Duplicate see vol 39

POLITICAL ARITHMETIC

OF THE

Population, Commerce, and Manufactures

OF

IRELAND,

WITH

OBSERVATIONS ON THE RELATIVE SITUATION OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

BY JAMES LAFFAN,

OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE, ESQ.

——— SI QUID NOVISTI RECTIUS ISTIS,
CANDIDUS IMPERTI; SI NON, HIS UTERE MECUM.

Houses of the Oireachtas

Houses of the Oireachtas

THE following Calculations were not originally intended for the Preſs, but deſigned for the Author's private Information. He is now induced to offer them to the Public as there is every Probability that the Commercial Regulations will be preſſed forward in the next Seſſions of Parliament *, and he thinks it criminal to with-hold any Information on a Subject ſo intereſting. The Neceſſity of a ſpeedy Publication prevents him from arranging more methodically the Deductions from his Calculations, and from paying a proper Attention to Correctneſs of Stile.—*Unconnected with Party*, and *uninfluenced by factious Views*, his only Motive in this Publication is to promote the Proſperity of Ireland. He is of opinion that Commercial Regulations with

* What inducement can a miniſter, in either kingdom, have *to preſs forward* a meaſure, which, by the arts of faction, has been rendered unpopular in both? A miniſter may ſay: "I riſqued my credit in "*preſſing forward* an arrangement, which I thought, and ſtill think, "was for the eſſential advantage of both: but, if the ſiſter kingdoms "think differently, it is my duty and my intereſt to ſubmit; ſince, to "do otherwiſe would create me enemies, without gaining a friend."

Great

Great Britain on fair Terms of Reciprocity of Benefits are *expedient*.—Theſe Terms can only be procured by a cloſe Inveſtigation of the relative Situation of both Kingdoms, which he has attempted in a Manner heretofore unattended to. He would not ſubſcribe his Name, but that he thinks it is unfair to attack ſome Arguments and Deductions of a noble Writer from a maſked Battery.

KILKENNY,
1ſt November, 1785.

Houses of the Oireachtas

POLITICAL ARITHMETIC

OF

IRELAND.

IRELAND contains 17.927.864 ſtatute acres.

I ſhall, by allowing 927.864 acres for lakes, rivers and roads, ſuppoſe it to contain 17.000.000 acres of uſeful land.

By the laſt general return of the hearth money collectors, in 1777, the number of houſes was - 448.426

I ſhall ſuppoſe the number of houſes to be 450.000

Mr. King, in his *Natural and Political Obſervations on the State of England*, calculates $4\frac{1}{13}$ perſons to each houſe; Dr. Davenant and Dr. Price allow 5; and Mr. Howlet $5\frac{2}{5}$, to each houſe.

By allowing eleven perſons to two houſes, the number of inhabitants in Ireland is - - - - 2.475.000 which I ſuppoſe is the moſt exact calculation that can be made, except by enumeration.

Sir William Petty, in his *Political Anatomy of Ireland*, com-

computes the number of inhabitants, in the year 1672, to amount to * - - - 2.200.000

viz. Engliſh - -	200.000	
Papiſts deſcended from Engliſh	800.000	
Non-papiſts deſcended from Engliſh	300.000	
Scotch - - -	100.000	
Native Iriſh - -	800.000	
		2.200.000

It is unaccountable how ſo very able a writer as Sir William Petty, after this particular ſtatement of the number of inhabitants, ſhould make his deductions on a principle of the enumeration of the people being but 1.100.000, unleſs I am to ſuppoſe that he computes 1.100.000 as the number of males in the kingdom †.

That the number of inhabitants in Ireland in 1672, was 2.200.000, may be evinced in the following manner:

* Mr. Laffan has miſapprehended Sir W. Petty's account of the number of people in Ireland. In Tate's edit. 1691; and in pag. 7—11—17— and in 116, Sir William Petty again and again deliberately ſtates the number of people as about 1,100,000. Two hundred families, which he gives in p. 7, could never have amounted to 2,200,000, allowing 6 perſons to each.

† The above detail from p. 8 of the Political Anatomy, is the mere blunder of Nahun Tate, the editor. He ought to have placed the ſtatements thus:

Of the people - - - - - - - - -		1,100,000
There are *Engliſh* - - -	200,000	
Scots - - -	100,000	
Iriſh - - -	800,000	
		1,100,000
Of the people,		
There are Papiſts - - -	800,000	
Non-papiſts -	300,000	
		1,100,000

It is therefore *unaccountable* how Mr. Laffan could ſuppoſe ſo *able a writer as Sir W. Petty* to write ſo contradictorily. The blunder was Tate's: and Mr. Laffan was led out of the highway by his prepoſſeſſions.

According

According to proofs made of the progreſſive augmentation of mankind from obſervations on the bills of mortality in England, it appears, that notwithſtanding the common checks given to population by war, famine and peſtilence, the number of the people is doubled in about 400 years.

Now according to Sir William Petty the number of inhabitants in 1672 was - - 2.200.000

By the computation from the bills of mortality the increaſe in about 100 years is one fourth 550.000

The number at preſent ſhould be about 2.750.000

But if we conſider the great number of perſons killed in Ireland in the civil war of 1688, the great emigration at that time, and the numbers that emigrated afterwards in conſequence of the ſeverity of the penal laws and reſtrictions of trade, we may conclude that the preſent number of inhabitants is about - - - 2.475.000

From which deduct the number above labour, *viz.* peers, gentry, clergy, &c. ſuppoſe - 200.000

Remain - - - 2.275.000

From which deduct children under ſeven years of age, one fourth - - 568.750

Remains for agriculture, manufactures and commerce - - - 1.706.250

Of which one-third are men - 568.750

——— one-third women - 568.750

——— one-third aged, and from 7 years to the age of puberty - 568.750

——— 1.706.250

Mr. Arthur Young, in his *Tour through England*, computes, that about one-third of the people is employed in agriculture; therefore deduct one-third for agriculture - - 568.750

Remains for commerce and manufacture - 1.137.500

England and Wales contain about 30.000.000 of acres,

And by Mr. Chalmers *Eſtimate*, page 176, which ſeems to be extremely accurate, the number of inhabitants is 8.023.729:

If the population of Ireland was equal to the population of England and Wales, in proportion to the extent of the reſpective countries, the number of inhabitants in Ireland ought to be - - - - 4.546.779

The preſent number of inhabitants is - 2.475.000

Ireland is deficient * - 2.071.779

The population of England is one perſon to $3\frac{3}{4}$ acres nearly.

The population of Ireland is about one perſon to $6\frac{3}{4}$ acres.

It has been confidently aſſerted, and univerſally admitted, that the wool of Ireland is not ſufficient to clothe its inhabitants.

This is a miſtake; the wool of Ireland is amply ſufficient for the internal conſumption of the kingdom.

Strange as it may appear at firſt view, ſtill there are not 100.000 clothed yearly in Ireland with Britiſh woollen drapery.

The quantity of old drapery imported in the year 1783 was 371,871 yards, which is not 3 yards each for 100.000 men; and as there is no doubt but thoſe that wear Engliſh cloths make upon an average two coats a year, this quantity of old drapery is not ſufficient for 100.000 perſons.

The importation of new drapery the ſame year was 420.415 yards, which is barely ſufficient for one waiſtcoat and a

* Admitting what is certainly true, that there are now in Ireland, of ſouls - - - - - - - - - 2,475,000
and in 1672, - - - - - - - - 1,100,000

1,375,000

what a *marvellous increaſe* would *this demonſtrate*, during a century!

pair

pair of breeches for 100 000 perſons.——In what manner are the remaining 2.375.000 inhabitants clothed? Certainly with Iriſh wool manufactured in Ireland.

In the year 1783 Ireland exported

Of wool,	- -	2063 ſtones.
Woollen and bay yarn,	-	67117 ditto.
Flannel,	- -	11416 yards.
Frize,	- -	784 ditto.
Old drapery,	- -	40589 ditto.

The latter chiefly, if not entirely, made of Iriſh wool.

This exportation, together with the Spaniſh wool neceſſary for ſuperfine cloths, will amply ſupply the 100.000 perſons dreſſed with Engliſh old drapery, and leave a redundancy.

	Yards.
Ireland exported the ſame year new drapery -	538.061
And imported as above - -	420.415
She had a redundancy more than neceſſary for her conſumption of - - -	117.646

Therefore thoſe perſons who aſſert that Ireland has not a ſufficiency of wool for her own conſumption, are deceived, or have an intention to miſlead the nation in regard to her internal reſources.

It is difficult to form an opinion of the quantity of ſheep in the kingdom. In ſuch an enquiry we can proceed only on conjecture from the number of inhabitants and the quantity of wool neceſſary for the clothing of each perſon. I ſhall hazard an eſtimate from the beſt authority I can procure, but leave the reader to form his own judgment.

