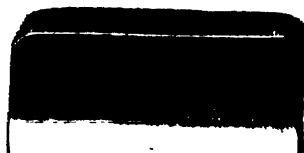


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A COLLECTION
OF
Tracts and Treatises.

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A
COLLECTION
OF
TRACTS AND TREATISES
ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE
NATURAL HISTORY, ANTIQUITIES,
AND THE
Political and Social State
OF
IRELAND,

AT VARIOUS PERIODS PRIOR TO THE PRESENT CENTURY.
IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.
Treatises by Sir WILLIAM PETTY, BISHOP BERKELEY, PRIOR,
and DOBBS.
With an Index.

DUBLIN:
REPRINTED BY
ALEX. THOM & SONS, ABBEY-STREET.
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THE
POLITICAL ANATOMY
OF
IRELAND.
1672.

T H E
Political Anatomy
O F
IRELAND.

W I T H

The Establishment for that Kingdom when the
late Duke of ORMOND was Lord Lieutenant.
Taken from the RECORDS.

To which is added

VERBUM SAPIENTI; or an Account of the
Wealth and Expences of *England*, and the Method
of raising Taxes in the most Equal manner.

Shewing also, That the Nation can bear the Charge
of Four Millions *per Annum*, when the occasions of
the Government require it.

By Sir WILLIAM PETTY, late Fellow of the
Royal Society, and Surveyor-General of the
Kingdom of *Ireland*.

L O N D O N :

Printed for *D. Brown*, and *W. Rogers*, at the *Bible* without
Temple-Bar, and at the *Sun* over-against *St. Dunstons*
Church, *Fleetstreet*. 1691.

To His Grace the

Duke of ORMOND.

MY LORD,

THE celebrated Author of the following Treatise, had not only the honour to be known to your Grace's Grandfather, the late illustrious Duke of ORMOND, but was likewise held by him in that just esteem, which he never failed of expressing towards men of learning and ingenuity. This was a sufficient encouragement to me (having the Manuscript Copy delivered into my hands by a worthy and intimate friend of the Author's, to dispose of it to the Press for the publick benefit) to address it to your Grace's patronage. You are so true a Successor in all the generous virtues of your Ancestry, that I cannot doubt of your favourable reception of this posthumous work. Your generosity, that takes all occasions of exerting itself towards the living, cannot fail in doing justice to the memory of the dead. More especially to such persons as in their life took care to oblige posterity.

The usefulness of the ensuing Discourse at this time, when there is so fair a prospect of a new Settlement in IRELAND, were sufficient to recommend it to your Grace's protection. Your Grace's interest in the re-establishment of that Kingdom (though it be considerable) yet is much less than your share in the glorious enterprize towards its recovery.

You had the honour of accompanying His MAJESTY in an adventure that shall shine in the Annals of *Fame*, as long as the *Boyne* shall maintain its course. But a single gallantry appeared not sufficient for the Heir of ORMOND and OSSERY. You have since accompanied our Royal Master to other shores, to be partaker with him in new scenes of action, undertakings of no less consequence and importance, than the deliverance of *Europe*. This will afford sufficient matter for panegyrick, and oblige the Muses to place you in the same high rank of renown with your noble and heroick Predecessors. In the mean time, be pleased to permit this useful Treatise to wait on you to the camp, and bring you the hearty wishes of all good men here, for your happy expedition, and your safe return, which is desired by none with a more particular zeal, than by

Your GRACE'S

Most Devoted Servant,

N. TATE.

T H E

Author's Preface.

SIR Francis Bacon, *in his Advancement of Learning*, hath made a judicious parallel in many particulars, between the Body Natural, and Body Politick, and between the arts of preserving both in health and strength: and it is as reasonable, that as Anatomy is the best foundation of one, so also of the other; and that to practice upon the politick, without knowing the symmetry, fabrick, and proportion of it, is as casual as the practice of old-women and empyricks.

Now, because Anatomy is not only necessary in physicians, but laudable in every philosophical person whatsoever; I therefore, who profess no politicks, have, for my curiosity, at large attempted the first Essay of Political Anatomy.

Furthermore, as students in medicine, practice their inquiries upon cheap and common animals, and such whose actions they are best acquainted with, and where there is the least confusion and perplexure of parts; I have chosen Ireland as such a Political Animal, who is scarce twenty years old; where the intrigue of State is not very complicate, and with which I have been conversant from an embriion; and in which, if I have done amiss, the fault may be easily mended by another.

'Tis true, that curious dissections cannot be made without variety of proper instruments ; whereas I have had only a common knife and a clout, instead of the many more helps which such a work requires : however, my rude approaches being enough to find whereabouts the liver and spleen, and lungs lye, though not to discern the lymphatick vessels, the plexus, choroidus, the volvuli of vessels within the testicles ; yet not knowing, that even what I have here readily done, was much considered, or indeed thought useful by others, I have ventured to begin a new work, which, when corrected and enlarged by better hands and helps, I believe will tend to the peace and plenty of my country ; besides which, I have no other end.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE *Reader* is desired to take notice, that by *Lettereers*, are meant persons restored to land by virtue of the *Letters* of King *Charles* the Second; and by *Nominees*, such persons are intended, as were restored to their lands by being *named* in the *Act of Settlement*; and *Papists per proviso*, were such as had *provisoers* in that *Act* for their lands: and by the *49 Officers*, are meant such *Commission Officers* under the King, who served in *Ireland* before the year of our *Lord*, 1649.

The following Treatise of Sir *William Petty's Political Anatomy of Ireland*, is printed after a copy transcribed from the *original*, writ by the *Author's* own hand; and all the *blanks*, as here printed, were in that *original*: and which, though it may be supposed he could easily have filled up, yet was it not held proper for any other to attempt, or to add to any thing done by so great a *master*.

This his work of *The Political Anatomy of Ireland* ends in page 75.

P. 76 begins the famous *Report* from the *Council* of *Trade* in *Ireland*, which was not only *drawn*, but wholly *composed* by Sir *William Petty*; and with which that *Council* concurred unanimously.

P. 85 followeth the Copy of the *Commission* of the late *Duke of Ormond* to be *Lord Lieutenant*; and an *Account* of the *Establishment of the Civil and Military*

List in his time ; faithfully and carefully taken out of authentick *Records* : and to the nature of which, the continued title of *The Political Anatomy of Ireland*, on those pages, agrees well enough.

The *volume* concludes with Sir *William Petty's Verbum Sapienti*, which relates wholly to *England*, and shews how taxes may be equally laid, and how the nation may well bear the tax of four millions *per annum*.

The Reader is now left with his most critical attentive judgment, to enjoy the benefit of the great political knowledge that Sir *William Petty* had taught the age ; and for which (as one of the greatest ornaments of it) he deserveth perpetual celebrations. Know *Reader* in a word, that

Nulla ferent talem sæcla futura virum.

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LICENSED, May the 11th, 1691.

T H E
 POLITICAL ANATOMY
 O F
 I R E L A N D .
 1672.

CHAPTER I.

Of the Lands of IRELAND.

	Acres.
THERE are in Ireland, of acres of land, Irish measure, (whereof 121 acres make 196 English measure)* near about, . . . }	10,500,000
Whereof there is of rivers, highways, loughs, unpassable bogs, rocks, and shrubs, about, . . . }	1,500,000
Of very coarse land, commonly called un- profitable, }	1,500,000
Consequently of good meadow, arable and pasture, }	7,500,000
	10,500,000
Of which <i>anno</i> 1641, there did belong to Papists and sequestered Protestants, . . . }	5,200,000
To the Church, viz. bishops, deans, chapters, and glebes, }	300,000
To the Protestants planted by Queen Eliza- beth and King James, }	2,000,000
	7,500,000

* A perch or pole Irish measure, is 21 foot; the acres are measured by that perch,
 as the acres in England are measured by a perch of 16 foot and a-half.

Of the 5,200,000 belonging to Papists and
sequestered Protestants *anno* 1641.

	Acres.	Acres.
There was restored to 26 that proved their constant good affection <i>per</i> } <i>est</i> , }	40,000	
To His Grace the Duke of Ormond,	130,000	210,000
To the Lord Inchiquin, Lord Ros- } common and others, . . . }	40,000	
To innocent Papists, near,		1,200,000
To the Church, near,	20,000	140,000
To the Duke of York, near,	120,000	
To letterees and nominees Irish-men,	60,000	
To Papists <i>per proviso</i> with Colonel } Vernon, }	360,000	420,000
Left in the common stock of coarse } land, }	80,000	470,000
To adventurers,	390,000	
To soldiers since 49,		1,410,000
To the 49 officers,	280,000	550,000
To Protestants <i>per proviso</i> ,	270,000	
Upon transplantation on decrees,		700,000
Restored to mortgagees, Protestants, about,		100,000
		5,200,000
So that on all the lands seized by the usurpers, } the Papists have recovered about, . . . }		2,340,000
The new Protestants and Churches additions,		2,400,000
Of a more indifferent nature, <i>ut supra</i> ,		460,000
		5,200,000
<i>Mem.</i> The Protestants in Connaught purchased } of the transplantees <i>per estimate</i> , . . . }		80,000
Wherefore of the whole 7,500,000 acres of } good land, the English and Protestants and } Church have this Christmas 1672, . . . }		5,140,000
And the Irish have near half as much, viz.,		2,280,000
		7,500,000
Remains in the common stock, near,		80,000

	£
The said 7,500,000 acres of good, and 1,500,000 } of coarse, making together 9,000,000, is } worth <i>per annum</i> , }	900,000
Out of which the King's quit-rents, old-rents, } and composition, }	90,000
	Rests
The tythes whereof are one fifth, viz.,	162,000
	Rests,
	648,000
The benefit of leases, and the value of tenants } improvements upon the said lands, is one- } third, viz., }	216,000
For the landlords,	432,000
If the whole 7,500,000 be clearly worth but } 432,000 <i>l. per annum</i> , then the 2,520,000 } gained by the rebellion is worth but about } one-third thereof (the 80,000 in the com- } mon stock being worth very little,) viz., . }	144,000
And the adventurers and soldiers lands, who } served since 1649, worth about three-fourths } of the same, viz., }	108,000
And the said soldiers alone three-fifths of the } whole, viz., }	86,400 <i>per ann.</i>

Mem. That by the successes of the army, who served since 1649, and who have 86,400*l. per annum*, for their labour, his Majesty hath received the several advantages following, viz.

- | | |
|---|-------------------|
| 1. Augmented the Church, the Duke of York, }
and by provisos, } | 770,000
Acres. |
| 2. Hath paid the adventurers, and 49 officers, }
besides housing in walled towns, . . . } | 670,000
Acres. |
| 3. Gained a revenue worth above 80,000 <i>l. per }
annum</i> , and 15 years purchase, . . . } | £
1,200,000 |
| 4. Gained the years value, &c., worth, . . . | 300,000 |
| 5. Hath freed himself from the 1648 articles with the Irish. | |
| 6. Restored many of his friends to their own estates. | |

	£
The value of the said army's lands at ten years purchase, is 854,000 <i>l.</i> Out of which deduct a years value and charge, there remains now but,	700,000 For all their pay and hazard.

Mem. That whereas until *anno* England always sent money and other supplies into Ireland, now the revenue is 200,000*l.* and the charge civil and military but 170,000*l.* which is the gain or ease of England.

The debentures of commission officers, who served eight years till about December 1649, comes to,	1,800,000
Wherefore the pay of private soldiers to,	5,400,000
	7,200,000

The eighth whereof is 900,000*l.* The one half whereof being for foot, was 450,000*l.* *per ann.* which at 15*l.* each, maintains 30,000 foot, and the rest 15,000 horse, general officers, and train of artillery included; so as there was a British army, for eight years, of at least 45,000 men.

The army who reduced the rebellion, did *anno* 1652, consist of near 35,000 men, as *per* debentures.

The Irish transported into foreign parts between 1651 and 1654, were 34,000 men.

The Irish army could not but be more than double to the English.

The claimants of land, or the number of proprietors before the war was ———.

Of all that claimed innocency 7 in 8 obtained it.

The restored persons by innocence and proviso have more than what was their own *anno* 1641, by at least one-fifth.

They have gotten by forged feofments of what was more than their own, at least one-third.

Of those adjudged innocents, not one in twenty were really so.

The King's revenue in Ireland *anno* 1641 ———.

The yearly charge of the army for 20 years last past ———.

CHAPTER II.

Of People, Houses, and Smoaks; their Number, Differences, and Values.

THERE are of people, men, women, and children,	} 1,100,000
There are of families,	200,000
Of smoaks,	250,000
Viz. :—	
Of the people, there are English,	200,000
Of Papists,	800,000
Of Non-Papists,	300,000
Scots,	100,000
Irish,	800,000

The Scots are Presbyterians, and the Irish, Papists. But the English are above 100,000 legal Protestants or Conformists, and the rest are Presbyterians, Independants, Anabaptists, and Quakers.

Of the Families.

Such as have no-fixed hearths, are,	160,000
Such as have but one chimney,	24,000
Such as have more than one,	16,000

Of Smoaks.

The single smoak-houses are <i>ut supra</i> ,	184,000
And those houses that have more than one chimney, have but one with another above four in each house, viz. in all,	} 66,000
	<hr/> 250,000

The number of them of all degrees, who paid poll-money, <i>anno</i> 1661, was about,	} 360,000
Dublin hath houses of more than one smoak,	3,400
Other cities, towns, and corporations of the like,	6,000
The rest of Ireland of the like,	6,600
And of smiths forges, near the same number, or rather one fifth more.	

A more Particular Account of the Houses in Ireland, which have more than one Chimney, viz.

The Castle of Dublin hath chimneys, . . .	125
The Earl of Meath's house in Dublin, . . .	27
The houses of Dublin which have above 10, are,	164

The number of coaches, besides hackneys, near the same number, or rather fewer.

There be (*ut supra*) 160,000 cabins without chimneys, whose worth are not reckoned; but as for the others, we rate as follows, viz. houses of

	£	£
1 chimney, . . . 24,000 at 5 each,	120,000	
of 2 and 3, . . . 6,800 at 40	272,000	
4, 5, 6, . . . 5,600 at 100	560,000	
7, 8, 9, . . . 2,500 at 300	750,000	
10, 11, 12, . . . 700 at 600	420,000	
13, 14, 15, 16, } 17, 18, 19, 20, }	400 at 1,000	400,000
		<u>2,522,000</u>

For 20 transcendental-houses, *per estimate*, 78,000

Total, . . . 2,600,000

Memorandum, That not one-eighth part of the value of all those houses do belong to other than English Protestants, . . . }	£ 325,000
To the English,	<u>2,275,000</u>
There are of Non-Papists in Dublin, . . .	28,000
In the other cities, towns, corporations, &c., . . .	72,000
In the country,	<u>100,000</u>
	<u>200,000</u>

There is in nature but one in 500 at most who are blind, lame, and under incurable impotence; so as not above 2,000 in Ireland, whom 12,000% would maintain without scandal.

The number of young children under 7 years old, and not fit for labour, is one fourth of the whole, viz., }	275,000
The said number of impotents,	2,000
The number of soldiers,	<u>3,000</u>
	<u>280,000</u>

The masters and mistresses of 360 families, } wherein are above six smoaks, are, . . . }	7,200
Their servants to their persons, }	14,400
The servants to the persons of such as live in } 5,600 families of 456 smoaks, are, . . . }	11,200
Servants in families of 2 and 3 smoaks, }	6,800
Ministers, students, &c., }	400
	<hr/>
	320,000
 People in all, }	 1,100,000
 Of above 6 years old, }	 704,000
16, }	462,000
26, }	297,000
36, }	198,000
46, }	132,000
56, }	88,000
66, }	77,000
 So as there are in Ireland fit for trade, }	 <hr/> 780,000
 Which are employed as followeth, viz.	
For the tillage of 500,000 acres of land for corn, } men and their wives, }	100,000
For cowherds and shepherds to cattle, grazing } upon seven millions of acres, viz. six millions } of black cattle, or their equivalent in horses } and sheep, men and their wives, }	120,000
	<hr/>
	220,000
 Employed about the taking of 5,000 hogsheads } of pilchards, boats, nets, hewers, &c., men } and women, }	1,000
Employed about making 1,000 tuns of iron, } men and women, }	2,000
Smiths as by account, men and women, }	15,000
Their servants to the trade, }	7,500
Tailors and their wives, }	45,000
	<hr/>
	Carpenters

Carpenters and masons, and their wives, . . .	10,000
Shoemakers and their wives,	20,000
And servants,	2,500
Millers and their wives,	1,600
Workers of wool, and their wives,	30,000
Tanners and curriers, and their wives,	10,000
	<hr/>
	364,600

Trades of fancy and ornament, and their wives,	48,400
	<hr/>
	413,000

Wherefore if the present employment be performed with 413,000 persons, it follows that there are to spare for other uses, . . . } 400,000

Memorandum, That in Dublin, where are but 4,000 families, there are at one time 1,180 ale-houses, and 91 public brew-houses, viz. near one-third of the whole: it seems, that in Ireland, there being 200,000 families, that about 60,000 of them should use the same trade.

And consequently, that 180,000, viz. 60,000 men, 60,000 women, and 60,000 servants do follow the trade of drink,	} 180,000
So as there are yet to spare, who are casherers and fait-neants,	
	} 220,000
	<hr/>
	400,000

Whereas it is manifest, that two-thirds of the ale-houses may be spared, even altho' the same quantity of drink should be sold; then there will yet be further to spare of them, . . .	} 120,000 and 220,000
	<hr/>
	340,000

Having shewed that 340,000 of spare hands are in Ireland, it follows to find employments for them, which is at 7 <i>l.</i> per head to earn per ann.,	} £ 2,380,000

This employment may be either in order to local wealth, or universal wealth.

Local wealth I understand to be the building of 168,000 small stone-wall houses, with chimneys, doors, windores, gardens and orchards, ditched and quicksetted; instead of the lamentable sties now in use; the which may cost 3 <i>l.</i> each, in all, }	£ 544,000
The planting 5 millions of fruit-trees at 4 <i>d.</i> each,	83,000
Planting 3 millions of timber-trees upon the bounds and mears of every denomination of lands at 3 <i>d.</i> each, }	360,000
Of inclosures and quicksets one million of perches at 12 <i>d.</i> per perch, }	50,000
Fortifying the City of Dublin,	30,000 -
Building a new palace for the Chief Governor,	20,000
Making there a mold for shipping,	15,000 ✓
Making several rivers navigable and mending highways, }	35,000 ✓
Building of 100 churches, at 200 <i>l.</i> each,	20,000
Workhouses of several sorts, tan-yards, fishing- crofts, rape-mills, allom and copperas-works, } as also madder, lead, salt, &c., }	50,000

In order to Money and Universal Wealth.

For ten thousand tuns of shipping,	100,000
For a stock of wool, hemp, flax, and raw- hides for one years work, }	400,000
For the labour of men to manufacture the same,	1,000,000

CHAPTER III.

Of the Church and Benefices.

IF half the Non-papists are Non-conformists, then there are but 50,000 legal Protestants in Dublin and all other cities, towns, &c. which require but 50 preaching ministers.

And if there are but 50,000 legal Protestants in the rest of Ireland, they require but 100 ministers, at 500 to a flock, whereof one-third, viz. 166, are children.

If there be in England and Wales about 9,000 parishes, and under 30 bishops, then every bishop must have above 300 parsons in his charge.

So as one bishop in Ireland is more than 30 in England.

Wherefore 25,000*l.* would afford 150*l.* *per annum* of each of 150 ministers, and 2,500*l.* to the bishop.

The value of the church-lands and appropriate tithes, is — *per annum* above the King's rent due out of them.

If 100 ministers can serve all Ireland, they must have precincts of near 13 or 14 miles square, and consequently they must be itinerants, and as lecturers on week-days; and other honest ordained men must be priests.

If 150, nay, if 250 ministers would serve all Ireland, then 10 *per annum*, will supply their mortality: and consequently a nursery of 100 will send forth 10 yearly of 10 years standing. Perhaps the nursery need not be above half so large.

CHAPTER IV.

Concerning the late Rebellion.

THE number of the people being now *anno* 1672, about 1,100,000, and *anno* 1652 about 850,000, because I conceive that 80,000 of them have in 20 years increased by generation, 70,000 by return of banished and expelled English; as also by the access of new ones, 80,000 of new Scots, and 20,000 of returned Irish, being in all 250,000.

Now if it could be known what number of people were in Ireland *anno* 1641, then the difference between the said number, and 850,000, adding unto it the increase by generation in 11 years, will shew the destruction of people made by the wars, viz. by the sword, plague, and famine occasioned thereby.

I find, by comparing superfluous and spare oxen, sheep, butter, and beef, that there was exported above one-third more *anno* 1664, than in 1641, which shews there were one-third more of people, viz. 1,466,000; out of which sum take what were left *anno* 1652, there will remain 616,000 destroyed by the rebellion.

Whereas the present proportion of the British is as 3 to 11; but before the wars the proportion was less, viz. as 2 to 11; and then it follows that the number of British slain in 11 years was 112,000 souls; of which I guess two-thirds to have perished by war, plague and famine. So as it follows that 37,000 were massacred in the first year of tumults: so as those who think 154,000 were so destroyed, ought to review the grounds of their opinion.

It follows also, that about 504,000 of the Irish perished, and were wasted by the sword, plague, famine, hardship, and banishment, between the 23d of October 1641, and the same day 1652.

Wherefore those who say, that not one-eighth of them remained at the end of the wars, must also review their opinions; there being by this computation near two-thirds of them; which opinion I also submit.

There were transported of them into Spain, Flanders, France, 34,000 soldiers; and of boys, women, priests, &c. no less than 6,000 more, whereof not half are returned,	}	40,000
If Ireland had continued in peace for the said 11 years, then the 1,466,000 had increased by generation in that time to 73,000 more, making in all 1,539,000, which were by the said wars brought <i>anno</i> 1652, to 850,000, viz., 689,000, for whose blood some body should answer both to God and the King,		

Anno 1650, there were before the great plague, above one million of people, viz. two and a half more than in London *anno* 1665. But in that year there died in London by account 97,000 people, but really were 110,000.

