and Profusion as we have lately known; and at the same time to have maintained such long and expensive foreign Wars, without suffering the utmost Poverty, had not the Wealth which that Country

Country is a Means of bringing us from time to time, fed and supported us with Money.

It is an infallible Maxim, that by what Means soever Money is brought into a Country, it is equal to the People in general, so it be not in a Way injurious to their Liberties: It imports us but little, Whether the Money of *Ireland* comes to us through the Hands of Merchants, or thro' the Hands of Exchangers; they indeed, by whose Hands it comes, are likely to have some on't stick to their Fingers, and it is therefore the Interest of each of them to have it come their Way; but when once it is introduc'd, whether by Trade, or by Exchange, it becomes equally the Property and Wealth of the Nation in general.

True it is, that particular Persons, and Societies, may be affected, by the Success of *Ireland* in Trade, but if *England* in general is Gainer thereby, it wou'd be a thing of fatal Consequence to be led by their Insinuations into such Councils as might cramp it in those Branches of Trade, which do not clash with our own.

Every particular Member of a Society has (no doubt) an Interest in the Grandeur and Prosperity of the whole; but yet every particular Member has at the same Time another Interest separate from that, which he pursues with a more ardent Inclination, and that is his own private Interest.

It is his Business to promote the Power and Riches of the Common-wealth, but it imports him much more, however, to add to his own private Fortune and Degree in the State; and for that Reason, whenever these two Interests clash one with another (as it too often happens) the particular Members with a perfect Tranquillity reap the fruit of publick Mismanagements; or very unwillingly, and with great Murmurs suffer any

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Loss of their private Business, how necessary soever it may be for the Health and Welfare of their Country; and this perhaps is one great Reason of the general Outcry against the Trade and Wealth of *Ireland*, with which our Ears are of late filled; but to reconcile the Interests, and to take care that whenever they clash or jarr one with the other, the Good of the whole shall always be pursued, at whatever Expence or Loss of particular Persons or Societies, is the Business of the Legislature, which in our happy Constitution is the Representative, not of a Part, but of the entire Common-wealth; and must therefore consider the general Good of the Nation, before that of Particulars.

It is true, that even in Parliaments, every Member may be supposed to labour with a more particular Assiduity the Advantage and Emolument of that Corporation which sent him; but every other Member does the same; and this Distraction of Affairs (as I may call it) brings the Matter quickly to an Issue, and by the Majority of Voices determines which is the common Good: But it sometimes however happens, that the Designs of particular Societies are so gilt and varnished over with specious Pretences and Insinuations, that it is almost impossible to distinguish the real from the fictitious Good, and they are led into Mistakes: for alas, nothing but the divine Omniscience can trace the Designs of wicked Men, through all their Mazes and Windings: Amongst the Children of Men there is no Infallibility, and the greatest and wisest Assemblies may err in their Determinations of what is, and what is not the Publick Good: It might be instanced in many Particulars, but I shall only mention one, which has respect to our Trade with *Ireland*, and which occasion'd no small Loss

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to us, I mean that which forbid the Importation of *Irish* Beef.

Before the Restoration we were in the sole Possession of the Beef Trade, all foreign Markets were through our Hands furnished with that commodity, and those depending upon it, which being bulky Commodities afforded no small Occupation to Ships and Sailors, and no inconsiderable Profit to the Nation in general, on the Articles of Trade and Navigation; but the *Irish* Beef which was the principal Support of that gainful Business was afforded so cheap, by reason of the Poverty of that Country, that our Graziers apprehended it would in some time oblige them to lower their Prizes here, and made that a Pretence to call to their Landlords for an Abatement of their Rent: The Interest of the landed Men is without doubt the surest Test of the Publick Good: Could any thing be more artificially devised in that tender Part, the Graziers attack'd them, and by specious Arguments, pretended to demonstrate, that if the Importation of Beef from a Country wherein Land was so much cheaper than ours was suffered, it would lower the Price of *English* Beef: This would affect the Lands that rear'd and fed them, and by that Means all the Lands of *England* would be in some time reduc'd to a Level, or at least to some Proportion with the Lands in *Ireland*: The Argument seem'd feasible, and the Prohibition pass'd: But what was the Consequence? The *Irish* clogg'd with a Commodity for which they lost the only Vent that they hitherto knew, were laid under a necessity to look out elsewhere for a Market; and we found them more dangerous Rivals abroad than at home, they underfold us every where, and nothing was left to support us in any Part of that Trade, which was so lately

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all in our own Hands; but the particular Excellency of our Beef above all others, from their rich Pasture, and the extraordinary Feeding which we bestow'd on them. Advantages which without a Prohibition, would ever have intitled our Graziers to higher Prizes than any others.

Thus from the sole Dealers in Beef, Butter, Tallow and Hides (for which Commodities we could, as the *Dutch* do for their Spices, fix a Price at will) we all at once abdicated that advantageous Situation, deprived our selves of all the Gain thereon from Trade and Navigation, and became poor Sharers therein with another Country; and all this by suffering our selves to be led by the Insinuations of a particular Society; whereas if we did but look beyond the Surface of the Argument, we should find, that by what Means soever the publick Treasure is encreased or exhausted, by that same Means the rents of Lands will always rise or fall; and if we did but coolly consider how much more Wealth must necessarily be introduc'd by the whole Beef Trade than by a Part of it, we should never be prevailed upon to lend a helping Hand to that Prohibition, which we then so earnestly sollicitated for.

I should be glad to know with what Face a Petition from the Shepherds of *England*, to prohibit the Importation of *Irish* Wool, would at this Day be receiv'd in our Parliament; it is certain that it would greatly raise the Price of that produced here; and the same Arguments might be framed for it, that were made use of to procure the Prohibition of Beef; but I am sure a very indifferent Politician might however see, that the Gain of that particular Society could in no Measure compensate the Injury it would do to our Woollen Trade, and to the Nation in general.

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The Views of a trading People should extend themselves far into Futurity; for there are many things which carry an Appearance of an immediate Gain, and are nevertheless highly detrimental in the End; and there are also many others, which at first seem dangerous to the Wealth of a Country, that in Process of time bring to it great Power and Riches: The Husbandman consider'd in *Spring*, casting his choicest Grain into the Furrows, would undoubtedly seem mad, if we look'd no further; but if we consider him in the *Harvest*, reaping the bountiful Reward of his Profusion, how wise will he seem in foregoing a Part of his present Hoord for so agreeable a Prospect in Futurity. The End is the surest Proof of the Wisdom or Folly of our Actions; 'tis that which gives the sincerest Character of our Councils and Deliberations; and 'tis that alone that ought to be consider'd by a wise People.

Particular Societies tempted by a near Prospect of Gain, are too apt to lay Schemes for aggrandizing and enriching themselves at the Expence of the Publick; but alas, it is better even for them in the End, that the general Welfare should be pursued; for tho' they may thrive for a Season on the Misfortunes of the Commonwealth, yet whenever its Vitals are touch'd, a livid Paleness, and a general Decay spreads itself over all the Members, and they too late repent themselves of those self-interested Counsels, which brought on its Ruin: Let us therefore, apart from particular Interests or Prejudices, consider the Question before us, and we shall find that the Wealth of *Ireland* has for many Years flow'd in upon us, and that the Method to encrease that Inlet of Treasure, is to put it in a way of getting more; a way, I say, that without inroaching upon our own Business,

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will encrease its Riches; for *Ireland* is to *England* (if I may be allow'd the Comparison) a milch Cow; if we let it run into good Pasture it will overflow our Pails; but if we deny it that, and leave it to starve in barren Grounds, it will quickly run dry, and become rather a Burthen than a Help to us.

But some are of Opinion, that the Parliament of *Ireland* has of late shewn such a sturdy Spirit, that it won't be safe to make any Accession to their Wealth, lest they should in Time be able to shake off their Dependency upon the Crown of *England*. This seems to be a very material Objection, and it may not therefore be improper, before we proceed any farther, to enquire a litle into that, and into the Interest of the People themselves in respect thereto.

The Landed Interest of *Ireland* has suffer'd very considerable Revolutions since Queen *Elizabeth's* Time. In the beginning of King *James* the first's Reign there was a very great Change of Property in that Kingdom; for that Prince led either by Policy or Affection, attainted several unfortunate People whom his own Artifices and Emissaries are said to have stirred up to a Rebellion in the preceding Reign, and gave all at once the entire Province of the *North* to his own Countrymen; but how injurious soever this at first appear'd, it was in the End highly advantageous to the Country in general, for the industrious *Scots Protestants* who succeeded the lazy *Irish*, introducing Labour and Industry into that Kingdom, laid the Foundation of the Linen Manufacture, which is at this Time their chiefest Wealth; and made that Province, which was before the coarsest and thinnest inhabited in the whole Kingdom, equal to any two of the rest in Numbers of Men, in the Acquisition of

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of national Wealth, and in the Beauty of Land Improvements.

The next great Change was in *Oliver Cromwell's* Time, where the *Irish* taking Advantage of our Commotions in *England*, under Preence of assisting the King, took up Arms, but with that bad Success, that notwithstanding the numbers of honest *Englishmen* who were settled there, and who assisted them with sincere Intentions to restore the King's Affairs; they were entirely routed, their Towns taken and sack'd, their Women and Children put to the Sword, their Estates given to *English Protestants*, and Multitudes of those who escaped the Fury of the War, and the Rage of the Pestilence (Evils which Sir *William Petty* computes to have wasted upwards of 500,000 Souls) were transported into foreign Countries, so that in 1652, most Part of the whole Kingdom was in *English* Hands; and tho' a considerable Number of Acres were after the Restoration given back to those who proved their constant good Affections, &c. yet there remained in the Hands of the *English* and the *Scots*, in the Year 1672, upwards of 5,220,000 Acres, and in the Hands of the *Irish* not above 2,280,000 Acres.

But the last and most remarkable Change of all, was upon the late Revolution; for King *James* the Second, having an Inclination to strengthen himself by the Affections of the *Irish*, encouraged and passed a certain Act in that Parliament, repealing all former Forfeitures, and restoring to the Proprietors the Lands which were taken from them in 41, &c. under Colour of which Law, all the old *Irish* who could make out any Title to the Lands of *English*, entered upon them, and turned the Owners out of Doors; this occasioned an universal Confusion and Distress of Affairs in *English* Families, till King *William* after settling Affairs in

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England

England went in Person thither, and in less than three Years reduc'd that Kingdom to an entire Obedience; the Act of Repeal lost its Force, the dispersed *English* returned in Peace to their Habitations, and the Estates of all those who were concerned in the Rebellion were forfeited and sold, so that at this Day there is scarcely any Land in *Ireland* held by any other than an *English* Title; and how is it then possible to imagine, that a People who derive all their Titles from their Dependence upon the Crown of *England*, should ever be so mad as to attempt or even to suffer any thing that might impair that Dependence, which is their only Charter for all the Power and Possessions which they have in *Ireland*?

If we consider the Conduct of that People, since the Revolution, we shall find that we have no Grounds for such a Jealousy of them, and we shall be convinced, that nothing but the cruellest Acts of Oppression from us, and in them the extremest Madness of Despair, can ever precipitate them into such pernicious Counsels; for could there be in Appearance a greater Hardship upon them, than by Laws made in a Parliament, wherein they had no Representative, to be restrained from exporting any Manufactures of Wooll (the most abounding and precious of all their Commodities) to any Part of the World, and from exporting the Wooll itself, raw and unmanufactur'd, to any Place but *England*? A Regulation which laid them under a Necessity to gain nothing on that Article of their Growth from Labour and Industry, and to become only Shepherds to us; and yet they have submitted thereto, with such an uncommon Resignation, that no one Person has in so many Years been convicted, or even accused of a Transgression; they acquiesce under our Laws in Favour of the *East-India* Company, which confine them to *Eng-*
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land alone, for several Commodities of the *East*; they perform the Requisites of all our naval and commercial Laws, perhaps better than we our selves do; they have seen the Judicature of their House of Lords taken away, without any other Opposition, than an humble Remonstrance to his Majesty to interpose in their Favour; they furnish their Quota's with Chearfulness and Alacrity, and are ever foremost in Zeal for the *Protestant* Succession, as may be instanced in their unlimited Vote of Credit to his late Majesty, when threatened by several Insurrections in *Great Britain*, and by the high Prizes which they offered for the Heads of his Enemies. They see their entire Church-livings, and all the civil and military Government of the Kingdom given from them, to such of us as either in Church or State have deserved well of the Crown; and if these People have lifted up their Hands, not to resist, but petition against a Project, whose dismal Effects had so lately thrown all *England* and *France* into the utmost Confusion and Distress; if they have address'd and made Remonstrances against a Patent, which contain'd in itself no coercive Clause, and which was judg'd by them pernicious to their Business; must we from these two circumstances conclude against a Thousand, that they would if they had Power shake off their Dependence upon us?

Since then *Ireland* is secured to us by the strongest Tyes of Interest and Necessity; since every Addition to the Wealth of its Inhabitants will, by enlarging their Stakes, confirm the Tyes of their Dependence upon us, and at the same Time enlarge the Remittances of their Money to *England*; since every Acquisition which they make by Trade is at last to center amongst us and since it is evident, that without employing them, we can never recover the Trade which we have lost; what should

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hinder us from making the proper Use of them, and setting them up as Instruments to encrease our Wealth, and to prevent the rise of any others, to whom the Trade of the Universe might prove a fatal Accession of Power, much to be dreaded by the rest of the World, tho' more immediately by these Kingdoms whose chief Defence has ever been the Dominion of the Sea? The means which I shall propose to bring this about are but few, and such too as in no Manner clash with their own Affairs, viz.

First, To encourage the Reduction of Interest Money in that Kingdom to a Level, or at least to some Proportion with that in *France* and *Holland*, that as little thereof as possible may remain a Load upon their Industry and Navigation, and a Cancer in the Bowels of their Commerce, to eat up all their other Advantages.

Secondly, To ease their Importation of naval Stores from *Scotland* or the Plantations, by taking of them all manner of Duties, and by allowing those of the Plantations to be directly imported from thence without touching in *England*, that the building of Ships there may be incumbred with as small an Expence as possible, and that they may be in that Article enabled to undersel Foreigners; for it is surely better for us to have the carrying Trade in the Hands of a People who are our Subjects, and whose every Acquisition by Trade flows in daily upon us, to encrease our Wealth and Power, than to let it remain in the Hands of those whose every Acquisition by Trade helps to turn the Ballance against us, and to make us less considerable in *Europe*.

Thirdly, To open to them the Fisheries of *Greenland* and *Newfoundland*, and to give them all reasonable Encouragement to prosecute the Herring Fishing, that Corner Stone (if I may so call it) of the *Dutch* Wealth and Grandeur.

This is a Business in which we our selves must
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ever be unsuccessful, notwithstanding the many Arguments of late advanc'd, by a certain ingenious Gentleman, to prove, that we can on our own Bottom recover it from the *Dutch* and *French*; for tho' as he says very truly, Fish is taken out of the Sea, and no Money issues to buy it, yet whilst the taking of Fish out of the Sea is more Expensive to particular *English* Undertakers than to *Dutch*, so long will they be able to undersel us at foreign Markets; but if the *Irish*, who could be put in a Way to build, man and victual so much cheaper than they, and whose Situation and Harbours are so much more commodious than theirs, had once betaken themselves to that Business, they would every where undersel them, and in a few Years make that Employment of so little Account to Foreigners, that they would (as we have been often forc'd to do) give up and neglect it, and leave all the Profit of that gainful Trade to us and our Dependencies.

Fourthly, To encourage the *Irish* to trade to the Coasts of *Africk*, where we are so much outnumbered in Settlements by Strangers, and in the Produce of which we are so shamefully undersold at foreign Markets; for if the *Irish* had once betaken themselves to that Trade, they would quickly recover it from the *Dutch*, the *French*, the *Hamburghers* and the *Danes*, and so considerable an Addition to our Trade with those Parts, would not only encrease our general Wealth, but greatly add also to the Riches and Power of the Royal *African* Company, by the Addition of 10l. per C. Duty on such extraordinary Quantities of exported and imported Commodities as it would occasion.

Fifthly, To give the *Turkey* Company leave to buy up, and export to the *Levant*, directly from *Ireland*, such Woollen Cloths as the *French* sell in *Turkey*, and as we, by reason of the excessive Price of our Labour,

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bour, cannot afford cheap enough to undersel them, in order if possible to recover from them that Branch of the *Turkey* Trade, which by the great Number of Consumers is so much better than that we are at present possessed of.

I am sensible that it may be objected to this that the Scarcity of Wooll, which the Exportation of such Cloths from *Ireland* would occasion here, might inhance the Price of those finer Pieces, which we at present send to *Turkey*; and by that means endanger that Branch of our own Trade; but the Remedy is in our own Hands, for if we change our Management a little, and bury our Dead in home-spun Linen, it will at once spare from our Consumption of Wool enough to supply that Scarcity, and save *England* the Expence of so much as we bury annually in the Ground.

Lastly, To encourage the Intercourse and Correspondence between the two Nations, by an equal Dispensation of the Laws, and a more favourable reception of those who come over; thereby to draw to a Settlement here greater Numbers of the Men of Fortune of that Kingdom, and by that Means to encrease our Drafts upon them for the Support of their Outliers amongst us, an Article which by proper Management might be made to drain away most Part of their general Gain by Trade.

Many other Ways might be shewn to encrease the Trade of *Ireland*, without damaging our own, and to make the Wealth of that Country more useful to us, but I have already exceeded the Limits which I first prescribed to my self, and I shall therefore leave them to more accurate Observers, submitting always in what I advance to the Judgment of the Publick, for whose Welfare alone I have ventur'd to expose to the World Notions so universally exploded and condemned.

A N
E S S A Y
O N

Trade in General,

And that of

IRELAND in Particular, &c.

WHEN Ambition and Power parcelled out the Earth into the Possessions of particular Men, they soon betook themselves to the Protection of Covenants and Agreements, for the peaceful Enjoyment of those Properties which they engrossed to themselves; by which Means, tying themselves down from Force and the stronger Hand (till then their only Law) it became necessary to find out other Means of procuring from their Neighbours, those things which their own Grounds did not afford; the Occasion soon offer'd itself, for the Desire of Novelty was universal, and enough were ready to exchange those things with which they were cloy'd,

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cloy'd, for greater Rarities; and this Barter was the Original of Trade.

But when the Produce of particular Countries became scanty for the Support of their encreasing Inhabitants, and when the Desires of Men extended themselves into distant Climates, for Matter to furnish out their Riot withal, this Method became highly inconvenient and troublesome; wherefore it was universally agreed to fix a certain Value upon some lasting and portable Commodity, which might serve as a Ballance to the Value of all others, and be as a Security to the Taker from the rest of the World, for so much as he should at any time require, and this *Pas-par-tout* was Money.

No Wonder then if Money, having acquir'd this great Reputation in the World, and becoming (as it were) a Load-stone, which drew to it all the valuable Things in Life, was quickly grown the universal Object of Ambition; every one being assur'd that so much thereof as he could command, so much also should he command of whatever either his Necessities or Inclinations requir'd; and from hence arose that great Strife amongst Men, which has continued itself down to this Day, and is like to last for ever.