I have been informed by an eminent woollen manufacturer that a ſtone of wool is neceſſary to clothe an Iriſh labourer of the common ſize with coat, waiſtcoat, breeches, hat, and two pair of ſtockings. The ſame perſon aſſures me that the

wool of Ireland averages at 4 lb. a fleece, which is a pound a fleece leſs than Mr. Young makes it in his *Tour through Ireland.* I ſhall ſuppoſe from the above, that if one perſon with another conſumes 7 lb. of wool in the year, the number of ſheep in the kingdom at 4 lb. a fleece will amount to 4.331.250.

In the information I applied for, I forgot to include the great coat generally worn by the common people, and if we add this to the compliment of wool conſumed, we may conclude that the quantity neceſſary for each perſon is 8 lb. of wool, which I believe is nearer to truth; then the number of ſheep in the kingdom will amount to 4.950.000, or about 5.000.000.

In ſtating the relative ſituation of Great Britain and Ireland, the firſt conſideration to be made is the intereſt of money in the reſpective kingdoms, and the effects which the difference of their rates of intereſt have on commerce, ſhipping, and manufactures.

The legal rate of intereſt in Great Britain is 5 per cent. but any ſum of money can be produced at 4 per cent.

The legal rate of intereſt in Ireland is 6 per cent. and money is difficult to be procured at that rate.

A merchant who ſhips off an adventure for a foreign market expects the intereſt of his money, and at leaſt ten ſhillings profit for every twenty ſhillings intereſt he pays on account of the hazard he runs. A Britiſh merchant who rates the intereſt of his ſtock at 4 per cent. muſt make 6 per cent. profit, that is 4 per cent. for the intereſt of his ſtock, and 2 per cent. for his hazard. An Iriſh merchant, not to be a loſer, muſt ſell at the rate of 9 per cent. that is, 6 per cent. for the intereſt of his ſtock, and 3 per cent. for his hazard. Now it neceſſarily follows, that a Britiſh ſhip and an Iriſh ſhip going to the ſame port with the ſame commodities, bought at the ſame price, the Britiſh merchant underſells

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the Iriſh 3 per cent. and of courſe, as the Iriſh merchant will have no ſale for his goods until the Britiſh cargo is diſpoſed of, the Britiſh merchant has the greater profit, although the Iriſhman ſells for 3 per cent. more, as he is a longer time paying his high rate of intereſt before he has a return for his adventure.

This is the true reaſon why Iriſh merchants have been but factors for Iriſh commodities by dealing ſo much on commiſſion, and ſo little at their own riſk.

Sir Joſhua Child, a writer equally eminent for his practical and theoretic knowledge of trade, in his *Diſcourſe on Money and Trade*, aſſerts that 1 per cent. in intereſt is equal to 2 per cent. in duties paid inwards and outwards, for this reaſon :—Intereſt of money runs through the price of the commodity from the time the money is taken up until the return of the adventure of the money is repaid; it runs through the price of the ſhip, her wear and tear, ſeamens wages and proviſions; it runs through all croſs accidents of contrary winds and ſtoppage in ports. Duties and cuſtoms are only paid at importation and exportation, and merchants can defend themſelves in an eaſy manner againſt the rigour of duties, but there is no fence againſt the intereſt of money. Hence it may be concluded that the Dutch who pay but 3 per cent. intereſt of money, have an advantage of 2 per cent. over the Britiſh merchant who pays 4 per cent. intereſt, and the Britiſh merchant who pays 4 per cent. has an advantage of 4 per cent. over the Iriſh merchant who pays 6 per cent. intereſt.

Whilſt the intereſt of money continues higher in Ireland than in Great Britain, it will be impoſſible that ſtores and magazines of colonial or other foreign produce can be eſtabliſhed in Ireland to ſupply the wants of Great Britain. To be great and general traders there muſt be great ſtock and low intereſt. Greatneſs of ſtock is a conſequence of low intereſt

and

and proper commercial regulations. What makes Holland the general depot of trade, and (except what part of the carrying trade is confined to particular countries by particular laws) the carriers of Europe? The low rate of intereſt.

Yet with all the diſadvantages Ireland labours under in reſpect to the high rate of intereſt of money, it would be a dangerous experiment to attempt to lower it in the preſent diſtreſſed circumſtances of the country. It is proper that the legiſlature ſhould ſet bounds to extortion and uſury, by telling them, "Thus far ſhalt thou go, but no farther." But theſe bounds ſhould be ſet rather above than on that level which the value of money will make for itſelf. The extraordinary neceſſities of a precarious ſecurity will naturally require a greater premium for the riſk than a ſubſtantial mortgage, and it is impolitic as well as inhuman to deny temporary aids to ſuch neceſſities.

Money may be conſidered not only as the meaſure of every other commodity, but likewiſe as a commodity in itſelf. Intereſt is the price of that commodity: it neceſſarily follows that when there is a plenty of the commodity at market, the price will fall, but to aſſize the price where the value ought to bear a proportion to the plenty of the commodity at market, has been a principle long exploded from the ſyſtem of commercial regulations.

In every country a judgment may be formed of the plenty and ſcarcity of money by the price, that is, the intereſt it bears. The penalty of a law may reduce the price or intereſt of money a little below that value, but not much, becauſe no law can compel me to part with a commodity below its value, for if a law ſhould attempt this, I would keep up my money, and no money hoarded up can add to the wealth or commerce of a ſtate. The penalty of ſuch a law is a clog upon commerce, as it prevents the circulation of money.

That the intereſt of money riſes and falls according to

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the quantity of money in circulation may be evinced from the preſent ſtate of that circulation in Great Britain, where the legiſlature ſet the price at 5 per cent. which I may call their price of money at par. The great influx of money, from her extended commerce, has reduced intereſt to 4 per cent. and I have heard in London that it is procured at times at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Thus the plenty of money in circulation in Great Britain has reduced the price 1 to $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. below par.

I have digreſſed thus far to point out the delicacy that ſhould be obſerved, and the ill conſequences that may enſure from any attempt to reduce the intereſt of money in the preſent diſtreſſed circumſtances of Ireland, as it may be aſſerted that it would be eaſy to obviate the diſadvantages we labour under in reſpect to the high rate of intereſt by reducing it to the ſame level with Great Britain.

After having thus pointed out the relative ſituation of Great Britain and Ireland in reſpect to commerce in general, I ſhall next examine their relative ſituation as to ſhipping.

I ſhall ſuppoſe that a Britiſh merchant and an Iriſh merchant build a ſhip each that coſts 1000l. I ſhall ſtate the ſeamens wages, proviſions and repairs, at 300l. a year. Now let us examine what effect intereſt of money will have on each of theſe ſhips according to the rates they reſpectively pay.

The Britiſh merchant conſiders the value of his 1000l. at 4 per cent. - - -	£.	40	0 0
300l. ſeamens wages, proviſions, &c. -		12	0 0
Which amount to per annum, -	£.	52	0 0
The Iriſh merchant conſiders the value of his 1000l. at 6 per cent. - - -	£.	60	0 0
300l. ſeamens wages, proviſions, &c.		18	0 0
Per annum, -	£.	78	0 0

As the ſhips will wear out in a few years, each merchant muſt propoſe to gain the price of his ſhip in (ſuppoſe) twelve years, with compound intereſt, according to the rates they reſpectively pay.

The Britiſh merchant muſt make every year to repay the price of his ſhip in twelve years,	£. 106	11	1½
The Iriſh merchant muſt make every year to repay the price of his ſhip in twelve years,	£. 119	5	6½

The Britiſh ſhip, wages, proviſions, *&c.* ſtand each year in - - - -	£. 52	0	0
To repay the price of the ſhip in twelve years, at compound intereſt - - -	106	5	1½
	£. 158	5	1½

The Iriſh ſhip, wages, proviſions, *&c.* ſtand each year in - - - - -	£. 78	0	0
To repay the price of the ſhip, ut ſupra, -	119	5	6½
	£. 197	5	6½

Thus the Britiſh merchant can freight his ſhip at an annual expence of 158l. 5s. 1½d. when the annual coſt to the Iriſh merchant is 197l. 5s. 6½d.

Take it in another light. If the two ſhips were conſtantly freighted at the ſame price, ſo as to enable the Iriſh merchant to clear his ſhip in twelve years, the Britiſh ſhip would clear itſelf in eight years.

Or ſuppoſe the Britiſh and Iriſh merchant paid the ſame ſum of money yearly intereſt, the Britiſh merchant would be enabled to build a ſhip of 300 tons, and the Iriſh merchant but a ſhip of 200 tons.

The advantages which Great Britain enjoys in this reſpect are ſo obvious from the above calculation, that there is no doubt but the trade of Ireland muſt be chiefly carried on by Britiſh

Britiſh ſhipping. Leſt any doubt ſhould remain, I ſhall prove from facts the juſtneſs of theſe calculations, by ſtating the tonnage of Britiſh, Iriſh and foreign ſhipping employed in the Iriſh carrying trade in the years 1723 and 1772. If I had recourſe to the proper offices, I would ſtate the tonnage of the year 1784. I have taken theſe returns from *Lex Mercatoria, Iriſh Edit.* 1773, page 575. I cite my authority to prove I proceed upon the beſt information in my power to procure.