Wherefore if the plague was no hotter in Ireland than in England, there must have died in Ireland 275,000. But 1,300 dying in a week in Dublin, the plague of London was but two-thirds as hot; wherefore there died in Ireland,	}	450,000

So as subtracting 412,000, 500,000 dying of the plague, and 37,000 massacred English, it follows that 167,000 died in 11 years by the sword and famine, and other hardships. Which I think not incredible; for supposing half the number, viz. 87,000 died in 11 years of famine and cold, transportation to Spain and Barbadoes, &c. it is not hard to believe, that the other 87,000 perished by the sword, when the British had ✓ armies of near 40,000 men, and the Irish of near double, sometimes on foot.

<p><i>Anno</i> 1653, debentures were freely and openly sold for 4<i>s.</i> and 5<i>s.</i> <i>per</i> pound. And 20<i>s.</i> of debenture, one place with another, did purchase two acres of land; at which rate all the land of Ireland, if it were 8 millions of profitable acres, might have been had for a million of money, which <i>anno</i> 1641, was worth above 8 millions,</p>	} £	1,000,000
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<p>The cattle and stock which <i>anno</i> 1641, was worth above 4 millions, reckoning one beef of 20<i>s.</i> value, or the equivalent in other stock to two acres; but <i>anno</i> 1652, the people of Dublin fetched meat from Wales, there being none here, and the whole cattle of Ireland not worth,</p>	} £	500,000
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Corn was then at 50*s.* *per* barrel, which is now, and 1641, under 12.

<p>The houses of Ireland, <i>anno</i> 1641, was worth two millions and a half; but <i>anno</i> 1652, not worth one-fifth of the same,</p>	} £	500,000
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<p>The value of people, men, women, and children in England, some have computed to be 70<i>l.</i> <i>per</i> head, one with another. But if you value the people who have been destroyed in Ireland, as slaves and negroes are usually rated, viz. at about 15<i>l.</i> one with another; men being sold for 25<i>l.</i> and children 5<i>l.</i> each; the value of the people lost will be about,</p>	} £	10,355,000
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The forces kept on foot by all parties for the said 11 years, were at least 80,000 horse and foot, (for even <i>anno</i> 1652, the English were 35,000 and 34,000 Irish transported) the charge whereof, train of artillery, and general officers included, cannot be less than 15 <i>l.</i> <i>per head per annum</i> , which for 11 years comes to,	£ 13,200,000
The superlucration above expressed, of all which adult men (among which were no women nor children) cannot be reckoned at less than 5 <i>l.</i> <i>per head</i> , or one-third of the last mentioned sum, viz.,	4,400,000

Wherefore the effects of the rebellion were these in pecuniary value, viz.

By loss of people,	10,335,000 ✓
By loss of their superlucration of soldiers,	4,400,000
By the superlucration of the people lost, at 10 <i>l.</i> <i>per head</i> for the whole 11 years, deducting 80,000 soldiers,	6,000,000
By impairing of the worth of lands,	11,000,000
Of the stock,	3,500,000
Of the housing,	2,000,000
	37,235,000

And the 20 years rent of all the lands forfeited, by reason of the said rebellion, viz. since the year 1652 to 1673, hath not fully defrayed the charge of the English army in Ireland for the said time; nor doth the said rents at this day do the same with half as much more, or above 100,000*l.* *per annum* more.

And the adventurers after 10 years being out of their principal money, which now ought to be double by its interest, they sold their adventures for under 10*s.* *per pound*, *anno* 1652, in open and free market.

The number of landed Irish Papists, or Freeholders before the wars, was about 3,000; whereof, as appears by 800 judg-

ments of the Court of Claims, which sat *anno* 1663, upon the innocence and effects of the Irish, there were not above a seventh part, or 400, guilty of the Rebellion, unto each of whom I allow 20 followers, which would have made up an army of 8,000: but by the 49 officers account, the British army before 1649, must have been about 40,000 men; upon whom the said 8,000 innocent Irish so prevailed, as that the peace ended in the articles of 1648. By which the Irish were made at least equal partners with His Majesty in the government of Ireland; which sheweth, that the Irish were men of admirable success and courage: unless we should rather think, that the said Court of Claims were abused by their perjuries and forgeries, which one would think, that a nation, who caused the destruction of so many thousand lives for the sake of God and religion, should not be so guilty of.

The estates of the Irish before the wars, was double to that of the English; but the number and natural force of the Irish quintuple to that of the English.

The cause of the war was a desire of the Romists to recover the church-revenue, worth about 110,000*l. per annum*, and of the common Irish, to get all the Englishmens estates; and of the 10 or 12 grandees of Ireland, to get the empire of the whole. But upon the playing of this game or match upon so great odds, the English won and have (among and besides other pretences) a gamester's right at least to their estates. But as for the bloodshed in the contest, God best knows who did occasion it.

CHAPTER V.

Of the future Settlement of IRELAND, Prorogation of Rebellions, and its Union with England.

THE English invaded Ireland about 500 years since; at which time, if the Irish were in number about 1,200,000, *anno* 1641 they were but 600,000 in number, 200 years ago, and not above 300,000 at the said time of their invasion; for 300,000 people will, by the ordinary course of generation, become 1,200,000 in 500 years; allowance being made for

the extraordinary effects of epidemical diseases, famines, wars, &c.

There is at this day no monument or real argument that, when the Irish were first invaded, they had any stone-housing at all, any money, any foreign trade, nor any learning but the legend of the saints, psalters, missals, rituals, &c., viz. nor geometry, astronomy, anatomy, architecture, engineering, painting, carving, nor any kind of manufacture, nor the least use of navigation; or the art military.

Sir John Davys hath expressed much wit and learning, in giving the causes why Ireland was in no measure reduced to English government, till in Queen Elizabeth's reign, and since; and withal offers several means, whereby what yet remains to be done, may be still effected.

The conquest made by the English, and described in the preamble of the Act of Parliament passed *anno* 1662, for the settlement of Ireland, gave means for any thing that had been reasonable of that kind; but their forfeiters being abroad, and suffering with His Majesty from the same usurping hands, made some diversion.

Wherefore (*rebus sic stantibus*) what is now to be done is the question, viz. what may be done by natural possibility, if authority saw it fit?

Some furious spirits have wished, that the Irish would rebel again, that they might be put to the sword. But I declare, that motion to be not only impious and inhuman, but withal frivolous and pernicious even to them who have rashly wished for those occasions.

That the Irish will not easily rebel again, I believe from the memory of their former successes, especially of the last, had not many providences interposed; and withal from the consideration of these following particulars, viz.

1. That the British Protestants and Church have three-fourths of all the lands; five-sixths of all the housing; nine-tenths of all the housing in walled towns and places of strength, two-thirds of the foreign trade. That 6 of 8 of all the Irish live in a brutish, nasty condition, as in cabins, with

neither chimney, door, stairs, nor window; feed chiefly upon milk and potatoes, whereby their spirits are not disposed for war. And that although there be in Ireland 8 Papists for 3 others; yet there are far more soldiers, and soldier-like men of this latter and lesser number, than of the former.

That His Majesty, who formerly could do nothing for, and upon Ireland, but by the help of England, hath now a revenue upon the place, to maintain, if he pleases, 7,000 men in arms, besides a Protestant Militia of 25,000 more, the most whereof are expert in war.

That the Protestants have housing enough within places of strength within 5 miles of the sea-side, to receive and protect, and harbour every man, woman, and child belonging to them, and have also places of strength of their own properly so situate in all parts of Ireland, to which they can easily travel the shortest day of the year.

That being able so to secure their persons, even upon all sudden emergencies, they can be easily supplied out of England with food sufficient to maintain them, till they have burnt 160,000 of their afore-described cabins, not worth 50,000*l.* destroyed their stacks and haggards of corn, and disturbed their tillage, which the embodied British can soon and easily atchieve.

That a few ships of war, whereof the Irish have none, nor no skill or practice of navigation, can hinder their relief from all foreign help.

That few foreigners can help them if they would. But that none, not the King of France, can gain advantage by so doing, even though he succeeded. For England hath constantly lost these 500 years by their meddling with Ireland. And at this day, than when Ireland was never so rich and splendid, it were the advantage of the English to abandon their whole interest in that country; and fatal to any other nation to take it, as hath been elsewhere (as I think) demonstrated; and the advantage of the landlords of England, to give them the equivalent of what they should so quit out of their own estates in England.

Lastly, let the Irish know, that there are, ever were, and

will be, men discontented with their present conditions in England, and ready for any exploit and change, more than are sufficient to quell any insurrection they can make and abide by.

Wherefore, declining all military means of settling and securing Ireland in peace and plenty, what we offer shall tend to the transmuting one people into the other, and the thorough union of interests upon natural and lasting principles; of which I shall enumerate several, though seemingly never so uncouth and extravagant.

2. If Henry the Second had or could have brought over all the people of Ireland into England, declining the benefit of their land; he had fortified, beautified, and enriched England, and done real kindness to the Irish. But the same work is near four times as hard now to be done as then; but it might be done, even now, with advantage to all parties.

Whereas there are now 300,000 British, and 800,000 Papists, whereof 600,000 live in the wretched way above mentioned: if an exchange was made of but about 200,000 Irish, and the like number of British brought over in their rooms, then the natural strength of the British would be equal to that of the Irish; but their political and artificial strength three times as great; and so visible, that the Irish would never stir upon a national or religious account. ✓

3. There are among the 600,000 above mentioned of the poor Irish, not above 20,000 of unmarried marriageable women; nor would above two thousand *per annum*, grow and become such. Wherefore if one-half the said women were in one year, and half the next transported into England, and disposed of one to each parish, and as many English brought back and married to the Irish, as would improve their dwelling but to an house and garden of 3*l.* value, the whole work of natural transmutation and union would in 4 or 5 years be accomplished.

The charge of making the exchange would not be 20,000*l.* *per annum*, which is about 6 weeks pay of the present or late armies in Ireland.

If the Irish must have priests, let the number of them, which is now between 2 and 3 thousand secular and regulars, be reduced to the competent number of 1,000, which is 800 souls to the pastorage of each priest; which let be known persons, and Englishmen, if it may be. So as that when the priests, who govern the conscience, and the women, who influence other powerful appetites, shall be English, both of whom being in the bosom of the men, it must be, that no massacring of English, as heretofore, can happen again. Moreover, when the language of the children shall be English, and the whole economy of the family English, viz. diet, apparel, &c. the transmutation will be very easy and quick.

Add hereunto, that if both kingdoms now two, were put into one and under one legislative power and Parliament, the members whereof should be in the same proportion that the power and wealth of each nation are, there would be no danger such a Parliament should do any thing to the prejudice of the English interest in Ireland; nor could the Irish ever complain of partiality, when they shall be freely and proportionably represented in all Legislatures.

The Inconveniencies of the Not-Union, and absurdities seem to be these, viz.

1. It is absurd, that Englishmen born, sent over into Ireland by the commission of their own King, and there sacrificing their lives for the King's interest, and succeeding in his service, should therefore be accounted aliens, foreigners, and also enemies, such as were the Irish before Henry the Seventh's time; whom if an Englishman had then killed, he had suffered nothing for it; for it is but indulgence and connivance, that now the same is not still in force. For such formerly was the condition of Irishmen; and that of Englishmen is now the same, otherwise than as custom has relieved them.

It is absurd, that the inhabitants of Ireland, naturally and necessarily bound to obey their Sovereign, should not be permitted to know who, or what the same is, *i. e.* whether the Parliament of England, or that of Ireland; and in what cases

the one, and in what the other. Which uncertainty is or may be made a pretence for any disobedience.

It is absurd, that Englishmen in Ireland should either be aliens there, or else to be bound to laws, in the making whereof they are not represented.

It is absurd if the legislative power be in Ireland, that the final judgment of causes between man and man, should be in England, *viz.* the writs of error should remove causes out of Ireland, to the King's Bench in England. That the final determination of Admiralty causes, and of some causes ecclesiastical, should be also ended in England; nor that men should know whether the Chancery of England have jurisdiction in Ireland; and whether the decrees of Chancery in one Chancery can be executed in the other.

As for inconveniences, it is one, that we should do to trade between the two kingdoms, as the Spaniards in the West-Indies do to all other nations; for which cause all other nations have war with them there.

And that a ship trading from Ireland into the islands of America, should be forced to unlade the commodities shipt for Ireland in England, and afterwards bring them home; thereby necessitating the owners of such goods to run unnecessary hazard and expences.

It is inconvenient that the same King's subjects should pay customs as aliens, passing from one part of the same their own King's territories to another.

The chief objection against the remedy of these evils is;

That his Majesty would by the union lose much of his double customs. Which being true, let's see what the same amounts unto; and if it be sufficient to hinder the remedy of these evils, and if it be irreparable by some other way.

Anno 1664, which was the best year of trade that hath been these many years in Ireland, when neither plague nor wars impeached it, and when men were generally disposed to splendor and liberality, and when the act for hindering cattle coming out of Ireland into England, was not yet made; nor that made for unlading in England ships bound from America into Ireland; I say, in that year the customs upon exported

and imported commodities, between Ireland and England, was but —, but not one-sixth thereof, which since, how easily may it be added to the other charges upon England and Ireland, which are together perhaps 1,500,000*l. per annum.*

2. If it be for the good of England to keep Ireland a distinct kingdom, why do not the predominant party in Parliament (suppose the Western Members) make England beyond Trent another kingdom, under commerce, and take tolls and customs upon the new borders? or why was there ever a union between England and Wales, the good effects and fruits whereof were never questioned? And why may not the entire kingdom of England be farther cantonized, and infinitely, for the advantage of parties?

As for the practice; the Peers of Ireland assembled in Parliament, may depute so many of their number, as make the one-eighth part of the Peers of England, to be called by writ into the Lord's House of England: and the Commons in Ireland, assembled in like manner, may depute the like proportion of other Members to sit with the Commons of England, the King and that House admitting of them.

But if the Parliament of England be already the legislative power of Ireland; why may they not call a competent number out of Ireland, as aforesaid, or in some other more convenient manner?

All these shifts and expedients are necessary but for the first time, until the matter be agreed upon by both nations in some one Parliament.

'Tis supposed that the wealth of Ireland is about the eighth or tenth of that of England; and the King's revenue in both kingdoms seems about that proportion.

CHAPTER VI.

Of the Government of IRELAND.

THE government of Ireland is by the King, 21 Bishops (whereof four are Archbishops), and the Temporal Peers; whereof some part, —, by reason of the late rebellion, do not sit in Parliament.

By about 3,000 freeholders, and the members of about 100 corporations, the University at Dublin reckoned for one, represented in the House of Commons, by about 270 knights, citizens, and burgesses.

The Parliament so constituted, have a negative upon any law that the Lord Lieutenant and Council shall offer to the King, and which the King and his Council in England shall under the great seal remit to the said Parliament.

The sheriffs of counties, and of cities and counties in Ireland are 40, finally appointed by the Lord Lieutenant, each of which hath about ten bailiffs.

The Chief Governor, called sometimes Lord Lieutenant, sometimes Lord Deputy, sometimes Lords Justices, with a Council, at this time consisting of about 50 members, do govern in all matters belonging to the peace, prerogative, &c.

There be five courts, viz. a Chancery, consisting of a Lord Chancellor, Master of the Rolls, and two, three, or four salaried Masters of Chancery. The King's Bench, of a Lord Chief Justice, and two other Judges. The Common Pleas of the like: the Exchequer of a Lord Chief Baron, and two other Barons, with the Treasurer and Chancellor of the Exchequer: and a Prerogative, whereof the Primate of Ar-magh is Judge.

There is also a Palatinate Court in Tipperary, whereof the Duke of Ormond is Lord of the liberties and regalities to it belonging. There is also a Court of Admiralty: every Bishop hath also two courts. And there have been formerly and lately (but now *an.* 1672, suspended) a Presidency of Munster, and another of Connaught, who meddle not with life or limb, nor titles of land.

There is also a Court Martial, for the affairs of the army, who in times of peace often transmit accused persons to the civil power.

To all these courts do belong — officers, — counsellors of law, whereof I reckon — are of the first classes, gaining by estimation about 600*l.* *per ann.* each, — of the second gaining about 300*l.* *per ann.*, and — of the third gaining

not above 100*l.* *per ann.* There are also — sworn attornies gaining about 120*l.* *per ann.* one with another.

There are in Ireland about 950 Justices of the Peace, appointed by the Lord Chancellor; an Head Constable for each barony or hundred, being 252; and a petty Constable for each parish, whereof are about 2,278.

The ecclesiastical government is by Archbishops, Bishops, Archdeacons, Deans of Cathedral Churches, in all which there are now actually but one quire entire, and that in Dublin, serving both at Christ Church and St. Patrick's. And the parsons, vicars, and curates for the Protestant religion, are in all Ireland at this day near five hundred, and about half the tythes are impropriate, and belonging to laymen.

This is the state of the external and apparent government of Ireland, so far as it concerns the number and species of persons managing the same. But the internal and mystical government of Ireland is thus, *viz.*

1. There are always about twenty gentlemen of the Irish nation and Popish religion, who by reason of their families, good parts, courtly education and carriage, are supported by the Irish to negotiate their concerns at the Court of England, and of the Viceroy in Ireland.

These men raise their contributions by the priests (who actually and immediately govern the people). The priests are governed by at least 24 Romish Bishops, all of whom have a long time been conversant in France, Spain, Italy, Germany, England, where as chaplains and almoners, &c., they have made an interest with the governing men and Ministers of State in those several kingdoms, and have obtained some benefits and preferments from them.

So as the body of the Irish Papists (being about 800,000, whereof near 700,000 do live in wretched cabbins, without chimney or window) are governed by about 1,000 secular priests, and 2,500 friars and regulars of several orders; whereof most are Franciscans, next Dominicans and Augustines, but few Capuchines and Jesuits or Carthusians. These, I say, are governed by their respective Bishops and superiors, whom the Ministers of foreign states do also govern and direct.

So as upon the whole matter, the Irish, who are the bulk of the nation, are governed indirectly by foreign power: and so are the aforementioned lay patriots, their support coming from the clergy constituted as aforesaid, and who do notoriously exercise their spiritual jurisdiction in Ireland: and do also exert a temporal power, by prevailing with Papist Justices of the Peace, to send such to gaol as are disobedient to the clergy, upon feigned or frivolous complaints, which they cause to be brought against them.

The Judges aforementioned, all but the Chancellor, go circuits, whereof there are five twice every year, excepting only the one county of Kerry.

There is an university at Dublin, but lying for the most part within one college, wherein are a Provost and seven senior and ruling Fellows; nine junior Fellows; sixty Scholars; and at this time — commoners and other students.

There was about the year 1669 erected a College of Physicians, consisting of a President, and 13 Fellows.

There are belonging to the Prerogative, Archdeacons Courts, Court Martial and Admiralty Courts, not above 10 Advocates, and 30 Proctors.

There are in the city of Dublin, a Lord Mayor, 2 Sheriffs, 24 Aldermen, 48 Sheriffs Peers, and 96 of the Common Council. There are besides, companies or corporations of tradesmen.

There is lately instituted an hospital for poor children, not yet fully perfected nor endowed.

There is also an hospital for sick, lame, and old soldiers, but without endowment, and standing but at discretion and pleasure.

There are in and near Dublin, three publick prisons, and one house of correction.

Lastly, I must intimate, that the footman-ship for which the Irish 40 years ago were very famous, is now almost quite lost among them, every man now keeping a small garran to ride on, unless in such rocky and craggy places, where 'tis easier to go a foot than to ride.

CHAPTER VII.

Of the Militia and Defence of IRELAND.

THERE be in Ireland, as elsewhere, two militias; one are the Justices of Peace, their militia of high and petty constables; as also the Sheriffs militia of his servants and bailiffs, and *posse comitatus* upon extraordinary occasions.

Of these altogether there are in Ireland near 3,000; all of which are bound within their several districts, there to act, and not elsewhere.

There is, or hath lately been an army in Ireland, of about thirty troops of horse, and sixty companies of foot, with a regiment of Guards at Dublin, as a life-guard for the Lord Lieutenant, making in all about 5,000 men.

There is also a Protestant militia, of about 24,000 men, *viz.* about 10,000 horse and the rest foot.

The people of Ireland are all in factions and parties, called English and Irish, Protestants and Papists; tho' indeed the real distinction is vested and divested of the land belonging to Papists, *anno* 1641. Of which the Irish that are vested by restoration, seem rather to take part with the divested. And the chief pique which the Popish clergy have at the Protestants is, that they have the Church livings and jurisdictions; for the exercise of their functions they have most freely, and had, when they undertook their project in 1641. The differences between the old Irish and old English Papists are asleep now, because they have a common enemy.

The old Protestants of Queen Elizabeth and King James's plantation (till of late) did not much love the new English, who came over since 1641, or rather since 1646 and 1648, because they envied the great shares which they had gotten of the forfeited lands from the late usurpers. But now they also are well enough together, since the said old Protestants have had good provisos in the acts of settlement, and satisfaction for their service before June 1649, and since the Church revenues have been augmented by the forfeitures; but chiefly, for that the said old Protestants have all the power and preferments, civil, military, and ecclesiastical.

Of the new English, some are Conformists, others not: and some have fallen in with other parties, and others not.

Of the old Protestants, there are also parties, I cannot say factions, chiefly denominated by the names of their families, as the Butlers and Fitz-Geralds were of old.

But to return: the chief factions are the vested and divested of forfeited lands; all Irish and Papists generally fearing the latter, and most English and Protestants the former, as appears in all juries and testimonies given where the lands or lives of one or other are concerned. Now in some counties, as in Kerry, many forfeitures happened, and few restorations, and there also few English were ever planted, nor can well endure to live: so as the first sort of militia in these and other like counties, are Irish Papists, divested and discontented persons. Whereby the few English there can have no justice executed, for want of hand wherewith to do it: nor can they easily get indifferent juries, but that the Sheriffs are English for the most part, and most commonly Protestants. In which case, some have been of opinion, that the other militia, namely, the army, may both in law and reason supply this defect, in times when there is not occasion for them, to guard the land from invasion and rebellion. For why might not thirty Sheriffs be taken out of one hundred and twenty officers of the army, viz. sixty captains and lieutenants of horse, and sixty captains of foot? And why may not such be as responsible for executing just sentences as any other? And what terror is there in the force which a bailiff useth, more than in that which one called a soldier carries with him? And why should the military officer or Sheriff use more force or terror than to make the debtor or malefactor answer the law, and obey the sentence of a civil court? And is it not more convenient and easy in great riotous contempts, to bring a troop or company, whose trade it is to use arms and apply force dexterously, than to use the *posse comitatus*; that is, to call abundance of men from their labour and calling, to attempt things of danger, which they do not understand? Moreover, if the General can quarter the army where he pleases, and that the Sheriffs or constable can, in their respec-

tive precincts, call whom he pleases to his assistance; then the General can cause such a competent force to be quartered in those thin peopled counties. And the Sheriffs and Justices can call such to their assistance, excepting where such soldiers are in formal garrisons upon actual duty, or in other cases to be agreed upon between the civil and military powers so called, although there can be no country without force, nor any army without a policy and discipline. But of this let the lawyers talk further.