The Possessors of much, have from the Beginning assum'd a Power to Lord it over the Poor, who being without Riches, and excluded from a Share in the Land, were oblig'd through Necessity to make their Court to the Wealthy on such hard Terms as they were pleas'd to impose: When therefore either their own Extravagance, or the general Impropration of Things reduc'd any to Want, they hired themselves out to labour for those whom easier Fortunes had render'd Indolent, or became their Tenants at certain Rents, which
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for a long time did not exceed a Part of what their Farms produc'd; but as Money increas'd, the Love of Money increas'd also, and the Landlords not only rais'd their Rents, but exacted them in Cash; this put them upon Ways and Means to acquire it, and forced them from their darling Ease to Labour and Industry. The Gain which ensu'd gave a Relish to their Toils, and engag'd them to prosecute their Labours, by which Means, those who before like Drones liv'd on the Fat of the Commonwealth, became industrious Bees to enrich it, whilst the rest who remain'd in the slothful Inactivity which they had forsaken, continu'd a useless Load on the Land, no ways encreasing its Wealth, and little, or not at all, contributing to the common Good; but a severer Necessity compelling, even those too were driven to Labour; for the daily Increase of Money increas'd the Rents of Lands, and oblig'd more pressingly to Industry, whilst the Merchant enrich'd by his foreign Commerce, allur'd them out by high Prices, and call'd them to share in the Wealth brought in by Trade; in which Case all those whom either Necessity compell'd, or the Hopes of Gain engag'd to an Application to Industry, became Sharers in the Money, were enabled to out-bid the Idlers in their Farms, and forc'd the Drones from their Hives, either to work for Bread, or to perish for Want: Thus Men were brought from Sloth to Action, and all Hands were set to work, whilst every Application to Industry gave a Spring to Trade, and every Acquisition by Trade encourag'd to Industry by the Rise which it occasion'd on the Produce of Labour.

Thus Force begot Property, the Impropration of things gave Rise to Trade, Trade requir'd
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Money for the better Management thereof, Money begot Ambition and Avarice, and from those Monsters proceeded a motley Generation of Contention, civil Discord, Oppression, Usury, Fraud, Circumvention, and all those Evils with which the World is unfortunately harass'd and perplex'd; but evil as Money is, 'tis however a necessary Evil, and grown into such universal Esteem amongst Men, that without it no Business is to be done, no Necessaries of Life to be purchas'd, nay, Virtue itself is often measur'd by Money, and Princes become formidable, not by the Extent of their Territories, or the Numbers of their People, but for the Wealth of their Exchequer, and the Length of their Purse; those therefore, whether in private or in publick Life, whether a particular Society or a People in general, who would make a Figure in the World, or get into the Esteem of their Neighbours, must above all things take care to be rich, for Riches is Wisdom, and Power, and Honour, and every thing in this mercenary Age. It seems therefore well to deserve our Enquiry how it is to be had, and by what Means to be introduc'd into a Country, and this shall be the Subject of the following Pages, in which, if I hit upon any thing for the Information of those in Power, or but incite abler Heads to so necessary an Enquiry, 'tis all my Ambition would aspire to.

Nature has so wisely distributed her Favours, that whatever is wanting in any Country, either for Ornament or Use, is supplied in an Abundance of other things, by which they are to be purchas'd: Thus *India* has its Gold and Gems, *Arabia* its Gums and Spices, *Persia* its Silks, *France* and *Spain* their Wines and Fruits; we a Land teeming with other Sorts of Riches, and a

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Sea abounding with Treasures, which are valuable and sought for by all those Countries; insomuch, that tho' we have no Mines of Gold and Silver, yet we have the Means wherewith to purchase them, and by a proper Application to Trade, may soon become rich in all those foreign Commodities, which the Temperature of our Heavens, or the Coldness of our Soil deny us at home; for Trade is that whereby those things are introduc'd into a Country which itself fails to produce.

Since therefore Trade is so useful, and indeed so necessary an Occupation for a People, it behoves them much to understand aright the Constitution of it, and not only to know their own Wants and Superfluities, but those of other Countries also, that they may the better regulate their Affairs, and send their Commodities to such Markets as have them in greatest Esteem; but above all the Art of Improving those Branches of Trade which are advantageous, and waining from those which are injurious to the Wealth of a Country, deserves our Application; for useful as Trades is, it may however for want of proper Regulations turn to the Disadvantage of a Country, and become a Means to drain away all that Treasure, which it before introduc'd; thus Want by obliging to Industry begets Wealth, and Wealth by a strange Reverse, reduces to Poverty again, if a prudent Oeconomy is wanting; for Indolence and Luxury are ever in the Train of Wealth, and stalk close upon the Heels of Riches; these beget a shameful Neglect of Industry, and an immoderate Consumption of foreign Commodities, by which Means our Importations become more expensive, and our Exportations less valuable, till at last our Income falls short of our Expence; and whensoever this happens, either to a private Per-

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son, or to a Nation in general, that Minute they have pass'd the Summit of Fortune, and run headlong to Indigence and Misery.

To form a right Judgment (therefore) on the Trade of any Country, we must first know what Proportion its Exportations and Importations bear one to the other, for as much as the one exceeds the other, so much are they Gainers or Losers by Trade; for Example, if there be exported to foreign Markets to the Value only of 100,000 *l.* and imported from Abroad to the Value of 150,000 *l.* the exported Commodities pay only for 100,000 *l.* of their foreign Consumptions, and the rest must either be paid for in Money, or remain a Debt upon the Nation, which is the same thing, and how quick a Pace to Poverty they run who lose 50 *l.* per Cent. by Trade, is easily understood.

This Disadvantage in Trade must proceed either from a want of Industry in the Inhabitants, or from their extravagant Consumption of foreign Commodities; wherefore, it is the Business of a wise Administration in such a Case to lessen the Expence, by sumptuary Laws and a prudent Imposition of Taxes upon the Importation of such Commodities as perish amongst them, and to encourage at the same time to Industry and Manufactures, by which the natural Wealth of a Country is improv'd in its Value, and consequently the Exports also.

There is a twofold Wealth in every Country; one consists in the simple Produce of the Earth, and may therefore be call'd the natural Wealth; but the other, which is indeed the greater Treasure, arises from the Labour of the People improving upon the former, and adding to its Value: Thus a Stone of Flax, which as it's pluck'd from the Earth, may be worth two Shillings, when spun

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spun into fine Thread sells for four Pounds; but if wove into Linen, gives a better Price; and if wrought into Lace, extravagantly more; and this additional Value, whatever it amounts to, is the artificial Wealth; wherefore when the natural Wealth is not sufficient to defray the Expence of the People, we must have Recourse to Art and Labour, which seldom fails to retrieve Affairs, when proper Measures are taken to stop those Drains which are occasioned by Riot and Luxury.

Trade may be divided into Inland and Foreign; Inland Trade is that by which Particulars lose or gain in their Dealings, one with the other, without increasing or diminishing the publick Wealth, and consists in buying and selling amongst themselves, which being only a Commutation within the Country can neither introduce nor drain away Treasure; but inconsiderable as it may therefore seem, it's however the chief Wheel of the grand Machine, carrying to the Sea-ports the Produce and Manufactures of the Country, and returning from thence the Commodities and Money imported, to be dispersed through the innermost Parts of the Land, as an Encouragement to new Labour and Industry in order for other Exports; and here ends the Office of inland Trade, but foreign takes up the Burthen where that has laid it down, and consists in the Dealings of one Country with another, in the Management of which, the Wisdom or Folly of a People is quickly discovered; for this is the great Channel by which their Wealth is either received or lost, by this the Superfluities of other Countries are to enter, and by this their own is to issue; here therefore a wise Legislature watches carefully that nothing noxious should be received, and nothing issue to other Countries, which kept at home, might turn to greater Advantage;

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vantage; here it is that the Importation of foreign Vanities is to be restrained, and the Exportation of unmanufactured Commodities confined; here it is that foreign finished Manufactures, which afford the People no Employment, and perish amongst them are loaded and discouraged, whilst the Importation of *Primums* that furnish them with Matter to work upon, is eased and promoted; here the Manufactures of a Country are made to come cheaper to the Inhabitants than those of Strangers, tho' the Expence of making should be greater; and here, in short, is exercis'd all the Mystery of growing rich by Trade, whilst a prudent Administration by a discreet Imposition of Taxes brings all these things about; and gives what Turns it thinks most convenient to the Channels of Trade.

There is nothing so nearly concerned in Trade as Land, the Interests of the one and the other are inseparable, and they must always rise and fall together; for as Trade is supported by the Produce of Land, improv'd by Art and Labour into various Forms, and fitted to the Occasions of foreign Countries, so Land is rais'd in its Value, by the Plenty of Money brought in by Trade; wherefore it greatly behoves those Gentlemen whose Fortunes are in Land, and whose Rank in the World afford them a Prospect of sharing in the Administration, to understand well the Trade of their Country, that they may be able to give Advice on so important a Subject whensoever it comes before them, without giving themselves up to the Counsels of particular Traders, whose private Interests are a heavy Byass upon their Judgments, and lead often into very fatal Mistakes: Many worthy and honest Gentlemen (no doubt) there are of that Vocation, but it is the Interest

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of every Body to be thought so; and that makes it almost impossible to distinguish aright betwixt the Affectation of Virtue, and Virtue itself; wherefore, I say, it greatly behoves the Landed-men to be able to judge for themselves, and to remain no longer under the Direction of those whose Interest it may possibly be to mislead them.

There is nothing more necessary to be understood by those who are to form Decrees, in Relation to Commerce, than the Difference in Value between the Exportations and Importations of their Country, that being the Measure of their Loss and Gain by Trade; this is commonly call'd the Ballance of Trade; and may be divided into the General, and the Particular; the general Ballance of Trade is our Loss or Gain, by our general Dealings with all the World: And it requires but little Art to discover, whether this be for or against us; for its Symptoms are strong and obvious: A general Depreciation of all Commodities, and a universal Face of Poverty spreading itself over the Land, if it be against us; but high Prices and a chearful Plenty of Money, if it be for us; but the particular Ballance of Trade respects our Dealings with particular Countries, and is harder to be discovered, tho' more necessary to be understood than the other; for we may be Gainers in the general, and yet Losers by our Trade with particular Countries, to such a Degree, as may eat up most Part of our Profit by all the rest; and by that Means greatly retard our growing rich; so likewise may we be greatly Gainers by particular Branches of Trade, and yet Losers by others, which like a secret Disease prey upon our Vitals, and waste our Constitution faster than the wholesome Nourishment of the others

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can repair it; but a wise Statesman, like a skilful Physician, searches out the Cause of this general Decay, and employs all his Art to discover in what Part the Distemper lies; a Knowledge, without which, the Statesman, as well as the Physician, would ever be at a Loss in the Application of his Remedies.

To arrive at this Knowledge in Trade, it is necessary, not only to know the Difference in Value between our Exports and Imports in general, but between those also to and from the Countries respectively, with which we have any Commerce; in order to which, it will be proper to consider them, under the following Heads, *viz.*

As transacted by Natives in home-built Shipping.

As transacted by Natives in foreign Shipping.

As transacted by Strangers in home-built Shipping.

As transacted by Strangers in foreign Shipping.

Then we must compute what the Ships Freight and the Merchant's Expence and Profit may reasonably amount to *per Cent.* on the Commodities traded with; for by adding that to the home Price of our Exportations, we shall come pretty near their selling Price at foreign Markets; and by deducting the same from the Price of Imports at our Markets, we shall be very close upon their Cost at the Place of lading; this Article in *England* is rated at 25 *l.* *per Cent.* and in all Probability it is not less with us; since our Profit upon foreign Sales is greater than theirs, and our Expence less: Now if the whole Trade were managed by Natives in our own Ships, this Sum would entirely be sav'd to the Nation, on the Purchase of its Imports; and gained in the Sale

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Sale of its Exports; for the Freight, Expence and Profit issuing all to Natives, would only be a Commutation within ourselves, and of Consequence no drain to the Nation; but as our Trade is carried on partly by Strangers, they must be paid whatever falls to their Share of that Sum, and so much must be added to the first Cost of our Imports, and deducted from the selling Price of our Exports; the Freight, Expence, and Profit, or so much thereof, as they earn, going always to these Countries, to which the Merchant and the Ship belongs; but we must take care to consider all Money and Bullion imported and exported either in Trade, or to answer Bills of Exchange, apart from any other Commodity or Merchandize; for whereas we count our Exports of other Commodities Gain to the Nation, and our Imports Loss, in respect to Money 'tis just the reverse; our Exports are all Loss, and our Imports Gain; and we must compute accordingly, if we would come at the Truth; for what avails it to gain on the Ballance of other Commodities, if we lose more than our Gains by an unprofitable issue of Money? We are also in the stating of our Accounts, to have an Estimate of our Losses at Sea; for so much of our Exports as are Lost before they arrive at Market, must be deducted from the Value of our Exports (the Nation receiving no Value for them) and so much of foreign Commodities as have been purchased by Natives, in order for Importation, tho' lost by the Way, must however be rated as imported, the Nation having paid Value for them.

And when we have thus stated the Accounts of our Exportations and Importations, respectively, and deducted the one from the other, the Balance is our Loss or Gain by that Branch of

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Trade

Trade; for Example, we find by the *Custom-house* Books for the Year ending 1725, that our Trade with *France* stood thus.

Exports	214,422
Imports	141,650
Ballance	72,772

But the Imports, as well as Exports, being here rated at the selling Price in our Markets, without any Allowance for a Benefit on the Article of Trade; the Ballance of 72,772 must be only the Ballance which would rise in Case the whole Trade were managed by Strangers in foreign Shipping; but it is probable that two thirds of that whole Trade is managed by Natives in home built Shipping, and if so, then adding 25 per Cent. to two thirds of our Exports, and deducting the same from two thirds of our Imports, our Ballance on that Branch will be 137,202; but as my present Intention is not so much to be exact in the Account it self, as in the manner of stating it, I will here distinguish it under such Heads as I have mentioned; dividing our Imports and Exports into 4 equal Parts, that the Reader may the better understand the Method which I propose for the more exact Discovery of the Ballance;

Exported in home built Shipping by Natives to the Value of	53,605 1/2
More by Natives in foreign Shipping to the Value of	53,605 1/2
More by Strangers in home built Shipping to the Value of	53,605 1/2
Brought	

Brought over	160,816 3/4
More by Strangers in foreign Shipping to the Value of	53,605 1/2
Exported in all at our Market-Price to the Value of	214,422
To which if we add 25 per Cent. for Freight, Expence and Profit	53,605 1/2
The selling Price at foreign Markets may be.	268,027 1/2

But the Trade being manag'd partly by Foreigners, they must be paid their Share of this 25 per Cent. which being deducted from the above, the Remainder will be our National Gain by Exportation, wherefore.

To Strangers for Freight, Expence and profit on 53,605 l. worth exported by them in foreign Shipping at 25 l. per Cent.	13,401
More to them Expence and Profit on 53,605 l. worth Exported by them in our Shipping after paying our selves 5 l. per Cent. Freight	10,721
More for Freight on 53,605 l. worth Exported by us in foreign Vessels at 5 l. per Cent.	2,680
In all	26,802
And then our Exportation will bring us in	241,225

But we Import from *France* as follows, *viz.*

By Natives in home built Shipping } to the Value of	35,412 ½
More by Natives in foreign Shipping } to the Value of	35,412 ½
More by Strangers in home built Shipping } to the Value of	35,412 ½
More by Strangers in foreign Shipping } to the Value of	35,412 ½
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Imported in all at our Market-Price to } the Value of	141,650
From which if we deduct 25 <i>l. per Cent.</i> } for Freight, Expence and Profit.	35,412
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The first Cost of our whole Import } may be	106,238
But we must add to this Article 25 <i>l. per Cent.</i> for so much of our Import as was furnished by Strangers wherefore to Strangers for Freight, Expence and Profit on 35,412 <i>l.</i> worth imported by them in foreign Ships at 25 <i>l. per Cent.</i>	8,853
More to them Expence and Profit on 35,412 <i>l.</i> worth imported by them in our Shipping after paying ourselves 5 <i>l. per Cent.</i> Freight	7082
More for Freight of 35,412 <i>l.</i> worth imported by us in foreign Shipping at 5 <i>l. per Cent.</i>	1,761
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to be added in all	17,706

And

And then the Loss on our Imports } will be	123,944
But our Exportation brings us	241,225
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Wherefore the Nation is Gainer on the } Ballance of that Trade	117,281

But if we have sent out any Sum of Money, either in Trade or for the Support of our Gentry travelling in that Country, it is so much Loss to the Nation, and must be deducted from our Gain; and having so done, we shall not be very much mistaken in the Ballance of our Loss and Gain by that Branch; and so for any other Branch of our lawful Trade; which that the curious Reader may the better be able to do for himself, I annex here to a short Abstract of our Exports and Imports to and from the several Countries with which we Trade, at a Medium of the selling Price in our Markets for the Year ending *Lady-Day* 1725; but before I conclude this Essay, it may not be improper to add the following Remarks on the Management of Trade in general; that when the Balances of our particular Trades are discovered, and when we are assured which are the advantageous and which the detrimental Branches of Commerce, we may the better be able to apply such political Remedies, as may effectually stop the Drains which before kept the Nation poor, and enlarge those Channels by which the Wealth was received.

I. It is highly advantageous to a Nation to manage their own Trade in home built Shipping, because in such Cases the whole Freight, Expence and Profit is gained to the Nation, on their Exports, and saved on their Imports; whereas if the Trade

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and Navigation is left to Strangers, the Nation must pay 25l. per Cent. (*viz.* the Freight, Expence and Profit) more than it otherwise would for its Imports; and gain so much less on its Exports.

II. That Trade is the least beneficial, which takes of the Primums of Manufactures, and not the Manufactures themselves; because it deprives the People of Matter to work upon, and gives it to Strangers. & *Vice Versa*, that Trade is more advantageous which takes off our Manufactures, than that which takes Primums only; because it pays not only for the Produce of our Lands, but for the Art and Labour of our People also.

III. It is better to buy the Primums of Manufactures from abroad, than the Manufacture it self, because in the first Case, Value issues only for the Materials, but in the last, we must not only pay for the Materials, but for the Labour and Art also which brought them to perfection.

IV. When native Commodities fail to employ all the Hands of a Country, it is prudent to import Foreign, to be manufactured for Re-exportation; because the Improvement thereon from Art and Labour, adds considerably to its Value, and is (as it were) a new Commodity which could not issue without them.

V. Buying in one Country to sell the same to Advantage in another, is a Business of very great Profit, affording not only to the Ship's Owner and the Merchant, but to the Nation also a considerable Gain; and furnishing them with a constant Employment in one Part or other of the World, whenever Trade is dead at Home.

VI. The nearer Commodities are bought to the place of their Growth, the more advantageous they are to the Country importing; because Ship's Freight, Sailors Wages, &c. being but a Commu-
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ration within themselves, are no drain to the Nation; and the first Cost only issues; whereas in buying at second Hand, the Seller must be paid for all these Things, and a Profit also for his Hazard, Expence and Trouble; so likewise the farther off we can sell our own Commodities, the more advantageous to the Nation, the Expence and Hazard of the Navigation, adding considerably to their Price at such Markets.

VII. The Quantity of exported Commodities, and not the Price had for them at Market, enriches a Nation; for 50,000 Ells of Linen sold at 10s. an Ell will bring the Nation but 25,000l. whereas 100,000 Ells of the same Linen sold at 8s. the Ell (which is 2s. cheaper) brings 40,000l. so that it is the true Interest of a Country, by all possible Means to enlarge their Sales abroad.