STATE of the TONNAGE of Britiſh, Iriſh and Foreign Shipping employed in the Iriſh Carrying Trade in 1723.

	Tons.
Britiſh, - - - -	115.687
Iriſh, - - - -	42.136
Foreign, - - - .	16.163
	173.986

STATE of the TONNAGE of Britiſh, Iriſh and Foreign Shipping, employed in the Iriſh Carrying Trade in 1772.

	Tons.
Britiſh, - - -	236.654
Iriſh, - - - -	33.312
Foreign, - - - -	16.628
	286.594

Mr. Gregory King * eſtimated the tonnage of England, in the year 1688, as a profit to the kingdom of about 4l. 5s. a ton. I ſhall calculate the tonnage of the ſhipping employed in the Iriſh carrying trade at 3l. a ton, which is 1l. 5s. a ton leſs than Mr. King's calculation.

* Chalmer's Eſtimate, p. 40.—Mr. Laffan might have here remarked the great increaſe of *the Iriſh carrying trade* in fifty years, notwithſtanding conſtant complaints of the contrary.

The freight of the Iriſh trade in the year 1772, for 286.594 tons, at 3l. per ton, amounted to - - £. 859.782

Of which Great Britain received	£.	709.962
——Ireland - -		99.936
——Foreigners - -		49.884
	£.	859.782

But my chief reaſon for introducing this ſtatement of the tonnage of ſhips employed in the Iriſh carrying trade, is to point out that the tonnage of Britiſh ſhips employed in this trade was more than doubled in leſs than fifty years; and though the Iriſh trade required above 110.000 tons more in 1772 than in 1723, yet in that period of time Iriſh tonnage decreaſed nearly one-fourth; and it appears that in 1723 about two-thirds of the Iriſh carrying trade was enjoyed by Great Britain, which increaſed to about ſeven-eighths in 1772.

From the above ſtate of the Iriſh carrying trade will it bear a queſtion, whether it would be more beneficial to Ireland to be included in the Britiſh act of navigation, or by purſuing the policy of Great Britain confine her carrying trade to her own ſhipping *?

We may now judge with what propriety a noble writer (when pointing out the danger that may enſue to Great Britain from including Ireland in the navigation act) adopts for a motto,

* How a commerce requiring 286,594 tons of ſhipping, can be carried on by 33, or even 40,000 tons, Mr. Laffan ought to have ſhewn; and where the number of ſhips neceſſary to fill the void could be readily had, if there were capital to buy or build them. Whether *the people* of Britain would ſubmit to the excluſion ſuggeſted by Mr. Laffan:—Whether they would not inſiſt, in juſt return, to exclude the Iriſh ſhipping from the banks of Newfoundland—from the colony trade, and from *the protection* of the *Britiſh* flag every where, are weighty conſiderations.

——*Non*

———*Non Hoſtem inimicaque Caſtra*
Argivum, veſtras ſpes uritis.

The 12 C. II. c. 18. is the original act of navigation and included Iriſh ſhipping. It was confirmed by the Iriſh ſtatute of 14 & 15 C. II. c. 9. Subſequent Engliſh ſtatutes ſtruck out Ireland. The Britiſh navigation act is too ſtrait laced †. It is unfavourable to foreign commerce. The 13th regulation annexed to the Iriſh ſtatute of 14 & 15 C. II. c. 9. ſhews, that the Iriſh legiſlature had ſome idea of making Ireland a depot of foreign produce ‡. It ſays, "Inaſmuch "as the natural ſituation of this realm renders it ſufficiently "convenient for the ſtoring and laying up of commodities "and merchandize brought in with intent to be afterwards "carried out again for ſupply of foreign markets, by which "much benefit and advantage may ariſe to his Majeſty and "people; the lord deputy, therefore, or other chief gover-"nor or governors and privy council of this realm for the "time being, ſhall and may (as they in their judgment ſhall "ſee meet and find moſt advantageous and beneficial to his "Majeſty and this kingdom) appoint one certain port in "each province of this realm to which all merchants, ſtran-"gers and their factors, ſending his or their goods with in-"tent and to the end and purpoſe aforeſaid, may, upon a "reaſonable compoſition or agreement to be agreed on by "direction of the ſaid lord deputy, or other chief governor "or governors and privy council as aforeſaid, and payment "thereof made unto the collector or collectors of thoſe "ports, in lieu of all cuſtoms and ſubſidies due and payable "by this preſent act, there land and lay up the ſame in his

† *The people* of Britain will not part with the act of navigation, but with their exiſtence; becauſe their *exiſtence* depends on the ſtricteſt execution of it.

‡ Nothing but the vaſt capitals of Holland and Britain can make *a depot of foreign commerce.*

"Majeſty's

" Majeſty's warehouſes, at the cuſtom-houſe, or ſuch other " warehouſes and places, and no other, as ſhall be provided " for that end and purpoſe by the collector, cuſtomer and " ſearcher of thoſe ports, under whoſe joint cuſtody the ſame " are to remain until they be ſhipped out again, which ſhall " be done again without payment of any duties outwards, " or any thing more than a reaſonable rate for warehouſe " room ; but if any merchant, factor or other, bringing in " or laying up his or their goods by way of compoſition, " ſhall not export, but otherwiſe diſpoſe of the ſame, every " ſuch merchant, factor or other ſhall, before he or they " receive his or their goods from the warehouſe or place " where they are laid up, pay unto the collector not only " as much as with his or their compoſition monies ſhall " compleat the whole cuſtoms and ſubſidies of ſuch goods, " but likewiſe intereſt at the rate of 10l. per cent. for ſo long " a time as the payment of the full duties of thoſe goods had " been forborne."

The 53d regulation, annexed to the ſame act, compelling aliens to pay double cuſtom, is impolitic. It certainly ought to be inforced to prohibit a croſs carrying trade, but our ports ſhould be open to all foreigners, not only to import the produce of their own country, but likewiſe to take our produce in return.

I ſhall now examine the relative ſituation of Great Britain and Ireland as to manufactures, and ſee what effect the different rates of intereſt have on Britiſh and Iriſh manufactures when taken from the loom and ready for ſale.

I will ſuppoſe that 50l. a year will keep a loom well employed. It is of no conſequence whether this ſum is too much or too little, as the proportion will be the ſame, let the ſum be what it will. To employ twenty looms in Ireland, at 50l. a loom, will require 1000l. the intereſt of which

which is 60l. per annum. A Britiſh manufacturer, who pays 60l. yearly intereſt of money, at 4 per cent. procures for that intereſt 1500l. and can employ thirty looms; and as he at the ſame expence employs one-third more looms than an Iriſh manufacturer, of courſe he has one-third more profit on his manufacture, or can underſell the Iriſh manufacturer in the ſame proportion in his own or any foreign market, and engroſs the trade to himſelf.

If a manufacturer did not imagine that he could pay off the principal debt in ten years by the profits of his induſtry, and at the ſame time ſupport his family, he would not take up money at intereſt. If then the Iriſh manufacturer ſhall be enabled to ſupport his family, and pay off the principal in ten years, a Britiſh manufacturer ſhall maintain his family and pay off the ſame principal in about ſeven years.

It has been objected on the part of Great Britain that the low rents, light taxes and cheapneſs of labour in Ireland, muſt give advantages to the Iriſh manufacturer, and enable him to underſell at foreign markets Britiſh manufactures, which are ſubject to high rents, heavy taxes, and dear labour.

If theſe objections are not ſufficiently confuted by the foregoing remarks on the different rates of intereſt, I ſhall anſwer, trade and manufactures thrive in proportion to the population of a country. Holland is the moſt populous country in Europe. Land there pays an exceſſive rent, and the annual taxes on land are nearly equal to the annual rent. Every article of food and raiment pay an exceſſive high exciſe, yet notwithſtanding the dearneſs of land and the heavy exciſe laid on every thing they conſume, manufactures flouriſh, and there is to be found in Holland every ſort of manufacture. England and France are the next moſt populous countries, and it is unneceſſary to mention how much manufactures thrive amongſt them. Spain, Portugal, Sweden, Denmark and Ruſſia are the leaſt populous countries of Europe. Land and labour is cheap in theſe countries, yet they

are

Houses of the Oireachtas

are ſupplied with manufactures by thoſe populous countries where rent is heavy, labour dear, and taxes high. The *Dean of Glouceſter*, in his *Political and Commercial Tracts*, has proved that a poor country cannot ſtand a competition with a rich country in cheapneſs of manufactures, although poſſeſſed of equal advantages; therefore to burden the infant manufactures of a poor country with the ſame exciſe which is laid on a wealthy, well-eſtabliſhed manufacture, would be attended with the ſame conſequence as to the frog in the fable, which, aſpiring to ſwell itſelf to the ſize of the ox, burſt in the attempt, or if I may be allowed to borrow a Scotch expreſſion from that great luminary of the law, Lord Manſfield, it would be *ſeething the kid in the milk which Providence ſupplied for its nouriſhment.*

A noble writer *, in his *Obſervations on the preſent State of Ireland*, recommends to Great Britain to "fear the effect of conceſſions difficult to foreſee." *Fas eſt ab* HOSTE *doceri.* It is incumbent therefore on Ireland to guard againſt the effects of conceſſions that are obvious. Great Britain, long enured to habits of proſperous induſtry, will ever retain that ſuperiority in trade which ſhe enjoys at preſent, even ſuppoſing that Ireland was equally induſtrious, and there is every reaſon to think that ſhe will ſhortly outſtrip Ireland in the linen manufacture.