As for the military force of Ireland, vulgarly and properly so called, 1. The standing army is such as the present revenue can well maintain, which perhaps is, or very lately was about six thousand, and is every year or other year changed, as to His Majesty seems best. 2. The Protestant militia now already established and formed, is about 24 or 25 thousand men, most of them already experienced in the wars of Ireland.

The third, of grand force against foreign invasions, I conceive may be seventy thousand men of the best affected, and least Pope affected Irish; for so many I conceive the thirty thousand of the standing army and present militia could well officer and command. Now that one hundred thousand may be spared to send as soldiers in a time of extremity, I think it plain, for that there are five hundred and fifty thousand males in Ireland, whereof one hundred and fifty thousand can perform all the necessary labour of husbandmen and tradesmen; two hundred thousand of them are perhaps under 16, and above 60. Nor doth the quality of the remaining exempt them from service, who are to stand for a reserve.

And this force I take to be sufficient to resist any number of men which any prince of the world hath shipping enough to bring into Ireland, with such horse, arms, ammunition and victuals as are fit for such an enterprize.

To say nothing, that the substance of Ireland is chiefly cattle, which be easily removed to waste the country where the enemy shall land.

And how considerable the standing army of six thousand men, and the veteran militia, of above twenty-four thousand, who have not only the command, but the possession and pro-

priety of all the strong and terrible places in Ireland, and three-fourths of all the horse serviceable in war, and at least three-fourths of all shipping, and England to help and countenance, hath been competently mentioned before; and that the bulk of the Irish are the inhabitants of the aforementioned one hundred and sixty thousand wretched cabins-men, slavishly bred and dealt with by their own lords and patriots; and that the restored Irish, restored to their estates almost by miracle, will be careful how they engage any more upon a frivolous, impious undertaking.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the Cœlum and Solum of IRELAND.

By the cœlum or sky, I understand the heat, coldness, drowth, moisture, weight and susceptions of air, and the impressions made upon it, viz. the state of the winds, as whether the wind blows in Ireland in comparison with, or differently from other places; as from what points of the compass the wind blows most frequently or fiercely, and what proportion of the whole year from each point. 2. As to heat and cold, I conceive the same ought to be measured by the weather-glass or thermometer. 3. As to wetness or moisture, by the shrinking of lute-strings, by the quantity of rain falling upon a certain quantity of level superficies, and by the quantity of water dried up within the same time out of a vessel of like figure, and equal dimensions.

As for other changes in the air, supposed to depend upon the gravity or levity thereof, I suppose the same is to be known by the instrument called the barometer. Lastly, to the much or little sunshine, whereof Ireland hath been much abused; the same is to be measured by an instrument found for that purpose.

Wherefore since it is small satisfaction to say the air of Ireland is mild and temperate, inclined to moisture, &c. And since the true and clear knowledge thereof depends upon several long, tedious, and reiterated observations, simple and comparative, made in the several parts of Ireland, in the

several seasons of the year, and compared with the like observations, made with the same or like instruments, in the several parts of the earth; we must for the present only say, that there are in being the several instruments following, viz.

1. An instrument to measure the motion of the wind, and consequently its strength.

2. How many hours in the day in the whole year it blows from any point of the compass.

3. To measure what quantity of rain falls in the year upon any quantity or space of ground.

4. What air is most dessicative of moistness.

5. What alterations are made in the gravity and levity of the air from hour to hour.

6. The thermometer or weather-glass of the better sort.

7. The instrument to measure and foretel frost and snow.

Which instruments many men must make use of in the several parts of Ireland, and the rest of the world, and corresponding with each other, communicate and correct their observation by reason.

In the mean time let it suffice to say, that at Dublin the wind blows 2 parts of 5 from the south-west to the west, one part from south-west to the south; one other from the west to north-east, and the rest from the north-east to the south; 3 parts of 10 between west and south-west; 2 of 10 between S. W. and S. S. E.; 2 of 10 between S. S. E. and N. E. by N.; 2 of 10 N. E. by N. to N. and W., or very near thereabouts.

2. That from the 10th of September to the 10th of March, it blows a kind of storm for some time or other almost every day.

3. That the snow lies not long in the lower ground of Ireland. Nor doth it freeze more than what it doth in France, Holland, or England.

4. The rain falling at Dublin and London for the month October, 1663, was but 20 to 19. That the windiness of the same month was at Dublin 20, and at London but 17.

5. As for the healthfulness of the climate, city, or other space of land; it must be first known how many people are

in a certain day living in it, and then the *quota parts* which die *per ann.* for many years together; and for the fruitfulness, how many births.

6. As to longævity, enquiry must be made into some good old register of (suppose) 20 persons, who all were born and buried in the same parish, and having cast up the time which they all lived as one man, the total divided by 20 is the life of each one with another; which compared with the like observation in several other places, will shew the difference of longævity, due allowance being made for extraordinary contingencies, and epidemical diseases happening respectively within the period of each observation.

Wherefore matters being not as yet prepared for these experiments, I can say nothing clearly of them; only, that it seems by the best estimates and approaches that I have been able to make, that London is more healthful than Dublin by 3 in 32.

Having said thus much of the cœlum, or air, or rather of the ingenium, and way of distinguishing airs in a better manner than usual; we come next to try the nature of the soil by the like expedients.

To which purpose, first know, that the perch of Ireland is 21 foot, that of England but sixteen and a half; wherefore the acre of 160 perches is as 121 to 196, that is, 121 Irish acres do make 196 English statute acres. Now in Ireland a milch cow, if English breed, upon two acres of pasture, and with as much hay as will grow upon half an acre of meadow, will yield *præter propter* 3 gallons of milk for ninety days, one with another, and one gallon at a medium for ninety more, and for ninety more scarce one quarter of a gallon one day with another, and for ninety more dry. Wherefore it follows, that such a cow upon such feeding, gives above one tun and half; nay, 384 gallons of milk *per ann.* And that if the rent of the said two acres of pasture be 5*s.* *per ann.*, and of the half acre of meadow 3, in all 8*s.*, that the gallon of milk comes but to a farthing, expecting what the value and hazard of the cow, and the labour of milking and looking to her, shall add unto that price; which I suppose not above as much more.

The said quantity of milk will make 2 cwt. and half of raw-milk-cheese, and 1 cwt. of whey-butter, besides whey for the swine; or else 2 cwt. of butter, and 1 cwt. of skim-milk-cheese, besides whey as abovesaid, for drink to the people and food for swine.

Mem. That one bull suffices for about twenty cows. That a cow continues milch and bearing, from 3 or 4 years old to 12, sometimes 20, tho' seldom suffered to live so long. And that three dairy women will manage twenty cows, and do much work of other kind between while. And that one man will look to them and their food.

An ox of 6 or 7 years old will not require so much feeding as a milch-cow, but will be maintained with two acres of good pasture only, or with 1 acre and half of pasture, and half an acre of hay, in hard winters.

An horse requires 2 acres and a half, as a garran, and a small horse or Irish garran, 1 and two-thirds, or thereabouts.

Eight or ten sheep are equivalent for feeding to an ox.

It is further to be noted, that a calf at a month old } weighs, }	$\frac{1}{2}$ cwt.
That an ox is come to its full growth at 6 years old, } and then may weigh alive, }	7 cwt.
The 4 quarters of such an ox weighs,	5 cwt.
The hide,	3 qrs.
The tallow,	80 lbs
And consequently the said ox gaineth every year } of weight in flesh to eat, }	—
In hide,	—
In tallow,	—
The offal worth, besides half of the whole,	—

The difference between lean beef and fat beef in value is as 5 to 9.

In sheep the increase of their flesh, skin, and tallow is about the same proportion. And yet sheeps flesh is sold dearer than beef, because of the great trouble and hazard about sheep.

A fleece of wool in Ireland is about two pound weight.

An hog eats such things as sheep and oxen do not, viz. roots, acorns, and consequently the same land will maintain a proportion of hogs above sheep and oxen. One cow-herd will serve a hundred oxen, one shepherd a thousand sheep.

From all that hath been said, we collect, that the natural and genuine rent of lands in Ireland, not that of money or gold and silver, is

- Of milk, deducting charges — gall.
- Of beef and mutton —.
- Of hides and skin —.
- Of offal —.
- Of wool —.

So as where lands produce more or less *per ann. communibus annis* of these commodities, the same is to be accounted more or less fertile than that of Ireland.

Moreover from hence we shall endeavour to gather the number of cattle in Ireland, as followeth, viz.

There being 7 millions and a half of acres of good meadow, arable, and pasture-land in Ireland, besides bog with shrub-wood, &c. commonly called unprofitable land; and for that half a million supplies the inhabitants with corn for bread and drink, man and beast, hemp, flax and rape, as shall be hereafter shewn from the number of the people, their manner of eating, from the number of mills, and from the value of the tythes, &c. supposing the other 7 millions to be competently well stocked, let us first see how many houses there may probably be.

To which purpose, remember that there are 184,000 families, whose houses have but one or no chimney. Now I guess, that about one-third of this number keep a small horse called a garran, which is 61,000 garrans for tillage; and I suppose that the 16,000 families have for the coach and saddle near 40,000 horses. So as in Ireland there are about 100,000 horses, whose food requires 100,000 acres of good pasture, 50,000 acres of meadow, and the sixth part of an acre of oat-land, viz. about 16,000 acres. In all 166,000 acres. Or if the horses be such as require little or no hay and oats, as the

horses of poor people do not, then as aforesaid, 2 or 2 acres and a half is allowed to each horse.

The wool which is usually exported, being a little above two millions of pounds, grows upon 1,000,000 sheep: and the wool which cloaths the nation being about 1,100,000 bodies, at — *l.* each for cloaths, hats and stockings, requires 6,000,000 more, and so 3 millions more of sheep, in all 4 millions. The feeding whereof at 5 to an acre, requires 800,000 acres. So as horse and sheep require one million of acres. So as there remains one half, a million being allowed for all other cattle, beasts and vermine, 5 millions and half for great cattle, which will feed about 3 millions of that species.

If there be 3 millions of black cattle, there be 1,500,000 of males, viz. 25,000 bulls; 700,000 under 3 years old; 600,000 between 3 and 6; 175,000 above 6.

Of females, 1,500,000, whereof two-fifths are milch cows, viz. 600,000; 600,000 calves and heifers under 3, and 300,000 of other sorts.

Where note, that of all the black cattle above-named, there are 60,000 exported alive, and 30,000 dead in barrels. Of the sheep not 100,000.

Of butter, whereof one of the 600,000 milch-cows may well yield 1 cwt. *per ann.* but 26,000 cwts. or the proceed of 26,000 cows. From whence may be seen whether the trade of those commodities be yet at best: for I guess that the sixth of the whole stock may be annually spent at home, or exported abroad.

✓ It remains only to say, that one Irish acre of Irish land, requires of seed, and returns as followeth.

Seed:—

Wheat 4 bushels, and produces,	. . . . .	16 to 36
Rye 4, . . . . .	. . . . .	20 to 40
Bean-barley 6, . . . . .	. . . . .	20 to 48
Oats 6, . . . . .	. . . . .	16 to 32
Barley 4, . . . . .	. . . . .	20 to 40
Pease 4, . . . . .	. . . . .	12 to 18

✓ One horse plows 10 acres, and there goes 1 man to 3 horses.

CHAPTER IX.

Of the Proportion in Value, which the several Counties in IRELAND do bear to each other, viz.

THE value or proportion of the several counties in Ireland, doth seem much to depend upon the number of acres which each doth contain. And therefore, and for several other reasons, most of the land of Ireland hath, within these last 40 years, been admeasured by the chain and instrument,* viz. the King and Queen's Counties, about the year 1630, the County of Londonderry, when the City of London undertook the plantation by one Mr. Raven; Connaught and Tipperary in the Earl of Stafford's time, by several hands, sometimes conducted by Mr. William Gilbert.

The lands belonging to Papists *anno* 1641, in the three Provinces of Munster, Leinster, and Ulster, by Sir William Petty. Other Protestant lands in the same three Provinces, in order to regulate contributions, by the owners of the said lands themselves; but in so divided and separated a manner, that little account can be given of them, besides what was collected by the said Sir William Petty; who at his own charge, besides those maps of every Parish, which by his agreement he delivered into the Surveyor-General's office, he hath caused distinct maps to be made of every Barony, or hundred; as also of every County, engraven in copper, and the like of every Province, and of the whole kingdom. All which could the defects of them be supplied with the yet unmeasured lands, would be exposed to publick view.

Now as to the value of these lands, they were *anno* 1642, rated to and by the adventurers as followeth, viz. in Leinster at 12*s.* per acre, in Munster at 9*s.* in Connaught at 6*s.* and in Ulster at 4*s.* and to pay one farthing *per ann.* quit-rent to the King out of each shillings worth of land so rated, viz. 3*d.* or 12 farthings for an acre in Leinster rated at 12*s.*, 9 farthings, or 2½*d.* an acre for lands in Munster rated at 9*s.* &c. *sic de cæteris.* Wood, bog, and mountain, to be cast in over and above.

* By Sir John Bodly.

Afterwards the soldiers, who were to have the satisfaction of their arrears at the same rate, not being willing to cast lots upon such desperate hazards, did *anno* 1653, equalize Counties within each Province, viz. took some in Leinster, at *1l. 2s. per acre*, some at *1l. &c.* And those who were satisfied *anno* 1655, and afterwards, did equalize not only Counties, but Baronies also, valuing some Baronies in Leinster at *1l. 4s. per acre*, and some but at *6s.* and others at all rates between these two extreams. But so as that, notwithstanding all the said differences, the whole Province should be given and taken at *12s. per acre*, according to the then law. And the inequality remaining after this equalization, was to be corrected by a lot.

I could here insert all the particulars of these transactions, but conceive it impertinent to my purpose, especially since they may be seen upon record. The next and best of all preceding equalizations, was that which the concernees of each County made in order to regulate the heavy contributions paid to the usurpers before His Majesty's restoration, and when no quit-rent was yet due. And in order to this work, not Baronies as before, but Parishes, nay, particular farms were also equalized. What was done herein, was not publickly recorded, but collected by the curious, and too bulky to be here inserted. Only take notice, that these valuations were made as parties interested could prevail upon and against one another by their attendance, friends, eloquence, and vehemence; for what other foundation of truth it had in nature, I know not.

Next to this valuation, there was, in order to a certain gift presented to His Majesty, by the adventurers and soldiers, of a years value of all their lands as it yielded *anno* 1659, next immediately before his restoration. There issued a commission, *anno* 1663, to enquire and settle the said values. And about 1667, there were made two several valuations more; the one in order to reprice such who had restored lands to the innocent Irish in equal value; and another was a determination what each land was worth *anno* 1659, (whatever it yielded:) both which, especially the latter, are upon record most authentically. Moreover, *anno* 1653, and 1654, there

were inquisitions taken of the values which all and every parcel of land in Ireland yielded *ann.* 1641. There have been also several acts of the chief powers *pro tempore*, for apportioning what proportion of a certain sum to be levied in general, should in particular be charged on each county, *viz.*, *ann.* 1657, there was an Act of the Usurper's Parliament to that purpose. *Ann.* 1662, there was an Act for raising 30,000*l.* as a present to his Grace the Duke of Ormond; and another for raising of — for several publick uses. And *ann.* 1672, for the equal raising of 30,000*l.* *per ann.* upon all the lands and houses of the whole nation. There be also accounts of what was raised out of each county by way of subsidy and poll-money paid *ann.* 1661. All which may be of much light to those who have such designs as the same will answer. But I being assured by whom, and for what ends, and by what means every such valuations and inquisitions were respectively made, had rather attempt some rule in nature, whereby to value and proportionate the lands of Ireland: the first whereof I propose to be; that how many men, women, and children live in any country parish, that the rent of that land is near about so many times 15*s.*, be the quantity and quality of the land what it will. 2. That in the meanest of the 160,000 cabins, one with another, are five souls, in the 24,000 six souls. In all the other houses ten apiece, one with another.

The Table.

BUT to make nearer approaches to the perfection of this work, 'twould be expedient to know the content of acres of every parish, and withal, what quantity of butter, cheese, corn, and wool was raised out of it for three years consequent; for thence the natural value of the land may be known, and by the number of people living within a market-days journey, and the value of their housing, which shews the quality and expence of the said people, I would hope to come to the knowledge of the value of the said commodities, and consequently the value of the land, by deducting the hire of working people in it. And this brings me to the most important consideration

in political oeconomies, viz., how to make a par and equation between lands and labour, so as to express the value of any thing by either alone. To which purpose, suppose two acres of pasture-land inclosed, and put thereinto a weaned calf, which I suppose in twelve months will become one hundred heavier in eatable flesh; then one hundred weight of such flesh, which I suppose fifty days food, and the interest of the value of the calf, is the value or years rent of the land. But if a man's labour — for a year can make the said land to yield more than sixty days food of the same, or of any other kind, then that overplus of days food is the wages of the man; both being expressed by the number of days food. That some men will eat more than others, is not material, since by a days food we understand one hundredth part of what 100 of all sorts and sizes will eat, so as to live, labour, and generate. And that a days food of one sort may require more labour to produce, than another sort, is also not material, since we understand the easiest gotten food of the respective countries of the world.

As for example, I suppose a pint of oat-meal equal to half a pint of rice, or a quart of milk, or a pound of bread, or a pound and quarter of flesh, &c., each, in the respective place where each is the easiest gotten food. But if rice be brought out of India into Ireland, or oatmeal carried from Ireland thither; then in India the pint of oatmeal must be dearer than half a pint of rice, by the freight and hazard of carriage, and *vice versa*, and *sic de ceteris*. For as for pleasant taste, I question whether there be any certainty, or regularity of the same in nature, the same depending upon novelty, opinion of virtue, the recommendation of others, &c. Wherefore the days food of an adult man, at a medium, and not the days labour, is the common measure of value, and seems to be as regular and constant as the value of fine silver. For an ounce, suppose of silver in Peru is equivalent to a days food, but the same in Russia is equivalent to four days food, by reason of the freight, and hazard in carrying the same from Peru to Russia; and in Russia the price of silver shall grow to be worth more days labour, if a workmen can by the esteem
and

and request of silver utensils earn more than he can on other materials. Wherefore I valued an Irish cabbín at the number of days food which the maker spent in building of it.

By the same way we must make a par and equation between art and simple labour; for if by such simple labour I could dig and prepare for seed a hundred acres in a thousand days; suppose then, I spend a hundred days in studying a more compendious way, and in contriving tools for the same purpose; but in all that hundred days dig nothing, but in the remaining nine hundred days I dig two hundred acres of ground; then I say, that the said art which cost but one hundred days invention is worth one man's labour for ever; because the new art, and one man, performed as much as two men could have done without it.

By the same way we make an equation between art and opinion. For if a picture-maker, suppose, make pictures at 5*l.* each; but then, find that more persons would employ him at that rate than his time would extend to serve them in, it will certainly come to pass that this artist will consider whether as many of those who apply to him at 5*l.* each picture, will give 6*l.* as will take up his whole time to accommodate; and upon this computation he pitcheth the rate of his work.

By the same way also an equation may be made between drudging labour, and favour, acquaintance, interest, friends, eloquence, reputation, power, authority, &c. All which I thought not amiss to intimate as of the same kind with finding an equation between land and labour, all these not very pertinent to the proportionation of the several counties of Ireland.

Wherefore to return to the matter in hand, I say, that the quantity of commodity produced, and the quantity of the — shews the effects of the land; and the number of people living thereupon, with the quality of their housing, shews the value of the commodity; for one days delicate and exquisite food may be worth ten of ordinary. Now the nature of peoples feeding may be estimated by the visible part of their expence, which is their housing. But such helps of knowing the value of lands, I am not yet able to furnish.

CHAPTER X.

Of the Money of IRELAND.

MONEY is understood to be the uniform measure and rule for the value of all commodities. But whether in that sense there be any money, or such rule in the world, I know not, much less in Ireland, though most are persuaded that gold and silver money is such. For 1. The proportion of value between pure gold and fine silver, alters as the earth and industry of men produce more of one than of the other; that is to say, gold has been worth but twelve times its own weight in silver; of late it has been worth fourteen, because more silver has been gotten. That of gold proportionably, *i.e.*, about twelve times as much silver has been raised as of gold, which makes gold dearer. So there can be but one of the two metals of gold and silver to be a fit matter for money. Wherefore, if silver be that one metal fit for money; then gold is but a commodity very like money. And as things now stand, silver only is the matter of money; and that elsewhere as well as in Ireland.

2. The value of silver rises and falls itself; for men make vessels of coined silver, if they can gain by the workmanship enough to defray the destruction of the coinage, and withal, more than they could expect by employing the same silver as money in a way of trade. Now the accidents of so doing, make silver rise and fall, and consequently take from the perfect aptitude for being an uniform steady rule and measure of all other things.

The mischiefs and inconveniences hitherto mentioned, are common to all times and places; but in Ireland are more particular; and stand thus, *viz.*

A piece of 8 rials being full 17 penny weight, passeth for 4*s.* 9*d.* if it want but half a grain of the weight, though half a grain of silver be worth but the 4th part of a farthing, or the sixteenth of a penny, then it passes for 3*d.* less, *viz.* 4*s.* 6*d.*, and if it weigh ten grains above 17*d.* weight, it passes but for 4*s.* 9*d.* On the other hand, if it weigh but 12*d.* weight, it passes nevertheless for 4*s.* 6*d.* And if the silver be coarse, if

not so coarse, as not to be called silver, yet still it passes for the same. Moreover, the fineness cannot be determined by common eyes scarce at all, by the best not within 4*d.* in an ounce, by the touchstone not within 2*d.*, and by the test itself not within a half-penny. Lastly, the scales and weights differ so much from each other, as what is 4*s.* 9*d.* in one house, is but 4*s.* 6*d.* in the next, and *vice versa*. From whence it comes to pass, that all pieces weighing above 17*d.* weight, are called out to buy or make pieces of 14*d.* weight pass for 4*s.* 6*d.*

2. Other species of coin, which *pro rata* contain the same quantity of the like gold and silver, with the piece of eight rials, goes in one species for more, in another for less. What hath been said of the silver species, may be said of the gold species; and what differences are between silver and silver, and between gold and gold, is also between silver and gold coins. So as it becomes a trade to study and make advantages of these irregularities, to the prejudice of the good people who are taught, that whatever is called money, is the same, and regular, and uniform, and a just measure of all commodities. From whence it hath happened, that all English money which hath a great and deserved reputation in the world for its intrinsick goodness, is quite carried away out of Ireland, and such money brought instead of it, as these studied merchants do from time to time bring in for their advantage upon the common people, their credulity and ignorance.