VIII. The only way to enlarge our Sales, is to enable ourselves to undersell our Neighbours; it being a standing Rule, that he who sells cheapest and best must have most Customers.

IX. It is better for a Nation to pay ready Money to Foreigners importing, than Commodities or Manufactures; because in delivering our Manufactures we leave the Benefit on the Article of Navigation, &c. to the Takers, which would be Gain to the Nation, if we had exported them ourselves; whereas in exporting the Money, there is very great Hazard and little Profit on the Article of Navigation, &c.

X. Taxes raise the Price of Commodities on the Consumers, and are therefore very dangerous to the Wealth of a Country when laid on the Exportation of their own Manufactures; but highly advantageous on the Importation of such as drain away our Wealth and perish among us.

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XI. Premiums on the Exportation of Goods enable the Merchant to sell them so much cheaper at foreign Markets than he could otherwise afford them, and are of singular use in Cases where we are undersold by others; for which reason, it is a Nation's Profit to give Premiums where the Sale of their Manufactures would otherwise be lessen'd; for suppose that in a 1000 *l.* worth of Linens, we are undersold by Strangers at foreign Markets in 500 *l.* and that our Sale thereof is by that means stop'd, a Premium of 60 *l.* to the Exporter would enable him to sell the same Parcel of Linen 10 *l.* cheaper than the Stranger; by which means he would infallibly get the Customers; so that by giving the Exporter 60 *l.* (which is no loss to the Nation if he be a Native) there is a 1000 *l.* brought into the Country which wou'd otherwise go to Strangers.

Many other Rules there are for the Regulation of Trade and Commerce too tedious to be inserted here; but they occur more properly in treating of the particular Branches of Trade, in the following Chapters, to which I shall refer my Reader.

And having thus briefly considered Trade in general, I proceed in the next Place to take a View of that of our own poor Country, which lies bleeding with many Wounds, and calls aloud for some skilful Hand to stop its Issues; true it is that we labour under heavy Restrictions, and that our Affairs are incumbred with many Difficulties; but we must not therefore give up the Cause of our Country, and neglect the little which is left: Men of large Estates may take their Ease, and think themselves above that Care and Oeconomy, which is absolutely necessary for narrower Circumstances; they can bear many and great Mis-

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Mismanagements, but one false Step may destroy a slender Fortune, and bring it to nothing; it behoves us therefore who have so small an Estate in Trade, and so many Drains upon it, to employ in a more particular manner all our Conduct and Circumspection in the management thereof, and not to suffer our selves by a false way of reasoning to be led into such a fatal neglect of our Affairs, as would too quickly bring our little to nothing.

I am sorry to find so universal a Despondency amongst us in respect to Trade; Men of all Degrees give up the thoughts of improving our Commerce, and conclude that the Restrictions, under which we are laid, are so insurmountable that any Attempt on that Head wou'd be vain and fruitless; but this is a dangerous opinion to prevail amongst a People, and may in time throw such a Damp upon the Spirits of the Nation as may prove highly injurious to our Business, there being no greater Incentive to Labour and Industry, than the Prospect of Gain, and no greater Discouragement from them, than the Thoughts of a poor return; It mayn't therefore be improper before we proceed farther to consider, what our Success has been within these last fifty Years, that we may the better judge, if the Trade which is still left us be worth our looking after.

Sir *William Petty* in his *Political Anatomy of Ireland*, published in 1676. computes that the whole Territory consisting of 9000,000 of Acres, good arable Pasture and Meadow, and 1500,000 Acres of Loughs, Boggs, Shrubbs, Woods, &c. *Irish* Plantation Measure and *Strafford* Survey, afforded an Annual Rent (including His Majesty's Quit Rents, the Tythes and Tenants Improve-

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ments) of 90,000 *l.* and was worth to be purchased at the highest selling Price of those times, 9 Millions; at present (considering the great Improvements of Lands, and the very favourable Survey in general) the 9000,000 Acres of good Arable, Pasture and Meadow, may be worth at a Medium of 4 *s.* 6 *d.* per Acre, or 2,025,000 *l.* per Annum. and His Majesty's Quit Rents, the Tythes and Tenants Improvements, at a modest Computation 799,870 *l.* per Annum. so that without making any Allowance for 1,500,000 Acres of Boggs, Woods, &c. the Rents, publick and private, arising from the rest, is 2,824,870 *l.* per Annum. and that at 20 Years Purchase (the lowest selling Price of this time) is worth 56,497,400 *l.* or 47,497,400 more than it was worth in 1676, when that Gentleman made his Calculation; but if we add to this the great increase of our Personal Estate, and the number of Hands which is daily added to our Industry; and if we at the same time consider that whilst we have been accumulating that Treasure, we had all along labour'd under a dead Drain for the Support of our Out-Lyers, which alone has lately been estimated at 600,000 *l.* per Annum. and which in the whole cannot be under 23,000,000 *l.* Sterl. we shall find that stinted in Trade and wasted by Out-Lyers, as we are, there is still somewhat left highly deserving of our Care and Circumspection.

Ireland is in respect to its Situation, the Number of commodious Harbours, and the natural Wealth which it produces, the fittest Island to acquire Riches of any in the *European Seas*; for as by its Situation it lies the most Commodious for the *West-Indies*, *Spain* and the *Northern* or *East-*

Countries;

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Countries; so it is not only supply'd by Nature with all the Necessaries of Life, but can over and above export large Quantities of its Growth and Manufacture to foreign Markets; insomuch that had it been Mistress of a Free-Trade, no Nation in *Europe* of its Extent could in an equal number of Years acquire a greater Wealth.

The Commodities which it produces, are *Wool*, *Linen* and *Hemp*; *Beef*, *Butter*, *Tallow* and *Hides*; *Kelp*, *Soap*, *Albes*, *Lead*, *Iron* and *Copper*; *Fish* and *Corn*, *Salt*, *Coals*, *Marble* and *Timber*, of each of which large Quantities might annually be exported, if proper Care were taken to improve the National Industry, and to put the Business of which we are yet possess'd under proper Regulations: But before we enter into those Particulars, it will be proper to take a short view of the present State of the Trade of these Nations in general, with respect to the several Improvements thereof, either by *Charters* or *Acts of Parliament*, and to consider what particular Laws have been made in *England* to incumber that which was left us, in which I shall be somewhat particular, to shew of what Importance our Neighbours have always thought the Regulation of their Trade, how often they have revised and amended their Commercial Laws, and how great a Part of the National Business was swallowed up by a few Favourite Companies, exclusive of the People in general, until the Wisdom of their *Parliaments*, roused up by the Inconveniences arising from such contracted Ways of acting, broke their Bonds in sunder, and laid the Province of Trade in a Manner Free and Open to all.

The Trade to *Russia* was carried on through the Ports of the *Baltick* untill the Reign of *Philip*

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and *Mary*, when the Port of *Archangel* was discovered, by some Adventurers of *London*, in attempting the *North* Passage to *China*; this was thought a Matter of that great Consequence to *England*, that the Adventurers were rewarded with a Patent granting to them certain Liberties and Immunities exclusive of all others their Majesties Subjects; which Patent was by *Act of Parliament* in the 8th of Queen *Elizabeth* confirmed to them and their Successors, under the Name of the *Fellowship of English Merchants for Discovery of New Trades*; but Experience shewing that so limited a Company was unequal to that Trade, it was by the 10th and 11th of *William III.* Cap. vi. order'd that every Subject of the Realm of *England* desiring Admission to the said Company should upon Payment of 5 *l.* to the Company be admitted thereto, and enjoy all the Privileges and Immunities which the said *Company* or *Fellowship* were any ways intitled to.

The Trade to the Coast of *Africk* was attempted by some *English* Adventurers towards the latter End of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, and carried on without any particular Privileges, till the 16th of King *James I.* when His Majesty incorporated them by a *Charter* with several Powers and Immunities, exclusive of all others His Majesty's Subjects; but this was not thought sufficient to debar others from trading to those Parts; and several particular Merchants tempted by the great Gain which they saw the Company make, and insisting upon their natural Right, adventured to those Parts notwithstanding the Company's *Charter*; but these *Interlopers* sharing in the Benefit of all the Expence which the Company was at in Forts and Castles for the Protection of their Trade,

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Trade, and contributing nothing to the common Charge, were able to undersel the Company, and forced them at last to give up the Cause, and withdraw their several Stocks; the *Dutch* in the mean time became very intent upon that Trade, and finding the *English* Affairs in those Parts unconcerted and without Power, grew very troublesome to our Merchants, and at last engrossed most Part of that rich Trade to themselves; whereupon Application being made to King *Charles I.* he in the 7th Year of his Reign granted a new *Charter* with exclusive Privileges like the former; which was afterwards confirmed by *Cromwell*; but the *Interlopers* had then a fairer Pretence than ever to insist on the natural Right; and so the Company and the *Interlopers* fell together by the Ears, and gave the *Dutch* and *Danes* a new Opportunity to enlarge their Settlements, and to build several Forts and Factories on those Coasts; till at last not only the Company but the *Interlopers* themselves were almost entirely beat out of that Trade.

Soon after the Restoration, there was a new *Charter* granted by King *Charles II.* but the *Dutch* War breaking out in 1664. *De Ruiter* their Admiral took that Opportunity to destroy all the *English* Settlements on that Coast; but when the Peace with *Holland* was concluded, His Majesty invited all his Subjects to a new Subscription and joint Stock, and granted to the Subscribers thereof, under the Name of *The Royal African Company*, another *Charter* with the same exclusive Privileges; but the *Interlopers* still carried on a separate Trade very much to the Disadvantage of the Company; wherefore in the Year 1697 they applied to the *Parliament* for Redress, who found out a Medium to reconcile their different Interests, and by the 9th and 10th of *William III.* Chap. 26. Enacted that
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the Trade to *Africk* from *England* and from the *Plantations* in *America* should be laid open to all the Subjects of the Realm of *England* as well as to the Company, they paying to the Company, a Duty of 10*l.* per Cent. for all Commodities imported or exported, except *Redwood*, for which only 5*l.* per Cent. is to be paid, and *Gold*, *Silver* and *Negroes* which are free; and it is by this Act provided, that all the natural born Subjects of *England* paying the Duties aforesaid to the Company, shall be intitled to the same Protection, Defence, and Security, from all the Company's Forts and Castles, and the same Freedom for their Negotiations and Trade that the Company has or is any ways intitled to, and shall and may at their own Expence settle Factories on any Part of the Coast of *Africk* within the Limits of the Company, viz. from *Cape-Mount* to the *Cape of Good-Hope*, and from *Cape-Blanco* to *Cape-Mount*, without any Hindrance from the Company; the Duties which are to be paid to the Company are to be according to the first Cost; and Bonds are to be given for the Delivery of all Goods to be exported from *England* or the Plantations in the particular Places for which they are design'd on that Coast; and again like Bond on their Return for *England* or the Plantations. The Continuance of this Act was but for thirteen Years, and to the End of the next Session of *Parliament*; but notwithstanding the strenuous Opposition of the Company it was renew'd by Queen *Anne*.

We begun our Trade to *Turkey* in 1598, but that was also quickly engross'd by the *Levant Company*, who obtain'd a Charter from Queen *Elizabeth* for that Purpose; the Constitution of this Corporation is somewhat paticular, and I may say without Precedent among all the Monopolies of the *English*

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English Trade; for limited as it is, there is however no one forbid to Trade thither who subjects himself to the Duties impos'd on separate Traders by the Company, in whose Hands is the entire Power of fixing the Duties on all the Commodities imported from thence; but even this Hardship is in Effect nothing; for any of his Majesty's Subjects are intitled on the Payment of 50*l.* to have Admission into the Company, and to enjoy all the Liberties and Immunities thereof.

By the Produce of the Duties imposed by the Company they are obliged constantly to maintain a Royal Ambassador at the *Ottoman* Court, and to defray the Expence of their several Consuls and Settlements in those Parts. I don't find that we are any ways restrain'd from trading thither, tho' I believe without Admission into the Company we should find our selves but ill intitled to their Protection in those Parts.

The Fisheries of *Greenland* and *Newfoundland* were by the 25th of *Charles II.* Chap. vii. limited to the Inhabitants of *England*, *Wales*, or *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, navigating as directed by the Act of Navigation, Victualling in *England*, *Wales*, or *Berwick*, and proceeding from thence to the Voyage, on which Terms they were to import any Oyl, Blubber or *Whales* Finns, &c. taken by them free from any Custom or Impost whatsoever; but all these Privileges were by the 4th and 5th of *William* and *Mary*, Chap. xvii. vested in an exclusive Company, under the Name of the Company trading to *Greenland*, with an additional Clause, that an *English* Master, and one third of *English* Mariners should entitle them to the Benefit of the 25th of *Charles II.* provided they in all other Respects conformed to the Navigation Act, victualled in *England*, *Wales* or *Berwick*, and proceed-

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proceeded from thence directly to the Fishery; but the Company having in a great Measure lost that Business to Foreigners either by their own Neglect or Incapacity, it was provided by the 1st of Queen *Anne*, Chap. xvi. that notwithstanding any Clause in the 4th and 5th of *William* and *Mary*, it shall and may be lawful for any of their Majesties Subjects whatsoever, to go to those Seas, and to have and enjoy all the Privileges that were granted to the Company by the said Act; and that they shall not pay any further or other Duty than if they had been of the Company; this Act relates only to the Fishery of *Greenland*, but as to that of *Newfoundland*, it was by the 10th and 11th of *William* III. Chap. xxv. laid open to all his Majesty's Subjects residing in *England*, or in any of the Dominions thereunto belonging, in as full a manner as the same has been at any time heretofore enjoyed by any of the Subjects of his Majesty's Predecessors. By this Act the respective Duties to be paid for Goods fished in *English* Shipping, for Goods fished in Plantation Ships, and for those caught in foreign Shipping are fixed; and the entire Government and Management of that Fishery and Trade is extremely well provided for.

The Trade to *Sweden* and *Denmark* was vested in the *Eastland* Company, exclusive of all others, till by the 25th of *Charles* II. Chap. vii. it was laid open to all Persons as well Natives as Foreigners, notwithstanding any thing to the contrary contained in the Charter of that Company, and every Subject of the Realm of *England* was by this Act entitled to an Admission to that Company on the Payment of 40s.

The Charter by which the *East-India* Company engross to themselves all the rich Trade of the *East*, was granted to the Subscribers of two Millions,

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lions, advanced upon a Fund for Payment of Annuities at the Rate of 8 per Cent. pursuant to a Power given to King *William* by the 9th and 10th of his Reign, Chap. xlv. since which Time, many other Acts have been made for the better Regulation of that Trade, and for the further Security of the Company against *Interlopers*, whereby it is made unlawful for any one of his Majesty's Subjects to trade or go to the *East-Indies* unless they be of the Company, or are employ'd by them or to contribute to, or promote any foreign Company trading to the East from the *Austrian* *Netherlands*, or to import into any Place belonging to the *English* Crown any of the Growth or Manufactures of the *East*, unless they be shipped in some Part of *Great-Britain*, except Cinnamon, Cloves, Mace and Nutmegs, which by the 8th of *Anne* and 6th of *George*, may be imported from other Places by Licence; but I don't find that *Ireland*, except as by the Navigation Act, is expressly restrain'd from importing from other Countries any *East-India* Goods, but wrought Silks, Mullins and Calicoes, which by the 5th of *George*, Chap. xi. they must import from *Great-Britain* only on Pain of Forfeiture of Ship and Goods.

The *South Sea* Company were incorporated by the 9th of *Anne*, Chap. xxi. with Power to trade from the River *Oroomoco* on the Eastern Side of *America* to the Southern Parts of *Terra dell Fuego*, and thence Westward as far as *Brazil* and *Surinam*, exclusive of all other her Majesty's Subjects; but these Privileges were to expire on the Repayment of the Money advanced by them after a certain Time therein mention'd; wherefore for the farther Encouragement of the new Company it was thought proper by the 10th of *Anne*, Chap. xxx. to con-

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tinue these Privileges to them and their Successors for ever, notwithstanding the Repayment of their Debt: In their Hands is the sole Trade to the *Spanish West-Indies*, which was granted to *England* in 1713 by the *Assiento*, as a Preliminary to the general Peace concluded soon after at *Utrecht*: The *Assentists* are by their Agreement empower'd to import *Negroes* into his Catholick Majesty's Dominions for the Space of 30 Years, paying for every Head of 4800 *Negroes*, annually a Duty of 33 Pieces of Eight and one third of a Piece of Eight in full of all Impositions whatsoever; and for any further Number which they shall import a Duty only of 16 Pieces of Eight, and two thirds of a Piece of a Piece of Eight a Head; but his Catholick Majesty reserves to himself one fourth Part of the general Gain of that Trade upon paying or securing to be paid to the *Assentists* 1,000,000 of Pieces of Eight with the Interest thereof at 8 per Cent. towards carrying on his Majesty's said 4th Part of the Business, that being one Quarter of the Sum which was thought necessary for the Undertaking, and for the first Establishment of the Company, and the *Assentists* are to adjust their Accounts with his Majesty every fifth Year; but his Catholick Majesty by the 24th Article of the *Assiento*, as a further Demonstration of his Esteem for the Queen of *Great Britain*, has licensed one Ship of 500 Tuns Burden to trade yearly into his Dominions with such Commodities of the Growth or Manufacture of *Europe* as they can best dispose of there; his Majesty still reserving to himself one fourth Part of the clear Gain thereof as in the *Assiento*, and 5 per Cent. Duty on the other three Parts.

These are most if not all the Monopolies of the *English* Trade, and I have been the more particular

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lar in deducing them from their first Originals, that the Reader may judge for himself how far he is affected by them. Let us in the next Place consider what Laws have been made in *England* to incumber our Trade in particular, and when that is done, we shall be able to judge what Branches of our Trade are deserving of Protection and Encouragement, and what are not. And as Navigation is the Means by which Trade and Commerce are chiefly perform'd, it will be proper to begin with ours, and shew upon what Footing it stands at present.

As soon as the People of *England* had restored King *Charles II.* and settled their Affairs on the antient Foot, they quickly began to consider of what Importance it was to them to take care of their Navigation and Commerce; and finding that for want of proper Regulations the industrious *Hollanders* furnished all their Markets with foreign Commodities cheaper than they could themselves import them, and by that Means left no Encouragement to build or fit out Ships in *England*: It was thought proper to lay such a Weight on all Goods imported in foreign Shipping as might encourage their Merchants to build for themselves, or at least to freight home built Shipping in order to save the extraordinary Duties which they must have paid on foreign Bottoms; and in as much as it was customary with the *Dutch* to have in their Towns constant Magazines of all Kinds of foreign Commodities, which the *English* Merchants to make a quick Return of their Money, and to save the Expence and Hazzard of a tedious Voyage used to buy there: It was thought proper to lay such a Duty on all Commodities that were not bought and taken on board in *English* Vessels, at the Place of their Growth and Production,

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duction, as might oblige the People of *England* to go to the Countries from which the *Dutch* first brought them; and by that Means to save the Nation so much of the Cost of their foreign Consumption as the *Dutch* before exacted on the Article of their Navigation. And accordingly by the 12th of *Charles II. Chap. xviii.* commonly called the Navigation Act, the whole Matter of the Navigation of these Dominions was regulated and modelled; and as we of *Ireland* have the good Fortune to be included therein under the same Advantages and Restrictions with the Inhabitants of *England*, it may not be improper to give the Reader a particular Abstract thereof.