From the printed report of the committee of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons on the State of Iriſh manufactures, it appears that Great Britain's yearly conſumption of linen is 63.000.000 yards:

	Yards.
Of which her own manufacture ſupplies -	28.000.000
——————German linen - -	20.000.000
And of Iriſh linen but - - -	15.000.000
	63.000.000

* Lord Sheffield.

England,

England, I may ſay, compelled Ireland to enter into a compact in 1699, by which the linen trade was to be preſerved to Ireland *. Great Britain broke this compact. In 1743 ſhe included low-priced Iriſh linen in the bounties deſigned to promote her own manufacture. This was a ſpecious benefit to Ireland, but deluſive. Mr. Hamill's eſtimate of the charges on a pack of Iriſh linen imported into London, which he laid before the Iriſh committee, amount to 14l. 8s. 3d. per cent. therefore Britiſh linens have an advantage of 14l. 8s. 3d. per cent. over Iriſh linens ſhipped from a Britiſh port.

The rapid encreaſe of the Britiſh linen manufacture will appear from a comparative view of Britiſh and Iriſh linen exported on bounty in the years 1743 and 1773 from Britiſh ports.

In the year 1743.

	Yards.
Britiſh linen exported on bounty - -	52.779
Iriſh linen exported on bounty - -	40.907

In the year 1773.

Britiſh linen exported on bounty -	5.235.266
Iriſh linen exported on bounty - -	2.832.246

Thus may be ſeen the progreſſive improvement of the Britiſh linen manufacture from the year 1743 to 1773, and that the charges incident to an Iriſh pack of linen exported from

* This *compact* (as the abſurd meaſures of 1699 are called) did not ſtipulate that the people of Britain would ſuppreſs their own *linen* manufacture, much leſs that they would give a bounty on the export of *Iriſh* linen from Britain. To admit 15,000,000 of yards of Iriſh linen into Britain, without paying a tax, which would operate, were a tax impoſed, as a bounty to Britiſh linen, is a favour from a zealous people of no ſmall importance, which ought not to be lightly brought into diſcuſſion.

a Britiſh

a Britiſh port operate as a protecting duty for Britiſh linen, excluſive of the advantage of the Britiſh manufacturer in the different rates of intereſt of money.

The value of linen yarn exported to Great Britain in 1782 was 169.126l.; and as, from the report of the Iriſh committee, labour and linen yarn are nearly of equal value in this manufacture, the Iriſh manufacturers have loſt by this exportation - - - £. 169.126

In the year 1698, being the year before the exportation of Iriſh woollen drapery was prohibited, the value of Engliſh old drapery imported was - £. 8838 3 9
And of new drapery, - - 1774 10 10

In the year 1783, being a few years after the prohibition was withdrawn, the value of Britiſh old drapery imported was - - - - £. 260.310 1 0
And of new drapery - - 52.551 17 6

In 1782 the value of wool, worſted and bay yarn exported amounted to - - - - £. 127.214
Of which, Wool, - - £. 1482
——— Woollen yarn, - 805
——— Worſted yarn, - 124.927
£. 127.214

The Norwich manufacturers aſſerted, before the committee of the Britiſh privy council, that labour is about 85 per cent. in the manufacture of worſted ſtuffs. The Yorkſhire manufacturers ſaid, that in the ſhort wool manufactures the proportion was as 2 labour to 1 material, and in the long wool manufactures as 5 labour to 1 material. The quantity of worſted yarn exported in 1782 being ſo large a proportion of the export of the whole, I am within bounds by averaging the wool, worſted and bay yarn imported that year at 4 labour

bour to 1 material; therefore the profit to the Britiſh manufacturer on the value exported - - £. 127.214

multiplied by - - 4

is - £. 508.856

Which with profit on linen yarn before mentioned - - - - - 169.126

And of courſe a loſs to Iriſh manufacturers of * - - - £. 677.982

Sic Vos non Vobis Vellera fertis Oves.

Ireland, by confining her conſumption of Weſt India produce to the Britiſh Iſlands, has been a loſer in the year ending the 25th March, 1783, in the article of ſugar alone, - - - £. 92.940 18 0

The quantity of candy, loaf and raw ſugars that year imported was 142.986 cwt. and the *Dean of Glouceſter*, in his *Reflections*, ſays, that we could procure ſugar thirteen ſhillings per cwt. cheaper from Portugal than from the Britiſh colonies.—Portugal would take manufactures in return.

Although the Weſt India trade is open, and we can import ſugars directly from the iſlands, yet it appears that 142.986 cwt. was that year imported, of which 109.116 cwt. came to us circuitouſly through Great Britain. There was of rum imported the ſame year from the Weſt Indies 297.038 gallons, and 129.950 gallons from Great Britain. Of cotton wool 1092 cwt. from the Weſt Indies, and 2705 cwt. from Great Britain. A convincing proof of the juſtneſs of the foregoing calculations, and that the great capital and low rate of intereſt will ſecure to Great Britain the carrying trade, and make her the depot of colonial produce.

* Mr. Laffan does not conſider that manufactures can only be carried, in whatever country, to the extent of its capital; and that Britain can procure *materials* of manufacture from every quarter of the globe.

Mr. Chalmers, in his *Eſtimate*, makes the medium balance of trade for three years, ending 1772, £. 745.210 a year in favour of Great Britain againſt Ireland *. The noble writer heretofore alluded to, in his *Obſervations on the American States*, makes the medium balance of trade, from the year 1770 to the year 1780, £. 484.871. 6s. 6¼d. a year in favour of Great Britain againſt Ireland; but in his *Obſervations on the preſent State of Ireland*, he finds out that the Britiſh cuſtom-houſe returns of the valuation of Iriſh imports are extremely defective, and that the Iriſh cuſtom-houſe returns are more regular and juſt. It is to be hoped that if the party to which he is attached reſume their employments, he will be appointed inſpector-general of the imports and exports (an office for which, from his laborious compilations, he ſeems well qualified). From the great difference between the returns of the Britiſh and Iriſh cuſtom-houſes, it is manifeſt that there is a leading principle in each kingdom to make the balance of trade appear in its own favour. The vanity of merchants in puffing their conſequence by large entries where no duty is paid, is well known, and points out the neceſſity of ſome regulation to enforce juſt entries by forfeitures, and prevent thereby falſe notions of the balance of trade. The imports of Britiſh manufactures may be depended upon, as from the duties paid, it may be ſafely aſſerted that the quantity returned is actually imported. It is highly probable that there is more imported than in the cuſtom-houſe returns, but there cannot be leſs, becauſe no perſon will pay duty for more than he imports. The export of Iriſh manufactures being free from duty, gives room for the indulgence of that vanity which is prejudicial to the ſtate, as it gives falſe notions of the balance of trade. Iriſh linen being exempt from duty in Britiſh ports gives an opportunity to the Britiſh merchant to indulge the ſame va-

* This balance has been growing daily leſs, ſince 1772.

nity;

nity; and the cuſtom-houſe officers in ſuch a caſe are indifferent about the extent of an entry if their accuſtomed fees are paid. Hence Ireland may conclude to a certainty the value of her imports, but the value of her exports are very problematical.

Let us take the balance either for or againſt Ireland from the Britiſh or Iriſh returns, or ſay the imports and exports are nearly equal. Take it any way, ſtill there are items of great importance which have not been included in either of the returns, and make a large balance againſt Ireland.

The yearly drains of Ireland for the eſtates of abſentees are moderately eſtimated at -	£. 1.200.000 0 0
In the general ſtate of the national account, ending March, 1784, £. 16545 5s. 5¼d. is entered as the four ſhillings in the pound on employments and penſions of abſentees, they therefore receive	66.181 1 9
The freight of Britiſh ſhipping before-mentioned - -	709.962 0 0
	£. 1.976.143 1 9

To this ſhould be added the yearly remittances for intereſt of money, mortgages, education of youth, inſurance of ſhips, houſes and lives, carriage horſes, &c. with the penſions from which there is no deduction of poundage, of all which I can form no eſtimate for want of proper materials, and then a juſter view may be had of the balance of trade between the two kingdoms *.