But money, that is to say, silver and gold, do at this day much decrease in Ireland, for the following reasons.

1. Ireland, *anno* 1664, did not export to a much greater value than it imported, *viz.*, about 62,000. Since which time there hath been a law made to prohibit the importation of great cattle and sheep, alive or dead, into England; the value whereof carried into England in that very year 1664, was above 150,000*l.* The which was said to have been done, for that Ireland drained away the money of England. Whereas in that very year England sent to Ireland, but 91,000*l.* less than it received from thence; and yet this small difference was said to be the reason why the rents of England fell a fifth part, that is 1,600,000 in 8 millions. Which was a strange

conceit, if they consider farther, that the value of the cattle, alive or dead, which went out of Ireland into England, was but 132,000*l.*, the hides, tallow, and freight whereof were worth about half that money.

2. Whereas the owners of about one quarter both of all the real and personal estate of Ireland, do live in England, since the business of the several courts of claims was finished in December, 1668, all that belongs to them goes out, but returns not.

3. The gains of the Commissioners of that court, and of the farmers of the revenue of Ireland, who live in England, have issued out of Ireland without returns.

4. A considerable part of the army of Ireland hath been sent into England, and yet paid out of Ireland.

5. To remit so many great sums out of Ireland into England, when all trade between the said two kingdoms is prohibited, must be very chargeable; for now the goods which go out of Ireland, in order to furnish the said sums in England, must for example go into the Barbadoes, and there be sold for sugars, which brought into England, are sold for money to pay there what Ireland owes. Which way being so long, tedious, and hazardous, must necessarily so raise the exchange of money, as we have seen 15 *per cent.* frequently given, *anno* 1671 and *anno* 1672. Although in truth, exchange can never be naturally more than the land and water-carriage of money between the two kingdoms, and the insurance of the same upon the way, if the money be alike in both places.

But men that have not had the faculty of making these transmissions with dexterity, have chose rather to give 15 *per cent.* exchange, as aforesaid, than to put themselves upon the hazard of such undertakings, and the mischief of being disappointed.

Now the extraordinary decrease of gold and silver, put men whose affairs were much disturbed thereby, upon extraordinary conceits, and some very absurd ones for remedy, as namely the raising of Spanish pieces of eight, called cobs in Ireland, from 4*s.* 9*d.* to 5 or 6 shillings, which were before about 5*d.*

above the value of English; that is 4*s.* 4*d.* English money weighed the same with a cob called 4*s.* 9*d.* For these distracted people thought, that calling their money by a better name, did increase its value.

2. They thought that no man would carry cobs of 5*s.* out of Ireland into England, where they were called but 4*s.* 4*d.*, although he was necessitated to pay 4*s.* 4*d.* in England, and had no other effects to do it with. They thought that all men who lived in England, would return to their estates in Ireland, rather than pay 15 *per cent.* for exchange; not considering, that when cobs were raised, that exchange would also rise proportionably. They fancied, that he who sold a stone of wool for two cobs, called 9*s.* when cobs were raised, would sell his stone of wool for one cob and a half when called 9*s.* Nor did they think how this frivolous conceit would have taken away a proportionable part of all landlords estates in Ireland. As for example, those who acted moderately, would have the money raised a 20th part; and the 20th part of all the money of Ireland, was then thought to be but about 20,000*l.* The whole cash of Ireland being then estimated but 400,000*l.*, whereas the landlords of Ireland, whose revenue is 800,000*l. per annum*, must have lost one-20th part of their whole estates for ever, viz., 40,000*l. per annum*, upon that empty expedient.

But others, no less sensible of the distress of the people, and the obstructions of trade by reason of the said decay of bullion, considering that about 600,000*l.* would drive the trade of that kingdom; for that 300,000*l.* would pay one-half years gale of all the land; 50,000*l.* would pay a quarter rent of all the housing; and that 150,000*l.* would more than pay a weeks expence of all the people of Ireland; and that the whole cash moved chiefly in those three circles; they therefore thought to make up their 400,000*l.* present cash by a bank of 200,000*l.* more, the bottom and support whereof should be land; for the lands and houses of Ireland being worth about 8 millions, whereof 200,000*l.* was but the 40th part, 'twas thought easy to find many 40th parts so free from incumbrances or question as to give a being to such a bank.

Note, that interest in Ireland is 10 *per cent.*, which is a great hindrance to trade; since the interest must inflame the price of Irish commodities, and consequently give to other nations the means of underselling.

CHAPTER XI.

Of the Trade of IRELAND.

IF it be true, that there are but about 16,000 families in Ireland, who have above one chimney in their houses; and above 180,000 others; it will be easily understood what the trade of this latter sort can be, who use few commodities; and those such as almost every one can make and produce. That is to say, men live in such cottages as themselves can make in 3 or 4 days; eat such food (tobacco excepted) as they buy not from others; wear such cloaths as the wool of their own sheep, spun into yarn by themselves, doth make; their shoes, called brogues, are but a quarter so much worth as a pair of English shoes; nor of more than a quarter in real use and value. A hat costs 20*d.*; a pair of stockings 6*d.*; but a good shirt near 3*s.* The taylors work of a doublet, breeches and coat about 2*s.* 6*d.* In brief, the victuals of a man, his wife, three children, and servant, resolved into money, may be estimated 3*s.* 6*d.* *per week*, or 1*d.* *per diem.* The cloaths of a man 30*s.* *per ann.*; of children under 16, one with another, 15*s.*; the house not worth 5*s.* the building; fuel costs nothing but fetching. So as the whole annual expence of such a family, consisting of 6 in number, seems to be but about 52*s.* *per ann.*, each head one with another. So as 950,000 inhabitants of these edifices, may spend 2,375,000*l.* *per ann.* And the 150,000 who inhabit the 16,000 other houses, may spend 10*l.* *per ann.* each one with another, viz., one million and half. So as the whole people of both sorts spend under 4 millions, whereof the 10th part, viz., 400,000*l.* is for foreign commodities, tobacco included, whereof every 1,000 souls spends one tun *per ann.*, or every 1,000 tobacco-takers, viz., people above 15 years old, spend

spend two tuns one with another: for it appears by the latest account of importance, that what is here said, is true to a trifle. From whence I observe by the way, that the King's revenue, *viis et modis*, being about 200,000*l. per ann.*, that it is the 20th part of the whole expence; which in some of the Grecian commonwealths was thought too much, although the Israelites allowed the tenth to the Levites only, though perhaps to defray the whole charge of the Government, the supremacy amongst that people being then sacerdotal.

I observe also by the way, that the lands and housing of Ireland being worth about one million *per ann.*, that the labour of the people may be worth three millions, which is earned by about 750,000 (of the 1,100,000) who by their age and quality are fit and applicable to corporal labours, and consequently each labouring person earns but 4*s. per ann.* if all work. Or if each earns 8*l.* then but half of them work, or all but half their full time, or otherwise in other proportions. But be it one way or the other; I am as certain that the hands of Ireland may earn a million *per ann.* more than they now do, as I am certain that there are 750,000 in Ireland who could earn 2*s.* a week, or 5*l. per ann.* one with another, if they had suitable employment, and were kept to their labour.

I further observe, that if there be naturally but 2,000 impotents in Ireland, and that 50 shillings *per ann.* doth maintain the poorer sort of people; it follows, that 8,000*l. per ann.* would amply maintain all the impotents of Ireland, if well applied. For other beggars, as also thieves, and rebels, which are but bigger thieves, are probably but the faults and defects of government and discipline.

As for the fitness of Ireland for trade, we say as followeth.

1st. That Ireland consisting of above 18,000 square miles, it is not one place with another above 24 miles from the sea, because it is 750 miles about: wherefore forasmuch as the land-carriage of gross that will be easy in such a country, it is fit for trade, because the greatest and most profitable part of trade, and the employment of shipping, depends upon such goods, viz. metals, stones, grain, wood, salt, &c.

2dly, Ireland lieth commodiously for the trade of the new American world; which we see every day to grow and flourish.

It lieth well for sending butter, cheese, beef, fish, to their proper markets, which are to the southward, and the plantations of America.

✓ Thus is Ireland by nature fit for trade, but otherwise very much unprepared for the same; for as hath been often said, the housing thereof consists of 160,000 nasty cabbins, in which neither butter nor cheese, nor linen, yarn nor worsted; and I think no other, can be made to the best advantage; chiefly by reason of the soot and smoaks annoying the same; as also for the narrowness and nastiness of the place; which cannot ✓ be kept clean nor safe from beasts and vermin, nor from damps and musty stench, of which all the eggs laid or kept in those cabbins do partake. Wherefore to the advancement of trade, the reformation of these cabbins is necessary.

It may also be considered, whether the institution of these following corporations would not be expedient, viz. 1. of cattle, 2. of corn, 3. of fish, 4. of leather, 5. of wool, 6. of linnen, 7. of butter and cheese, 8. of metals and minerals: for unto these, almost all the commodities exportable out of Ireland, may be referred.

It may also be considered, whether the taxing of those cabbins with hearth-money be proper, but rather with days labour; the former being scarce possible for them to have, but the latter most easy. Insomuch as 'tis more easy for them to give 40 days labour *per ann.* at seasonable times, than to pay 2*s.* in silver at a pinch, and just when the collectors call for it.

The diet, housing and clothing of the 16,000 families above-mentioned, is much the same as in England: nor is the French elegance unknown in many of them, nor the French and Latin tongues. The latter whereof is very frequent among the poorest Irish, and chiefly in Kerry, most remote from Dublin.

The housing of 160,000 families, is, as hath been often said, very wretched. But their clothing is far better than that of the French peasants, or the poor of most other countries;

which advantage they have from their wool, whereof 12 sheep furnisheth a competency to one of these families. Which wool, and the cloth made of it, doth cost these poor people no less than 50,000*l. per ann.* for the dying it; a trade exercised by the women of the country. Madder, allum, and indigo, are imported, but the other dying stuffs they find nearer home, a certain mud taken out of the bogs serving them for coppers, the rind of several trees, and saw-dust, for galls; as for wild and green weeds, they find enough, as also of Rhamnus-berries.

The diet of these people is milk, sweet and sower, thick and thin, which also is their drink in summer-time, in winter small-beer or water. But tobacco taken in short pipes seldom burnt, seems the pleasure of their lives, together with sneezing: insomuch, that two-sevenths of their expence in food, is tobacco. Their food is bread in cakes, whereof a penny serves a week for each; potatoes from August till May, muscles, cockles and oysters, near the sea; eggs and butter made very rancid, by keeping in bogs. As for flesh, they seldom eat it, notwithstanding the great plenty thereof, unless it be of the smaller animals, because it is inconvenient for one of these families to kill a beef, which they have no convenience to save. So as 'tis easier for them to have a hen or rabbit, than a piece of beef of equal substance.

Their fuel is turf in most places; and of late, even where wood is most plentiful, and to be had for nothing, the cutting and carriage of the turf being more easy than that of wood. But to return from whence I digressed; I may say, that the trade of Ireland, among 19 in 22 parts of the whole people, is little or nothing, excepting for the tobacco above-mentioned, estimated worth about 50,000*l.* forasmuch as they do not need any foreign commodities, nor scarce any thing made out of their own village. Nor is above one-fifth part of their expence other than what their own family produceth, which condition and state of living cannot beget trade.

And now I shall digress again to consider, whether it were better for the Commonwealth to restrain the expence of 150,000 optimates below 10*l. per ann.* each; or to beget a

luxury in the 950,000 plebeians, so as to make them spend, and consequently earn double to what they at present do.

To which I answer in brief, that the one shall increase the sordidness and squallor of living already too visible in 950,000 plebeians, with little benefit to the Commonwealth; the other shall increase the splendor, art, and industry of the 950,000 to the great enrichment of the Commonwealth.

Again, why should we be forbid the use of any foreign commodity, which our own hands and country cannot produce, when we can employ our spare hands and lands upon such exportable commodities as will purchase the same, and more.

3. The keeping or lessening of money, is not of that consequence that many guess it to be of. For in most places, especially Ireland, nay, England itself, the money of the whole nation is but about a 10th part of the expense of one year; viz. Ireland is thought to have about 400,000*l.* in cash, and to spend about 4 millions *per ann.* Wherefore it is very ill husbandry to double the cash of the nation, by destroying half its wealth; or to increase the cash otherwise than by increasing the wealth *simul et semel.*

That is, when the nation hath one-tenth more cash, I require it should have one-tenth more wealth, if it be possible. For there may be as well too much money in a country, as too little. I mean, as to the best advantage of its trade; only the remedy is very easy, it may be soon turned into the magnificence of gold and silver vessels.

Lastly, many think that Ireland is much impoverished, or at least the money thereof much exhausted, by reason of absentees, who are such as having lands in Ireland, do live out of the kingdom, and do therefore think it just that such, according to former Statutes, should lose their said estates.

Which opinion I oppose, as both unjust, inconvenient, and frivolous. For 1st, if a man carry money or other effects out of England to purchase lands in Ireland, why should not the rents, issues and profits of the same land return into England, with the same reason that the money of England was diminished to buy it?

2. I suppose one quarter of the land of Ireland did belong to the inhabitants of England, and that the same lay all in one place together; why may not the said quarter of the whole land be cut off from the other three sent into England, were it possible so to do? and if so, why may not the rents of the same be actually sent, without prejudice to the other three parts of the interestors thereof?

3. If all men were bound to spend the proceed of their lands upon the land itself; then as all the proceed of Ireland ought to be spent in Ireland; so all the proceed of one county of Ireland ought to be spent in the same; of one barony, in the same barony; and so parish and manor; and at length it would follow, that every eater ought to avoid what he hath eaten upon the same turf where the same grew. Moreover, this equal spreading of wealth would destroy all splendor and ornament; for if it were not fit that one place should be more splendid than another, so also that no one man should be greater or richer than another; for if so, then the wealth, suppose of Ireland, being perhaps 11 millions, being divided among 1,100,000 people, then no one man having above 10*l.* he could probably build no house worth above 3*l.* which would be to leave the face of beggary upon the whole nation: and withal such parity would beget anarchy and confusion.

Of the other impediment of trade, the not raising of money above the value which the generality of the whole world hath of it, that is, the intrinsic value, I have spoken before; and now return to other matters relating to the trade of Ireland.

Having shewn that there is little or no trade or commutation of commodities, where people live so simply, and as it were *ex sponte creatis*, as the inhabitants of 184,000 huts do live; it follows, that what trade is in Ireland must be found in the 16,000 other houses of above one chimney in each, and amongst the inhabitants of them. Though trade, properly speaking, be the commutation of commodities; that, generally speaking, 'tis the way whereby to purchase riches and power, the parents of pleasure: not only by getting commodities out of the earth and sea; by ploughing, fishing, mines, vecture, &c. by getting away those commodities from them who first

got them out of the earth and sea, as aforesaid. And not only or at all increasing the whole wealth of the nation, but ones own former share and proportion of the whole, though diminished, that is to say, supposing the whole wealth of Ireland were 10 millions, and the share of A. was 1,000*l.* thereof; I say, 'tis commonly more the care of A. to make his 1,000*l.* 3,000, though by lessening the whole stock 2,000*l.* than to make the whole stock 30 millions, by lessening his own 1,000*l.* to 300*l.*

Now this is the trade of Ireland, and I think of most other places, but exercised in Ireland by the following ways, viz.

Whereas the lands of Ireland have within 150 years been most of them forfeited, and the lands of monasteries have since then fallen into the King's hands, by the dissolution of the said monasteries, and several defects found in the titles, older than that of time; it hath come to pass, that all the said lands have been granted to several others; some legally and formally, some otherwise; some under one condition, some under another. So as by several defects in the said grants, or by non-performance of conditions, and many other ways needless to enumerate, the King in strictness may find a title to the estates of many men who have been long in possession of their respective holdings, (though some more, some less, some upon better, and some upon worser grounds.) A principal trade in Ireland, to find out these flaws and defects, to procure commission for such inquiries. And a branch of this trade, is to give to such seekers flattering and delusive informations to bring on other designs; and withal, prevail with persons conversant with the higher powers to give grants of these discoveries, and thereupon, right or wrong, to yex the possessors, at least into such a composition as may be of profit to the prosecutors. Whereby it falls out, that the time of all the persons exercised *pro et contra* in these matters, who do only take from one another like gamesters, (the lawyers taking from both) is lost, without advancing at all the public wealth. Now this is no trade, but a calamity upon the nation.

2. Whereas the branches of the public revenue being mani-
62 fold,

fold, and the accounts of the same vast and numerous, and the laws, with the cases and accidents relating to the same, intricate and new; but chiefly the Officers employed about the premises, such as could make friends for their places, whether persons of skill, experience and trustiness, or not; it hath come to pass, even in Ireland, in former times, that principal Officers of the Exchequer have represented the state of the Public Treasury near 200,000*l.* differently from each other: so as new men have been admitted to take the whole to farm, who expected vast advantages, by mending and clearing what others had marred and confounded, though they had still their places and perquisites notwithstanding: and in this case the people thought fit to pay any thing that was required, rather than to pass the fire of this purgatory, even though they need no burning.

This and other practices of farming, taken with the whole doctrine of defalcations, hath been a great trade in Ireland, but a calamity on the people who have paid great wages to them that have made faults, but three times greater to those who would but undertake to mend them, though indeed they could not.

A third great trade and calamity to the people of Ireland, hath been the gains made by the afore-mentioned difference, confusion and badness of coins, exorbitant exchange, and interest of money, all following also from the premises.

A fourth calamity is implicating poor workmen, and trappanning them into crimes, indictments, Bishops-courts, &c. feigning and compounding of trespasses, not without making benefit by the office of Justice of Peace.

A fifth may be from the manner of making Sheriffs, the execution of their offices, accounts in the Exchequer, &c.

A sixth, from raising monies at the Assizes, by authority of the Grand Juries, but raising too much, and in spending or not spending what was to be raised.

None of these six trades do add any more to the Commonwealth than gamesters, and even such of them as play with false dice, do to the common stock of the whole number.

And in these trades 'tis thought one-third of those who

inhabit the afore-mentioned 16,000 houses, do exercise themselves, and are the locusts and caterpillars of the Commonwealth, as the inhabitants of the other 184,000 cottages are the untilled part of the same. Wherefore it remains to see what trade is to be found among the rest; which I take to be as followeth, viz.

✓ 1. In domestick wealth: of which sort is building fine houses and gardens, orchards, groves, inns, mills, churches, bridges, highways, causeys; as also furniture for houses, coaches, &c. In which kind I guess the improvement of Ireland has since the year 1652, to 1673, advanced from one to four, and I think to a better state than before 1641, that is, than perhaps ever it yet was.

The foreign trade, if you will believe the accounts of customs, *anno* 1657, and now, hath been advanced from one to seven; but in reality, I think, from one to two; for the customs yielded *anno* 1656, clear under 12,000*l.* but were within a year or two, let for above three times the sum, but are now at about 80,000 intrinsically.

But to speak more clearly and authentically upon this subject, I shall insert the following tables of exported and imported commodities, and from them make the subnexed observations, viz.

The Tables.

1. THAT that the customs, managed by the States Officers, yielded *anno* 1657, under 12,000*l.* but was farmed *anno* 1658, for above thrice that sum.

2. That the stock which drives the foreign trade of Ireland, doth near half of it belong to those who live out of Ireland.

3. That *anno* 1664, before the cattle-statute, three-fourths of the Ireland foreign trade was with England, but now not one-fourth part of the same.

4. That the manufacture bestowed upon a years exportation out of Ireland, is not worth above 8,000*l.*

5. That because more eatables were exported *anno* 1664, than 1641, and more manufactures 1641, than *anno* 1664, it

follows, there were more people in Ireland *anno* 1641, than 1664, and in that proportion as was formerly mentioned.

6. That the exportations appear more worth than the importations, excepting that the accounts of the former are more true, but of the latter very conjectural, and probably less than the truth.

CHAPTER XII.

Of the Religion, Diet, Cloths, Language, Manners, and Interest of the several present Inhabitants of IRELAND.

WE said, that of the 1,100,000 inhabitants of Ireland, about 800,000 of them were Irish; and that above 600,000 of them lived very simply in the cabbins afore-mentioned. Wherefore I shall in the first place describe the religion, diet, &c. of these, being the major part of the whole; not wholly omitting some of the other species also.

The religion of these poorer Irish is called Roman Catholic, whose head is the Pope of Rome, from whence they are properly enough called Papists. This religion is well known in the world, both by the books of their divines, and the worship in their churches: wherefore I confine myself to what I think peculiar to these Irish. And first, I observe, that the priests among them are of small learning, but are thought by their flocks to have much, because they can speak Latin more or less, and can often out-talk in Latin those who dispute with them. So as they are thereby thought both more orthodox and able than their antagonists.

Their reading in Latin is the lives of the saints, and fabulous stories of their country. But the superior learning among them, is the philosophy of the schools, and the genealogies of their ancestors. Both which look like what St. Paul hath condemned.

The priests are chosen for the most part out of old Irish gentry, and thereby influence the people, as well by their interest as their office.