By this Act (therefore) it is provided that no Goods whatsoever shall be imported or exported to or from any of his Majesty's Lands, Islands, Plantations, or Territories in *Asia, Africk* or *America*, but in Ships truly and *bona fide* belonging to the Subjects of *England, Ireland, Wales* or *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, or in such as are of the Built of and belonging to his Majesty's said Lands, Islands, Plantations, or Territories, in *Asia, Africk*, or *America*, navigated by three fourths of the Mariners, and the Master *English* on Pain of the Forfeiture of Ship and Cargo, one Third thereof to the Governor of the Place or Plantation where taken, one Third to the Discoverer, and one Third to the King.

And that no Foreigner, unless naturaliz'd, shall on pain of forfeiting Goods and Chattles be Merchant or Factor, in any of the said Places.

And that all Officers upon entring on their Office shall take an Oath to execute strictly this Law, and upon neglecting to execute the same shall be remov'd from their Employment.

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And that no Goods of the Growth, Production or Manufacture of *Asia, Africk* or *America* shall be imported into *England, Ireland, Wales, Berwick, Jersey*, or *Guernsey*; but in *English* built Ships navigated as above, on pain of forfeiting Ship and Cargo.

And that no Goods or Commodities which are confined to be imported in *English* built Shipping shall be imported from any other Place but from the Place of their Growth and Production, or from such Places as the same are usually first ship'd from on pain of Confiscation of Ship and Cargo.

And that all Fish, Fish-Oyl, Blubber, Whale-Finns, or Whale-Bones imported into *England, Ireland, Wales* or *Berwick*, and which have not been fished for and cured by the People thereof in Ships truly belonging to them, shall pay double Aliens Duty; (but this as to Oyl and Finns is alter'd by 25 *Charles II. Chap. vii.* and thereby all People of any Nation whatsoever residing in *England*, may import them Duty free in *English* built Shipping navigated as above, provided the same has been fished for in such Ships.)

And it is further provided, that no Ships but *English*, built and navigated as above, shall trade from Port to Port of *England, Ireland, Jersey* or *Guernsey*, and that no Stranger or Person not naturalized shall be Owner, or Part-Owner in such Ships on Pain of Forfeiture of Ship and Cargo (but by the 1st of *James II. Chap. xviii.* foreign Ships brought into *England* may be employ'd in this Port of Trade, paying 5s. per Tun Duty at the Port of Delivery over and above all former Duties.)

And it is declared and enacted, that where-ever any Ease, Abatement, or Privilege is given in the Book of Rates to Goods imported or exported

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in *English* built Shipping, the same shall be understood to mean Ships built in *England, Ireland, Wales, Jersey or Guernsey*, or in his Majesty's said Lands, Islands, Territories or Dominions in *Asia, Africa, or America*, navigated during the whole Voyage, by an *English* Master, and at least three fourths of the Mariners *English*, which by the 14th of *Charles II. Chap. xi.* is declared to mean Subjects of *England, Ireland, or the Plantations.*

And it is further enacted, that no Commodities of the Growth or Manufacture of *Russia or Muscovy*, no sort of Matts, Timber or Boards; no foreign Salt, Rosin, Pitch or Tar, Hemp or Flax; no Raisins, Firrs, Prunes, or Olive-Oyl; no sort of Corn or Grain, Sugar, Pot-Ashes, Wines, Vinegar, Aquavitæ or Brandy; no Currants, or Commodities of the Growth or Manufacture of the *Ottoman Empire*, or of the Dependencies thereon shall be imported into *England, Ireland, Wales or Berwick*, but in *English* built shipping navigated as above, or in Ships belonging to the Countries which produce them respectively, or the Ports where the same are usually first ship'd from, and whereof the Master and three fourths of the Mariners are of such Country or Place respectively on Pain of Forfeiture of Ship and Cargo.

Provided always, that all the above Goods, and likewise all Wines of the Growth of *France or Germany, Spain or Portugal, Madera, the Canaries, or Western Islands*, which shall be imported in Ships belonging to the respective Places of their Growth and Production, or to the Places or Ports respectively from whence the same are usually first ship'd, and not in *English* built shipping navigated as aforesaid, shall pay double Aliens Duty; but by the 14th of *Charles II. Chap. xi.* no sort of Wine, other than Rhenish, no sort of Spices, Grocery, Tobacco,

Tobacco, Pot-Ashes, Pitch, Tar, Salt, Rosin, Deal, Firr, Timber or Olive-Oyl, shall be imported into *England* from the *Netherlands or Germany*, on Pain of Confiscation of Ship and Cargo.

And that no foreign built Ship shall be deemed or pass as a Ship belonging to *England, Ireland, Wales, or Berwick*, unless the Owners or Part-Owners thereof, have first made Oath that they are Subjects of *England, Ireland, Wales or Berwick*, that no Alien has any Share or Interest therein, and that they have really and *bona fide* purchased the same for valuable Consideration; and Registers of such Oaths shall be kept at the respective Ports of *England and Ireland*, whereof Duplicates shall be returned to the chief Officers of the Customs in *London and Dublin* respectively.

And all Officers neglecting to demand Certificates, or allowing any Ship for *English* built which is not really such, or allowing the Privilege of this Act to any Ship until Proof first made, that the Master and three fourths of the Mariners are of the Place or Country from which the Goods are carried, or otherwise neglecting to execute that Statute, shall for their first Offence lose their Office, Place or Government.

Provided always, that nothing therein shall restrain or hinder the Importation of the Commodities of the *Streights or Levant Seas* from the usual Places of loading them in those Seas in *English* built Shipping navigated as aforesaid.

And provided, that nothing therein shall restrain the Importation of *East-India* Goods from the usual Places of loading them to the *South-ward and East-ward* of the *Cape of Good-Hope* in the aforesaid Ships navigated as aforesaid, tho the same be not the Places of their Growth or Production.

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And provided also, that it may be lawful for the People of *England, Ireland, Wales, Jersey,* and *Guernsey,* to import from the Ports of *Spain* or *Portugal,* the *Azores,* the *Madera* or *Canary-Islands* in *English* built Ships navigated as aforesaid, all Commodities of the Growth, Production or Manufacture of the Plantations or Dominions of either of them respectively.

And provided, that the said Act shall not extend to Bullion nor to Goods taken by way of Reprisals by any Ship of *England, Ireland, Wales, Jersey,* or *Guernsey,* navigated as above.

And provided, that the said Act shall not extend to lay Aliens Duty upon *Scotch* Corn, Salt and Fish imported in *Scotch* Ships, whereof three Fourths of the Mariners and the Master are His Majesty's Subjects, nor upon Seal-Oyl of *Russia* imported in *English* built Shipping.

And that all *French* Ships trading to *England, Ireland,* or *Wales,* shall pay to the Collector of the Port wherein she loads or unloads any Goods, or takes or delivers any Passengers 5 s. per Tun, which she shall be computed to be of Burthen, which Duty was to continue till three Months after that of 50 Solls imposed on *English* Shipping by the King of *France* should be taken off.

And that no Sugars, Cotton, Wool, Indigoes, Ginger, Fustick, or other Dying Wood, of the Production, Growth or Manufacture of any *English* Plantation in *Asia, Africk* or *America,* shall be ship'd or convey'd from any of the said *English* Plantations, but to some other of the said Plantations, or to *England, Ireland, Wales* or *Berwick,* on pain of Forfeiture of Ship and Cargo.

And all Ships design'd for the Plantations from *England, Ireland, Wales,* or *Berwick,* shall give Bonds of 1000 l. with one Surety, if the Ship be

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be under 100 Tuns, and of 2000 l. if over; that in case they take on Board any Plantation Commodities, they shall import them into *England, Ireland, Wales,* or *Berwick,* the danger of the Seas excepted; and all Governors of Plantations shall there take Bonds of like Penalty from all other Ships permitted to trade thither, that all Goods taken on Board by them in the Plantations shall be by them delivered in *England, Ireland, Wales* or *Berwick,* and all Ships Sailing from the Plantations with such Goods on Board, without first passing such Bond shall be forfeited with Cargo, Rigging and Apparel; and all Governors are obliged twice every Year to return Copies of all such Bonds to the chief Officer of the Customs in *London.*

It may not be improper to observe, that this Law in it self was so far from being a Hardship upon us, that it not only secured the Navigation of our own Country, inwards and outwards to our selves; but gave us also the same Immunities and Freedoms with the People of *England* in respect to their Imports and Exports; and enabled us to trade from *England* to all the Dependencies on the *English* Crown, on equal Terms with *England,* to partake of the Premiums granted on their Importations and Exportations, and to carry on a Trade with them on better Terms, and for less Duties than any other Nation in the World; and the only Hardship we suffer by it is from the Exactions of the *East-India* Company on those Commodities of the *East;* which we by subsequent Laws are forbid to go for ourselves to the Place of their Growth or Production, or to import from any other Place but *England.*

By the above Act, we could trade freely to and from the Plantations directly, but by 15th

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Charles II. Chap. vii. no Commodities of the Growth of *Europe* were to be imported to the Plantations, but such as were laden and put on board in *England, Wales, or Berwick* on pain of Confiscation, except Salt for the Fisheries of *New-England, and Newfoundland*, Wine from the *Maderas, and Azores*, and Horses, Servants and Viſtuals from *Scotland and Ireland*, to which was added by the 3d and 4th of *Anne, Chap. viii.* and by the 3d of *George I. Chap. xxi.* Linen from *Ireland*; but *Ireland* not being named in the new Law, we did not think ourselves bound by it, and carried on our Trade as before; wherefore by the 22d and 23d of *Charles II. chap. xxvi.* it is ordered, that the Word *Ireland*, shall for the future be left out of all Bonds taken for the Delivery of the aforesaid Plantation Commodities; by which means tho' we were not expressly forbid to import them, yet the Bonds being to be given for Delivery in *England, Wales or Berwick*, we could not without incurring the Penalty of our Bonds, deliver them any where else; and by that means we fell under the Limitations of the Navigation Act, the Plantation Act, &c. This Act was but temporary, till by a Clause in the 5th of *George I. chap. xi.* it was continued so long as the Act of Tonnage and Poundage should endure; the 25th of *Charles II. chap. vii.* gave us another Loop Hole to creep out at; for by that Act, all Ships refusing to give Bond, were only to pay certain Duties therein enumerated; but by the Plantation Act of the 7th and 8th of *William III. chap. xxii.* it is declared that the 25th of *Charles II.* related only to Goods carried from one Plantation to another, and that notwithstanding the Duties ordered to be paid by that Act, all Ships whatsoever shall give such Bonds

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as are requir'd by the 12th, 22d, and 23d of *Charles II.* and afterwards in the 15th Section of the same Act, to put matters intirely out of Dispute, it is order'd, that no Commodities of the Growth or Manufacture of the Plantations, shall on any Pretence whatsoever, be landed in *Ireland, or Scotland*, unless the same has first been landed in *England*, and has paid the Rates and Duties, wherewith they are there chargeable by Law, if they be not really forced on Shore, and stranded by stress of Weather; in which Case they may be taken on Shore for Safety, but not put to Sale until first shipp'd off for *England*, landed there, and brought back again to *Ireland*; but all the Duties either paid or secured to be paid on landing of Plantation Commodities in *England*, are entirely drawn back, or Security vacated, on Re-exportation of the same; except that on Sugars, which leaves behind one half of the old Subsidy, or 6d. of the Pound Rate.

These are the principal Restrictions laid upon us in respect to the Plantation Trade; so that we are still upon a better Footing in respect to that Business, than any other Nation in *Europe*, if not upon quite so good a one as *England*; I proceed in the next Place to consider the Laws which were made in *England*, in relation to our woollen Trade.

By the 3d of *Edward IV. chap. iv.* the Importation of Cloth and all other Manufactures, was prohibited in general Words; but the same was afterwards declar'd not to extend to the Wares or Commodities of *Ireland*; so that notwithstanding the Prohibition, we might still import our Woollen Manufactures; and upon this Footing we stood till the Restoration; when by the 12th of *Charles II. chap. iv.* which granted the Subsidy of Tonnage and Poundage, all manner

of Woollen Cloths imported were rated at 8*l.* a Yard, and so in proportion for most other Woollen Manufactures, without any particular Reservation as in that of the 4th of *Edward III.* for those of *Ireland*; but if this Book of Rates affected the Manufactures of *Ireland*, we had however this Comfort, that we could export out Wooll raw or manufactured to any other Part of the World, where we found a Market for them; till by the 12th of *Charles II.* chap. xxxii. it was enacted, that no Wooll, Woollfels, Shortlings, Mortlings, Yarn made of Wooll, Wooll-Flocks, Fullers-Earth, or Fulling-Clay, should be exported from *England, Ireland, Wales, or Berwick upon Tweed*, into *Scotland*, or any other Place out of His Majesty's Dominions, on Pain of Forfeiture of Ship and Cargo, and Confiscation of the Goods and Chattels of the Master; by the 14th of *Charles II.* chap. xviii. Offences against the 12th of *Charles II.* was made Felony, in the Owners, Aiders, and Abettors; and had they rested here, we should have had no Reason to complain, since the Prohibition to export raw Wooll, &c. would have laid us in a short time under a Necessity to betake ourselves to the Woollen Manufacture, without which we could not dispose of one Lock of our Wooll, to any Country but *England*.

In this Situation our Woollen Trade remain'd till the Revolution, when by the first of *William and Mary*, chap. xxxii. the better to secure the Wooll of *Ireland* to *England*, it was enacted, that no Wooll, &c. should be shipp'd off from any Ports of *Ireland*, but from *Dublin, Waterford, Troughall, Kingsale, Cork* and *Drogheda*; and from thence only to certain Ports therein mention'd in *England*.

So much of the 14th of *Charles II.* as made the Exportation of Wooll Felony, was repeal'd by the 7th and 8th of *William III.* chap. xxviii. and some little Alterations was made in the Ports of Import and Export; but soon after finding, that the Restraint laid upon the Exportation of our Wooll, had made us apply with double Assiduity, to the Manufacture thereof; and that we already exported of such Commodities to foreign Markets, it was thought fit to throw a Damp upon that Branch of our Industry; and accordingly by the ninth and tenth of *William III.* chap. xl. the Exportation of Fullers-Earth, and scouring Clay for *Ireland* was forbid, under severe Penalties, in order to incommode our Manufactures, by withholding from them those useful Ingredients. By the 10th and 11th of *William III.* chap. x. no Wooll, Woollfels, Shortlings, Mortlings, Wooll-Flocks, Worsted, Bay or Woollen Yarn, Cloth-Serges, Bays, Kerseys, Frizes, Druggers, Shalloons, Stuffs, Cloth-Serges, or any other Drapery, Stuff, or Woollen Manufacture whatsoever, is to be exported from *Ireland*, to any Part of the World but *England*; and that only from the Ports of *Dublin, Waterford, Troughall, Kingsale, Cork* and *Drogheda*, to which *Ross* was afterwards added in *Ireland*, to the Ports of *Biddford, Barnstable, Minehead, Bridgewater, Bristol, Milford-Haven, Chester* and *Liverpool* in *England*; first giving Bond with two sufficient Securities, for the Delivery thereof in some of the Ports aforesaid, under Pain of Forfeiture of Ship and Cargo, with 500*l.* for every Offence, and 4*l.* a Piece for every Master and Sailor of such Ships as shall export the same, and for every Person in any ways aiding or assisting therein, one half of the Forfeiture, &c. to the Informer, and the other half to the Officers

ficers of the *Irish* Exchequer, to be laid out for the Encouragement of our Linen Manufacture; and all Offences against this Act were tryable in any Court of Record in *Ireland* or *England* at the Election of the Prosecutor, provided always that Acquittals in *Ireland* should be no Bar to a Prosecution in *England*, with many other Provisoes and Regulations, too tedious to be here inserted.

But it may be proper to observe, that by the 14th Section of the above Statute, it is enacted, that it shall and may be lawful to import into licenc'd Ports in *England* from licenc'd Ports in *Ireland*, all manner of Wooll and Woollen Manufactures, so as Notice be first given to the Commissioners or chief Managers of His Majesty's Customs in *England*, or to the chief Customer or Collector in the Port to which the same is intended to be brought, of the Quantity, Quality and Package, together with the Numbers thereof, with the Name of the Master and Ship on which they are to be laden, and the Port for which intended; and so as Bond with one or more sufficient Surety of treble the Value be first given, that the same (the Dangers of the Seas excepted) shall be landed accordingly, and so as Licence be also first had under the Hands of the Commissioners for the Time being, or three of them, or from the chief Customer where such Bond is to be given for the landing and importing the same; which Licence they are authorized and requir'd to grant, without any Fee or Reward, or any other Charge to the Person demanding the same, any Law, Statute or Usage to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

Now if it be true, that there can be nothing nugatory in an Act of Parliament, and that every Clause thereof must either grant or restrain something,

thing, which was before forbid, or allow'd; this Proviso must needs enable us to import our Woollen Manufactures as well as our Wooll, Duty free into *England*: For before the passing this Law (if *Irish* Woollen Manufactures fell within the Meaning of the 12th of *Charles II. chap. iv.* which was the worst of our Case) we might import into *England* all our Woollen Manufactures, subject to the Duties charg'd thereby on Woollen Manufactures in general; and if this enabling Clause gives leave only to import them subject to the former Duties, it leaves us where we were; that is to say, if liberty to import them subject to a Duty equal to the Value of the Commodity itself; which would therefore be intirely nugatory and trifling; but I submit to better Judges and to Persons learned in the Law, of what Force or Efficacy this enabling Clause may be in respect to our Woollen Manufactures; 'tis true however, that I can't but think it the Interest of *England* to allow us such a Freedom, because on the one Hand, if the People of *Ireland* are guilty of any unlawful Exportation of Wooll, or Woollen Manufactures, it proceeds intirely from the Prohibition of exporting them to *England*: And because on the other hand, if such a Liberty were allow'd, the Multitude of Hands and the large Quantities of Wooll which are at present employed in furnishing coarse Cloths for their home Consumption, would then in a great Measure be spared from that Business, to furnish matter for larger Exports of those fine and valuable Cloths, &c. which they send to *Turkey*, and to the several Ports of the *Mediterranean* and *Levant-Seas*; but it is however proper to observe, that there has not been since the passing of this Act any Exportation of Woollen Manufactures from *Ireland*, except of such as were

were eas'd of Duties by other Acts; such as comb'd Wooll, which comes free under the Denomination of Wooll, Bay and Woollen-Yarn, made free by the 1st of *Anne* 2d *Sessions*, chap. viii. Frize and Stockings which are subject to lighter Duties by the old Book of Rates, &c.

By the 1st of *Anne*, chap. xii. of the 2d *Sessions*, we were enabled to export the necessary Clothing and Accoutrements of certain Regiments of our Establishment to the *Leeward-Islands*, wherein they were canton'd; but by the 3d and 4th of the same Reign chap. viii. no Woollen Manufactures whatsoever were to be imported into the Plantations, but what have been taken on board in *England*, on pain of Forfeiture, &c.