Mr. Hume, in his *Eſſay on the Balance of Trade*, aſſerts, that " the flow of money ought to be kept rather more than

* This vaſt current of coin runs with rapid flow (if we may uſe the eloquent language of Alderman Falkener of facetious memory) from *the blood* and *bowels* of *Iriſhmen*.

full by ſmall but conſtant augmentations." How then can Ireland ſupport her neceſſary circulation when ſubject to ſuch drains*? To what account are the ſums of money annually remitted for offices and penſions to be charged, if commercial regulations with Great Britain are adopted? Are they to be charged to Great Britain as part payment of the ſurplus of the hereditary revenue, or are they ſtill to remain a burden on the ſhoulders of Ireland? No Iriſhman wiſhes to tie up the hands of Majeſty from rewarding real or even ſuppoſed good ſervices, but let the civil liſt of Great Britain gratify the wants or deſerts of thoſe whoſe ſervices have been in Great Britain, and Iriſhmen will not object to extending the royal bounty here to thoſe whoſe real or ſuppoſed good ſervices were exerted for Ireland, and let each ſupply their own poor and needy.

The marine, the revenue, the wholeſale merchant and the retailer reap ſome profit from the importation of manufactures, but the exportation of money is a total loſs to a ſtate. How much Great Britain profits in her revenue and manufactures from theſe annual remittances of Ireland does not come within the limits I have preſcribed for myſelf in this publication, but will be fully attended to in a hiſtory of the trade, finances and reſources of Ireland, which I have an intention of publiſhing, if I can add ſome neceſſary materials

* This drain equally exiſted in Dean Swift's days. The whole caſh of Ireland, according to him, was only £.500,000, and yet £.1,000,000 were *annually* ſent to England. This very *logical deduction* did not eſcape the remark of Mr. Hume. On the other hand, Dr. Adam Smith has juſtly obſerved, that the wealth of a country may rapidly increaſe, though the *apparent* balance of trade be againſt it. He gives the example of the colonies, which now form the American ſtates. He might have added Ireland. She has more than doubled her people in a century: ſhe has more than quadrupled the quantity of their *labour* and *products*, which form the real wealth of every people. Augment your *inhabitants* and *their induſtry*, ſays Mr. Hume, and you need not trouble yourſelves about the *nominal balance* of trade.

to thoſe I have collected, and can ſpare time from ſtudies more perſonally intereſting *.

The proviſion trade is a great article of commerce, but deſtructive to Ireland: it muſt neceſſarily be purſued until there is an encreaſe of population. The quantity of black cattle will not decreaſe until the ſame ground that feeds them ſhall be occupied by men. The profits of the proviſion trade cannot be aſcertained by the quantity ſhipped, but by the price, becauſe the redundancy muſt be exported, let the price be what it may. The pork trade is indeed beneficial, as it aſſiſts the poor cottager at little or no expence to pay the rent of his miſerable cabin and acre of land.

Although we can procure bar-iron on the ſame terms with Great Britain from the Eaſt country, yet on an average of three years importation, ending the 25th March, 1783, we imported each year,

	Cwt.
From the Eaſt country, - - -	98 488
And from Great Britain, - - -	74-730

notwithſtanding the additional expence of a ſecond freight, with other incidental charges, and that the duty on bar-iron from Great Britain is 3s. 6d. a ton more than from the Eaſt country.

In the equalization duty on iron and iron wares in 1778, the duty was calculated as if all the iron manufactured in Great Britain was imported. By the evidence given to the

* Mr. Laffan is conjured not to make the documents of his hiſtory bend to his hypotheſis, but to draw his inferences from his data: let him eſtabliſh *the fact* firſt, and then draw a fair concluſion. Mr. Laffan will not ſurely forget to ſtate in his *propoſed hiſtory*: That the value of the exports of Ireland was no more in 1685, than £. 550,000. but, in 1785, 3,500,000. And then, he will naturally give vent to his paternal feelings:—What an aſtoniſhing increaſe, and how prodigiouſly Ireland muſt have proſpered, in the mean time, though her good patriots have been continually complaining of her decline!!

committee

committee of the Britiſh Houſe of Lords, there are about 55.000 tons of iron imported, and 30.000 tons annually made in Great Britain; and as a rapid progreſs is making in her manufacture of bar-iron the importation of courſe will decreaſe. Ireland makes no bar-iron. The true mode of equalizing the duty, as the trade ſtands at preſent, is to lay an exciſe on all bar-iron made in Great Britain equal to the duty paid on all iron imported; or if Great Britain wiſhes to protect her bar-iron manufacture, to rate the duty on iron imported upon all iron conſumed. For example, I ſhall, to avoid fractions, ſuppoſe that ſhe imports 60.000 tons, and manufactures 30.000 tons, the groſs amount of the duty paid on 60.000 tons imported ſhould be rated as paid on the 90.000 tons conſumed, then two-thirds of the duty now actually paid in Great Britain would be the proper equalization duty for bar-iron exported by Ireland to the Britiſh colonies.

The preſent duty on a ton of bar-iron imported in Great Britain is - - -	£.	2	16 1
To make this Iriſh money -		0	4 8
	£.	3	0 9
But as one-third of the bar-iron exported from Great Britain is made there ſubject to no exciſe, deduct one-third of the above duty,		1	0 3
The true equalization duty for Ireland is		2	0 6

And as the duty in 1778 was ſettled at 2l. 10s. per ton, we pay at preſent 9s. 6d. per ton more than the true equalization, although there was an additional duty of 7s. 7d. per ton laid on iron imported into Great Britain ſince this calculation of 2l. 10s. was framed and paſſed into a law.

Doubts having ariſen on what average to eſtimate the waſte of bar-iron when manufactured into iron-wares, it would be preſumptuous to form any calculation on the true equalizing duty; when theſe doubts are removed, and the

average

average properly aſcertained, the duty on exportation ſhould be ſettled on the above principle.

But there is a ſhorter and eaſier way to make this affair ſatisfactory to the manufacturers of both kingdoms, which is to grant a drawback of all duties on exportation.

If *Lord Sheffield*, in his *Obſervations on the American States*, is rightly informed, the quantity of iron made in Great Britain exceeds the quantity imported. His Lordſhip ſays, p. 18, that the imports are near 50,000 tons, and that there is from 50 to 60,000 tons of pig, and from 15 to 20,000 tons of bar-iron made in Great Britain; and there is every reaſon to think the noble writer was well founded in *this* aſſertion, for, in his *Obſervations on the preſent State of Ireland*, he ſays, page 212, "The improvements in mak-"ing good bar-iron with pit-coal, the great aid given to "labour, and the expences ſaved by the improved ſteam-"engines, afford a reaſonable hope that in time, if no ex-"traordinary checks ſhould intervene, enough will be "made in Britain to ſupply *theſe* kingdoms in that neceſſary "article." And as a corroboration of this well-founded hope he remarks, in a note, that 500 tons of coals are daily conſumed by one company in Shropſhire in this manufacture.

It will not, I preſume, be conſidered an unneceſſary digreſſion to mention here, from *Dr. Boate's Natural Hiſtory of Ireland*, the iron forges at work in Ireland in the reign of Charles I. every one of which is now in ruins, or I ſhould rather ſay, not a veſtige of them remains.

Several iron works in Munſter, by the Earl of Cork.

In the counties of Roſcommon and Leitrim, and near Mountrath, in the Queen's county, by Sir Charles Coote.

At Ballinakil, in the Queen's county, by the Earl of Londonderry.

At Mountmelick, by Sir Adam Loftus.

In

In Fermanagh, by Sir John Dunbar.

In the ſame county, by the ſide of Lough-Earn, by Sir Leonard Blenerhaſſet.

In Thomond, by ſome London merchants.

Beſides ſeveral others on the coaſts of Ulſter and Munſter, in which Engliſh ore was uſed; and likewiſe ſeveral bloomeries, hammer works, and caſting works; of the latter, one was working by Sir Chriſtopher Wandſworth, in the barony of Idough, for caſting ordnance, pots, ſmall round furnaces, *&c.*; and in digging out the iron ore, they diſcovered the vein of coals at preſent well known by the name of Kilkenny Coal.

I ſhall give a few more inſtances of the relative ſituation of Great Britain and Ireland as to commerce, and leave the reader to judge on what grounds Lord Sheffield aſſerted, that Ireland will become the depot of colonial and foreign produce *.

In the year, ending 25th March, 1783, Ireland imported 3.459.861 lb. of tobacco, of which 2.415.137 lb. were imported from Great Britain.

In the ſame year ſhe imported 60.079 lb. of indigo, of which 47.898 lb. came circuitouſly through Great Britain.

Of raw and thrown ſilk ſhe imported each year, on an average of three years, ending 25th March, 1783, 114.799lb. of which 111.944 lb. came circuitouſly through Great Britain.