Their preaching seems rather bugbearing of their flocks

with dreadful stories, than persuading them by reason, or the Scriptures. They have an incredible opinion of the Pope and his sanctity, of the happiness of those who can obtain his blessing at the third or fourth hand. Only some few, who have lately been abroad, have gotten so far, as to talk of a difference between the interest of the Court of Rome, and the doctrine of the Church. The common priests have few of them been out of Ireland; and those who have, were bred in convents, or made friars for the most part, and have humble opinions of the English and Protestants, and of the mischiefs of setting up manufactures, and introducing of trade. They also comfort their flocks, partly by prophecies of their restoration to their ancient estates and liberties, which the abler sort of them fetch from what the Prophets of the Old Testament have delivered by way of God's promise to restore the Jews, and the kingdom to Israel. They make little esteem of an oath upon a Protestant Bible, but will more devoutly take up a stone, and swear upon it, calling it a book, than by the said book of books, the Bible. But of all oaths, they think themselves at much liberty to take a land-oath, as they call it: which is an oath to prove a forged deed, a possession, livery or seisin, payment of rents, &c., in order to recover for their countrymen the lands which they had forfeited. They have a great opinion of holy-wells, rocks, and caves, which have been the reputed cells and receptacles of men reputed saints. They do not much fear death, if it be upon a tree, unto which, or the gallows, they will go upon their knees towards it, from the place they can first see it. They confess nothing at their executions, though never so guilty. In brief, there is much superstition among them, but formerly much more than is now; forasmuch as by the conversation of Protestants, they become ashamed of their ridiculous practices, which are not *de jure*. As for the richer and better educated sort of them, they are such Catholics as are in other places. The poor, in adhering to their religion, which is rather a custom than a dogma amongst them; they seem rather to obey their grandees, old landlords, and the heads of their septes and clans, than God. For when these were under clouds,

transported into Spain, and transplanted into Connaught, and disabled to serve them as formerly, about the year 1656, when the adventurers and soldiers appeared to be their landlords and patrons, they were observed to have been forward enough to relax the stiffness of their pertinacity to the Pope, and his impositions. Lastly, among the better sort of them, many think less of the Pope's power in temporals, as they call it, than formerly; and begin to say, that the supremacy, even in spirituals, lies rather in the Church diffusive, and in qualified General Councils, than in the Pope alone, or than in the Pope and his Cardinals, or other *juncto*.

The religion of the Protestants in Ireland, is the same with the Church of England in doctrine, only they differ in discipline thus, viz.

The legal Protestants hold the power of the Church to be in the King, and that Bishops and Archbishops, with their clerks, are the best way of adjusting that power under him. The Presbyterians would have the same thing done, and perhaps more, by classes of Presbyters national and provincial. The Independents would have all Christian congregations independent from each other. The Anabaptists are independent in discipline, and differ from all those afore-mentioned in the baptism of infants, and in the inward and spiritual signification of that ordinance. The Quakers salute not by uncovering the head, speak to one another in the second person, and singular number; as for magistracy and arms, they seem to hold with the Anabaptists of Germany and Holland; they pretend to a possibility of perfection, like the Papists; as for other tenets, 'tis hard to fix them, or to understand what things they mean by their words.

The diet of the poorer Irish, is what was before discoursed in another chapter.

The clothing is a narrow sort of frieze, of about twenty inches broad, whereof two foot, called a bundle, is worth from $3\frac{1}{2}d.$ to $18d.$ Of this, seventeen bundles make a man's suit, and twelve make a cloak. According to which measures and proportions, and the number of people who wear this stuff, it seems, that near thrice as much wool is spent in Ireland as

exported; whereas others have thought quite contrary, that is, that the exported wool is triple in quantity to what is spent at home.

As for the manners of the Irish, I deduce them from their original constitutions of body, and from the air; next from their ordinary food; next from their condition of estate and liberty, and from the influence of their governors and teachers, and lastly, from their ancient customs, which affect as well their consciences as their nature. For their shape, stature, colour, and complexion, I see nothing in them inferior to any other people, nor any enormous predominancy of any humour.

Their lazing seems to me to proceed rather from want of employment and encouragement to work, than from the natural abundance of flegm in their bowels and blood; for what need they to work, who can content themselves with potatoes, whereof the labour of one man can feed forty; and with milk, whereof one cow will, in summer time, give meat and drink enough for three men, when they can every where gather cockles, oysters, muscles, crabs, &c. with boats, nets, angles, or the art of fishing; and can build an house in three days? and why should they desire to fare better, though with more labour, when they are taught, that this way of living is more like the patriarchs of old, and the saints of later times, by whose prayers and merits they are to be relieved, and whose examples they are therefore to follow? and why should they breed more cattle, since 'tis penal to import them into England? why should they raise more commodities, since there are not merchants sufficiently stocked to take them of them, nor provided with other more pleasing foreign commodities, to give in exchange for them? and how should merchants have stock, since trade is prohibited and fettered by the statutes of England? and why should men endeavour to get estates, where the legislative power is not agreed upon; and where tricks and words destroy natural right and property?

They are accused also of much treachery, falseness, and thievery; none of all which, I conceive, is natural to them;

for as to treachery, they are made believe, that they all shall flourish again, after some time; wherefore they will not really submit to those whom they hope to have their servants; nor will they declare so much, but say the contrary, for their present ease, which is all the treachery I have observed; for they have in their hearts, not only a grudging to see their old properties enjoyed by foreigners, but a persuasion they shall be shortly restored. As for thievery, it is affixt to all thin-peopled countries, such as Ireland is, where there cannot be many eyes to prevent such crimes; and where what is stolen, is easily hidden and eaten, and where 'tis easy to burn the house, or violate the persons of those who prosecute these crimes, and where thin-peopled countries are governed by the laws that were made and first fitted to thick-peopled countries; and where matter of small moment and value must be tried with all the formalities which belong to the highest causes. In this case there must be thieving, where is withal neither encouragement, nor method, nor means for labouring, nor provision for impotents.

As for the interest of these poorer Irish, it is manifestly to be transmuted into English, so to reform and qualify their housing, as that English women may be content to be their wives; to decline their language, which continues a sensible distinction, being not now necessary, which makes those who do not understand it, suspect, that what is spoken in it is to their prejudice. It is their interest to deal with the English, for leases, for time, and upon clear conditions, which being performed they are absolute freemen, rather than to stand always liable to the humour and caprice of their landlords, and to have every thing taken from them, which he pleases to fancy. It is their interest, that he is well pleased with their obedience to them, when they see and know upon whose care and conduct their well-being depends, who have power over their lands and estates. Then, to believe a man at Rome has power in all these last-mentioned particulars in this world, and can make them eternally happy or miserable hereafter, 'tis their interest to join with them, and follow their example, who have brought arts, civility, and freedom into their country.

On the contrary, what did they ever get by accompanying their lords into rebellion against the English? what should they have gotten if the late rebellion had absolutely succeeded, but a more absolute servitude? and when it failed, these poor people have lost all their estates, and their leaders increased theirs, and enjoyed the very land which their leaders caused them to lose. The poorest now in Ireland ride on horseback, when heretofore the best ran on foot like animals. They wear better clothes than ever; the gentry have better breeding, and the generality of the plebeians more money and freedom.

CHAPTER XIII.

*Several Miscellany Remarks and Intimations concerning
IRELAND, and the several matters afore-mentioned.*

WITHOUT recourse to the authority of story, but rather diligently observing the law and course of nature, I conjecture, that whatever is fabled of the Phœnicians, Scythians, Biscayers, &c., their first inhabiting of Ireland, that the places near Carrickfergus were first peopled, and that with those who came from the parts of Scotland opposite thereunto; for that Ireland was planted by some body in Cæsar's time, is most certain; that the art of navigation was not before Cæsar's time so well understood and practised, as to bring men from any other part of the world thither, save from Great Britain; that from St. David's Head in South Wales, and from Holyhead in North Wales, Ireland is not clearly at any time discerned, nor often at all; that the inhabitants of those two British headlands had neither boats fit to pass that sea, is most probable; but that Carrickfergus may be always seen from Scotland, is well known; and that a small boat may row over in three or four hours, is experienced; that the language of those parts differ very little; that the country about Carrickfergus is far better than that of Scotland opposite; that the chief Bishops seat of Ireland, and probably the first, is near those parts, are all notorious truths. From all which

'tis more probable, that Ireland was first peopled from Scotland, than all the other remote parts afore-mentioned.

It hath been much observed, that the Lieutenants and Chancellors of Ireland have often been at variance; the reason whereof seems to be their powers were too near an equilibrium; for the Lieutenant commands an army perhaps of 3,000, and the Chancellor makes 900 Justices of Peace, who make 2,500 constables, which are the civil sword, who act in times of peace, and every where, and in all matters; whereas the army acts only upon rare occasions, and are more mercenary men. So as the civil sword seems of far more extent and effect than the military sword.

The Lieutenant disposes perhaps of four or five hundred places and employments; but the Chancellor, of the said nine hundred Justices of Peace, and several others. The Lieutenant can hurt very few persons, who do not depend upon the favour of employments; but the Chancellor can affect all men of estates and dealing in the world, by the power of his Court, and by the harmony of his own will with the King's conscience.

The Lieutenant is for the most part a stranger to Ireland; but the Chancellor seldom such, but a person of great family and acquaintance. Moreover, all the Lieutenants, Deputies, and Lords Justices, that have been these 150 years, have not, one with another, continued two years in the office; but the Chancellors have much more, and are seldom removed but by death, and general revolutions. The Chancellor has ordinarily some other dignity and office annexed, for they be often eminent prelates and churchmen; but the Lieutenant is confined to temporals. The Chancellor is speaker in Parliament, and by keeping the seal, can check the Lieutenant in many cases. The Chancellors are bred to eloquence and arguing; the breeding of a Lieutenant is casual.

Men that bring great estates into Ireland, do not increase them proportionably with them who come over with nothing. Not to quote the examples hereof on both sides, the reason seems not to be very abstruse, viz.

The language of Ireland is like that of the north of Scotland,

land, in many things like the Welch and Manques; but in Ireland the Fingallians speak neither English, Irish, nor Welch; and the people about Wexford, though they agree in a language differing from English, Welch, and Irish, yet 'tis not the same with that of the Fingallians near Dublin. Both these two sorts of people are honest and laborious members of the kingdom.

The Irish language, and the Welch, as also all languages that have not been the languages of flourishing empires, wherein were many things, many notions and fancies, both poetical and philosophical, hath but few words; and all the names of artificial things brought into use, since the empire of these linguists ceased, are expressed in the language of their conquerors, by altering the termination and accents only.

Ireland is now divided into provinces, counties, baronies, parishes, and farm-lands, and those, so as that they may be, ✓ and have been geometrically delineated; but formerly it was not so, but the country was called by the names of the lords who governed the people. For as a territory bounded by bogs, is greater or lesser as the bog is more dry and passable, or otherwise: so the country of a grandee or tierne in Ireland, became greater or lesser as his forces waxed or waned; for where was a large castle and garrison, there the jurisdiction was also large.

And when these grandees came to make peace, and parts one with another, the limits of their land-agreements were ✓ no lines geometrically drawn; but if the rain fell one way, then the land whereon it fell, did belong to A, if the other way, to B, &c.

As to their town-lands, plow-lands, colps, gneeres, bullibos, ballibelaghs, two's, horsmen's, beds, &c., they are all at this day become unequal both in quantity and value, having been made upon grounds which are now obsolete and antiquated.

For sometimes lands were divided by what certain societies of men held, which I conceive were town-lands or tythings.

Sometimes by plow-lands, viz. such a — of lands as contained enough of every species of land arable, meadow, and pasture, mountain, turf-bog, wood, &c., as served for the

whole use of man, especially of the owner of such a plow-land.

Sometimes by the share or proportion of land which an undertaker would engage to plant and defend according to articles.

Sometimes by the share which each servitor had given him in reward for his service, after a rebellion or insurrection.

Sometimes by what belonged to the cell of some religious man or men. But now all the lands are geometrically divided, and that without abolishing the ancient denominations and divisions above-mentioned. So that it is yet wanting to prevent the various spelling of names not understood, that some both comprehending the names of all public denominations according as they are spelled in the latest grants, should be set out by authority to determine the same for the time to come. And that where the same land hath other names, or hath been spelled with other conscriptions of letters or syllables, that the same be mentioned with an *alias*. Where the public and new authenticated denominations is part of a greater antiquated denomination, that it be so expressed, as by being called the East, West, South, or North part thereof. And if the said denomination comprehend several obsolete or inconsiderable parcels, that the same be expressed likewise.

The last clause of the explanatory act, enabled men to put new names on their respective lands, instead of those uncouth, unintelligible ones yet upon them. And it would not be amiss if the significant part of the Irish names were interpreted, where they are not, or cannot be abolished.

SOME have thought that little shipping belongs to Ireland, by the great policy of the English, who (as they wittily expressed it) would keep the chain or draw-bridge between both kingdoms, on the English side: but I never perceived any impediment of building, or having ships in Ireland, but mens own indisposition thereunto, either for not having stock for so chargeable a work, or not having workmen of sorts enough

to fit out a ship in all particulars: as for that they could hire ships cheaper from the Dutch, than to build them; or, that the Irish had rather eat potatoes and milk on dry land, than contest with the wind and waves with better food: or that there is not encouragement to a full employment for an able shipright to reside in Ireland. Nevertheless at this day there belongs to several ports of Ireland, vessels between 10 and ✓ 200 tuns, about 8,000 tuns of several sorts and sizes: and there are five light-houses erected for the safety of sailing upon the coasts.

Concerning the Ambergreece, taken upon the Western coasts of Ireland, I could never receive any clear satisfaction, neither of its odor, nor any other vertue, nor what use was or could be made of that stuff which has been so called, which is of several appearances.

What is said of the herb Mackenbory is fabulous, only that 'tis a tythemat, which will purge furiously, and of which there are vast quantities in that part of Kerry called Desmond, where the arbutus tree groweth in great numbers and beauty.

✓ There be in Ireland not ten iron furnaces, but above twenty forges and bloomeries, and but one lead-work, which was ever wrought, tho' many in view, which the pretended patents of them have hindered the working of. There is also a place in ✓ Kerry fit for one allum-work, attempted, but not fully proceeded upon.

There are in the West of Ireland about 20 gentlemen, who have engaged in the pilchard-fishing, and have among them all about 160 saynes, wherewith they sometimes take about 4,000 hogsheads of pilchards *per ann.*, worth about ten thousand pound. Cork, Kingsale, and Bantry are the best places for eating of fresh fish, tho' Dublin be not, or need not be ill supplied with the same.

✓ The clothing trade is not arrived to what it was before the late rebellion. And the art of making the excellent, thick, spungy, warm coverlets, seems to be lost, and not yet recovered.

Near Colrane is a salmon-fishing, where several tuns of salmon have been taken at one draught, and in one season.

The English in Ireland before Henry the Seventh's time, lived in Ireland as the Europeans do in America; or as several nations do now upon the same continent; so as an Englishman was not punishable for killing an Irishman, and they were governed by different laws; the Irish by the Brehon law, and the English there by the laws of England.

Registers of burials, births, and marriages, are not yet kept in Ireland, though of late begun in Dublin, but imperfectly.

English in Ireland growing poor and discontented, degenerate into Irish; and, *vice versa*, Irish growing into wealth and favour, reconcile to the English.

Eleven Irish miles makes 14 English, according to the proportion of the Irish perch of 21 feet, to the English of 16½.

The admeasurement of land in Ireland, hath hitherto been made with a circumferencer, with a needle of three two-thirds long, as the most convenient proportion; but 'twill be henceforth better done by the help of some old geometrical theorems, joyned with this new property of a circle, demonstrated by Doctor R. Wood.

The Diagram.

ALTHO' the Protestants of Ireland, be to Papists, as three to eight; yet, because the former live in cities and towns, and the Scots live all in and about five of the 32 counties of Ireland; it seems in other open counties, and without the corporations, that the Irish and Papists are twenty to one.

A REPORT from the COUNCIL of TRADE in IRELAND, to the Lord Lieutenant and Council, which was drawn by Sir William Petty.

IN obedience to your Lordship's Act of Council, of January the 20th, 1675, we have spent several days in considering how, as well the wealth of this kingdom in general, as the money thereof in particular may be increased. And in order thereunto, we have first set down to the best of our knowledge, the state of this kingdom in reference to trade. Secondly, we have noted such inferences from the same as do shew the several causes of the smallness of trade, want of money, and the general poverty of this nation. And in the last place, we have offered such general remedies and expedients, in the respective cases, as may be obtained and practised, without any new law to be made in Ireland. And we are ready so to enlarge upon the branches we have offered, as to make such of our proposals practicable, as your Lordships shall please to select and approve of for that purpose.

March the 25th, 1676.

CHAPTER XIV.

Considerations relating to the improvement of IRELAND.

- ✓ 1. THE whole territory of Ireland consists of about 12 millions of acres (English measure) of arable, meadow, and good pasture land; with about two millions of rocky, boggy, and scrubby pasture, commonly called unprofitable, (tho' not altogether such :) the rest being absolute boggs, loughs, rocks, sands, strands, rivers, and highways, &c. Of all which several lands, the yearly rent (comprehending their Majesties quit-rents, tythes, and tenants improvements) is supposed to be about nine hundred thousand pound, and worth to be purchased at nine millions.

2. The value of all the housing in Ireland, which have one or more chimneys in them, (excluding all cabbins which have none) is supposed to be two millions and a half.

3. The cattle and live stock, three millions.

4. Corn, furniture, merchandize, shipping, &c., about one million.

5. The coined and current money, now running in trade, is between 300,000*l.* and 350,000*l.*, or the fiftieth part of the value of the whole kingdom, which we suppose to be about 16 millions.

6. The number of people in Ireland is about 1,100,000, viz., 300,000 English, Scotch, and Welch Protestants, and 800,000 Papists, whereof one-fourth are children unfit for labour, and about 75,000 of the remainder are, by reason of their quality and estates, above the necessity of corporal labour; so as there remains 750,000 labouring men and women, 500,000 whereof do perform the present work of the nation.

7. The said 1,100,000 people do live in about 200,000 families or houses, whereof there are but about 16,000 which have more than one chimney in each; and about 24,000 which have but one; all the other houses, being 160,000, are wretched nasty cabbins, without chimney, window, or door-shut, and worse than those of the savage Americans, and wholly unfit for the making merchantable butter, cheese, or the manufactures of woollen, linen, or leather.

8. The houses within the City and Liberties of Dublin are under 5,000, viz., in the City 1,150. And the ale-houses within the same about 1,200. And it seems, that in other corporations and country towns, the proportion of ale-houses is yet greater than in Dublin, viz., about one-third of the whole.

9. The counties, baronies, and parishes of Ireland are now become marvellously unequal, so as some are twenty times as big as others, the County of Cork seeming in respect of people and parishes to be one-eighth of the whole kingdom, and other counties not being above the twentieth part of the County of Cork; it hath been found very difficult to get fit persons for

Sheriffs and Juries; and the often holding of assizes and quarter sessions in the said smaller counties, hath been found an unnecessary burden upon them.

10. There are now in Ireland 32 counties, 252 baronies, and 2,278 parishes; so as the number of Sheriffs, and Sub-Sheriffs, Sheriff-Bailiffs, High and Petty-Constables, are about three thousand persons, whereof not above one-tenth are English or Protestants. So as the remainder (being about two thousand seven hundred) are Irish Papists, and are the civil militia of this kingdom; and have the executing of all decrees of Courts, and of Justices of the Peaces warrants.

11. This civil militia, and the rest of the Irish Papists being about 800,000, are influenced and guided by about 3,000 priests and friars, and they governed by their bishops and superiors, who are for the most part of the old Irish gentry, men of foreign education, and who depend upon foreign princes and prelates for benefices and preferments.

12. The Irish Papists (besides Sundays and the 29 holidays appointed by the law) do, one place with another, observe about 24 days more in the year, in which they do no corporal labour, so as they have but about 266 working days; whereas Protestants not strictly observing all the legal holy days, by a total forbearing of labour, have in effect 300 working days in the year, that is, 34 days more than the Papists, or at least five of six days in each, or one-tenth part of the whole year.

13. The expence of the whole people of Ireland is about four millions *per ann.*, the fiftieth part whereof being 80,000*l.*, and the quarter of annual house rent being about 60,000*l.*, together with 450,000*l.* more, being the value of half a years rent, tythes, and quit-rent, do make 590,000*l.* as that sum of money which will completely and plentifully drive the trade of this kingdom.

14. The value of the commodities exported out of Ireland, and the freight of the shipping employed in the trade of this nation, together with the fishing of herrings, is about five hundred thousand pounds *per annum.*

15. The value of the estates in Ireland of such persons as do usually live in England; the interest of debts of Ireland,

due and payable to England; the pay of the forces of Ireland, now in England; the expence and pensions of agents and solicitors commonly residing in England about Irish affairs; the expence of English and Irish youth now upon their education beyond the seas; and lastly, the supposed profit of the two great farms now on foot, do altogether make up near two hundred thousand pound *per ann.* as a debt payable to England out of Ireland.

16. The value of the cattle, viz., live oxen and sheep, carried out of Ireland into England, was never more than 140,000*l.* *per annum*; the freight, hides, tallow, and wool of the said live cattle, were worth about 60,000*l.* of the said 140,000*l.*, and the value of the goods imported out of England into Ireland (when the cattle trade was free) was between treble and quadruple, to the neat value of the ox and sheeps flesh transported from hence into England.

17. The customs of exported and imported goods, between England and Ireland, abstracted from the excise thereof, was in the freest trade about 32,000*l.* *per annum.*

CHAPTER XV.

Inferences from the Premises.

1. By comparing the extent of the territory with the number of people, it appears that Ireland is much under peopled; forasmuch as there are above 10 acres of good land to every head in Ireland; whereas in England and France there are but four, and in Holland scarce one.

2. That if there be 250,000 spare hands capable of labour, who can earn 4*l.* or 5*l.* *per ann.* one with another, it follows that the people of Ireland, well employed, may earn one million *per ann.* more than they do now, which is more than the years rent of the whole country.

3. If an house with stone walls, and a chimney well covered, and half an acre of land well ditched about, may be made for 4*l.* or 5*l.*, or thereabouts; then two-thirds of the spare hands of

Ireland can in one years time build and fit up 160,000 such houses and gardens, instead of the like number of the wretched cabbins above-mentioned: and that in a time when a foreign trade is most dead and obstructed, and when money is most scarce in the land.

4. The other third-part of the said spare hands within the same year (besides the making of bridges, harbours, rivers, highways, &c., more fit for trade) are able to plant as many fruit and timber trees, and also quick-set hedges, as, being grown up, would distinguish the bounds of lands, beautify the country, shade and shelter cattle, furnish wood, fuel, timber, and fruit, in a better manner than ever was yet known in Ireland or England. And all this in a time when trade is dead, and money most scarce.