By the 3d of *George*, chap. viii. so much of the 10th and 11th of *William* III. as vested one half of the Forfeitures for unlawful Exportation of Wooll in the Exchequer of *Ireland* is repeal'd; and the Remainder of that half after defraying the Expence of the Prosecution is given to the Crown; and for the more Impartial trying of all such Actions, as shall for the future be brought by virtue of any Act now in being, for preventing the unlawful Exportation of Wooll and Woollen Manufactures, it is provided that all such Actions shall be tried in the *Four-Courts* at *Dublin*, by a Jury of lawful *Freeholders*, to be summoned out of any County, but that wherein the Fact was committed; and the 5th of *George*, chap. xi. extends the Penalty of the 10th and 11th of *William* III. even to the loading or carrying of Wooll or Woollen Manufactures with Intent to export them contrary to Law.

Thus therefore stands our Woollen Trade, we can export neither Wooll nor Woollen Manufactures to any part of the World but *England*, and even

even to *England* we can export none of our Manufactures of that Commodity; because the Duties laid upon them amounts to a Prohibition, notwithstanding the enabling Clause of the 10th and 11th of *William* III. so that we are under a severe Necessity to send all our Wooll out raw and unmanufactured, and to take such Prices as the Monopolizers thereof are willing to give us for it; but it won't perhaps be amiss to observe, that the Duties on Woollen Manufactures imported into *England*, and the Draw-backs upon the Re-exportation thereof are as follows, viz.

Duties on Importation.	Draw backs on Re-exportation.
l. s. d. 20	l. s. d. 20
For all manner of Wool- len Cloths the Yard	1, 4, 2, 15 1, 0, 2, 5
Flannel the Yard	0, 0, 4, 15 0, 0, 4, 5
Frize of <i>Ireland</i> the Yard	0, 0, 4, 11 0, 0, 4, 7
Cloth Rashes the Piece	2, 11, 3, 12 2, 2, 9, 0
Double Says or Serges the Yard	0, 1, 8, 10 0, 1, 5, 2
Mild Says the Piece	0, 17, 1, 4 0, 14, 3, 0
Stuffs of all Sorts made of or mix'd with Wooll the Yard	0, 3, 6, 15 0, 2, 11, 12
<i>Irish</i> Ruggs the Piece	0, 1, 10, 16 0, 1, 7, 0
Blankets or Mantles co- lour'd the Piece	0, 3, 9, 12 0, 3, 2, 0
Ditto uncolour'd	0, 2, 10, 4 0, 2, 4, 10

I have insert'd this Table that the Reader may judge, if by the Benefit of these Draw-backs we might be able to send any of our Woollen Ma-
M nufactures

nufactures to the Plantations, or to the *Levant-Seas*, in Case they be liable to the Duty.

The Importation of *Black-Cattle* and *Sheep* into *England* was by the 15th of *Charles II. chap. vii.* loaded with a Duty equal to a Prohibition; but by the 18th of the same Reign, *chap. II.* the Importation of great Cattle, Sheep and Swine, Beef, Pork, and Bacon was declared a common Nufance, and forbid on pain of Forfeiture, one half to the Poor of the Parish, the other to the Seizer; but this being a temporary Law, was revived by the 32d of *Charles II. chap. ii.* which extended the same Penalties and Forfeitures to Mutton, Lamb, Butter and Cheese, and continued it for ever; so much of this Act however as related to Bacon was repealed by the 5th and 6th of *William and Mary, chap. ii.* so that our Beef Trade is free and open to all Places of the World but *England.*

Linen and Hemp, and all the Production thereof, certified by the Commissioners of the Customs of *Ireland* to be of the Growth and Manufactures of that Kingdom, may by the 7th and 8th of King *William, chap. xxxix.* be imported into *England* free from any manner of Custom or Duty whatsoever; the same Liberty to the Plantations was allowed us by the 3d and 4th of *Anne, chap. viii.* but this being a temporary Law, the 3d of *George I. chap. xxi.* has continued it so long as *British* Linen may be imported into *Ireland* without paying Duty; and adds, that *Irish* Linen imported into *England*, may afterwards be imported to the Plantations, free from Duty.

These are all or most of the Restrictions laid upon our Trade by *English* Laws; so that there remains free for us to work upon, Linen and Hemp, and all the Productions thereof; Beef, Butter, Tallow, raw and tann'd Hides, Kelp, Soap,

Soap, Ashes, Lead, Iron and Copper, Fish of all Sorts, Fish-Oyl, Salt, Corn, Coals, Marble and Timber, together with all the various Sorts of Manufactures, which arise from the Commodities of other Countries imported in the Way of Trade; such as Cotton and Silk, dying Stuffs, Pitch and Tar, Gold and Silver, Timber and Naval Stores; to which may be added the carrying Trade, and that of buying in one Country to sell to Advantage in another, a Business of as great Profit to the particular Trader, and indeed to the Nation in general as any other, and such as our depending Circumstances seem more particularly to adapt us for, having the Advantage of all other Countries in our Navigation to *England* and its Dependencies, being the only People in the World, who in cheapness of Building, Victualing, and Sailing, can rival the *Dutch*; and the Business itself, being such as would in no ways clash with that of *England*, but rather promote and advance it; of all which Matters I design to treat more at large in the following Tracts; but first it will be proper to take a short View of the Wants and Superfluities of foreign Countries, that we may see how large a Field we have to expatiate in, tho' all our own Growth should be deny'd a free Exportation.

England exports all Sorts of Woollen Manufactures, sortable Goods and small Wares; Copper, Lead, Iron, Beef Butter, Fish, Tallow, Cheese and tann'd Hides; Cyder, and distill'd Liquors; Bark, Corn, and Coals; manufactured Silks, rich and Plain (to *Ireland* and the Plantations only) *East* and *West-India* Goods, Gold and Silver; and requires all Sorts of unmanufactur'd and raw Silks, all Plantation Commodities, Wool raw, comb'd and spun; Flax, Hemp, Linen, and Linen-Yarn; M 2 Fruits,

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Fruits, Wines and Brandies; *East-India* Goods, *Russia-Leather*, and Furrs; Pitch and Tar, Cordage and Timber; Kelp, Castle-Soap, *Spanish*-Wooll, Bullion and Gems; Train-Oil, Blubber, *Whale*-Finns and Ivory; the trading Towns and Harbours of *England* are sufficiently known to us, wherefore I shall pass them over.

The *English* Plantations in *America*, which contribute not a little to the Trade and Riches of *England*, are *New-England*, *Virginia*, *Mary-Land*, *New-York*, *Pensilvania*, *Carolina*, &c. on the Continent, and the Islands of *Barbadoes*, *Antegoa*, *Nevis*, and *St. Christophers*, *Monferrat*, the Island of *Jamaica*, &c. the Commodities which they afford are Muscovadoes and Sugars; Indigo, Ginger, Cotton, Tobacco, Piamento, Fustick, Logwood and other dying Woods; Fish, Bark, Timber, Pitch and Tar; and what they require are Cloths and Linens; Hatts, Shoes, Stockings, Iron, Copper, Lead, Beef, Butter, Tallow, Leather, Manufactures of all Sorts, and Wines, but particularly those of *Madera* and *Azores*, and *Negroes* from the Coast of *Africk*.

Under the Head of *English* Plantations may be consider'd also *Greenland* and *Newfoundland*, these require nothing but an Application to the fishing Trade, and they furnish in return an immense Treasure by Train-Oil and Blubber, *Whale*-Finns, *Sperma-Ceti*, Cod, Haddock and other Fish; this Business is intirely open to us, and we by our Situation, the cheapness of our Victuals, and the low Price of our Labour seem much better qualified to carry it on than the *Dutch*, who in the Space of 46 Years, have fished out of those Seas fourteen Millions, *Sterling*. But for this I refer the Reader to *Mr. Elkins's View of the Greenland Trade*, and for a curious System of the Expence and Profit of that Business also. Den-

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Denmark is a poor Country, and has no considerable trading Town but *Copenhagen*; it is however rendred of very great Importance by its Command of the Sound, which is as it were the Key of the *Baltick*: Its Exports are Wheat, Rye, and lean horned Cattle; but *Norway* which is in subjection to the King of *Denmark*, tho' a very poor Country, also furnishes considerable Quantities of Timber of all Sorts, Pitch and Tar; some Copper and Iron; dried Fish, Furrs, Buck-Skins, Ashes, Butter and Tallow: The Poverty of these People allows but a small Consumption of foreign Commodities, which makes *Dutch* Dollars, *Spanish* Cobbs, and other Coins, a necessary Ingredient to maintain a Commerce with them; the following Commodities however sell well there; all Sorts of Spices and Druggs, Salt, Sugar, Canary, Vinegar, Brandy, Cheese, Tobacco-Rolls, Silks, Linen and Woollen Manufactures.

The Trade of *Sweden* is much more considerable, affording the best Copper in the World; Iron, Steel and Lead in great Quantities; Muskets and Pistols; Cannons for Ships, Bullets, Pikes, Helmers and Breast-Plates; Brass-Wire, Pitch and Tar; Masts, Planks, and Yawls or Barks made of Deal; its chief Port is *Stockholm*, and the Goods which it takes in Barter are much the same that *Denmark* and *Norway* require.

Pomerania is a Country of great Trade, not only on account of its native Riches, but on account also of the Advantages it receives from the River *Oder* which runs through it and conveys the Produce of *Brandenburgh* and *Silesia* to its Markets; its principal Sea-Ports are *Straelund*, *Woolgast*, *Stetin* and *Coleberg*; and the Commodities had there in greatest Abundance are Corn, Honey, Wax, Butter, Iron, Lead; Wooll, Tinn, Flax.

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Flax, Linens of *Silesia*, and Timber; the Goods which sell best there are, Wines and Brandies; Salt, Tobacco, hammer'd or coin'd Silver and Spices.

Prussia is divided into the Royal and the Ducal, the last of which is subject to the King of *Prussia*; the most of its Trade is carry'd on at *Koningsberg* and *Memell*; the first is situated on the Mouth of the River *Pregel*, and is much frequented by Strangers; but the River being somewhat intricate and unsafe, Ships of Burthen generally unlade at *Pillaw* to get up the easier to *Koningsberg*, where may be had great Quantities of Oak for Coopers Work, Ashes, Wheat, Leather and Furrs; Rice, Honey, Wax, Barley, Millet and Hemp; the following Goods sell well there, Cloths, Wines and Brandies; Cheese, Salt, Tobacco, Spices, Iron, Lead, Tinn, and hammer'd or coin'd Silver.

The chief trading Town of *Poland* (which is one of the most fruitful Countries in the World) is *Dantzick* in Royal *Prussia*; this City by its Situation on the Mouth of the *Vistula*, a River navigable almost three Hundred Leagues into the Country, seems to be particularly adapted for Trade; and it is not one of the least Advantages which it enjoys to be govern'd by Laws of its own Making; it is a Republick, though under the Protection of the Crown of *Poland*, and enjoys this Privilege, that none but the Inhabitants can buy any Corn that enters their Port; but they are under Obligation however to take all that comes at such a Rate as the Magistrates affix. The *Poles* are great Strangers to Trade and Navigation, and very little expert in Manufactures, which lays them under a Necessity, tho' possess'd of a most fruitful Country, to be indebted to Strangers for many Things. The Commodities in which they
abound

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abound are Grain of all Sorts, Cattle, Wax and Honey; Mines of Salt, Iron, Lead, Copper, Quick-Silver, Vitriol, Salt-Petre and Sulphur; Oak, Deal, Hemp, Flax, Tallow, Pitch and Tar; yellow Amber, Bull and Cow-Hides, Furrs and Wooll; and those which they require from abroad, are all Sorts of Silks and Cloths, Woods for dying, Wines and Brandies of all Sorts of Spices, *Italian* Crematar, Sugar, Oyl, Wines and Brandies, Druggs, Salt and small Wares.

The Dutchy of *Courland* is a Sovereignty under the Protection of *Poland*, its Exports are mostly Wheat, Timber and Linseed, of which last the *Dutch* take great Quantities, not only for Oyl, but for the propagation of Flax also, their own being apt quickly to degenerate; and it would be well for us if we took the same way for ours; its chief Ports are *Libaw* and *Memell*.

The Trade of *Livonia* is carry'd on at the Ports of *Riga*, *Revel*, *Narva* and *Pernaw*; as is also a considerable Part of that of *Muscovy* and *Lithuania* by the River *Narva*, and the Assistance of their Sledges; the Commodities to be purchased at those Towns, are Flax, Hemp, Pitch, Wheat, Wax and Furrs; Malts from *Russia* and *Livonia*; Timber of all Sorts; Cordage, Deal-Boards, Linseed, Honey and Tallow; in Exchange for which are taken, Salt, Spices of all Sorts, Sugar, Wines and Brandies; Tobacco, Paper, Iron Work, small Wares and Coins of any Sort, but particularly Dollars and hammer'd Money.

Revel and *Narva* were the only trading Towns of *Muscovy*, till the *English* in 1653 in attempting the North Passage to *China* discovered *Archangel*, an excellent Port on the *White-Sea*, not above seven Leagues distant from the River *Duina*, which runs thro' the best Part of *Muscovy*, and
carries

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carries the Produce of that great Empire to the Sea; but the *Dutch* who are indefatigable in Trade, have in a Manner engrossed the Business of that Town to themselves.

The Fair of *Archangel* begins the 20th of *August*, and continues till the last of the same Month; the Commodities to be purchased there, are great Quantities of Sables, Beavers and other Furrs; *Russia-Leather*, Cavair for *Italy*, Sturgeon and Wax for *Spain* and *America*; Ashes, Pitch, Tar and Tallow; and those which they take in Barter for them, are Silks and Woollen Manufactures of all Sorts; Linen coarse and fine; Paper, Small-Wares and Iron-work; small Arms, Cannon, Gunpowder, Copper, Sulphur, Lead and Tin; Wines and Brandies; Oyl, Vinegar, Confections, and dried Fruits; pickled *Herrings*, Frankincense, Ceruse, Copperas, and Indigo; all Sorts of Dying-Wood, Galloons and Laces of all Sorts; Sugar, Saffron, Spices and Pepper, of which they make a great Consumption; Gold and Silver-Lace and Thread; but above all, any kind of Silver Coin.

The most considerable Part of the *German* Trade is carried on by the Rivers *Elb*, *Wezer*, *Maes*, *Rhine* and *Ems*.

The *Elb* has its Rise in *Bohemia* and falls into the Ocean twenty Leagues below *Hamburgh*, after traversing *Bohemia*, *Saxony*, *Brandenburgh* and *Hanover*; the chief trading Town on this River is *Hamburgh*, where are to be had all the Superfluities of most of the Provinces of lower *Germany*, as Brass-Wire, white Iron or Tin-Plates; Linen, Corn, Timber for Shipping, and indeed most of the Commodities of the *North*; in exchange for which are taken Silks and Woollen Manufactures of all Sorts, small Wares, Spices and Druggs; Sugar, Tobacco, and other Plantation Commodities.

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The *Wezer* also runs through many Provinces of lower *Germany*, and empties it self into the Sea fifteen Leagues below *Bremen*, where may be had great Quantities of excellent Timber, Wheat, Wooll, several Sorts of Metals, Beer and Mum; the following Goods are in Demand there, Silks, Woollen Stuffs, small Wares, Dying Stuffs, and Plantation Commodities.

The *Rhine*, besides a Course of 300 Leagues, which it performs from its Rise in *Switzerland* to its Fall in the *Holland-Seas* has the Advantage of receiving into its Channel the two great Rivers of *Main* and *Mozel*; the former near *Mentz*, after travelling through all *Franconia*, and the latter at *Coblentz*, after washing the Dutchy of *Lorain*, and Electorate of *Triers*; so that the Trade of these three great Rivers is in a great Measure carried on at *Cologne*, where may be had excellent Oak, and other Timber; Wines of several Sorts, especially *Rhenish*; Iron, Cannon-Bullets, Cuttler's Ware from *Nuremburgh*, and Copper; (but the two last are better had farther up the River at *Frankfort*) Flax, Thread and Linen from *Juliers* and *Bergues*; the Goods taken in exchange are Silks, Woollen Stuffs, Sugar, Cheese, *Herrings* and Plantation Commodities.

The Trade of the *Mæse* is principally carried on at *Leige*; where may be had Serges, Slate, Pit-Coal, Iron and Steel-Work; Bullets, Bombs, Granadoes, Arms, Lead and Braziers Ware; the Goods which sell best here, are all Sorts of Silks and Woollens, Spices, Drugs and Groceries.

The River *Ems* which runs thro' all *Westphalia* furnishes the Markets of *Emden* with Horses and Oxen, Hams, Timber, Woollen-Cloths, and Linen of all Sorts.

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The Trade of the *Spanish Netherlands* is mostly possess'd by the *Dutch*; their chief Commodities are fine Linens, Table-Cloths and Lace; Tapestry, Sheep's-Leather and Serges; and they buy Silks and Woollen Stuffs, Spices, Drugs, Coffee, Tea, Chocolate, coarse Camblets and *Indian* Stuffs.

Holland, in which I comprehend the United Provinces, though the least productive of good things, is the most abounding in them of any Nation in *Europe*; for it is become through the indefatigable Application of its Inhabitants, the Magazine or Store-House of whatsoever is valuable or necessary in any Part of the World; the most considerable of their Native Commodities which they export, are Linen, Lace and *Delft-Ware*; but their great Wealth arises from the Re-exportation of the Growth of other Countries, which by Reason of the lowness of their Interest Money, the cheapness of their Navigation, and several other prudent Managements, they can afford to Strangers, even cheaper than they could themselves directly import them; the Goods which they take from these Dominions are Coals, Butter, Lead, Tin, Clay, Redding, Sugars, Tobacco, Indigo, Logwood, Fustick, Ginger, Pepper and Cotton-wooll; most of which by the wise Regulations of our Plantation Trade, they are under a Necessity to take from us; but the other Commodities with which they traffic are numberless, being the only People in the World who have found out the way to furnish all others with Delicacies, and to partake of none themselves.

The Ports of *France* are too well known to us to need any Enlargement upon them; it shall suffice therefore to say that they export wrought Silks of all Sorts, Brocades and Lace; Gold and Silver; Wines and Brandies; all Kinds of Trinkets, Sweet-

Meats,

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Meats, Fruits, Salt, Iron, Paper, Looking-Glasses, Cambricks and Linen; and require Wooll, Beef, Butter, Tallow, Hides, Hemp, Pitch and Tar; Corn, Coals, Tobacco, and other Plantation Commodities.