There is ſomething very unaccountable in the difficulties thrown in the way of Ireland as to a proper explanation of the Methuen treaty made in the year 1703. It is a nar-

* LORD SHEFFIELD is a well-known party-writer, who borrows what he diſſeminates from Silas Dean, and others; and who conſequently fills his voluminous pamphlets with *miſtatements* of facts and with *contradictions* to his own reaſonings. The true anſwer to ſuch a politician is *Sheffield verſus Sheffield*, as Mr. Laffan's friends at the Middle Temple would ſay.

rowneſs

rowneſs of principle in a Britiſh miniſter not to have this matter properly adjuſted. The Iriſh crown is inſeparably annexed to the crown of Great Britain, and of courſe Ireland is a part of the empire. No foreign power, on forming treaties, is ſuppoſed to know what particular diſabilities any part of the Britiſh empire is ſubject to, when ſuch treaties are ſigned. If Briſtol, Liverpool, or any other Britiſh port, was laid under an interdict of trade by the Britiſh parliament before this treaty was made, and that interdict afterwards removed, can it be ſuppoſed that Portugal would refuſe taking goods from ſuch port on account of the interdict? Ireland lay under ſuch an interdict at the time, and when that interdict was removed, ſhe was intitled to the benefit of the treaty. That ſhe did not enjoy it, was owing to internal regulations of the empire, of which no foreign power can judge. If this treaty, made in the year 1703, was originally deſigned for England alone, was there any objection made by the court of Liſbon to Scotland's participation of the treaty? Certainly there was not.

It is ridiculous to aſſert, that at the time this treaty was made, Portugal objected to the admiſſion of Iriſh woollens. Portugal never made any objection to receiving Iriſh woollens, whilſt the interdict laſted, and that they were a contraband trade from this kingdom; and when the interdict was removed, and the duties on all wines imported were laid on, conſonant to the ſpirit of that treaty, it was declared in the Iriſh Houſe of Commons to be done in conſequence of a declaration of the Portugueze ambaſſador, that if the duties on all wines of the growth of Portugal were not lower by one-third than the duties on French wines, Ireland could not be permitted to enjoy the benefit of the treaty.

In July, 1729, the Engliſh factory at Liſbon publiſhed a

* memorial on the balance of trade between Great Britain and Portugal. In the eſtimate the imports and exports of Ireland to and from Portugal are included as part of the imports and exports of the empire. Ireland will riſe or fall with Great Britain. The friends of Great Britain are the friends of Ireland; the enemies of Great Britain, the enemies of Ireland. In the infraction of treaties of the empire Ireland is deeply intereſted. Her blood and treaſure are expended, and her trade equally expoſed to the ravages of thoſe wars in which the empire is engaged. She is therefore as well intitled to the common benefits reſulting to the empire from treaties, as ſhe is liable to the diſadvantages of an unſucceſsful war.

It is a fixed and certain *rule* in the *law of nations*, that treaties include ALL the ſtates of the contracting powers as to their ſubjects and commerce, unleſs limited by expreſs ſtipulations to particular places or certain perſons, or with exemptions preciſely defined.

Are there any expreſs ſtipulations to particular places or perſons, or are there any exemptions in the Methuen treaty? It was made by Queen Anne; her ſtyle was not then Queen of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, but Queen of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, and the treaty was made for all her ſubjects. Internal regulations of the empire prevented ſome of her ſubjects from enjoying for a time the benefit of it. Portugal knew nothing of theſe internal regulations, but as ſoon as the diſabilities cauſed by theſe regulations were removed, every ſubject of the empire was entitled to the benefits of the treaty, becauſe it was ſigned by the reſpective powers without any exemption of places or perſons.

In theſe circumſtances Ireland has reaſon to complain

* Lex Mercatoria, p. 530.

of

of the inattention (to call it by no worſe a name) of the Britiſh miniſter in the Portugal buſineſs *. The proper conſtruction of treaties is ſo well known that Portugal would raiſe no difficulty, if ſhe did not perceive it pleaſing to the Britiſh miniſtry. Portugal knew or ſeemed to know nothing of Britiſh reſtrictions on Iriſh trade, whilſt ſuch reſtrictions were enforced, as ſhe freely admitted our woollen manufacture when ſmuggled out of Ireland, but the narrow policy of a few Britiſh merchants in the Liſbon factory have cauſed a new conſtruction of treaties, and the conſtruction by the law of nations and general uſage muſt be laid aſide for their advantage.

It is not ſurpriſing that Ireland ſhould be unacquainted with the conſtruction of treaties, being ſo long debarred from their common benefits; but it is indeed ſurpriſing that ſhe acted with ſuch ill policy as to endanger the little trade that remained with Portugal by laying (I may ſay) prohibitory duties on Portugal wines. The balance of trade with Portugal was conſiderably more than 80001. a year in favour of Ireland, and a proſpect of an increaſing balance; thus circumſtanced we ſhould not irritate her. Our intereſt calls upon us to conciliate by withdrawing theſe duties. A war of prohibitions with Portugal will certainly hurt, but cannot ſerve us. Much may be done by negociation, when the Britiſh miniſter is convinced we know what we are entitled to.

* It is an undoubted fact, that not only the *preſent* but the *former* miniſters did every thing in their power *to have this matter properly adjuſted*. For, it is *the intereſt* of every miniſter to preſerve, or procure quiet in his time. But, the Britiſh government cannot dictate to any foreign power. And while the Iriſh do not heartily concur, by impoſing proper duties in favour of the Portugal wines, they cannot expect much benefit from the fooliſh treaty of 1703.

If the Iriſh find it now ſo difficult to procure an adjuſtment of this perplexing buſineſs, what embarraſſments would they not encounter if they were *as independent* as the *American States?*

The

The ſtrange conduct of the Britiſh miniſter in this buſineſs will make it neceſſary for Ireland, in any commercial regulations entered into with Great Britain, to have the ſpirit of foreign treaties more clearly defined, and ſuch definition ſhould be the baſis or fundamental principle of the regulations. I was never more ſurprized than at an expreſſion of the late Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, when the Propoſitions were agitated. He ſaid, with a degree of exultation, that if the commercial regulations were adopted, Ireland would be enabled to ſhip off her manufactures to Britiſh ports, and from thence ſhe could export them as Britiſh manufactures.——What! muſt Ireland be under the neceſſity of making Great Britain the entrepot of her manufactures *. I believe this gentleman's commercial knowledge is great, and his attachment to the intereſt of Ireland equally great, that he did all the good in his power to his country, though probably not as much as he wiſhed. But that a man of ſo great knowledge of trade did not perceive that making Great Britain the entrepot of Iriſh manufactures, would give an advantage to Britiſh manufacturers of the ſecond freight and port, and other incidental charges, is aſtoniſhing. What the amount of the

* But, for the capital of England the manufacture of Iriſh linens would never have been carried to its preſent greatneſs. At the ſame time that the Britiſh merchant advances money to the Iriſh manufacturers on the *goods conſigned*, he can give a reaſonable profit, and afterwards ſend the Iriſh linens and other fabrics to diſtant countries, where long credits are neceſſary. Britain is not only the greateſt but the beſt market for the products of Ireland, becauſe it is neareſt and its payment is the ſureſt and the readieſt. And the trade of both are advantageous to each other. Were the exports from Ireland to Britain ſhut up only for a month this circumſtance alone would ſtop the whole *circulation* of Ireland. And Mr. Laffan would do well to conſider, that the *ſtoppage of circulation* is the moſt fatal accident that can happen to a manufacturing country; becauſe it includes every evil of the ſcarcity of money.

freight

freight and charges is, may be partly judged by the eſtimate of expences heretofore alluded to on a pack of linen, and ſo far would operate as a protecting duty in favour of Britiſh manufactures.

It is worthy of conſideration, whether there ſhould not be ſome ſpecific protection to the trade of Ireland in time of war, if commercial regulations with Great Britain are adopted. Waterford will not recover in half a century the damage ſhe ſuſtained by privateers laſt war. I have been informed by a perſon of credit there, that the merchants offered to man and victual a frigate, at that time captured from the French, if the admiralty would ſtation her on the coaſt for the protection of their trade; but this reaſonable requeſt was denied, and their trade was ſo harraſſed, it became a common ſaying among the ſalters, that they were curing proviſions for the French.

It is not the intereſt of Ireland to purſue any direct trade with the Eaſt Indies. Individuals have acquired immenſe wealth there, but the manufacturing kingdom, whoſe commerce to the Eaſt is moſt extenſive, receives the greateſt prejudice, the imports from Aſia being chiefly manufactures and articles of luxury, the exports three-fourths bullion. Great Britain loſes above * £.1,100,000 yearly by her connections with the Eaſt, excluſive of the damage her manufacturers ſuſtain by the conſumption of chintzes, nankeens, muſlins, callicoes, and the other beautiful manufactures of Aſia, which, though partly prohibited to be worn in Great

* Chalmer's Eſtimate, p. 55.—In page 57 of this tract there is the following paſſage, which Mr. Laffan ſeems not to have attended to: "But, whether we ought to conſider this balance as *abſolutely loſt* muſt depend on the eſſential circumſtance, whether we conſume at home the merchandizes of *the Eaſt*, or by exporting them for the conſumption of ſtrangers, we *draw back with intereſt* what we had only *advanced*." —This reaſoning applies to every other country and every other trade.