5. If the gardens belonging to the cabbins above-mentioned, be planted with hemp and flax, according to the present statute, there would grow 120,000*l.* worth of the said commodities, the manufactures whereof, as also of the wool and hides now exported, would by the labour of the spare hands above-mentioned, amount to above one million *per annum* more than at present.

6. The multitude and proportion of ale-houses above-mentioned, is a sign of want of employment in those that buy, no less than those that sell the drink.

7. There being but 800,000 Papists in Ireland, and little above 2,000 priests; it is manifest that 500 priests may, in a competent manner, officiate for the said number of people and parishes. And that two Popish Bishops (if any at all be necessary) may as well govern the said 500 priests, and two thousand parishes, as the 26 Bishops of England do govern near ten thousand parishes.

8. If the Protestants, according to the present practice and understanding of the law, do work one-tenth part of the year more than the Papists; and that there be 750,000 working people in Ireland, whereof about 600,000 Papists; it follows that the Popish religion takes off 60,000 workers, which, at about 4*l.* *per annum* each, is about 250,000*l.* *per annum* of itself; besides the maintenance of 2,500 superfluous church-

men, which at 20*l. per annum* each, comes to 50,000*l. per annum* more.

9. The Sheriffs of Ireland at 100*l. per annum*, the High Constables at 20*l. per annum*, and the Petty Constables at 10*l. per annum* each, being all English Protestants, (with some other incident charges for the administration of justice) may be sallarated and defrayed for 30,000*l. per annum*, consistent with his Majesty's present revenue, forces, &c., which said salaries may also be lessened, by uniting some of the smaller counties, baronies and parishes, according to the proportion of people inhabiting within them.

10. If there be not 350,000*l.* coined money in Ireland; and if 590,000*l.* (or near double what there now is) be requisite to drive the trade thereof; then it follows, that there is not enough in Ireland to drive the trade of the nation.

11. If the lands of Ireland and housing in corporations, be worth above 10 millions to be now sold, (and if less than one million of stock will drive all the trade aforementioned that Ireland is capable of) reckoning but two returns *per annum*; it is certain that the lesser part of the said ten millions worth of real estate, being well contrived into a bank of credit, will, with the cash yet remaining, abundantly answer all the ends of domestick improvements and foreign traffick whatsoever.

12. If the whole substance of Ireland be worth 16 millions, as abovesaid: if the customs between England and Ireland, were never worth above 32,000*l. per annum*: if the titles of estates in Ireland be more hazardous and expensive, for that England and Ireland be not under one legislative power: if Ireland till now hath been a continual charge to England: if the reducing the late rebellion did cost England three times more in men and money than the substance of the whole country, when reduced, is worth: if it be just, that men of English birth and estates, living in Ireland, should be represented in the legislative power; and that the Irish should not be judged by those who, they pretend, do usurp their estates; it then seems just and convenient that both kingdoms should be united, and governed by one legislative power. Nor is it hard to shew how this may be made practicable, nor to satisfy,

repair, or silence those who are interested or affected to the contrary.

13. In the mean time, it is wonderful that men born in England, who have lands granted to them by the King, for service done in Ireland to the Crown of England when they have occasion to reside or negotiate in England, should by their countrymen, kindred, and friends there, be debarred to bring with them out of Ireland food whereupon to live, nor suffered to carry money out of Ireland, nor to bring such commodities as they fetch from America directly home, but round about by England, with extream hazard and loss, and be forced to trade only with strangers, and become unacquainted with their own country; especially when England gaineth more than it loseth by a free commerce; as exporting hither three times as much as it receiveth from hence; inso-much as 95*l.* in England was worth about 100*l.* of the like money in Ireland, in the freest time of trade.

14. It is conceived that about one-third of the imported manufactures might be made in Ireland, and one-third of the remainder might be more conveniently had from foreign parts than out of England, and consequently that it is scarce necessary at all for Ireland to receive any goods of England, and not convenient to receive above one-fourth part from hence of the whole which it needeth to import, the value whereof is under 100,000*l. per ann.*

The application of the Premisses, in order to remedy the defects and impediments of the Trade of IRELAND.

1. Forasmuch as the consideration of raising money, hath already, and so lately, been before your Lordships; therefore without giving this Board any further trouble concerning the same, we humbly offer, in order to the regulation of the severall species thereof, that whereas weighty plate pieces, together with ducatoons, which estimate to be three-quarters of the money now current in Ireland, do already pass at proportionable rates; and for that all other species of silver money, are neither rated proportionably to the said weighty pieces,

nor to one another; that whole, half, and quarter cobs of sterling silver (if light) may pass at *5s. 7d. per ounce*, but that the other species of coarser silver, as the Perues, &c., may pass as commodity, or at *5s. per ounce* until there shall be conveniency for new coining thereof into smaller money.

2. That forthwith application may be made unto England, to restore the trade from the plantations, and between the two kingdoms (and particularly that of cattle) as heretofore; and in the mean time to discover and hinder, by all means possible, the carrying of bullion out of Ireland into England; to the end that those in England who are to receive moneys from hence, may be necessitated to be very earnest in the said negotiation.

3. That endeavours be used in England, for the union of the kingdoms under one legislative power, proportionably, as was heretofore and successfully done in the case of Wales.

4. For reducing interest from ten to five or six *per cent.*, for disposing monied men to be rather merchants than usurers, rather to trade than purchase, and to prevent the bad and uncertain payments which gentlemen are forced to make unto tradesmen, whose stock and credit is thereby soon buried in debts, not to be received without long and expensive suits, and that a bank of land be forthwith contrived and countenanced.

5. That the Act of State which mitigates and compounds for the customs of some foreign goods, purposely made high to hinder their importation, and to encourage the manufacture of them here, be taken into consideration (at least before it be renewed.)

6. That the Lord Lieutenant and Council, as also the nobility, courts of justice, and officers of the army, and other gentlemen in and about Dublin, may by their engagement and example, discountenance the use of some certain foreign commodities, to be pitched upon by your Lordships: and that gentlemen and freeholders in the country, at their assizes, and other country meetings, and that the inhabitants of all corporations who live in houses of above two chimneys in each, may afterwards do the same.

7. That there be a Corporation for the navigation of this kingdom, and that other societies of men may be instituted, who shall undertake and give security to carry on the several trades and manufactures of Ireland; and to see that all goods exported to foreign markets may be faithfully wrought and packt: which societies may direct themselves by the many several proposals and reports formerly, and of late made by the Council of Trade, and which they are now again ready to enlarge and accommodate to the said several proposals respectively, and more particularly to the manufactures of woollen, linen, and leather.

8. That the Corporations of Ireland may be obliged to engage no manufactures, but according to their primitive instructions; which was to carry on such great works as exceeded the strength of single persons; and particularly that they may cause some such like proportions of yarn, linen, and woollen, as also of worsted, to be spun, as Mr. Hawkins hath propounded.

9. That the patents which hinder the working of mines may be considered.

10. That the Justices of Peace may be admonished to protect the industrious, and not suffer their labours to be interrupted by vexatious and frivolous indictments.

11. That the inhabitants of the wretched cabbins in Ireland, may be encouraged to reform them, and also compelled thereunto, as an easy and indulgent committing for the penalty of nine pence *per* Sunday, payable by the Statute; and likewise to make gardens, as the Statute for hemp and flax requires. And that other the wholesome laws against idlers, vagabonds, &c., may be applied to the prevention of beggary and thievery: whereunto the orderly disposing of the said cabbins into townships would also conduce.

12. That the people be dissuaded from the observation of superfluous holydays.

13. That the exorbitant number of Popish priests and friars may be reduced to a bare competency, as also the number of ale-houses.

14. That the Constable, Sheriff, and Bailiffs may also be English Protestants, (tho' upon salary.)

From all which, and from the settlement of estates, it is to be hoped, that men seeing more advantage to live in Ireland than elsewhere, may be invited to remove themselves hither; and so supply the want of people; the greatest and most fundamental defect of this kingdom.

CAROLUS Secundus, Dei Gratia, Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Rex, Fidei Defensor, &c. Omnibus ad quos præsentis literæ pervenerint salutem. Cum prædilectus, perquam fidelis consanguineus et Consiliarius noster Jacobus Dux Ormondæ in regno nostro Hiberniæ, qui plurima egregia servitia serenissimo patri nostro Beatissimæ memoriæ in eodem regno, in loco et qualitate Domini Locum-tenentis generalis et generalis Gubernatoris ejusdem regni nostri per multos annos in temporibus maximæ calamitatis summa cum prudentia et integritate præstiterit, ac sese fidum et fortem assertorem Coronæ Angliæ jurium continuè comprobaverit, utpote qui dicto patri nostro per totam flagitiosam illam Subditorum suorum nuperam defectionem, magnanimiter adhærescens in prælio primus et audax, in consilio prudens, et nemini secundus extiterit; atque nobis etiam tum extremis exilii nostri angustiis, tum restitutione nostra, inseparabilis et indefatigabilis adfuerit comes et adjutor: Nos præmissa perpendentes æquum duximus, in tesseram favoris nostri, eundem Ducem Ormondæ Locum-tenentem nostrum generalem regni nostri Hiberniæ prædicti, et generalem in eodem regno Gubernatorem constituere. Sciatis, quod nos de provida circumspectione et industria præfati Jacobi Ducis Ormondæ plurimum consistentes de advisamento Concilii nostri et ex certa Scientia et mero motu nostris assignavimus, fecimus, ordinavimus, constituimus et deputavimus et per præsentis assignamus, facimus, ordinamus, constituimus et deputamus eundem Ducem Ormondæ Locum-tenentem nostrum generalem regni nostri Hiberniæ prædicti necnon Gubernator' nostrum generalem regni nostri illius, Habendum tenendum, gaudendum, exercend' et occupand' offic' præd' præfato Jacobo Duci Ormondæ una cum omnibus

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et

et singulis vad' feod' stipend' et association' eidem officio spectan' et pertinen' durante beneplacito nostro; Dantes et concedentes eidem Locum-tenenti nostro generali et Gubernatori nostro generali plenam tenore præsentium potestatem et auctoritatem ad pacem nostram et ad leges et consuetudines regni nostri prædict' custodiend' et custodire faciend' et ad omnes et singulos Ligeos nostros tam Anglicos quàm Hibernicos dicti regni nostri ac alios quoscunque, per nos super dictum Locum-tenent' nostrum generalem et Gubernatorem nostrum generalem, stipendiatos et alias quascunque personas, ibidem contra nos, aut pacem, consuetudinem et leges prædict' quaecunque delinquend' et contraveniend' juxta eorum demerita, secundum leges et consuetudines prædictas, viis et modis quibus melius pro honore et proficuo nostro fieri poterit: ac pro bono gubernatione dicti regni nostri ac Ligeorum et Subditor' nostrorum ibidem juxta discretionem dicti Locum-tenentis nostri general' et Gubernatoris nostri general' castigand' et puniend' ac puniri et castigari faciend' necnon ordinationes et Statuta pro salvo et bono regimine regni nostri prædict' juxta advisamentum consilii nostri ibidem ordinand' Statuend' et stabiliend' ac super inde proclamationes faciend' debitæque executioni demandand' ac quoscunque contravenientes et delinquentes castigand' et incarcerand' atque incarceratos solvend' et deliberand' Necnon ad recipiend' et admitte'nd' per dictum advisament' Consilii nostri ad fidem et pacem nostram, tam Anglicos quàm Hibernicos, et alios quoscunque infra prædict' regnum nostrum Hiberniæ habitantes vel commorantes intutand' seu commorand' qui nobis, legibus nostris consuetud' prædict' Rebelles et contrarii extiterint aut existunt vel existent; et ad concedend' faciend' et dand' per hujusmodi advisament' plenam pardonationem, remissionem, relaxationem et absolutionem tam general' quàm Specialem, illis et eorum cuilibet hujusmodi pardonationem petent' aut habere volen' ac sectam pacis nostræ quæ ad nos pertinet tam pro Homicid rober' felon' murdr' rapt' mulierum, latrociniis, falsis allegation' adhæsiõn' inimicis Utlagar' transgression' contempt' et aliis offensis quibuscunque in dicto regno nostro per aliquas hujusmodi personas ante hæc tempora fact' seu in posterum

faciend' et eorum forisfactur' et firmam pacem nostram eis et eorum cuilibet literas patentes sub magno sigillo quo utimur in regno nostro prædicto in forma debita concedend' donand' et deliberand' ac etiam eosdem alios quoscunque ad fines et redemptiones hujusmodi offens' et eorum quamlibet qui fines et redemptiones facere debuerunt seu voluerunt' accipiend' et recipiend' et singul' personis juxta leges et consuetudines præd' justitiam faciend' et fieri mandand' ac etiam ad universos et singulos tam Anglos Rebelles quàm Hibernicos dicti regni nostri et alios quoscunque dictum regnum nostrum in posterum invadend' ac ipsum regnum nostrum subditosque nostros ejusdem deprædare, gravare seu alio modo destruere seu devastare intendend' ac se juxta leges, et consuetudines prædict' justificare volentes, si necesse fuerit, cum potestate nostra Regia, ac aliis viis et modis, quibus melius fieri poterit juxta eorum demerita puniend' et si opus fuerit ultimo supplicio demandand' ac Subditos nostros providè commovend' convocand' et levand' ac cum eisdem Subditis nostris sic levat' contra dictos Rebelles congregiend' eosque invadend' vincend' et castigand' et si opus fuerit terr' ipsorum aliis qui nobis servire volunt et intendunt de advisamento prædict' locand' et demittend' Ac etiam cum eis pacificand' et pacem componend' ac ipsos paci nostræ restorand' toties quoties in præmissis vel circa ea opus fuerit. Provisio tamen semper, quod super quamlibet talem dimissionem et location' per præfat' Jacobum Ducem Ormondiaë ac prædict' advisament' Consilii nostri præd' in posterum virtute harum literarum nostrarum patentiu' faciend' annual' reddit' superinde debit' sit nobis, hæredibus et Successoribus nostris, omnino reservat' Damus insuper et concedimus eidem Jacobo Duci Ormondiaë Locum-tenenti nostro generali et Gubernatori nostro generali, tenore præsentium, plenam potestatem et auctoritatem omnes prodiones, necnon felon' murdr' rapt' mulier' ibidem et alias causas et offensam quascunque per Subditos ejusdem regni nostri Hiberniaë, vel alios ibidem residend' commiss' sive comittend' prodition' quæ destructionem vitæ nostræ concernerunt tantummodo except' pardonand' abolend' remittend' et relaxand' literasque nostras Patentes sub dicto magno Sigillo

nostro superinde cuicumque personæ regni nostri Hiberniæ præd' nomine nostro concedend' componend' et ad easdem Sigilland' Cancellar' nostro vel Custod' Sigilli dicti nostri regni nostri Hiberniæ mandand' tradend' et deliberand'. Damus præterea et concessimus eidem Jacobo Duci Ormondix Locum-tenenti nostro generali et Gubernatori nostro generali, plenam potestatem et auctoritatem quoscunque de Stirpe Anglicano existend' in officio in regno prædict tam secundo Baroni Scaccar' nostri et quorumcunque computand' ac aliar' officiar' perficere, ipsosque officiar' intra regnum nostrum prædictum facere, deputare et constituere; Habendum eis et eorum cuilibet et quibustibet, durante beneplacito nostro, et quamdiu in eodem se bene gerunt ad libitum ejusdem Locum-tenentis nostri general' et Gubernatoris nostri general' una cum vad' et regard' eisdem officiar' ab antiquo debit' et consuet' offic' Cancellar' Thesaurar' Subthesaurar' Justiciar' utriusque Banci et Capital' Baron' Scaccar' nostri offic' Magistri Rotulorum ac offic' Thesaurar' ad gueram offic' Marescall' offic' Magistri ordination Clerici de le Checque' offic' præsiden' Munster et Connaght ac officium Attor' et Sollicitator' nostri ejusdem regni nostræ Hiberniæ tantummodo except' Statut et Parlamen' Domini Henrici nuper Regis Angliæ Septimi Progenitor' nostri inclytæ memoriæ, Anno regni sui decimo, coram Edwardo Poyning Milite tunc deputato regni nostri Hiberniæ tent' edit' et provis' non obstante. Concessimus etiam præfato Locum-tenenti nostro generali potestatem quod ipse durante beneplacito nostro omnia officia Ecclesiastica, tam jurat' quam non jurat' viz. Vicar' Parsonat Præbendar' Cantur' Capell' Hospital' Dignitat' Archionat' et alia beneficia quæcunque nominatione Archiepiscopor' et Episcopor' tantum except' tam in Ecclesiis Cathedral' quam Collegiat' Hospitat' et Paroch' in quocunque loco in regnum nostrum Hiberniæ quocunque titulo jam vacan' seu in posterum ex causa quacunque vacare contingen' et ad præsentationem, collationem sive donationem nostram quocunque modo spectan' personis idoneis quibuscunque sibi placuerit dand' concedend' et conferend' et ad eadem omnia et Singula quorum ad nos præsentationis, donationis sive collationis spect' et pertinent,

et stat' et possess' omnium et singulorum qui de eorum aliquibus possessionat' existunt ratificand' approbanda' et confirmand' ac privileg' libertat' imunitat' et concess' per prædecessores nostros quoscunque aut aliquos alios ante hæc tempora fact' sive concess' prout eidem Locum-tenenti nostro general' et gubernatori nostro general' per advisament' et consensu Consilii nostri in regno nostro præd' melius expedire videbitur ratificand' approband' et confirmand' Concessimus insuper eidem Jacobo Duci Ormondix Locum-tenenti nostro generali et gubernatori nostro General' potestat' et fidelit' provision' et renuntiation' Archiepiscopor' et Episcopor' in eodem regno nostro Hibernix, tempore præterito sive futuro, fact' ordinat' et consueta acceptand' faciend' ordinand' et constituend' ac omnia alia ad nos debit' nomine nostro recipiend' eisdem Archiepiscopis, Episcopis et ear' quilibet temporalia sua Cancellar' nostro regni nostri prædict' deliber' mandand' cum omnibus et singulis juribus Emolumen' proficuis et reventionibus ratione vacationis deor' beneficior' dignitat' Archiepiscopat' sive Episcopat' nobis reservat' ac etiam Homag' omnium et singulorum tam Spiritual' quàm temporal' tenen' et Subditor' nostrorum quorumcunque in regno nostro prædicto nomine nostro recipiend' et terras et tenement' sua de hereditate sua Cancellar' nostro delibari mandand' manusque nostras exinde amovend' ac Victual sufficien' et necessar' pro expens' Hospitii sui et soldar' suor' in quocunque infra dictum regnum Hibernix per provisor' Hospitii sui et alios Ministr' suos una cum carriag' sufficien' pro eisdem, tam infra libertates quàm extra, pro denar' suis rationabil' solvend' providend' et capiend' juxta formam Statuti de hujusmodi provision' ante hæc tempora fact' nisi aliter per composition' fact' cum intutan' Com' infra partes vulgariter vocatos. The English Pale aliosque Com' extra deces partes provisum sit aut post hac provideatur, quod præd Locum-tenens general' et Gubernator noster general' habeat vel habere possit summam pecuniæ annuatim in dicta compositione ante hæc limitat' pro compensatione et recompensatione pro hujusmodi Virtual' providend' et capiend' pro provisor' hospitii sui, quam quidem compositionem censemus observand'

pro beneficio Subditor' nostror' necnon ad Summonend' et Sumonire faciend' atque tenend' secundum Leges, Statut' et Consuetudin' regni nostri Hiberniæ prædict unum duntaxat Parliament' quandoquidem sibi melius expediri videbitur, consensu tamen nostro in ea parte semper habit' et ad idem Parliament' prorogand' et adjournand' toties quoties necesse fuerit, et infra deos annos à tempore interceptionis ejusdem plenè determinand' et finiend' et quoscunque sic Summonit' absentes et non legitime impedit' mulctand' et puniend'. Concessimus insuper dicto Locum-tenenti nostro general' et Gubernator' nostro' general' plenam et sufficien' autoritatem et potestat' ad omnimod' officiar' computabil' Thesaurar' et Subthesaurar' regni nostri prædict duntaxat except' coram eisdem Thesaurar', Subthesaurar' nostris et Baron' Scaccarii nostri dicti regni nostri Hiberniæ, computare faciend' et ad hujusmodi comput' reddend' compelland' ac etiam ad inquirend' et inquirend' viis et modis quibus melius sibi videbitur, faciend' de quibuscunque bonis et cattallis quæ fuer' ill' sive alior qui erga nos seu Progenitores nostros forisfecerunt vel forisfacient, et à nobis concealat' existunt vel imposterum existent, et ad omnia et singula alia quæ ad offic' locum-tenentis nostri generalis et Gubernatoris nostri generalis jure, usu et consuetud' regni nostri præd' pertinent aut pertinere deberent et pro bono regimine et salvatione et pro bono custod' pacis regni nostri præd' et quiete populi nostri ibidem, et recuperatione jurium nostrorum in regno nostro Hiberniæ necessar' fuerit; Salvis super reservatis faciend' exercend' exequend' et ordinand' omnia alia nomine nostro et pro nobis in dicto regno nostro Hiberniæ faciend' exercend' et ordinand' sicut nos faceremus aut facere possemus si ibidem in propria persona nostra essemus. Damus insuper præfato Jacobo Duci Ormondæ Locum-tenenti nostro generali et Gubernatori nostro generali potestatem et autoritatem Navibus nostris quibuscunque aut aliis quæ circa littora dicti regni nostri Hiberniæ sunt in Servitio nostro, aut in posterum quacunque occasione erunt et mittentur pro defensione dicti regni nostri Hiberniæ, imperand' et utend' pro servitio nostro et tutamine dicti regni nostri, prout ipse secundum discre-

tionem suam et per advisamentum Concilii nostri ejusdem regni nostri Hiberniæ visum, erit nisi nos Special' Commission' nostra aut Admiralli nostri Angliæ ordinatione special' Gubernator' et Capitan' præd' Navium nostrarum aut aliis mittend' speciali instructione mandat' et servic' imperaverimus aut imperaverit. Constituimus etiam præfat. Jacobum Ducem Ormondæ Gubernator' et Præfect. nostrum general' exercitûs nostri in dicto regno nostro Hiberniæ, tam præsentis quàm futuri, quàm diu nobis placuerit, cum Alacationibus inde debit' et consuet. Ac eidem Duci Præfecto generali exercitus nostri ibidem plenam potestatem et authoritatem concedimus faciend' constituend' et ordinand' leges, ordinationes et proclamationes de tempore in tempus, ut casus exegerit, pro bono regimine exercitus nostri prædict' ac omnes quorumcunque sub mandato et Gubernatione ejusdem præfectus generalis exercitûs nostri easdemque leges, ordinationes et proclamationes exequendi ac debitæ executioni mandand' ac etiam infligere, adjudicare et assidere timor' pœnas corporales, imprisonmenta, fines, foris-factor' ac omnes alias pœnas et penaltates quascunque in et super omnes delinquentes sive offendentes contra hujusmodi leges, ordinationes et proclamationes qualis et quæ eidem Gubernatori et præfecto nostro exercitûs nostri requisit' et necessar' fore videbuntur' Quæ omnia leges, ordinationes et proclamationes, sic ut præfert, faciend' observari volumus sub pœnis in eisdem continend'. Et ei damus potestatem et authoritatem utendi et exercendi infra regnum nostrum prædictum si opus fuerit, lege Mariscal' Sive Martial' necnon substituend' assignand' et appuntuand' sub se infra dictum regnum nostrum per literas nostras Patentes sub magno Sigillo nostro dict regni nostri prædict' faciend' tot et tales Marriscallos, Commissarios et al' officiar' ad legem Armor' seu legem Martial' exercend' et exequend' prout præsat' Locum-tenenti nostro general' et Gubernator' nostro general' de tempore in tempus expedire videbit ad exercend' utend' et exequend' præd' leges, quoties opus et necesse fuerit, et juramenta præstare, aliaque omnia per se vel per alios facere, erigere, quæ ad leges prædictas exercend' aliquialiter pertineant. Et quia valde necessar' nobis videatur ut præfat'