The Trade to *Spain* is of greater Consequence than any other in *Europe*, not only on Account of the Treasure which they possess in the new World; but on Account also of the great Diffuse of Industry and Manufacture among the Inhabitants; and of the great Empire in *America*, which is to be furnished only thro' them. The Commodities of their own Growth which they export, are Wines, Fruits, Oils, Soap, Salt, Soud or Kallt; Iron, Steel and Wooll, of which they have very great Quantities; but on Account of its fineness unfit for Manufacture without a mixture of coarser; the Commodities of the new World which pass thro' their Hands are, Gold and Silver; Pearls and Emeralds; Cochineal, Indigo, Quinquina, Cocoa-Nuts and Vanilles Tobacco; Leather, Wood of Campechy and Snuff: And the foreign Commodities which they require are Linens of all Sorts coarse and fine; of which they make an incredible Consumption as well at home as in *America*; *Negroes* for their Plantations in the new World, Woollen and silk Stuffs; Lace, Hatts, small Wares of all Sorts and Jewellers Work; Pitch and Tar; Hemp and Cordage; Rigging for Ships, Plank and every other sort of Naval Store; all sorts of Ammunition, Herrings, Salmon, Beef, Butter, Cheese, Tallow and Corn; Hides tanned and salted, Timber for Building, Pipe and Barrel-Staves; Honey, Wax, Paper, Cards and small Wares of Iron and Copper; *Russia-Leather* and Drugs; all Kinds of Spice, as Cinnamon, Nutmegs, Cloves, Mace and Pepper; Tobacco,

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Ginger, refin'd Sugars, Lead and Tin; Gold and Silver Lace; Lawns, Cambricks, Tapes, Filleting and almost every thing that is produc'd by Art and Labour; choosing rather to pay for them than debase themselves by Handicraft Trades, a Species of Pride, which makes them (tho' possess'd of the greatest Treasure in the World) the poorest and most needy of all their Neighbours; and may serve to convince us that Mines of Gold and Silver are not so great a Wealth as an industrious People; the chief trading Towns in *Spain* are *Malaga*, *Cartagena*, *Alicant*, *Valentia*, *Almarica* in the *Mediterranean* and *Cadiz*; *Bilboa*, *St. Sebastian*, Port of *St. Mary*, *Port-Royal*, *St. Lucar*, *Sevil* and *Biscay* on this Side the *Streights*.

The Kingdom of *Portugal* before its Union with the Crown of *Spain*, has made a great Figure in Trade, and had very considerable Acquisitions and Settlements on the Coast of *Africk*; and in the *East* and *West-Indies*; but in that Situation through the ill Conduct or rather Debility of the *Spanish* Monarchy, it suffer'd the Loss of most Part of them to the *Dutch*; and would in all probability be entirely dismantled of its foreign Dependencies, had not they under the Conduct of the Duke of *Braganza* happily shook off the *Spanish* Yoak time enough to preserve a Part of their Dependencies by a Truce of ten Years, concluded in 1641 with the *States-General*, and by the succeeding Peace of 1661, effected thro' the Mediation of King *Charles II.* *Lisbon*, *Oporto* and *St. Ubes* are the chief trading Towns of this Kingdom; where may be had of their own Growth, Wines, Oils, Olives, Salt, Limons and Oranges; Sweet-Meats; Anniseed, Raisins and Figs; and of the Growth of their Plantations, *Madera* and *Tercera* Wines, of which our Plantations in
America

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America make a great Consumption; Sugars, Tobacco, Wood of *Brazil* and *Fernambouck*; Ox-Hides, Ginger, Pearls, Indigo, rough Diamonds and Ambergrease. The following Commodities sell well there, *viz.* all Manufactures of Wooll, Linen] and Silk; small Wares, Iron Work, Paper, Cards, Leather, Corn, Lead and Tin; Fish, Silk, Worsted, Beef, Butter, Tallow and Hides.

The Trade of *Italy* is chiefly carried on at the Ports of *Genoa*, *Leghorn*, *Venice*, *Naples* and *Messina*, and the Commodities had there are raw and thrown Silks; many *Levant* Goods, plain and wrought Velvets; Tabbies, Sattins, Damasks, Gold and Silver Brocades; Gold Twist, Oyl, Parmasan Cheese, Anchovies, dryed Fruits, Pastes and Confections of all Sorts; Limons, Citrons, Rice, Anniseeds, Allum and Sulphur; *Venetian* Steel, Manna, Amber, Turpentine, Treacle, fine Lacca, Glas of all sorts, white Marble, Paper, Soap and Essences; the Goods which go off best in return, are Pepper, Cloves, Nutmegs and Cinnamon; *Russia-Leather*, China-ware, Iron, Copper, Lead, *English* Pewter and Tin; *Whale-Bone*, Fish, Pitch and Tar; Planks and Naval Stores; Woollen and Linen Cloths; Stock-Fish, Salmon, Sturgeon and Caviar; Musk, Civet, Sugars, Wheat and other Grain.

The *Levant* Trade is very considerable, but mostly possessed by the *English*, the *French* and the *Dutch*, who take care to continue themselves in the Grand Seignior's Favour by their exactness and good Management; *Constantinople*, *Smyrna*, *Aleppo* and *Grand Cairo* are the most considerable trading Towns of those Seas; and the Goods brought from thence are raw Silks, Goats and Camels Hair; Cotton, *Turkey-Leather*, colour-
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ed Camblents, Cordivants, Wax, Allum, Galls, Wooll, Box-Wood, Currants, Coffee, Ultramarine Frankincense, Sena and Cassia; Aloes, Sal Armoniack, Tamarinds, Pine-Kernels, Ostridge-Feathers and Mastich; and the principal Goods disposed of there, are Woollen Cloths and Stuffs of all Sorts; Drugs, Cochineal, Indigo and Woods for Dying; Tin, Lead, Iron and Steel; *Russia*-Leather, Cloves, Nutmegs, Cinnamon, Pepper, Ginger, Sugars, and Plate Cobbs.

The Trade to *Africk* is divided into many Hands, the *French*, *English*, *Portuguese*, *Dutch* and *Brandenburghers*, have each of them Settlements on that Coast; but the greatest Number and most considerable belong to the *English* and *Dutch*; the Goods which sell best there, are Rock-Chrystal, Corral, Lace, Brandy, slight Woollen Stuff, great Quantities of Linen, of which that which has been worn is most esteemed by the Natives; and all kinds of portable Goods; in Exchange for which they give Elephants Teeth, Gums, Wax, Wood for Dying, Leather, *Negroe*-Slaves, and Gold Dust.

The *Dutch*, *Portuguese*, *English* and *French* have ingrossed the *East-India* Trade, and bring from thence all kind of Spice, as Cloves, Nutmegs, Cinnamon, Mace, Pepper and Ginger; several Drugs, as Indigo, Salt-Petre Sugar, Lace, Ambergrease, Musk, Tea, Rhubarb, Borax, Benzoin, Bezoar and Camphire; Silks raw, twisted, and wrought; Cottons and Calicoes; Muslins, Chintz, Copper from Japan, Tin and Lead; Diamonds, Rubies, Saphires blew and white; Topazes, Hyacinths, Coral and Amethysts; Turquois Stones, Oriental Agatts, Pearls, Porcelain or China; Japan Ware, Wood of Aquila and Siampan, Lignum Aloes, Sandal and Rose-Wood;

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Ebony, Calambour, Catatour, Cocoa and Tortoise Shell; all which Commodities being the Produce of several Kingdoms are traded with by the *English*, *French*, *Dutch* and *Portuguese*, not only in *Europe*, but in the *East* also; where a great part of the Company's Expence is defray'd by trafficking even there, and selling the Produce of Neighbouring Kingdoms to each other; the only Commodities which they take from *Europe* are Cloths, Linens and Stuffs, Gold and Silver, and some small Wares.

I have been thus particular in recounting the Wants and Superfluities of different Kingdoms, not only to shew in what Parts of the World our Growth and Manufactures may come to a good Market, but to discover also how extended a Province that of Trade is; and how many ways it affords to get Riches, besides exporting the Commodities and Growth of our own Country. Merchants must buy from others what they export even of our own Growth to foreign Markets; and their Profit lies in selling to Advantage what they have so bought; It matters but little whether it be Wooll or Linen, or Beef, *East India* Goods or *Northern* Commodities, so they make a Profit in the Sale; thus the *Dutch* send their Fleet to the *East-Indies*, not to sell their Freight only and return again, but to traffick there buying the Growth of one Kingdom to sell to another; and loading there again to sell elsewhere, always with Profit, till they come at last into *Europe* with such a Cargo as is like to sell well here; these again they send to the *North* and *Baltick* to barter for naval Stores, Corn, Copper, Caviar, Wooll, Linen and other Commodities, which they manufacture at home; and having gathered a sufficient loading for the *Mediterranean*, they

they send to *Florence, Genoa, and Venice*, where their *Northern* Commodities go off for Plate-Cobbs and ready Money, (a necessary Article for the *Levant* Trade) then they proceed to the Dominions of the Grand Seignor, and with their home Manufacture, *East-India* Goods and Money buy raw Silks, Cotton, Leather, Drugs, &c. which they bring again into *Europe*; and having wrought their Silks, Cottons, &c. into rich and valuable Commodities, sell them to *England, Ireland, Spain, Portugal,* and the *North*, or to any others who afford them a good Market; and thus like a Snow-Ball by their continual rowling from one Country to another, encrease their Wealth, and that at the Expence and through the Indolence of others; for their natural Produce is the least Article in their Trade: Their immense Riches are acquired by buying the Growth of one Country to sell to another, having perfectly learned how to supply the Barrenness of their own, by the Fertility of other Countries; to extend their Dominions, not by Conquest but by Commerce; and to raise a Revenue not by a Tax on their own Subjects, but by Imposts, as I may call it, on the Laziness and Luxury of all the rest of the World, who having the same and far better Means wherewith to supply themselves directly, are yet under a shameful Necessity to take from them at second Hand.

ABSTRACT of the Exportations and Importations of *Ireland*, for the Year ending the 25th of *March*, 1725. Estimated at a Medium of the Selling-Price in our Markets for that Year.

	Exports.	Imports.
To and from { <i>South-Britain, Wales, Guernsey, and Jersey</i> }	476, 632	441, 799
{ <i>North-Britain and the Isle of Man</i> }	21, 250	31, 003
{ <i>Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Hamborough.</i> }	42, 49	74, 300
{ <i>Holland and Flanders</i> }	52, 618	70, 048
{ <i>France</i> }	214, 422	141, 650
{ <i>Spain and the Canaries, Portugal, Genoa and Leghorn</i> }	149, 984	60, 959
{ <i>Plantations</i> }	96, 825	000, 000
Totals	1053, 782	819, 761.

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Month	Year	Day	Description
1850	1851	1	...
1850	1851	2	...
1850	1851	3	...
1850	1851	4	...
1850	1851	5	...
1850	1851	6	...
1850	1851	7	...
1850	1851	8	...
1850	1851	9	...
1850	1851	10	...
1850	1851	11	...
1850	1851	12	...
1850	1851	13	...
1850	1851	14	...
1850	1851	15	...
1850	1851	16	...
1850	1851	17	...
1850	1851	18	...
1850	1851	19	...
1850	1851	20	...
1850	1851	21	...
1850	1851	22	...
1850	1851	23	...
1850	1851	24	...
1850	1851	25	...
1850	1851	26	...
1850	1851	27	...
1850	1851	28	...
1850	1851	29	...
1850	1851	30	...
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CONSIDERATIONS

ON

TWO PAPERS

Lately Published.

The First call'd,

Seasonable Remarks, &c.

And the Other,

An Essay on TRADE in General,

And That of

IRELAND in Particular.

Printed in the Year, M,DCC,XXIX.

EMOTTA INCISSIO

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CONSIDERATIONS, &c.

W HATEVER the first Grounds of Trade have been, it is certainly now so interwoven with the Interest of Princes, that no Nation can be truly powerful without a Share of the Riches that are thereby obtained. For this Reason the Improvement of Trade is become a principal Affair of State: And as no Ties among Princes are of superior Obligation to the Good of their respective Countries; so all Nations in their Dealings with one another, may be said to be as it were in a State of Nature; ever ready to lay hold of any Opportunity that may offer, to aggrandize themselves. Thus they endeavour to gain the most they can by Trade, little regarding the Loss of those Countries they traffick with, unless it be in order to increase the Calculation of their own Profit.

Since therefore Trade is not only necessary to the Well-Being of a State, but is also a Game whereat Nations must play; tho' they are at the same time sensible no Ties of Friendship are sufficient to defend them from being over-reach'd, whenever it is in the Power of their Antagonists to do so, it is absolutely necessary People should be acquainted with the Nature of the whole Game, to the End they may prevent, or counterplot the Schemes laid for destroying the Interest of their Country.

But

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But this Skill is not so easily attained as the generality of Men imagine. The Alterations of Trade are so various and frequent, that it is not from old Schemes we must judge of the present State of it; nor is a Wandering in Generals, or a superficial and smattering Knowledge in the common Interest of Countries, with respect to Trade, nor of their Wants and Superfluities, which are easily picked out of Books, a sufficient Evidence of a Man's having acquir'd this Science: He ought moreover to be well vers'd in the commercial Laws of his own Country, and in the Laws, Customs and Practices of those Nations with which it trades, all which are to be considered, compared and weighed with Judgment, before he should presume to form peremptory Conclusions, or advance dogmatical Assertions, with respect to the Trade and Interest of his Country, as it relates to that of other Nations.

I have been led into this way of considering the Nature of Trade, and the Intricacies of it, by two Papers which have lately appeared in Print, and whereof it seems we are to have more brought into the World; but the Author keeping his Name concealed, it is not possible to convince him in private of many Mistakes he has been guilty of. I am therefore under a Necessity of taking this Method of remarking on some of them, to prevent the World's being misled into false Notions of the State of this Country.

If what my Author says of the Increase of the Wealth of *Ireland*, were true, he might have boldly concluded, not only *that stinted in Trade, and wasted by Out-Liers as we are, there is still somewhat left highly deserving of our Care and Circumspection*; but he might have also said, that *Ireland*, under all those Pressures, and notwithstanding the Waste

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Waste of a long, bloody, and inveterate War, maintain'd in her Bowels, has increas'd in Riches within these 50 Years in a greater Degree of Proportion than any other Country in *Europe*; which is such an Assertion, that I dare say, will not be credited by any Person, who is ever so little conversant with the Affairs of *Ireland*. And yet what my Author maintains amounts to this, when he pretends to prove, that since the Year 1676. the Value of Lands and Improvements in *Ireland* is increased from 9 Millions to near 56 Millions and an Half, whereby he makes the Increase to have been above six-fold, which is three times more than the most sanguine Computer ever asserted the Riches of the most flourishing Country in *Europe*, have been increased in that time. And if we are thus increased in Riches, does it not follow, that our Taxes ought to be proportionably increased? Which, I hope, is not the Conclusion my Author aims at.

It is true, Sir *William Petty* makes the yearly Rent of the Lands in *Ireland* (comprehending Quit Rent, Tythes and Tenants Improvements) to have been in 1676, about 900,000 *l.* or 2 *s.* per Acre, *Irish* Plantation Measure. But our Author says, they are now worth 2,824,870 *l.* per *Ann.* that is, about 6 *s.* 4 *d.* per Acre, which is more than the Land of *England*, including all the Houses and Improvements of that immensely rich Kingdom is computed at, according to their Measure. From whence alone it is evident, how wild a Computation my Author has made of this Article, and that it is a needless Work to descend to any nice Scrutiny of Particulars with him.

It is certain the Value of Lands to be purchased in *Ireland*, is considerably increas'd since Sir *William Petty* wrote his *Anatomy of Ireland*. The
unsettled

unsettled State of Affairs then, and the high Interest of Money in *Ireland*, kept the Value of Lands at 10 Years Purchase, and now they sell at 20; but it does not thence follow that *Ireland*, considered in itself, is grown in such a Degree of Proportion, as my Author asserts, richer than it was in 1676; for tho' Lands let and sell dearer now than they did then, yet as the Benefit of those Purchases and Increase of Rents does not entirely accrue to the Inhabitants of the Country, but proportionably increase the annual Drafts on us by our *Out-Liers*, &c. in *England*, we are still kept in a very low Estate.

It is true, *England* (and therein the general Interest of the *British* Empire, whereof *Ireland* is an essential Part) is thereby greatly benefited; but though *Ireland* is grown richer, yet, it is not in a six-fold Proportion; since, as the annual Debts paid into *England* by *William Petty's* Computation, amounted only to 200,000 *l.* that Sum was in less Proportion to 900,000 *l.* the then Rental of *Ireland*, than 600,000 *l.* which my Author says is now annually sent into *England*, is to 1,600,000 *l.* which, according to the best Computations I have yet met, is the utmost Value of our present Rental.

At another time I may perhaps be inclined to enter farther into the Consideration of this Matter, and to lay down some Rules, which may prevent Computers in political Arithmetick from falling into such palpable Errors, as my Author has committed with relation to the Interest of *Ireland*; but at present I shall only desire him to consider, that no Nation could ever increase in Riches with that Velocity he has made *Ireland*, without a porportional increase of Cash, and of People.

Now

Now Sir *William Petty* says, the Cash of *Ireland* was 400,000 *l.* and the People, 1,100,000. At this time our Cash is at most 600,000 *l.* and our People 1,500,000. This is in truth a considerable Increase, considering the Circumstances of our Affairs, and it bears a proper Proportion to the Increase of our Rental from 9 to 16 hundred thousand Pounds *per Ann.* but it is in no Degree of Proportion to the imaginary Increase of our Wealth, as laid down by my Author.

The next Mistake I shall take Notice of is, the Account of our Trade with *France*, whereby my Author says we gain 117,281 *l. per Annum.* Indeed if he said we lose so much by that Trade, he would be nearer the Truth.

Merchants, it is certain, are often byassed in giving their Advice for the Encouragement of Trades they are accustomed to gain by; however, in some things it will be worth my Author's while to consult them.

They will be able to tell him, that the *Irish* Trade with *France* is under such severe Restrictions in that Country, that they are forc'd to send Money, or, what is the same thing, to pay for the greatest Part of the Goods they bring from thence, with Bills of Exchange. That as to the national Trade, it is evidently to our Prejudice; tho' indeed particular Merchants get thereby, as they often do by the most pernicious Trades.

I intend to treat of this Matter more fully at another time; and I shall therefore at present content myself with saying, that *France* shews no manner of Favour to *Ireland*, but what their Necessities for our Provisions, and Materials for Manufactures enforces them to: Yet we are so fond of this (I will call it) destructive Commerce, that

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the Duties on *French Wines, &c.* are more favourable, than what is paid for the same Goods from *Spain* and *Portugal*; by both which Trades, we, as all other Nations, are considerable Gainers.

But my Author says, he has the Authority of the Custom-House Books for what he advances; yet it may be observ'd, that those Books are not an infallible Evidence of this Trade, since it is well known, many of the most expensive Articles of our Importation, are subject to such high Duties, that they are clandestinely brought into the Kingdom; so that should the Custom-House Books give a Colour for my Author's Computation of Gain on the *French Trade*, which I cannot believe they do; they must be look'd upon as erroneous, in supporting a Matter contrary to what is so sensibly felt, as the evil Effects of the *French Trade*.

That we considerably suffer by that Trade, is yet further evident from the Course of Exchange between *Ireland* and *France*; which, for many Years past, has been to the Disadvantage of *Ireland*. And let my Author observe by the bye, that the Rate of Exchange is one of the Pulses skillful Politicians are to feel; in order to discover the true State of a national Trade.

There are many other Remarks I could make on the two Papers I have now before me; and perhaps, when better Leisure will permit, I shall do so: But, as the Author seems to mean well, I would be tender of him. However, before I quit his Works for this time, I must put my Reader in mind, that it is dangerous to rely on every Information relating to Trade, which is extracted out of Books; for unless a proper Judgment adapts the Notions of the Author to the particular Subject he is enquiring about, he may be led into dangerous Mistakes. To

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To give a glaring Instance of this, I have but to observe, that my Author allows 25 *per Cent.* of the Value of our Exports and Imports, to be a reasonable Medium for Freight of Ships, Merchants Expence and Profit on our general Trade; and this, because that Medium was allowed in Computations of the same Kind in *England*. Now, my Author should have considered, that this Rate was disputed, even in *England*, as too large an Allowance on their unlimited Trade: And, in order to support the Reasonableness of it there, the Premiums of Insurances, which to us are all clear Loss either to *England* or *Holland*; the *East-India Trade*, on which at least 400 *per Cent.* Profit is made, the *West-India, African, Turkey*, and other rich Trades; in which we have little or no Part, were all brought into the Computation to strike that Medium of 25 *per Cent.*; and shall the Profit, &c. of our insignificant Trade be set on the same Foot? Surely, it is a great Error in the Judgment, I will not say, in the Will of my Author, to do so.