Britain,

Britain, yet even exported from thence, leſſen the conſumption of the manufactures of Mancheſter, Paiſley, and Spitalfields. Teas, drugs, ſpices, china, and raw materials, are all we want; theſe can be procured in return for our own manufactures, which will flouriſh in proportion to the extent of a prohibition on the wearing of Aſiatic manufactures.

I will not attempt to form any eſtimate of the capital of Ireland in agriculture, manufactures and the commerce neceſſary to promote them; but I muſt ſuppoſe, from the concurrent opinion of all perſons, that it is ſufficient for theſe purpoſes. Ireland ſhould firſt try to enrich herſelf by her internal trade; therefore to divert any part of her ſmall capital, ſo uſefully employed internally, her manufactures muſt languiſh in proportion to the quantity of her ſtock thus withdrawn. Spain has been depopulated and brought to the verge of ruin, by withdrawing her capital from domeſtic induſtry, and making her South-ſea trade the principal ſource of her wealth, which ſhould be but as an acceſſary to thoſe internal reſources ſhe ſo eminently poſſeſſed and ſo fatally neglected.

The ſame arguments will anſwer for thoſe wild notions of a Greenland fiſhery. Where is the neceſſity to explore the icy regions of the North, when our own coaſts preſent themſelves as inexhauſtible ſources of wealth?

Adminiſtration not having been coerced to reduce the national expences to its income, it was prudent to equalize the revenue to its expenditures. The ill policy of Great Britain in accumulating an enormous debt is a ſufficient warning for Ireland to avoid that rock on which her ſiſter may poſſibly ſplit. Some of the taxes laid on laſt ſeſſions for this purpoſe were proper, ſome imprudent, and others oppreſſive. The additional ſtamp on newſpapers, and new modelling the tax on advertiſements, cannot be productive, were not deſigned to be productive, but were *ſtamped* with oppreſſion.

oppreſſion. Some damnable doctrines of aſſaſſinations were belched forth from the preſs, but the laws were ſufficient to chaſtiſe the offenders. It is tyranny to oppreſs the innocent on account of the gilt of a few. Inſtitutions of the moſt beneficial nature are liable to be abuſed. The circulation of intelligence and advertiſements, neceſſary to promote the ſale of infant manufactures is obſtructed. They are unproductive taxes on commerce, and ought to be diſcontinued.

In theſe enquiries, I have pointed out in a manner heretofore unattended to, the relative ſituation of Great Britain and Ireland, not with a view to impede a *commercial union*, which I think is *expedient*, but to put matters in ſuch a light that the contracting parties may meet each other on fair terms of reciprocity, which can be the only baſis of a laſting treaty. A conſolidation of commercial intereſts between Great Britain and Ireland is a conſummation devoutly to be wiſhed. A CONSOLIDATION OF CONSTITUTIONS IRELAND WILL NOT SUFFER. It is to be apprehended that the late commercial propoſitions will not anſwer the purpoſe. I confine myſelf to the commercial part of the Propoſitions, as I ſuppoſe, from the vigorous defence in the laſt ſeſſions of parliament, no farther attempts will be made on the legiſlative rights of Ireland.

If the preſent miniſter of Great Britain had experience equal to his patriotiſm, he would be capable of executing great projects * ; but as it is a ſtrong marked trait of his character

* Mr. Laffan does not advert, that a man may be born a miniſter, as men are born poets and generals ; or, that ſuch a man of five and twenty, who exerts great diligence with unwearied attention to affairs, may poſſeſs more of the neceſſary qualities of a miniſter, than the man of five and thirty with equal genius, who ſpends his nights at the gaming-table ; or more experience than the man of forty-five, who with leſs genius enjoys *his joke* without caring for *the ſtate*. Mr. Laffan ought to have *felt*, that a comprehenſive mind ſeldom entertains litte jealouſies of real

racter that he adopts plans beneficial to the ſtate, and denies the inventors the merit due to them, he holds out too great a diſcouragement to men of genius to exert their abilities in the ſervice of their country. The plan of ſuch a miniſter will be but a rough draft, a mere ſketch that may preſent the outlines of a great deſign. Such was the rough unfiniſhed plan of the late propoſitions. It will require the united efforts of commiſſioners appointed by Great Britain and Ireland to lick this cub into form†. Regulations which ſhould be attended to minutely in the reſpective arricles of

real talents. And the recent appointment of Mr. Eden evinces, "that there are not too great diſcouragements held out to men of genius to exert their abilities in the ſervice of their country."

† Let us ſuppoſe Mr. Laffan's commiſſioners aſſembled: let us ſuppoſe that their commiſſions appeared, when they were produced, to be derived from two *independent* countries, whoſe inhabitants were of courſe *aliens* to each other: and let us ſuppoſe that the Britiſh commiſſioners opened the treaty by ſaying:—The two crowns were once united, and the inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland were then fellow-ſubjects to each other:—but though this is no longer ſo we are ſtill deſirous to enter into a commercial treaty, whoſe fundamental principles ſhall be liberal equity, mutual advantage, and common protection: as fellow-ſubjects your conſtituents once enjoyed the privilege of fiſhing at Newfoundland, which the French and Americans enjoy from *treaty* but not from the *law of nations*; your various productions we admitted into our ports either without paying duties, or on ſmaller duties than were paid by aliens; you were permitted too to trade to our colonies in America and ſettlements in Africa, from which aliens are excluded; your ſhips enjoyed all the benefits of Britiſh ſhips, and ſailed under the ſame protection: all theſe peculiar advantages we are ſtill willing to continue, and admit you freely into an equal participation of commercial advantages, with a few exceptions in both countries for the protection of public revenue or individual rights: and having ſaid thus much we ſhould be glad to hear what equivalents you have to offer on behalf of Ireland for theſe invaluable advantages. As Mr. Laffan would doubtleſs be one of the Iriſh commiſſioners, it may be proper to remind him, not to fall into the common error of claiming *as a right*, like the Americans, the privileges and protections of Britiſh ſubjects, after they had become aliens by their independence: the independent Iriſh ought only to claim what to aliens belong.

commerce

commerce cannot be arranged by parliaments ſitting in different kingdoms. An age would not compleat the work. Commiſſioners ballotted for by parliament to conduct this treaty would be reſponſible to the nation for impolitic or imprudent conceſſions. The reſponſibility of a Britiſh ſecretary to a lord lieutenant is a mere ignis fatuus. Purſue this Will o' the Wiſp, it diſappears and is loſt for ever in St. George's channel. Appointing commiſſioners after the regulations are adopted by parliament is ſlurring over the buſineſs in a ſlovenly manner, and ending where it ſhould begin. In the courſe of enquiries made by commiſſioners appointed to conduct this treaty, ſeveral matters will preſent themſelves which may throw a new light on the whole ſyſtem, and they may ſtrike out a proper mode for mutually adopting future regulations without interfering with the legiſlative rights of either kingdom *.

But wherefore ſhall this treaty recur to the duties paid in May 1782? Why ſhould it not be eſtabliſhed upon the duties at preſent exiſting? Muſt the ſmall protection given to the Iriſh breweries, ſo eſſential to agriculture, be diſcontinued?

* It is not eaſy to diſcover what new light could be thrown by commiſſioners on a ſubject, which has been ſo fully diſcuſſed by the ableſt men in both kingdoms. The buſineſs muſt be at laſt conſidered and ratified, by the two Parliaments, which would give riſe to the ſame debates, and probably end exactly where they began. In the appointment of commiſſioners is implied, that the whole arrangements are to be opened afreſh. It may be ſaid, without reflecting on any other people, "that the people of Great Britain are a generous people, and will never retract what they have fairly conceded, without the moſt urgent reaſon. But, were commiſſioners appointed to take up the commercial connection *anew*, the Britiſh people would certainly inſiſt to have a ſpecific equivalent for each particular grant of privilege in trade or protection to ſhipping both in peace and war. The people of Britain will never admit the people of Ireland to every advantage of their commerce, without a poſitive agreement, that the navigation laws of Ireland ſhall always keep pace with the navigation laws of Britain.

Muſt the trifling ſtrip of flannel, in which a part of our infant cotton manufacture is ſwathed, be thrown away? Great Britain will not inſiſt upon it unleſs ſhe finds Ireland is inclined to relinquiſh it †.