Locum-tenens noster generalis et Gubernator' noster generalis pro negotiis nostris magni momenti personam nostram Regiam in propria persona sua sicut nobis visum fuerit attendat' Ideo ulterius damus, et per præsentes præfato Jacobo Duci Ormondiaë Locum-tenenti et Gubernator' nostro general' plenam potestatem et auctoritatem concedimus nominand' et assignand' per literas nostras Patentes sub magno Sigillo nostro, dicti regni nostri Hiberniaë nomine nostro, tam nunc quàm de tempore in tempus imposterum, conficiend' quamcunque aut quoscunque dictus Locum-tenens et Gubernator' noster general' in hac parte idoneum sive idoneos duxerit fore deputat' vel deputatos quocunque nomine assignatos durante beneplacito nostro pro Gubernatione dicti regni nostri Hiberniaë in absentiaë sua, donec idem Locum-tenens et Gubernator' noster in dictum regn' Hiberniaë Gubernatione ejusdem ut præfert' redierit, volentes tamen quod in eisdem literis Patentibus alicui personæ seu personis sicut præfert' faciend' Deputat' aut Deputatos in absentia sua tantum provis' et nomine nostro mand' sit quod non licebit alicui tal' Deputat' vel deputatis Thesaurar' seu pecunias nostras cuicunque solvere vel erogare, auctoritat' seu warrant' ipsius Deputat' vel ipsorum Deputat' tantum sed quod omnia erod' mandat' et Warrant' per Thesaur' et pecuniis nostris per ipsum fient et Signabunt non solum manu propria præfat' Deput' vel præfator' Deputator' sed etiam manibus prædilectorum et fidel' Consiliar' nostrorum Magistri Curiaë Wardor' Capital' Baron' Scaccar' nostri' Cancellar' Scaccar' nostri et primar' Secretarii nostri ibidem pro tempore existente vel saltem manibus duorum illorum. Damus ulterius universis, singulis Archiepiscopis, Ducibus, Comitibus, Vice-Comitibus, Episcopis, Baron' Justiciar' Militibus, liberis hominibus et aliis Subditis nostris de regno nostro prædict' firmè in mandatis, quòd præfato Jacobo Duci Ormondiaë Locum-tenenti nostro general' et Gubernatori nostro general' in eodem regno nostro intendentes sive assidentes, auxiliantes et consultants, ac ipsius mandatis in omnibus prout decet aut decebit obedientes sint, aliquo statut' Actu, Ordinatione, provisione, jure, usu, consuetudine sive restriction' in contrar' inde fact' edit' ordinat'

sive provis' aut aliqua alia re, causa vel materia quacunq[ue] in aliquo non obstante. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus Patentes Teste meipso apud Westmonaster' Vicessimo primo die Februarii Ann. regni nostri quarto decimo.

Inrotulat' in Rotulis
patentibus Cancel-
laris Hiberniæ de
Ann. regni Regis
Caroli Secundi de-
cimo quarto et Ex-
aminat' per

Per ipsum Regem

BARKER.

J. TEMPLE.

At the Court at HAMPTON-COURT,

June 22, 1662.

Propositions to be considered of by His Majesty, concerning the governing of IRELAND.

CHARLES R.

1. *That his Majesty may declare his express pleasure, that no Irish suit, by way of reward, be moved for by any of his servants, or others, before the ordinary revenue there become able to sustain the necessary charge of that Crown, and the debts thereof be fully cleared.*

This is most reasonable, it standing with no sound rule of judgment, to exercise the acts of bounty in a place which doth not discharge itself, and will prove the readiest and most expedient way to recover his Majesty's affairs thereby, thus carrying the revenues in their natural channel; and indeed this course being constantly pursued, will much increase the annual profits above what they now are, and intirely draw the dependance of the inferiors from the great lords upon his Majesty, and so the interest and assurance the Crown

shall have in the natives thereof, be of no less consequence and advantage than the very profits.

2. *That there be an express caveat entered with the Secretary, Signet, Privy Seal and Great Seal here, that no grant, of what nature soever, concerning Ireland, be suffered to pass, till the Lord Lieutenant be made acquainted, and it first pass the seal of that kingdom, according to the usual manner.*

This will be of great intelligence and safety to his Majesty; for on the one side he will clearly see into the true inward value of things which formerly, albeit of very great worth, have from so great a distance slipt away here, as little understood by the Crown; as is acknowledged by those that obtain them; who generally, in these causes, sacrifice rather to their own wit, than the goodness and bounty of Kings. And on the other side, nothing can pass to the disadvantage of the Crown; and proper Ministers, instructed with these affairs, may be immediately faulted and justly called to a severe account for their negligence and unfaithfulness therein; which will give them good reason to look more narrowly into his Majesty's rights, and their own duties.

3. *That his Majesty signify his royal pleasure, that special care be taken hereafter, that sufficient and credible persons be chosen to supply such Bishopricks as shall be void, or admitted of his Privy Council, or sit as Judges, and serve of his learned Council there; that he will vouchsafe to hear the advice of his Lieutenant before he resolve of any in these cases, that the Lieutenant be commanded to inform his Majesty truly and impartially, of every man's particular diligence, and care in his service there, to the end his Majesty may truly and graciously reward the well-deserving, by calling them home to better preferment here.*

This will advantage the service; it being altogether impossible for the Lieutenant, be he never so industrious and able, to administer the public justice of so great a kingdom, without the round assistance of other able and well-affected

Ministers. This will encourage the best men to spend their stronger years there, when they shall see their elder age recompensed with ease and profit in their own native soil; and content and settle the natives, when they find themselves cared for, and put in the hands of discreet and good men to govern them.

4. *That no particular complaints of injustice or oppression be admitted here against any, unless it appears, that the party made first his address unto the Lieutenant.*

This is but justice to the Lieutenant, who must needs in some measure be a delinquent, if the complaint be true; for that he ought as in chief, universally to take care that his Majesty's justice be truly and fully administered; and therefore good reason that his judgment should be informed, and his integrity first tried, before either be impeached; nay, it is but justice to the Government itself, which would be exceedingly scandalized through the liberty of complaints, and the Ministers therein extremely discouraged upon any petty matter to be drawn to answer here, when as the thing itself is for the most part either injurious, or such as the party might have received good satisfaction for at his own doors: but where the complaint appeareth formally grounded, that is, where due application hath been made to the Lieutenant, without any help or relief to the party, as may be pretended; let it in the name of God be thoroughly examined, and severely punished, wheresoever the fault prove to be; especially if it be found to be corrupt or malicious; for thus, shall not his Majesty only magnify his own justice, but either punish an unfaithful Minister or a clamorous complainer; and so his service be bettered by either example.

5. *That no confirmation of any reversion of office within that kingdom be had, or any new grant of reversion hereafter to pass.*

That disposing of places thus aforehand, much abates men's endeavours, who are many times stirred up to deserve emi-

nently in the Commonwealth, in hope of those preferments; and being thus granted away, there is nothing left in their eye, for them to expect and aim at, which might nourish and quicken those good desires in them; besides places there closely and covertly passed, the persons are not for the most part so able and fitted to the duties thereof, as when there is choice made out of many public pretenders, which commonly occur, when they actually fall void by death.

6. *That the places in the Lieutenant's gift, as well in the martial as civil list, be left freely to his disposing; and that his Majesty may be graciously pleased not to pass them to any person, upon suits made unto him here.*

This course held, preserves the rights of the Lieutenant's place, and his person in that honour and esteem which can only enable him to do service; and if the contrary happen, it is not only in diminution to him, but draws off all necessary dependance upon him, and regard that ought to be had of him, in all ready obedience in such things he shall command, for the King's service, when they shall discern that the natural powers of the place are taken from him, whereby he might kindle their cheerful endeavours by the preferring and furnishing such as deserve those places.

7. *That no new offices be erected within that kingdom before such time as the Lieutenant be therewith acquainted; his opinion first required and certified accordingly.*

Suits of this nature, however they pretend the public, their chief end is the private profit of the propounder; and for the most part, in the execution prove burthens, not benefits to the subjects; therefore thoroughly to be understood before they pass, as more easy and less scandalous to the state, to be staid at first than afterwards recalled, and if they be really good, his Majesty may be better informed by his Lieutenant's approbation, and so proceed with more assurance to the effecting thereof.

8. *That his Majesty would be pleased, not to grant any licence of absence out of that kingdom, to any Counsellors, Bishops, Governors of any province or county, or Officers of State, or of the Army, or to any of the Judges, or learned Council, but that it be left to his Lieutenant to give such licence.*

This is but reasonable, because the Lord Lieutenant who is chiefly intrusted under his Majesty with the care and government of that kingdom, is the most competent and proper judge, who in public employment may be spared, and how long, without prejudice to his Majesty, or the public.

9. *That all propositions moving from the Lieutenant, touching matters of revenue, may be directed to the Lord Treasurer of England only, and that the address of all other dispatches for that kingdom be by special direction of his Majesty applied to one of the Secretaries singly, and his Majesty under his hand-writing doth specify, that his Majesty will have this done by Mr. Secretary Nicholas.*

These propositions made unto his Majesty, by his Grace the Duke of Ormond, Lord Steward of his Majesty's Household, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, were received and approved at the Council Board, the 22d day of June, 1662, there being present the King's most excellent Majesty, his Royal Highness the Duke of York, his Highness Prince Rupert, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, Duke of Albemarle, Duke of Ormond, Marquess of Dorchester, Lord Great Chamberlain, Lord Chamberlain, Earl of Berkshire, Earl of Portland, Earl of Norwich, Earl of Anglesea, Earl of Lauderdale, the Lord Hatton, Lord Hollis, Lord Ashly, Sir William Compton, Mr. Treasurer, Mr. Vice-Chamberlain, Mr. Secretary Nicholas, Mr. Secretary Morris.

By his Majesty's command,

EDWARD NICHOLAS.

At the Court at HAMPTON-COURT,

June 22, 1662.

Present,

The King's most excellent Majesty.	Earl of Portland.
His Highness the Duke of York.	Earl of Norwich.
His Highness Prince Rupert.	Earl of Anglesey.
Lord Chancellor.	Earl of Lauderdale.
Lord Treasurer.	Lord Hatton.
Duke of Albemarle.	Lord Hollis.
Duke of Ormond.	Lord Ashly.
Marquess of Dorchester.	Sir William Compton.
Lord Great Chamberlain.	Mr. Treasurer.
Earl of Berkshire.	Mr. Vice-Chamberlain.
	Mr. Secretary Nicholas.
	Mr. Secretary Morris.

CHARLES R.

His Majesty's express pleasure is, that the Masters of Requests, and every of them, in their several months of attendance at Court, do constantly observe these ensuing directions, viz.

Not to move his Majesty in petitions for any Irish suit, by way of reward, either for any of his Majesty's servants, or others, before the ordinary revenue of that kingdom become able to maintain the necessary charge of that Crown, and the debts thereof be fully cleared.

For any particular complaint of injustice or oppression, pretended to be done there, unless it appear the party made his first address unto the Lord Lieutenant, for confirmation of any reversion of offices within that kingdom, or any new grant of reversion hereafter, any places in the Lord Lieutenant's gift, either of the civil or military list, when any such shall fall void.

Any erection of a new office in that kingdom, before such time as the Lord Lieutenant be therewithal acquainted, his opinion required and certified back accordingly.

By his Majesty's command,

EDWARD NICHOLAS.

CHARLES

CHARLES R.

THESE being nothing more conducive to the quiet and safety of a kingdom, than a frugal and regular ordering and disposing of the revenue, that is, to maintain the public charge and expense of the Government, both civil and military; we have thought fit, with the advice of our Council, upon a prospect made of all our revenue, certain and casual, and the just means in view upon the settlement of estate in that kingdom, now in hand, for improving thereof, to begin by this establishment, both to bring our payments as near as may be to the compass of our receipts, and to provide especially for our public affairs, by supporting civil justice and government, and by maintaining our forces in the present strength and fulness; intending hereafter, as our charge may grow less, and our means increase, to extend our favour and bounty according to our gracious inclinations, and the merit of persons, to the further encouragement of particulars, as cause shall require: whereof we have already given a proof, in the liberal addition we have made to the judges, for their better support, in the impartial administration of justice.

CHAPTER XVI.

The List for Civil Affairs.

CONTAINING the several entertainments, by the year, of all Officers and others, serving in our Courts of Justice, in the several provinces of Ireland: Officers belonging to the State; Officers of our Customs; Officers of the Excise: creation-money; with other perpetuities and particular payments for our service; which we require henceforth to be duly paid out of our revenues there, by the hands of our Vice-Treasurer, or Receiver-General for the time being, according to the cautions here mentioned; the same to begin for, and from the First day of April, 1666.

These following payments are the constant fees to be continued to the several Officers, without change from time to time.

	£	s.	d.
The Right Honourable Arthur, Earl of Anglesey, Vice-Treasurer, and General Receiver, } Sir Robert Meredith, knt., Chancellor of the Exchequer, }	50	0	0
John Buffe, esq., Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, }	100	0	0
Sir Richard Kennedy, knt., Second Baron of the Exchequer, }	600	0	0
John Povey, esq., Third Baron of the Exchequer, }	300	0	0
Sir Audly Mervin, knt., his Majesty's Prime Serjeant-at-Law, }	220	0	0
Sir William Domvile, knt., his Majesty's Attorney-General, }	20	10	0
Sir John Temple, knt., his Majesty's Solicitor-General, }	75	6	0
Philip Fernely, esq., his Majesty's Chief Remembrancer, }	75	0	0
Sir James Ware, knt., his Majesty's Auditor-General, for his ancient fee <i>per annum</i> , 184 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 3 <i>d.</i> , and for an augmentation thereof, allowed by the former establishment 50 <i>l.</i> ; in all, }	30	0	0
	234	6	3

THE COURT OF EXCHEQUER.

Sir Allen Broderick, knt., his Majesty's Surveyor-General, }	60	0	0
Francis Lee, Escheator of the Province of Leinster, }	6	13	4
Escheator of the Province of Ulster, }	20	5	0
Escheator of the Province of Munster, }	20	5	0
Escheator of the Province of Connaught, }	20	5	0
Henry Warren, esq., Second Remembrancer, }	7	17	6
Nicholas Loftus, esq., Clerk of the Pipe, }	15	0	0
Roger Moor, esq., Chief Chamberlain, }	10	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Sir Robert Kennedy, bart., Second Chamberlain, }	5	0	0
Maurice Keating, Comptroller of the Pipe, }	7	0	0
John Longfield, Usher of the Exchequer, for his fee <i>per annum</i> , 2 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> , and for his allowance for ink, for the Exchequer, 10 <i>l.</i> <i>per annum</i> . In all, <i>per annum</i> , }	12	10	0
Thomas Lea, Transcripitor and Foreign Proposer, }	15	0	0
Edward Ludlow, Summonitor of the Exchequer, }	7	5	0
John Burniston, Marshal of the Four Courts, }	4	0	0
Sir Theophilus Jones, knt., Clerk of the Pells, }	30	0	0
John Exham, Clerk of the First Fruits, and Twentieth Parts, }	27	10	0
Thomas Gibson, Cryer of the Court of Exchequer, }	1	14	4

THE COURT OF KING'S BENCH.

The Right Honourable James, Baron of Santry, Lord Chief Justice of his Majesty's Bench, }	800	0	0
Sir William Aston, knt., Second Justice of the said Court, }	300	0	0
Thomas Stockton, esq., Third Justice of the said Court, }	300	0	0
Sir William Usher, knt., Clerk of the Crown, of the said Court, }	7	10	0

THE COURT OF CHANCERY.

The Most Reverend Father in God, Michael, Lord Archbishop of Dublin, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, }	1,000	0	0
Sir John Temple, sen., knt., Master of the Rolls, }	144	3	4
Dr. Dudley Loftus, one of the Masters of the Chancery, }	20	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Robert Mossom, esq., another Master of the Chancery.	20	0	0
George Carlton, Clerk of the Crown in Chancery,	25	0	0
The said George Carlton, Clerk of the Hanaper, for his fee <i>per annum</i> 10 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> , and for an allowance of paper and parchment for the Chancery, <i>per annum</i> , 25 <i>l.</i> In all, .	35	10	0
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	1,244	13	4

THE COURT OF COMMON PLEAS.

Sir Edward Smith, knt., Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas,	600	0	0
Sir Jerome Alexander, knt., Second Justice of the said Court,	300	0	0
Robert Booth, esq., Third Justice of the said Court,	300	0	0
Sir Walter Plunkett, knt., Prothonotary of the said Court,	7	10	0
	<hr/>		
	1,207	10	0

STAR CHAMBER

Sir George Lane, knt., Clerk of the Star Chamber,	10	0	0
George Rutledge, Marshal of the Star Chamber,	10	0	0
	<hr/>		
	20	0	0

OFFICERS ATTENDING THE STATE.

Sir Paul Davis, knt., Secretary of State, for his fee,	200	0	0
The said Sir Paul Davis for intelligences,	100	0	0
The said Sir Paul, Clerk of the Council, for his ancient fee, <i>per ann.</i> 7 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> , and for an allowance for paper and parchment, 40 <i>l.</i> In all,	47	10	0

	£	s.	d.
Richard St. George, esq., Ulster King-at-Arms,	26	13	4
Richard Carvy Athlong, Pursivant,	10	0	0
Philip Carpinter, esq., Chief Serjeant-at-Arms, } at 5s. 6d. per diem, }	100	7	6
George Pigott, Second Serjeant-at-Arms, for } like allowance, }	100	7	6
George Wakefield, Pursivant,	20	0	0
William Roe, Pursivant,	20	0	0
Arthur Padmor, Pursivant,	20	0	0
Thomas Lee, Keeper of the Council-Chamber,	18	5	0
Six trumpeters and a kettle-drum, at 60l. } each, per ann. 420l. for their fee, and 6l. per } ann. each board-wages, 42l.; in all, per ann., }	462	0	0
	<hr/>		
	1,125	3	4

CHARGE OF CIRCUITS.

The Chief and other Justices of Assizes in } every of the five circuits twice a year, per } ann., }	1,000	0	0
Robes for the Judges, viz., three in the Ex- } chequer, three in the King's Bench, three in } the Common Pleas, Master of the Rolls, and } three of the King's Council, at 13l. 6s. 8d. } a piece, per ann., making in all, . . . }	173	6	8

INCIDENTS.

Liberates under the Seal of the Exchequer } yearly, viz. the Chancellor of Exchequer, } 13l. 6s. 8d.; the Chief Remembrancer, } 6l. 13s. 4d.; Clerk of the Pipe, 6l. 13s. 4d.; } the Usher, 10l.; the Second Remembrancer, } 5l.; the Chief Chamberlain, 5l.; the Second } Chamberlain, 5l.; Clerk of the Common } Pleas of the Exchequer, 5l.; Summoniter } and Comptroller of the Pipe, 5l.; the Cus- } tomer at Dublin for wax, paper, parchment, } and ink, 3l. 15s.; in all, per ann., . . . }	82	1	8
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	£	s.	d.
Rent of a house for the receipts,	25	0	0
Keep of the house for the receipts,	5	0	0
Singers of Christ Church, in Dublin, for singing in the Exchequer, and praying for his Majesty, at 10 <i>s.</i> for every term, <i>per ann.</i> ,	2	0	0
Pursivants of the Exchequer for carrying writs,	71	5	0
Paper and parchments to the Courts,	150	0	0
The Nobility, Bishops, and Cancellors which shall reside and keep house in Ireland, for Impost of Wines, according to his Majesty's special grace,	—		
	508 13 4		
	Besides Impost of Wines.		

PROVINCIAL OFFICERS.

	£	s.	d.
William Halsy, esq., Chief Justice of the Province of Munster,	100	0	4
John Nayler, Second Justice of Munster,	66	13	4
Henry Batthurst, Attorney of the Province of Munster,	13	6	8
William Carr, esq., Clerk of the Council of the said Province,	7	10	0
Walter Cooper, Serjeant-at-Arms there,	20	0	0
Oliver Jones, Chief Justice in the Province of Connaught,	100	0	0
Adam Cusack, esq., Second Justice of that Province,	66	13	4
John Shadwell, esq., Attorney for the said Province,	20	0	0
Sir James Cuff, knt., Clerk of the Council there,	7	10	0
Thomas Elliott, Serjeant-at-Arms there,	20	0	0

OFFICERS OF THE CUSTOMS.

Dublin.

	£	s.	d.
Thomas Worsop, esq., Customer of the Port } of Dublin, }	7	10	0
William Maul, esq., Comptroller,	7	10	0
William Scott, esq., Searcher,	5	0	0
	<hr/>		
	20	0	0

Wexford.