Let me now ask my Author, how he can reconcile the Assurance he has given us of our having grown above six times richer than we were in 1676, even when he allows the Draft of our *Out liers, &c.* in *England*, is 600,000 *l. per Ann.* and that the Ballance of our general Exports and Imports, as stated by him, amounts to only 234,021 *l. per Ann.* which is little more than one third Part of that annual Drain. And to shew his Skill yet further, let him take in, and account for the Repairs of the Devastations occasion'd by the War, which has interven'd in that time. To conclude, since he has promis'd to favour the World with more of his Works, and to lay Schemes before the Parliament; let me

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intreat him to consider of what ill Consequence it might prove to a Nation, to have the Legislature deceived in Matters of this Consequence; therefore, let me advise him to weigh what he writes with more Care than he has done those things he has already advanced, and not to depend alone on what he finds set down in printed Books, which are deceitful; unless weighed by a sound and discerning Judgment.

A N

A P P E A L

To the Reverend

DEAN SWIFT,

By way of

R E P L Y

To the OBSERVER ON

Seasonable Remarks.

Qui dubitat, qui sæpe rogat, mea Dicta tenebit. Lill.



Printed in the Year, M,DCC,XXIX.

A N

S I R,

I Have seen your Observations on my Papers, and I am so far from being offended at the candid and free Manner, in which you treat them, that I acknowledge the Favour, as I shall also any future Animadversions on them, with which you oblige the Publick.

My Design in the Undertaking is to serve my Country, and tho' I should expose myself by the Attempt; yet, if the Enquiry is set on Foot, and the Truth laid open, either by You or Me, or any other Person, my Ends are answer'd; so that for the future, Sir, you will oblige me if you spare yourself the Trouble of Apologising; and since for some Reasons I can't determine to discover myself, I hope you will communicate from time to time, what occurs to you on that subject, in the manner you did this: I mean in Print, that your Sentiments may be diffus'd through the Land, and our Countrymen thereby led into the Consideration of a Subject, which perhaps they may otherwise be inclined to overlook and neglect.

I shall not, Sir, cavil at any Part of your little Book; it was most welcome to me; and if I attempt to answer your Objections, 'tis not, I assure you, from any Fondness of my own Opinion; but in order to clear up my Essays, which I was not so happy to express in a Manner to be understood by you, that my Countrymen may be Judges of the Argument, and approve or condemn on a full Hearing.

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And first as to the Increase of Wealth in *Ireland*, since the *Act* laid down, which was I think 1676.

The first of my Papers was design'd to shew how much it was the Interest of *England* to promote and encourage our Trade, since it got by us annually on the Article of Out-liers near 600,000 *l.* for which Drain, I quoted the ingenious Author of the Defence of the Conduct of *Ireland*, a Gentleman to whom next to the immortal *Draper* we owe our Deliverance from *Wood's* Halfpence, and sure no one will doubt so credible a Person.

And as to my Estimate of our Capital, which is what I would be understood to mean in that Computation; alas Sir, I am far from boasting of our Wealth thereby, the Industry of our Country is no doubt increased, our People are multiply'd, our Capital is greatly enlarged, and our Gain on the Exchange of Commodities, has been (I will again venture to say it) considerable; but what avails all this whilst an unprofitable Issue of Money for the Support of Out-liers, eats up all our Gains, and leaves us still struggling with Want and Poverty at home? Infomuch that had *Virgil* been an *Irishman*, and in our Circumstances, he might have added another Line to his *Hymistick*, and said, *sic nos non nobis ——— accumulamus opes.* But that the Reader may judge of the Question, I will give him an Abstract of the Matter objected to.

I have said our Trade was incumbred, that we were under heavy Drains, and we had but a very confin'd Commerce; but that I could not therefore come into their way of thinking, who would insinuate, that because we had all these Difficulties to wrestle with, we should not therefore mind
Trade

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Trade or Commerce at all, but let that little which was yet left go to wreck; and as I believe, Sir, you will agree with me, that half a Loaf is better than no Bread; I shall therefore take up none of your time in a farther Explanation of what is so obvious to every Capacity; neither do I think there is occasion for many Words to convince you, that the present Value of our Capital is pretty near 65,000,000. since you have so greatly mistaken the Manner in which I calculated to bring it to that Sum: for tho' you are pleas'd to say, that in my Calculation I value the Lands at 6 *s.* 4 *d.* per Acre, yet, if you please to look it over once more, you will find that I only rate them at 4 *s.* 6 *d.* per Acre old-Measure; which I can't think by any Means an unreasonable Valuation, since the old Plantation Measure and *Sirafford* Survey by which I proceeded, is almost every where very favourable, as I have hinted in my Essay, to which for Brevity, I refer you. But I must (however) acknowledge my Obligation to you for making the Objection, lest the Enemies of our Country might otherwise perhaps mistake my Meaning and conclude as you do, That therefore we may afford to pay greater Taxes than we have hitherto done; but let them consider, Sir, that I write to a People whom I would allure to engage more vigorously in Trade and Commerce, by setting before them the Acquisitions we have made thereby within the time mentioned: Let them consider, Sir, that tho' the general Wealth of *Ireland* is so encreased, yet the Particulars are little the better: 'Tis *England* only reaps the solid Benefit thereof: We pay them a Tribute greater than perhaps any Nation in the World ever paid even in the Times of universal Monarchy; for if the Money which issues on account of Out-liers
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be justly estimated. at 600,000 *l. Sterl.* and if the Gain which they make on the Monopoly of our Wool, and the Profit which accrues to them on the Restrictions on our Plantation, *East-India, African* and *Levant* Trades amount only to as much more, (which I am sure is a very modest Computation) what Nation in the World even of twice our Extent, has ever paid so great a Tribute over and above Taxes?

But it seems odd to you, Sir, that the Value of our capital Stock should encrease so much faster than that of *England*, and I think it will be proper therefore to lay the State of the Case in that Respect in a full Light before you.

'Tis true, by my Calculation the Capital of *Ireland* is encreased six-fold, whilst that of *England* is not encreased above four; for Mr. *Davenant* computes, that in the Beginning of the last Century the Rental of *England* was but 67,000,000 *l.* and that it might be purchased at twelve Years purchase or 72,000,000 *l.* but the ingenious Mr. *Philips*, I believe justly too, thinks it may now amount to 16,000,000 *l. per Ann.* and sell for twenty Years Purchase or the Sum 320,000,000 *l.* so that the Capital of *England* has encreased but four-fold and a half; whilst ours encreased six-fold, and indeed to one that looks no further that may seem very odd.

But we are to consider, that when the Capital of *England* was computed at 72,000,000 *l.* *England* was in a very flourishing Condition. *Henry* the seventh who died 1509 left in his Coffers near a Million of Money; and the Nation enjoyed a flourishing and almost uninterrupted Peace at Home for near 130 Years, *viz.* from the Accession of *Henry VII.* which was in 1485 to 1603 when Queen *Elizabeth* the Darling of her own
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and the Wonder of all succeeding Ages left this World.

In that Time *England* was fully peopled, the *English* Navy was formidable, Trade flourished, and the Manufactures were applied to; in short, they had made a considerable Progress in the way to Riches, their Hands were almost full of Business, and consequently could not in the succeeding Time make a Progress proportionable to that of the preceding Age; for there is a Season when a Country increases in Wealth more slowly, nay when a Country ceases to increase in Wealth at all, and at last returns to Poverty and Indigence again (as you may observe in the short Account I have given of the Revolutions of Trade in my *Seasonable Remarks*) and perhaps had not *Ireland* been in a Condition to furnish *England* with her annual Tribute, our Friends the t'other Side the Water might have long since experienced this Truth; we must therefore conclude that *England* at the *Ara* fixed upon by Mr. *Davenant* had already run a great Part of its Course, and was (if I may be allowed the Expression) almost out of Breath; so that its Pace was slow, and its Motion heavy and solemn; but if you consider the Circumstances of *Ireland* in 1676 as they are beautifully described by Sir *William Petty*, you will find that we were then but just awaking from a Lethargy of Sloth and Idleness: There were few or no Manufactures at all, and but here and there an odd Person in an awkward Manner endeavouring to set them on foot: The People lived on the Produce of their Farms, and paid their Rents in Kind: there were but few Sharers in the Money, because but few took Pains to acquire a Matter of which they scarce knew the Use; and even then in this Infancy of ours he computes that 600,000 *l.* was the Sum necessary

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to drive the Trade we were possess'd of. See P. 73. *Poli. Anatomy*: In this Time, I say, we were but just setting out, our Wind was untainted, our Sinews strong, and our Course therefore swift. The Example of one thriving Craftsman induced a hundred perhaps to Industry; for there were Hands enough idle, and this is the Reason why the Increase of the Value of our Capital was swifter than that of *England* in the same Tract of Time; but now our Hands are employ'd, 'tis only by prudent Regulations of our Trade and Industry, by a watchful Eye to our Exports and Imports, that nothing noxious should be receiv'd, and nothing issue, which detain'd, is yet capable of greater Improvements from Art and Labour: 'Tis only from these and the Increase of our Inhabitants that we have any Reason to expect an Increase of Wealth for the future.

But as to our Capacity of bearing greater Taxes from such an Increase of our capital Stock, I must observe (as I have already done in one of my former Papers) that whenever a Nation in general has lost the Ballance of Trade, or (to speak more in the common Phrase) whenever their Expence exceeds their Income; from that Minute they begin to return to Poverty and Indigence; and that, (in the Case of a People in general) not in the slow Manner they acquired their Riches, but all of a sudden; the Ballance of our Loss must be paid in Money; and if a Million of Money circulating in our Country is what gives a high Price to Land, and all our other Commodities, what would be the Case if we should cease to gain by Trade even for one Year? the very Rents of our Out-Liers for that Year paid out of our circulating Cash, would surprizingly reduce the Value of our Capital. But to put the Question in Figures, if 1,000,000 *l.* circulating

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circulating Cash raises the Value of *Ireland* to 56,000,000 *l.* what will the Loss of 500,000 *l.* reduce it to? and if *Vice Versa* 500,000 *l.* of that Sum which is now annually drain'd away by Out-Liers, were spent at home, and suffer'd to circulate and diffuse itself amongst our Manufactures and working People; then indeed I wont say but we might be able (more effectually than we can at present) to shew that Zeal with which our Hearts have long glow'd for the Honour of his sacred Majesty, for his illustrious and royal Family and for the Safety and Welfare of *Great-Britain* in general; but till then we have only our Wishes to add to a Load of Taxes, under which nothing but such a glowing Zeal could support us.

And now, Sir, it will be proper to consider what our Situation in respect to the general Ballance of Trade may be, and this leads me to an Anticipation of your last Objection, which falls I think more properly here than in Order as you have put it.

And first, Sir, I must explain to you a little Table which is at the End of my Essay, which I fear I did not do before, or at least did not do in so full a Manner as I ought.

That Table, Sir, is an Abstract from the *Custom-House* Books of the Exportations and Importations of *Ireland*, for the Year ending *Lady-day* 1725, according to the selling Price in our Markets, and you may rely upon the Authority of it.

By that Table our Exportations are 1,053,782 *l.* and our Importations 819,761 *l.* which makes the Ballance in our Favour, at the selling Price in our Markets, only 234,021 *l.* and you may say therefore, by what kind of Arithmetick can 600,000 *l.* be paid by 234,021 *l.*? The Question is unanswerable, unless you will have Recourse to the Rules
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set down in the Beginning of my Essay, for the stating of our publick Accounts.

You will be pleased to observe then, Sir, that the above 234,021*l.* is the Ballance only at the selling Price in our Markets, and that some Sum or other must be fixed upon as a reasonable Medium at which to estimate the Merchants Freight, Expence and Profit, or else we shall never truly state the Account. I have said that in *England* that Sum is generally estimated at 25 *l. per Cent.* but I am far from fixing dogmatically upon that Sum; I only said, perhaps it may be pretty near that Sum here; and tho' what you have observ'd touching the *East-India African*, and *Levant* Trades which we share but little in, seems to be a very great Weight in the Account; yet if we consider the difference in our Interest of Money (which is an Evil of the first Concoction) and the cheapness of our Navigation, the low Price at Home of the Commodities exported by us, and the Price had for them at Market; and if you will consider at the same time how small a Proportion the Sums employed in those Trades are in respect to the extended Commerce of *England* in general, I can't think we have Reason to deduct any thing from the 25 *per Cent.* for as to our *West-India* Trade it is quite out of the Case, and rather makes against than for your Observation; because the Difficulties under which we lye in that Trade, must necessarily raise our Merchants Expence above the *English* Merchants: But suppose however that 22 *per Cent.* may be a reasonable Medium at which to estimate the Merchants Freight, Expence and Profit; and suppose that only half of the whole Trade is manag'd by Natives, then the Account will stand thus,

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Exported at the selling Price in our Markets to the Value of	1, 053, 782
To which we must add 22 <i>l. per Cent.</i> for the Freight, Expence and Profit; of that half thereof which is transacted by ourselves, or about	115, 916
And then our Exports will sell for	1, 169, 698
But our Imports sell at our Markets for	819, 761
And from this we must deduct half of 22 <i>l. per Cent.</i> for the Freight, Expence and Profit of so much as we transact ourselves, or about	90, 173
Then our Imports will stand us in	729, 588
Which leaves for our national Gain Yearly	440, 110

But if we pay our Out-Liers annually 600,000*l.* then our circulating Cash must be yearly diminished 159,890 which is a very melancholy Story, and far from inviting our Neighbours to a new Taxation, ought to be a warning to our Nobility and Gentry to spend a Part of their Rents at Home before an unavoidable Necessity obliges them to a constant Residence.

This Sir, was a Secret I did not care to disclose till a fitter Opportunity, had not your Observations on my Papers made it necessary in my own Defence; and I hope our Friends t'other side the Water will take the proper Notice of it, and in time procure us an Ease in those Branches of Trade which don't clash with their own, in Order to furnish us with an Opportunity to labour successfully

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fully for them, and be still instrumental in the Grandeur and Prosperity of *Great-Britain*.

I must say Sir, that there is scarce any one Article of our Business, requires so nice a Scrutiny as the very Matter we have been treating of; for if the Freight, Expence and Profit is rated at too high a Medium, we then greatly deceive our selves, and (by imagining a greater Treasure than we really possess) run perhaps either into a supine Neglect of our Affairs, or an Expence which our Trade is not able to bear; whilst the striking too low a Medium on the other Hand, either in the general Trade of the Nation, or in that of particular Branches thereof, may throw us into a Despair as dangerous, or lead us into wrong Judgments with Relation to our particular Trades: So that Sir, The Matter requires a very serious Discussion; and it will be proper, (in order to form a right Judgment thereon) carefully to inspect the *Custom-house* Books, to know how much of our Trade is manag'd by Natives, and how much by Foreigners; what *Irish-Built* Shipping and what Foreign or even *English* Shipping are employ'd in each particular Branch of Trade; what Freight, Expence, and Profit may reasonably be allow'd on each Branch; and when that is done, a Medium may soon be struck, on which we may safely rely; and in this Sir, as well as in all other Branches of our Trade and Industry, your Assistance and that of all the Gentlemen of my Country is earnestly desired, by a Line to be left at Mr. *George Ewing's*, Bookseller in *Dame's-street*, for the Author of *Seasonable Remarks*; and such Advice and Assistance shall gratefully be acknowledged to the Publick.

As to that part of your Paper which reflects on my Calculation of the *French* Trade, give me
leave

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leave, dear Sir, to advise you to a better Consideration of it; our *Custom-house* Books are the best Information we can have of our Exports and Imports: 'tis by them I govern'd myself, and until Smuglers are pleased to give us an Estimate of their clandestine running of Goods, there can be no better Guide; but even in that Case pray consider on what side the Ballance wou'd still lie.

I believe it will be proper before I conclude this Paper, to explain the Mistake into which the Course of Exchange has led you.

In the Dealings between one Country and another, so long as their Trade is on an equal Balance, that is to say, whilst the Commodities exchanged are of equal Value, so long will the Exchange of Money be on the Par; because Men may always be found who would make the Exchange for their own Conveniency.

But when one Country requires more Wares from the other than is sufficient to pay the Balance of their Dealings, the Surplus must be paid for in Money, and the Receiver of the Money having no occasion to lay out this Surplus, is under a Necessity to draw it Home; but being loath to risque the Dangers and Troubles of the Carriage, he perhaps looks out for a Person who has so much at home in his own Country, and makes an Exchange with him, and the difference exacted on the Exchange is what we call Exchange.

Now Sir, the mutual Loss and Gain of Nations has for the above Reason made the Exchange of Money a distinct Trade; and the Exchanger thereof makes it his business to discover the Disadvantage or Gain of all Countries with respect to each other, and accordingly sends out his Money

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ney to one part of the World, from thence to another, where perhaps it is as much wanted, and so travels it in a Circle of Gain till he draws it Home from some Country to which his is Loser, in order to send it out on other Expeditions.

And the Merchant often taking Example by him (when his occasions require a Sum of Money in a Country to which the direct Exchange from his would be at a great Disadvantage) orders his Affairs so, as to convey it, to a fitting Station, from whence to remit it with Gain to the Place where his Occasions require it.

But the *French* Merchant finding that *Ireland* is Loser by none of its Dealings, or at least not in so great a degree as in that with *England*, whenever he has occasion for our Commodities, takes care to have provided in *London* so much as will answer our Demands for them, and from thence remits us our Debt with considerable Advantage to himself; and this is the Reason, Sir, why there is scarce any Remittances made directly from *France* to *Ireland*.

Give me leave, Sir, to wonder that a Person so well versed in the Affairs of our Country, and so sanguine in its Cause, should disguise our Number of Inhabitants; that is a Wealth which our Neighbours the t'other side of the Water won't willingly take from us; for we who stay at home are poor, and not worth the seeking after; but as it may be impossible, to make any tolerable political Computation either of our Strength to repel Injuries or to assist our Friends, and as no certain Estimate can be made either of our Expence or Superlucration, without first arriving at some tolerable Knowledge of our Numbers, I shall make bold to give you the best Lights I can therein.

There

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There were returned by the Heart-money Collectors in the Year ending Lady Day 1726, 374,286 Houses paying Quit-rent over and above certify'd Houses, Colleges, Hospitals and Barracks, which at an Allowance of six Souls to a House, may be equivalent in this Calculation to 42,381 Houses, and that makes the Number of Houses in all 416,667; to which if we allow a Medium of 6 Souls to the House, our Inhabitants must be about 2,500,000; and considering the prolifick Constitutions of our Country Folks, and the early Age at which they intermarry, I am very sure, Sir, you will agree with me that six to a House is not an extravagant Allowance.