In the Bill introduced by Mr. Orde laſt ſeſſions, there are ſtrong marks of hurry and inattention. In one ſection it is enacted, by an Iriſh Parliament, that Iriſh ſhips ſhall be hereafter Britiſh. If there was another ſection enacting, that Iriſh ſhips ſhall be likewiſe Spaniſh, then an Iriſh ſhip, by hoiſting her Spaniſh colours, could burſt the boom placed from the Streights of Magellan to the Cape of Good Hope, and by traverſing the South-Sea make her voyage home round the globe freighted with Eaſt-India commodities, purchaſed with ſilver from the mines of Potoſi. That Great Britain or Spain may make laws that Iriſh ſhips ſhould be conſidered as Britiſh or Spaniſh there is no doubt, but it is a new mode of conveyancing for a donee to grant to himſelf. If in a ſimilar ſituation the citizens of Dublin, in their corporate capacity, paſſed an act that all the freemen of Dublin were from thenceforward livery-men of London, it would be laughed at in London as an Iriſh blunder.

A ſimilarity of conſtitution and the ſame language muſt cauſe a wiſh in the breaſt of every Briton and Iriſhman to rivet their affections as firm as poſſible. The intereſt of Ireland requires it. The proſperity of Great Britain in a great meaſure depends upon it. The Britiſh empire tottered becauſe the foundation was too ſmall for ſo great a ſuperſtructure, and it was preſerved from ruin by the late critical peace. It

† The people of Britain begin to ſuſpect, that the Iriſh, like the Americans, preſs for a commercial treaty, in order to gain ſome commercial advantage, without any equivalent, and without having any equivalent to give. The people of Britain begin to feel, that the Iriſh, in their pamphlets and orations, write and ſpeak like ſuperiors more than like equals.

is probable if it was ſtill more lightened at top it would be the firmer. Such as it is, no alliance, no fœderal union with any other powers could be framed ſo beneficial to both as a fœderal union between Great Britain and Ireland. Providence placed them by the ſide of each other for their mutual ſupport, and every ſubject of the two kingdoms muſt ſhudder at any idea of a ſeparation, eſpecially an Iriſhman, whoſe infant ſtate calls for the aſſiſtance of ſuch a friend*. There are Cromwells and Catilines in every country. Men of deſperate fortunes wiſh for a change. But to ſuppoſe the great body of the nation wiſhes to diſſolve her connection with Great Britain is aſtoniſhing; yet we find inſinuations have been thrown out in the Houſe of Commons by ſervants of the crown, of a wiſh of this kind being foſtered ſomewhere. That adminiſtration muſt be weak indeed which can give credit to ſuch reports, and ſtill weaker to propagate them. If they wiſh to foment jealouſies in the kingdom, and make this reign like that of Charles II. a reign of fictitious plots, they ſhould firſt conſider how it may affect the empire.

The affairs of Ireland have for ſome time engaged the attention of Europe; the Iriſh debates have been read every where with avidity, and thoſe perſons have little regard for

* All this is eaſily ſaid; yet no man, woman, or child, in Great Britain need *ſhudder* at the idea of a final ſeparation from Ireland. The connection of peaceable and induſtrious Ireland is a good to be deſired; but idle and diſcontented Ireland forms an embarraſſment, which may be relinquiſhed without much lamentation. The diſtreſſes and diſtractions of Ireland, during the American war, were the weakneſs, not the ſtrength of Great Britain. When a limb can by no poſſibility be retained, it is amputated. It was once ſaid, that Great Britain could not exiſt without her continental colonies. They are now independent; yet Great Britain is ſtill one of the greateſt of nations One of the greateſt of nations ſhe would continue to be, were Ireland completely ſeparated to morrow, whatever ſituation Ireland might be in. For, the reſources of Britain flow all from fountains within her own circumference. One of the reſources, which, amidſt her future ſtruggles ſhe may eaſily uſe, is formally to renounce connections, of whatever kind, which ſhall be found too embarraſſing, or too expenſive to her. Dangers are already half conquered when you look them full in the face.

Great Britain who throw out inſinuations that Ireland is looſe in her attachment to her ſiſter; Great Britain may be involved in freſh difficulties by ſuch inſinuations. What foreign power will form alliances with a disjointed empire. The riots in Dublin were unjuſtifiable, but not of ſufficient conſequence to be introduced in a ſpeech from the throne ſeemingly congratulating the kingdom on the reſtoration of peace. What can any foreigner ſay who reads a proclamation in the Dublin Gazette, offering a reward to apprehend perſons for forcibly carrying away a young lady, deſcribing the houſe and town in the county of Cork in which ſhe is *ſtill detained?* He will naturally aſk, Is Ireland in ſuch a ſtate of rebellious diſorder that government cannot enforce a due execution of the laws, but is under a neceſſity to offer rewards for reſtoring this young perſon to her friends, and apprehending her raviſhers? Or has Ireland an adminiſtration of *non effectives?*

Suppoſing for an inſtant that Ireland was totally unconnected with Great Britain, and looking out for alliances. Of all the alliances ſhe could make, that with France would be moſt prejudicial to her intereſt. Ireland is now attempting to encreaſe her manufactures, France will not receive into her ports the manufactures of any country. She receives our proviſions, but it is the intereſt of Ireland to encreaſe her population by an increaſe of manufactures, and add to her wealth, by ſtocking her lands with men and decreaſing her export of proviſions. As intereſt is the grand main-ſpring of all alliances, every kingdom will look to that which is moſt beneficial. Ireland can gain great and ſolid advantages by a connection with Great Britain. By a connection with France, ſhe has no market for her manufactures, and riſks the loſs of what ſhe has already acquired. Thus circumſtanced, Ireland ſhould look with a jealous eye on the perſon who aſſerts that French money had found its way into the kingdom to promote a civil war, ſhould call upon him to

make

make his aſſertion good, by pointing out the traitors, and if he did not prove the charge, ſhould tell him he was not a proper *hereditary counſellor* for a nation thus traduced.

And Ireland ſhould call upon her parliament to reviſe and amend the Iriſh ſtatute (ſtill in force) of the 10 C. I. c. 21. ſeſſ. 3. the preamble of which is "Whereas it hath pleaſed "our late moſt gracious ſovereign King James of bleſſed me- "mory, as alſo the King's moſt excellent Majeſty that now "is, out of their princely wiſdoms, and of their mere grace "and favour, to confer upon ſeveral able, worthy and well- "deſerving perſons inhabiting or dwelling in England, and "elſewhere out of this kingdom, titles of honour, amongſt "the nobility of this kingdom of Ireland, whereby they do "enjoy place and precedency according to thoſe titles re- "ſpectively; ſo it cannot be denied but that in a juſt way "of retribution they ought to contribute to all public char- "ges and payments taxed by a parliament in this kingdom, "from whence the titles of their honours are derived, and "whereunto others of their rank here reſident are liable." Then it enacts that all ſuch abſentees ſhall be liable to all public charges and taxes of that or any future parliament *.

This patriotic act amended may reſtore to Ireland ſome of her non-reſident nobility. Others will be more cautious of aſpiring to titles in a kingdom to which they are ſtran-

* The people of Great Britain are not the leaſt intereſted in ſuch a meaſure. By an abſentee tax Ireland would only raiſe up enemies to herſelf, without reſtoring any of her non-reſident nobility. Some of *the non-reſident nobility* would be very properly puniſhed for oppoſing late arrangements, which had for their chief end the real intereſts and tranquillity of both. With the example of the American refugees wandering before their eyes, it is marvellous that *the non-reſident nobility* do not throw their whole weight into the ſcale of PEACE and UNION; when they recollect too, that a century has not yet elapſed ſince the eſtates of *the non-reſident nobility* were forfeited by an Iriſh Parliament, *claiming ſeparate rights*, till they were reſtored by the bravery and wealth of Great Britain.

gers,

gers, or againſt the intereſt of which they are prejudiced. It will prevent the danger of an inundation of Engliſh-Iriſh peers pouring into the kingdom, and overturning any meaſures agitated in the Houſe of Lords for the benefit of Ireland. We may find that when one of our nobility takes up his pen on the relative ſituation of Great Britain and Ireland, if he is not actuated by a laudable partiality for this country, he will at leaſt adopt this motto,

Tros Tyriuſque mihi nullo diſcrimine agetur.

I have endeavoured to point out the relative ſituation of Great Britain and Ireland as to population, commerce and manufactures: to ſhew how deficient we are in population, in proportion to the extent of the two kingdoms, and to prove that the difference in their reſpective rates of intereſt muſt ever depreſs Ireland in any attempt at a competition with Great Britain. The juſtneſs of the calculations have been evinced by the ſtate of the linen and carrying trade at different periods. The proportion of raw materials and other articles of commerce which have been imported circuitouſly through Great Britain with the additional expences of a ſecond freight and other incidental charges, is a proof that although we can import theſe articles from the fountain-head, her wealth will make her the depot of colonial and foreign produce. I have adduced the authority of the experienced Sir Joſhua Child, to ſhew the effects of intereſt of money on duties and cuſtoms, and it neceſſarily follows that the ſame duties in Britiſh and Iriſh ports on the manufactures of each other give an advantage of 4 per cent. to the Britiſh manufacturers. When theſe matters, with the proper conſtruction of treaties, are taken into detail, Ireland may then, and not till then, eſtabliſh a commercial ſyſtem with Great Britain, of which reciprocity of benefits will be the baſis.

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