I confess, Sir, I am indebted to Books as well as to Conversation, for a great Part of my Knowledge in Trade; neither do I think it a Reproach to me, to own that I have for some Years turned my Thoughts that way, in order to be of Service to my Country; and I own also, that my chief Design in the little Papers, which you have animadverted upon, was to lead the landed Gentlemen of my Country into an Enquiry after that sort of Knowledge; But I hope in all I have said on the Subject, I have not in any Measure derogated from the Honour and Regard which I know is due to Merchants; I have indeed said, that it would be well for the landed Men, if they could judge for themselves, without giving up to the Directions of particular Traders, whose Interest might probably be a Byass upon their Judgments; but far from injuring the Science or Vocation of a Merchant in general. Would not my Exhortation to an Enquiry into the Knowledge of Trade, if it were followed, soon let the landed Men understand how great a part of their Wealth and swelling Rent-rolls is due to them?

R 2

Would

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Would it not soon convince them, that a greater Share of Honour and Acknowledgment is due to Merchants, than to many who boasting a long Succession of titled Ancestors, are themselves a Load upon the Land which they possess, and a dead Drain upon that Wealth which the others labour to supply and increase?

Upon the whole Matter, Sir, whether you be a Merchant or a landed Gentleman, I can't but say, your Observations have given me a sensible Pleasure, and I am not ashamed to own the Satisfaction I have, to think that notwithstanding all the Offence you took to a Speculative or Book Knowledge, you did not however make one Objection against any of the Axioms or Rules which I have set down in my Essay, for the Government of Trade or the stating our Accounts; neither against any other part of my little Tracts, but those which I have hereby endeavoured to explain to you; but however pleased I may be at this your Silence, I give you my Word, Sir, I shall be much more so whenever you convince me of any Error or Mistake that I have committed, for I am a sincere Lover of Truth and of my Country, and always, Sir,

Your most

obedient Servant.

A. L. E. T.

A

LETTER

In Answer to

A PAPER,

INTITLED,

An APPEAL to the Reverend Dean SWIFT.

By the Author of CONSIDERATIONS ON Two Papers, &c.

*Quis tam Lucili fautor inepte est
Ut non hoc fateatur.*

Hor.



Printed in the Year, M,DCC,XXIX.

A
LETTER

In ANSWER to a

PAPER, &c.

S I R,

IF a Journey out of the Kingdom had not prevented my seeing your *Appeal to the Reverend Dean Swift*, until a very few Days ago, I should have been earlier in endeavouring to support my Observations on your former Papers; for, in Truth, Sir, I am rather confirm'd than alter'd in my Opinion, by what you now say in Explanation of those Positions I remarked upon.

I shall ever be desirous to advance any Undertaking that may tend to the Service of this Country: But the Method you took of aggrandizing the Wealth of *Ireland*, when its real Poverty is so visible, necessarily called for some Observations on your mistaken Notions; and one would think you had little Reason to rejoice at my not making more Remarks on them, since you might have seen in my former Paper that I was willing to treat you with Tenderness, on a Supposition that you meant well; and for the same Reason I shall still

still confine myself to the Consideration of those Articles I have already observ'd upon, and of what you say in support of your Opinion.

Whether I am a Merchant, or a landed Gentleman, or entitled to both these Denominations, which may be the Case; I assure you I am no Enemy to Speculative, or Book Knowledge. But as the fluctuating Condition of Trade, and the Interest of Countries, cannot be described by certain and unvariable Bounds, I have always looked on a sound and discerning Judgment to be extremely necessary in those who pretend to extract Rules for the present Condition of our Affairs, from old Schemes, or Books written in other Countries on the like Subjects. This is the Substance of what I said in my former Paper; and I am still of the same Opinion. Speculative, or Book Knowledge, without a sound Judgment in Affairs of Trade, is not unlike the Theory of Navigation, wherein a Man may acquire a perfect Skill; but without Practice he will be at a great Loss what Allowance to make for many Accidents that happen in the Deep, nor can he possibly know how to work a Vessel in a Storm, or conduct it into a safe Harbour. Does it therefore follow, because I would not willingly venture my Life or Goods in a Vessel navigated by Men who are only speculative Sailors, that I am an Enemy to the Theory of Navigation?

You know, Sir, there have been Men who have writ on Subjects which they themselves did not fully comprehend; and that such Authors are apt to mistake what they even borrow from others. As an Instance hereof I shall refer you to the *Defence of the Conduct of Ireland*, whose Author you so very much celebrate; for if you will please to compare that Book with the *Rea-*

sons why the People of Ireland should continue to refuse Wood's Half-Pence, published some Days before by another Hand, you will find the Doctor and Chymist who dressed up the former, tho' they had the other Gentleman's Papers in their Hands, by a very odd sort of Management; yet mistaking, or rather not understanding his Arguments, they did not know how to apply them properly to the Subject they treated of.

You also know, Sir, that Men often cover their real Intentions with false Appearances, and keep Secrets in their Breast for fitting Opportunities. It is no wonder therefore that a Reader, who is incapable of discerning the *Weakness* or *Finesses* of an Author, should be led into Mistakes. Therefore you cannot but agree with me that sound Judgment in a Reader, like Practice in a Sailor, is necessary to guide him in his Course thro' these Shelves and Counter-Tides.

But to proceed to the more immediate Business of your *Appeal*. Believe me, Sir, it is no easy matter to convince me that the present Value of the Capital (to use your own Terms) of the People of *Ireland*, unless you will include the Value of themselves in the Account, is any thing near $\text{\$}6,000,000\text{.}$ for though you say, *I have greatly mistaken the manner in which you calculated, to bring it to that Sum*; yet I rather believe the Error will appear to lie on your side, in not comprehending what you yourself have wrote.

It is true, in one Article you rate the Lands of *Ireland* at only $\text{\$}4\text{ s. }6\text{ d.}$ per Acre for nine Millions of Acres; that is, $\text{\$}2,025,000\text{.}$ per Ann. But then you add thereto $\text{\$}799,870\text{.}$ for Quit-

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rents, Tythes, and Tenants Improvements, which in all making 2,824,870*l.* is not near the Rate of 6*s.* 4*d.* per Acre, for what Sir *Will. Petty* estimated at only two Shillings?

That you knew Sir *Will. Petty* included his Majesty's Quit-rents, the Tythes and Tenants Improvements in his Computation, is evident from your own Book, wherein you tell us he did so †; why then did you make separate Articles of them, unless it was to deceive your Readers? To me it appears evident, that as Sir *W. Petty* computed the entire Value of 9,000,000 of Acres to be 900,000 *l.* per Ann. and that that Sum amounts to 2*s.* per Acre; so your making the same Number of Acres produce 2,824,870*l.* per Ann. it amounts to near 6*s.* 4*d.* per Acre: And this is what I said in my former Paper. I therefore presume, Sir, you will allow I have not mistaken your Words. But as you give up your former Computation, and say 4*s.* 6*d.* per Acre, Old Measure, is a reasonable Rate, I am willing at this time to accept of the Confession; and then the Difference is no less than 799,870*l.* per Ann. that is 15,997,400*l.* to be deducted from your imaginary Capital.

And here give me leave, Sir, to take notice of a false Quotation of yours from Sir *William Petty*. You say *, Sir *William Petty* computes the Lands of Ireland consist of 9,000,000 of Acres, good Arable, Pasture and Meadow, and 1,500,000 Acres of Loughs, Bogs, Shrubs, Woods, &c. Now surely Sir, this could not be an accidental Mistake: For Sir *William Petty*'s Words are so plain, that it must have required Thought to have altered them as you have done.

† Essay 36.

* Essay 36, 37.

His

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His Words are these.

	Acres
Of the said Lands, the High-ways,	} 1,500,000
Rivers, Loughs, unpassable Bogs,	
Rocks and Shrubs take up about	
Of very coarse Land, commonly	} 1,500,000
call'd unprofitable,	
Consequently, of good Meadow,	} 7,500,000
Arable and Pasture	

Which make in all—10,500,000

So that it is evident Sir *William Petty* computed only 7,500,000 Acres of good Arable, Pasture, and Meadow; whereas you say he attributes those Qualities to 9,000,000 of Acres. And though, by Sir *William Petty*, the remaining 1,500,000 Acres are unimproveable; yet you insinuate, as if a great Part of them have been rendered profitable: Whereas it is apparent that the Lands which have been reclaimed, are part of the 1,500,000 Acres, which Sir *William Petty* particularly distinguishes by the Name of very coarse Land, commonly called unprofitable. And it is very probable we have not as yet reclaimed above 500,000 Acres of the coarse unprofitable Land; so that it is likely there are not at this Day above 8,000,000 Acres of profitable Land in the Kingdom.

I confess, Sir, I was, and still am surprized, you should assert the Value of our Capital Stock is increased so much faster than that of *England*; and, notwithstanding all your Endeavours to account for this, yet, in my Opinion, you have no Way cleared up the Matter. But let us observe how you form your Arguments to obscure this Case, which at the same time you promise to set in a clear Light.

You

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You fly back Seventy Years from the *Æra* assign'd; and, endeavouring to shew that *England* has increased its Capital to about four times what it was in the Beginning of the last Century, at which Time, according to your Opinion, *England* was arriv'd near its utmost Boundary of Wealth, you conclude it is not greatly to be wonder'd at, but natural to suppose, *Ireland*, which you say was just beginning its Improvements in 1676, should in Fifty Years increase its Capital Six-fold, when *England* in above One Hundred Years increas'd theirs but about Four-fold. This, as I take it, is the whole Scope of your Argument; yet I am still of Opinion, notwithstanding what you say of its *solemn and heavy Progress*, in Improvements, that *England* has increas'd in general Wealth as much as any other Nation in *Europe* has done in the last Fifty Years, and visible Causes can be assign'd for it. But it is monstrous to suppose, that *Ireland*, which has not had one efficient Cause for its growing rich, but on the contrary, many Obstructions laid on the Industry of its Inhabitants, and great Devastations occasioned by War and Famine, should have increas'd in Wealth so much quicker than *England*. The Fallacy of this Position is surely as self-evident as that other of yours, wherein, after giving a Poetick Description of our imaginary Race to Riches, you conclude that *Now our Hands are all employed*: A Matter which evidently discovers, you are either unacquainted with the Condition of our Affairs, or would willingly throw them into a false Light. And here let me barely touch on your Assertion, that the Number of People in *Ireland* is 2,500,000, that is very little more than three Acres of profitable Land to every Soul in the Kingdom; a

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Condition, I fear, *Ireland* will not arrive to in an hundred Years of continued Peace and Health. But, as this Point will be more fully handled by a learned and ingenious Gentleman, from whom I took my Computation of the People of *Ireland*, not exceeding 1,500,000. I must refer you to what he says on that Head, which I am confident will satisfy every unprejudiced Reader.

The Power you assign to Money, is what I can't in all its Parts agree to: But as it is not necessary to enter on this Debate, it may be sufficient to observe, that Money is not the only Means of estimating the other Articles of our Wealth. Your Questions in Figures satisfy me, our Notions of these Matters are widely different; and as I am not disposed to start new Questions, I shall proceed to observe that you are not, as yet, sufficiently reclaimed from the Error you have fall'n into, by allowing 25 *per Cent.* as a proper Medium for Freight, Merchants Profit and Expence on our Trade: For, tho' you now reduce it to 22 *per Cent.* yet, I am of Opinion, 12 *per Cent.* is too much to be computed on any Traffick, (which alas, instead of being half the Trade of *Ireland*, as you compute it, is not perhaps a tenth Part thereof) that is carried on by our own Merchants, and in our own Ships.

Our Voyages are short; we buy at home with ready Money, we sell abroad at Time: But the Generality of us are forced to discount the Bills we receive for our Goods, and, which is no immaterial Article, all Premiums of Insurance are clear Loss to us; so that upon the whole, I am satisfied, 10 *per Cent.* is more than the National Profit on that part of our Exports which is carry'd on by our Merchants, and in our own Vessels.

fels. It is probable, indeed, there is a greater Profit on our Imports than on our Exports; but taking all together, I am persuaded 12 per Cent. on both, is rather too large, than too small an Allowance.

Let me now, Sir, observe what you say of the Nature of Exchange, and the practical Part of it, to which I could make many material Objections; but, for avoiding further Occasions of Dispute, I will admit there are seldom any Remittances made directly from *Ireland* to *France*, yet Merchants can tell you every Post, what Number of *Irish* Pence ought to be paid in *Dublin* for a *French* Crown to be paid by Exchange in *Paris*: And this is the Course of Exchange, which, I say, has for many Years past been to the Disadvantage of *Ireland*; and plainly shews the Trade with *France* has been to the Detriment of this Country.

There is but one Objection that can be made to this Rule of Judging by the Course of Exchange, whether we gain or lose by our Trade with *France*; and that is, that as *London* is the Medium, thro' which our Exchange with *France* is generally carried, if *England* either gains or loses by its Trade with *France*, the Rate of our Exchange must necessarily be attendant thereon. Now it is well known that *England* of late Years, since they have prudently inspected and reform'd their Trade with *France*, has gain'd by that Commerce; and yet Exchange with *France* is to the Disadvantage of *England*, which must be attributed to the great Demands *France* has on *Ireland*. Further Arguments, deduced from the Nature of our Trade with that Country, might be urg'd to prove what I insist on; but at present I have not Leisure nor Inclination to handle them. I will, therefore, conclude this Point, with telling you, that

that I am well assur'd, notwithstanding what you say of our immense Gain by the *French* Trade, that it evidently appears from the *Custom-House* Books, that our Trade with that Country for the Year 1727, has been above 50000*l.* to the Loss of *Ireland*.

And now, Sir, let me assure you, that by the best Accounts I can get of our general Trade, the Balance has gradually lessen'd from what we gain'd in the Year 1714, until at length the Imports of last Year exceeded our Exports by above 12,000*l.* without computing any Thing for the annual Demands on us from *England*; so that we are evidently reduc'd to the melancholy Condition of issuing Part of our Capital to make our Accounts even. And tho' a florid Complexion appears in some of our Faces, and other Symptoms of Health seem to be in our Constitution, yet it is to be apprehended, we are fallen into a Consumption, of which it will require the Skill of the most cautious Physicians to cure us, and not such as by telling us there is no Danger, and that our *Strength is Gigantick*, would draw us into such Measures as may render our Distemper yet more desperate. That this is our Condition, you seem your self to allow. But, at the same Time, tell us, *This was a Secret you did not care to disclose till a further Opportunity, had not my Observations on your Papers extorted it from you.* How far the Confessing this Secret defends or gives up your former Positions, I submit to every intelligent Reader.

As yet I have not attempted to lay down any particular Schemes of our Affairs: This must be the Work of more mature Consideration, and better Leisure than I can at present afford them. But as I have borrow'd from other Business, the few Hours that have been taken up in writing these

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these Lines, I shall readily submit them to the impartial Judge to whom you have appeal'd; to decide which of us is in the right Way to forward the Interest of *Ireland*; you, who aggrandize the Wealth of this Country to a monstrous and unnatural Height; or I, who endeavour by just and reasonable Observations on your Mistakes, to keep you within Bounds, lest the Magick of your Pen may raise such Pride in us, and mistaken Notions in others, as may serve to sink this Country yet deeper in Misery. I am,

S I R,

Your Humble Servant.

F I N I S.

A N

E S S A Y

O N

Trade in General;

And, on that of

IRELAND in Particular.

By the Author of SEASONABLE REMARKS.

And all King Solomon's drinking Vessels were of Gold, and all the Vessels of the House of the Forest of Lebanon were of pure Gold, none were of Silver; it was nothing accounted of in the Days of Solomon, for the King had at Sea a Navy. 1 Kings, Chap. x. v. 21, 22.

Printed in the Year, M,DCC,XXIX.

TO THE
 RIGHT HONOURABLE
 William Conelly, *Esq;*
 SPEAKER of the House of
 COMMONS, &c.

SIR,

THE universal Neglect of Trade, and the general Dependence which on that Head is so remarkable amongst us, has prevail'd upon me, how unequal soever to the Undertaking, to publish the following Tracts.

I have already endeavoured to shew how much it is the Interest of *England* to promote and encourage

F our

DEDICATION.

our Industry in those Branches of Trade that don't clash with their own, being fully convinced that the best and surest way to obtain a Favour from t'other Side the Water, is by shewing that it is their Interest to comply with us; and I hope I have made that Point as evident to the World as it is in itself really true; but in the following Pages I endeavour to shew the Rise of Industry in the World, the Ballance of Trade; the way to discover our Loss or Gain thereon, and to govern and improve our Commerce; and in order to remove that Despondence which has long been fatal to our Affairs, I have shewn how considerable our national Gain has been by Trade and Industry since the time Sir *William Petty* made his Calculations. I have also given a brief Account of all the Monopolies of the *English* Trade, either by Acts, of Parliament, or Royal Grants, and

DEDICATION.

and have added thereto a Summary of all the Laws made in *England* which in any manner affect our Trade, and an Abstract of the Wants and Superfluities of almost all the known World; but I have above all things laboured to incite the landed Gentlemen to an Inquiry after that sort of Knowledge, on which alone depends the Grandeur and Prosperity of *Ireland* in general, as well as their own particular good Fortunes; and these being the Subjects on which I treat, to whom should I resort for Patronage and Protection, but to You, Sir? To You whose distinguished Virtues have placed You at the highest Degree of Honour and Trust in the State, and have made You to three succeeding Monarchs an Object of their warmest Esteem and Favour: To You, Sir, in whom the PARLIAMENT of Your Country; an *Irish* Parliament ever steddy in pursuit

D E D I C A T I O N.

suit of the Publick-Good, have for so many Years placed their sole and intire Confidence: To You whose consummate Wisdom, whose unshaken Loyalty, and whose steddy Adherence to the Rights and Liberties of Your Country, have as it were enchanted all those Jealousies and Distrusts which either the People are used to entertain of a reigning Favourite, or the Prince of a zealous Patriot; and have rendred You at once the Favourite of the Prince and of the People: And I doubt not, Sir, how imperfectly soever I have handled these important Subjects, but You will from that publick Spirit which You have been always remarkable, favour and countenance my Efforts, since they are the first of the Kind that have appeared to us in any Dress; and since in so doing You may encourage abler Pens to so necessary an Inquiry.

My

D E D I C A T I O N.

My Labours, Sir, have been very freely bestowed thereon for the Good of my Country, and my principal View was to lay before the House of Commons in a summary Way, the State of our Trade, and the Means whereby a wise Legislature may repair and improve it: A Knowledge highly deserving of the Attention of those, who represent a People labouring under Difficulties, and not to be relieved, but by a vigorous and prudent Application to the Trade which they have yet left; but it was almost impossible for me to be so exact therein as was necessary, since my Intention, not to be known in the World for an Author, hindred me from making such close Inquiries into the publick Accounts, as might enable me to lay before the House, a perfect System of our Trade and Navigation; but such as it is I am emboldened to publish it, by the favourable Reception which

my

D E D I C A T I O N.

my feasonable Remarks have met with; and if it has the good Fortune to be agreeable to You, Sir, and to the Commons of *Ireland*, I shall not fail before the next Sessions to call in able Assistants, and to lay before the House an exact Scheme of our Trade and Navigation, of our Loss and Gain by each particular Trade, of our Money-Matters, of our inland Business, and of every Branch of our Manufactures, with Proposals for the Improvement of each respectively; towards which I have already made no small Progress.

In the mean time I beg leave to have the Honour of accounting myself,

SIR,

Your most obedient,

most faithful, and

most devoted Servant.