George Wakefield, Customer,	10	0	0
Hugh Polder, Comptroller,	5	0	0
	<hr/>		
	15	0	0

Waterford and Ross

Sir John Stephens, Customer,	15	0	0
Frederick Christian, Comptroller,	15	0	0
Thomas Tint, Searcher,	6	13	4
	<hr/>		
	36	13	4

Corke.

Richard Scudamore, Customer,	6	13	4
Robert Williams, Searcher,	5	0	0
	<hr/>		
	11	13	4

Kingsale.

Robert Southwell, Customer,	13	6	8
John Brown, Searcher,	6	13	4
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	20	0	0

Dingle-Icoush.

John Selby, Customer,	5	0	0
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Limerick.

The Customer,	13	6	8
Montfort Westrop, Comptroller,	13	6	8
John Lynch, Searcher,	5	0	0
	<hr/>		
	31	13	4

Galloway.

	£	s.	d.
John Morgan, Customer,	13	6	8
The Searcher,	5	0	0
	<hr/>		
	18	6	8

Drogheda, Dundalk, and Carlingford.

Thomas Willis, Customer,	7	10	0
John Bulteele, Comptroller,	7	10	0
Hugh Montgomery, Searcher,	5	0	0
	<hr/>		
	20	0	0

Carrickfergus.

Roger Lindon, Customer,	7	10	0
Samuel Wilby, Searcher,	6	13	4
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	14	3	4

Strangford.

Nicholas Ward, Customer,	7	10	0
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Newcastle, Dundrum, &c

Robert Hard, Searcher at Newcastle, Dundrum, Killaleagh, Bangor, Hollywood, Belfast, Olderfleet, St. David, Whitehead, Ardglasse, Strangford, Ballintogher, and Donaghadee,	}	6	13	4

THE OFFICE AND OFFICERS OF THE EXCISE.

For the salaries due to the Officers of the Excise,	}	4,269	0	0
The contingent charge of the Excise,				
		<hr/>		
		5,469	0	0

These two sums are to be distributed and apportioned as the Lord Lieutenant, or other Chief Governor, or Governors, and Council shall think fit, the Custom and Excise being now farmed. These two sums are to cease for the time of the farm, and are not cast up in the total.

COMMISSIONER-GENERAL OF THE CUSTOMS AND EXCISE.

The said Commissioners, which are to be but five in number, are to have the allowance of one penny in the pound each, for all money to be received for Customs and Excise.

COMMISSIONERS OF APPEAL.

For the salaries of four Commissioners of Appeals in causes of Excise, and new impost: viz., Sir James Ware, knt.; John Povey, esq.; Sir William Usher, knt.; and Peter Weybrants, alderman, at 150 <i>l.</i> a-piece per annum,	£	s.	d.
	600	0	0

ACCOMPTANTS-GENERAL OF THE CUSTOMS AND EXCISE.

Dr. Robert Wood and James Bonnell, Accountants-General of the Customs and Excise, per annum,	£	s.	d.
	200	0	0

CREATION-MONEY

The Duke of Ormond,	40	0	0
The Marquis of Antrim,	40	0	0
The Earl of Castlehaven,	20	0	0
The Earl of Desmond,	15	0	0
The Earl of Westmeath,	15	0	0
The Earl of Arglasse,	15	0	0
The Earl of Carbury,	15	0	0
The Earl of Cavan,	15	0	0
The Earl of Donnegal,	15	0	0
The Earl of Clanbrazill,	20	0	0
The Earl of Inchiquin,	20	0	0
The Earl of Orrery,	20	0	0
The Earl of Montrath,	20	0	0
The Earl of Tyrconnel,	20	0	0
The Earl of Clancarty,	20	0	0
The Earl of Mount-Alexander,	20	0	0
The Earl of Carlingford,	20	0	0
The Lord Viscount Grandison,	10	0	0
The Lord Viscount Willmot,	10	0	0

	£	s.	d.
The Lord Viscount Valentia,	10	0	0
The Lord Viscount Dillon,	10	0	0
The Lord Viscount Nettervil,	10	0	0
The Lord Viscount Killulla,	10	0	0
The Lord Viscount Magennis,	10	0	0
The Lord Viscount Sarsfield and Kilmallake,	10	0	0
The Lord Viscount Ranelagh,	10	0	0
The Lord Viscount Wenman and Tuam,	10	0	0
The Lord Viscount Shannon,	13	6	8
The Lord Viscount Clare,	10	0	0
The Lord Baron of Cahir,	11	5	0
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	484	11	8

Where creation-money is granted to one and the same person for two honours, that sum which is granted with the highest title is only to be paid.

PERPETUITIES.

	£	s.	d.
The Provost and Fellows of Trinity College, } near Dublin, by patent, dated 12 August, } 1612, as a perpetuity, <i>per annum</i> , }	388	15	0
The Dean and Chapter of Christ Church, } Dublin, granted in perpetuity, 12 Junii, } 1604, <i>per annum</i> , }	45	6	8
The Lord Archbishop of Dublin, for proxies } due unto him out of divers churches be- } longing to the late monasteries of Thomas } Court, St. Mary's Abbey, and St. John of } Jerusalem, near Dublin, <i>per annum</i> , }	18	5	6
The Lord Bishop of Meath, out of the Mannor } of Trim, }	3	15	0
The Mayor, Sheriffs, Commons, and Citizens } of Dublin, <i>per annum</i> , }	500	0	0
The Chaunter of Christ Church, Dublin, for } the rent of a plat of ground near his Ma- } jesty's Castle of Dublin, }	27	0	0
	<hr/>		
	983	2	2

The payments hereafter following are to be continued to the present grantees, during their grants; but to cease afterwards, and not to be regranted, or paid to any other.

	£	s.	d.
The Most Reverend Father in God, Michael } Lord Archbishop of Dublin, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, }	814	17	6
The Right Honourable Richard Earl of Cork, } Treasurer, }	365	0	0
Nicholas Loftus, esq., Clerk of the Pipe, }	25	0	0
Maurice Keating, Comptroller of the Pipe, }	8	0	0
Sir Theophilus Jones, knt., Clerk of the Pells, }	61	5	0
Bryan Jones, esq., Auditor of the Foreign } Accounts and Prests, at 6s. 8d. per diem, } granted him by letters patents, dated 2 } April, anno 2do Caroli primi, during his } good behaviour, per annum, }	121	13	4
Edward Cook, esq., one of the Masters of the } Chancery, }	20	0	0
John Westly, esq., one of the Masters of the } Chancery, }	20	0	0
Anthony Walsh, Keeper of the Room, as also } of the robes, hanging, and clock in the } Castle of Dublin, at 12d. per diem, }	18	5	0
John Croke, Printer to his Majesty in Ire- } land, }	8	0	0
Thomas Mall, esq., Surveyor-General of the } Customs, }	100	0	0
	1,562	0	10

TEMPORARY PAYMENTS.

William Maule, Comptroller of the Customs } at Dublin, }	12	10	0
Marcus, Viscount Dungannon, Master of the } Game, }	50	0	0
Sir George Lane, knt., for his fee as Keeper } of the Records in Bermingham's Tower, . . }	10	0	0

James Buck, Clerk of the Markets of all Ire- } land, }	£	s.	d.
	20	0	0
The Countess of Tyrconnel,	300	0	0
Edward Fitz-Gerald,	100	0	0
Sarah King, Widow,	80	0	0
Jane Cary, Widow,	50	0	0
John Dogharty, at 18 <i>d. per diem</i> ,	27	7	6
Jepson Macguire,	40	0	0
Sir Robert Meredith,	100	0	0
Sir George Blundell, at 6 <i>s. per diem</i> ,	109	10	0
Ann Conocke,	50	0	0
William Awbry, at 1 <i>l. per week</i> ,	52	0	0
Patrick Archer,	205	0	0

To be paid unto him until he be satisfied the sum of 5,883*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.*, and 410*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.*, by letters patents, dated 13 March, 1662, and his Majesty's letters of the 2nd of May, 1663.

PENSIONS AND ANNUITIES.

Dr. John Sterne,	£	s.	d.
	60	0	0
Luke German, esq., <i>per annum</i> ,	100	0	0
Patrick Cowurcey, and his son John Cowurcey, } <i>per annum</i> , }	150	0	0
Sir James Dillon, <i>per annum</i> ,	500	0	0
Dr. Robert George, <i>per annum</i> ,	109	10	0
Thomas Piggot, esq., <i>per annum</i> ,	300	0	0
Mrs. Mary Warren, <i>per annum</i> ,	80	0	0
Arthur, Earl of Anglesey, <i>per annum</i> ,	600	0	0
Captain William Rosse, <i>per annum</i> ,	300	0	0
	<hr/>		
	3,313	7	6

COMMISSIONERS OF ACCOUNTS AND CLERKS ALLOWANCES.

Commissioners of Accounts, for the yearly } accounts by them to be taken, by virtue of } his Majesty's commission at 20 <i>l.</i> each of } them <i>per annum</i> , 220 <i>l.</i> And to the clerks } and others employed in the said accounts, } 65 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> In all, }	£	s.	d.
	285	10	0

PAYMENTS FOR EXTRAORDINARIES BY CONCORDATUM.

	£	s.	d.
For freight and transportation, carrying of letters, and other expresses, gifts and rewards, sea service, repairing and upholding sufficiently our houses, maintaining our forts, finishing of needful undertakings of that kind begun in other places, but not finished; erecting of more strengths of the like kind, and other fit and necessary places.			
Diets and charges, in keeping of poor prisoners, and sick and maimed soldiers in hospitals; printing, riding, and travelling charges; prests upon account, and all other payments by concordat of our Lieutenant, or other Chief Governor or Governors, and Council, not to be exceeded without special direction first had from us or our Privy Council in England,	9,000	0	0
Sum total of the payments aforesaid upon the Civil List amounts unto, <i>per annum</i> ,	25,601	4	8

Memorandum.—That the impost of wines, for the Nobility, Bishops, and Councillors, the Officers of the Excise, and Commissioners-General of the Customs and Excise, are not included in the abovesaid sum.

AND our pleasure is, that no payment or allowance be made by concordat, but by warrant drawn by the Clerk of the Council of Ireland, and passed openly at our Council-Board there, and signed by our Lieutenant or other Chief Governor or Governors, Chancellor, Treasurer, or Vice-Treasurer, Chief Baron, and Secretary, or other four of them at the least, the Lieutenant or Chief Governor being one; and in default, either by exceeding the sum limited by anticipation or otherwise, or by not observing of this our direction and

commandment in every point; our pleasure is, that all sums which shall otherwise be allowed and paid there, shall be set *insuper*, as debts upon our said Lieutenant, or other Chief Governor, or Governors; and our Under-Treasurer, upon his accounts to be defaulted to our use, upon their several entertainments.

And our further pleasure is, that this establishment and list, containing all our payments to be made for civil causes, be duly paid according to our directions, and be not exceeded, nor any of the payments which are noted to be but temporary, or to cease after death, or surrender of the party, or upon determination of his grant, to be continued or renewed to any other, either in concurrence, reversion, or otherwise. And we require our Auditor-General, that once every year, immediately upon the passing the accounts of our Vice-Treasurer, or Receiver-General, a transcript of the same accounts, both for receipts of every nature, and the particular payments, be returned to our Treasurer of England, to the end we may be truly informed, both of the increase of our said revenues yearly, and also of the abatements of payments contained in this list.

ARLINGTON.

By the Lord Lieutenant General, and General
Governor of IRELAND.

INSTRUCTIONS for our dearest son, Thomas Earl of Ossory, nominated by us by virtue of his Majesty's letters patents, under his Great Seal of England, bearing date the 21st day of February, in the fourteenth year of his reign, and constituted by his Majesty's letters patents, under the Great Seal of this kingdom of Ireland, bearing date the 21st day of May, in the sixteenth year of his reign, his Majesty's Deputy of this his said kingdom, during his Majesty's pleasure, and only in our absence, until we shall return into this kingdom.

ORMOND.

WHEREAS We the Lord Lieutenant received instructions from the King's Most Excellent Majesty, under his royal signatures, bearing date the 22nd day of June, 1662. We do herewith deliver you a copy of the said instructions signed by us. And we do hereby require you to observe those instructions, in all such parts of them, as were to be observed by us, and are now applicable to you, in the place of his Majesty's Deputy of this his kingdom.

You are to take care, that in your giving commands, or warrants for payments of any of his Majesty's treasure, or moneys, you observe the rule prescribed to you, in such cases, by his Majesty's letters patents, whereby you are constituted his Majesty's Deputy of this his kingdom.

Given at his Majesty's Castle of Dublin, the 30th day of May, 1664.

G. LANE.

THE ESTABLISHMENT and LIST; containing all the payments to be made for military affairs in Ireland, to be duly paid by the hands of our Vice-Treasurer, and Treasurer-at-Wars, according to the cautions hereafter mentioned; the same to begin for and from the First day of April, 1666.

Signed,

CHARLES Rex.

OFFICERS GENERAL.

The Lord Lieutenant and Governor-General of Ireland, for his fee <i>per ann.</i> , viz., for his diet, at 100 <i>l. per mensem</i> ; a retinue of 50 horse, with officers at 2 <i>l.</i> 19 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d. per diem</i> ; an allowance of 1,000 <i>l. per ann.</i> in lieu of cess; an allowance of 235 <i>l. per ann.</i> in lieu of 235 beefs, formerly paid to the Lord Lieutenant out of the county of Cavan; an allowance of 240 <i>l. per ann.</i> , formerly paid to the Lord Lieutenant out of the tythes of Dunbogne, making in all <i>per ann.</i> , . . .	}	£ s. d. 3,860 17 6
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LORD LIEUTENANT.

	<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
As General of the Army, <i>per ann.</i> ,	4,331	6	8
As Captain of a Troop of Horse, <i>per ann.</i> ,	723	18	4
As Colonel of Foot, <i>per ann.</i> ,	608	6	8
As Captain of a Foot Company, <i>per ann.</i> ,	261	11	8
	9,786 0 10		

For his Guard of Halberteers, consisting of a Captain at 11 <i>l.</i> 4 <i>s.</i> each callendar month; a Lieutenant at 9 <i>l.</i> 16 <i>s.</i> ; two Serjeants at 3 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> each; and sixty Halberteers at 2 <i>l.</i> 2 <i>s.</i> each; making, <i>per ann.</i> ,	}	1,848	0	0
The Lieutenant-General of the Army at 1 <i>l.</i> <i>per diem</i> ,	}	365	0	0

To cease *post mortem*, or other determinations of the grant made to Thomas Earl of Ossory.

The Serjeant-Major-General of the Army at 1 <i>l.</i> <i>per diem</i> , <i>per ann.</i> ,	}	£365	0	0
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To cease *post mortem*, or other determinations of the grant made to Roger Earl of Orrery.

Sir Henry Tichburn, knt., Marshal of Ireland, for his entertainment at 3 <i>s.</i> 9 <i>d.</i> <i>per diem</i> , a trumpeter at 6 <i>d.</i> <i>ob. q.</i> <i>per diem</i> , and a retinue of 30 horse at 9 <i>d.</i> a-piece <i>per diem</i> , making <i>per ann.</i> ,	}	£489	6	7
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The Commissary-General of the Horse, at 1 <i>l.</i> <i>per diem</i> , <i>per ann.</i> ,	}	365	0	0
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To cease *post mortem*, or other determinations of the grant to John Lord Kingston.

GENERAL OFFICERS.

The Muster Master General, and Clerk of the Cheque, for his entertainment, at 4 <i>s.</i> <i>per</i> <i>diem</i> , at 10 horsemen, at 1 <i>s.</i> the piece <i>per</i> <i>diem</i> ; for any increase of his entertainment, 3 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> <i>per diem</i> , with an allowance for one clerk at 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> <i>per diem</i> , making, <i>per ann.</i> ,	}	£	s.	d.
		365	0	0
<hr/>				
Six Commissaries of the Musters, at 100 <i>l.</i> <i>per</i> <i>ann.</i> each,	}	3,066	8	3
One Corporal of the Field, viz., Colonel Beverly Usher, at 5 <i>s.</i> <i>per diem</i> , <i>per ann.</i> ,	}	600	0	0
To cease <i>post mortem</i> , or other determinations of the grant in being.		91	5	0
The Advocate-General of the Army at 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> <i>per diem</i> ,	}	£121	13	4
The Physician-General of the Army at 10 <i>s.</i> <i>per diem</i> ,	}	182	10	0
Chirurgion of the Army in Ireland, and of the Hospital of Dublin,	}	121	13	4

OFFICERS PROVINCIAL.

The Lord-President of Munster, for his fee at 100 <i>l.</i> sterling <i>per ann.</i> for his diet, and the Councils there, at 7 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> <i>per week</i> , and for his retinue of 30 horsemen, and 20 footmen, at 1 <i>l.</i> 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> <i>ob.</i> <i>per diem</i> , in all, <i>per ann.</i> ,	}	£	s.	d.	q.
		908	19	9	ob.
The Lord-President of Connaught, for his fee at 100 <i>l.</i> sterling <i>per ann.</i> , for his diet and the Councils there, at 7 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> <i>per week</i> , and for his retinue of 30 horsemen and 20 footmen, at 1 <i>l.</i> 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> <i>ob.</i> <i>per diem</i> , in all, <i>per ann.</i> ,	}	908	19	9	ob.
The Provost-Marshal of Leinster, for his en- tertainment at 4 <i>s.</i> 2 <i>d.</i> <i>ob.</i> <i>q.</i> <i>per diem</i> , mak- ing, <i>per ann.</i> ,	}	77	3	7	ob.

2,126 14 2ob.

PROVINCIAL

PROVINCIAL OFFICERS.

The Provost-Marshal of Munster, for his entertainment at 4 <i>s.</i> 2 <i>d.</i> ob. <i>q.</i> per diem, making, per ann.,	} £ s. d. q.	77 3 7 ob.
The Provost-Marshal of Connaught, for his entertainment, at 4 <i>s.</i> 2 <i>d.</i> ob. <i>q.</i> per diem, making, per ann.,		
The Provost-Marshal of Ulster, for his entertainment, at 4 <i>s.</i> 2 <i>d.</i> ob. <i>q.</i> per diem, making, per ann.,		

All the said Provost-M Marshals, with the entertainment due unto them respectively, to cease *post mortem*, or other determinations of their grants.

CONSTABLES.

The Constable of Dublin Castle, for his entertainment, at 20 <i>l.</i> per ann.,	} £ s. d. q.	20 0 0
The Porter of Dublin Castle, at 9 <i>d.</i> per diem, per ann.,		
The Constable of Limerick Castle, for his entertainment, at 10 <i>l.</i> per ann., and a porter at 6 <i>d.</i> ob. <i>q.</i> per diem, per ann.,	} 18 7 9 ob.	
The Constable of Athlone Castle, for his entertainment, at 8 <i>l.</i> 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> per ann., and a porter at 6 <i>d.</i> ob. <i>q.</i> per diem, per ann.,		
The Constable of Roscommon Castle, for his entertainment, at 3 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> per diem,	} 60 16 8	
The Constable of Carrickfergus, for his entertainment, at 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> per diem, per ann.,		
		178 6 0 ob.

THE MASTER OF THE ORDNANCE, with other Officers thereunto belonging, and train of Artillery.

The Master of the Ordnance, for himself at 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> per diem; a Lieutenant at 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> per diem; a Cornet at 1 <i>s.</i> 9 <i>d.</i> , and 18 horsemen at 1 <i>s.</i> the piece per diem, per ann.,	} £419 4 7

	£	s.	d.
The Lieutenant of the Ordnance at 7 <i>s.</i> <i>per</i> <i>diem, per ann.,</i>	127	15	0
To cease after the death of Albert Cunningham, now patentee, or other determination of his grant.			

OFFICERS OF THE ORDNANCE.

The Engineer, Overseer, Surveyor, and Direc- tor-General of his Majesty's Fortifications, &c., at 5 <i>s.</i> <i>per diem, per ann.,</i>	£91	5	0
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To cease after the death of Captain John Payne and Cap-
tain John Hallam, now patentees, or other determinations of
their grant.

Captain Hugh Magill, Comptroller of the Ordnance, for his fee, at 5 <i>s.</i> <i>per diem,</i> and for an allowance of 1 <i>s.</i> <i>per diem</i> for his clerk, both <i>per ann.,</i>	£109	10	0
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819 14 7

Sundry Ministers belonging to the Ordnance, viz., in

LEINSTER.

A master-gunner at 3 <i>s.</i> <i>per diem</i> ; his mate at 1 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> <i>per diem</i> ; six gunners for the train at 1 <i>s.</i> 2 <i>d.</i> each <i>per diem</i> ; one gentle- man of the Ordnance at 3 <i>s.</i> <i>per diem</i> ; clerk of the Ordnance and stores at Dublin at 4 <i>s.</i> <i>per diem</i> ; his clerk at 1 <i>s.</i> <i>per diem</i> ; gun- smith, blacksmith, carpenter, and wheeler, at 1 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> <i>per diem</i> each; armorer, cutler, cooper, at 9 <i>d.</i> each <i>per diem</i> ; six matrosses at 8 <i>d.</i> each <i>per diem</i> ; three waggoners at 10 <i>d.</i> each <i>per diem</i> ; at Duncannon, a clerk of the stores, 1 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> <i>per diem</i> ; a gunner at 1 <i>s.</i> <i>per diem</i> ; a matross at 8 <i>d.</i> <i>per diem</i> ; at Passage, a gunner's mate at 10 <i>d.</i> <i>per diem</i> , making <i>per ann.,</i>	£774	2	1
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CONNAUGHT.

	£	s.	d.
At Athlone, a clerk of the stores at 1s. 8d. per diem; a gunner at 1s. per diem; a matross at 8d. per diem. Galloway, a clerk of the stores at 1s. 8d. per diem; a gunner at 1s. per diem; a matross at 8d. per diem. At Sligo, a gunner at 1s. per diem. Isle of Arran, a gunner at 1s. per diem. Innisbuffin, a gunner at 1s. per diem; making, per ann.,	176	8	4

MUNSTER.

Waterford, a gunner at 1s. per diem; a matross at 8d. per diem. Limerick, a clerk of the stores at 1s. 8d. per diem; a gunner at 1s. per diem; a matross at 8d. per diem. Cork, clerk of the stores at 1s. 8d. per diem; a gunner at 1s. per diem; a matross at 8d. per diem. At Halvowling, a gunner's mate, 10d. per diem. Youghall, a gunner at 1s. per diem. Kingsale, a gunner at 1s. per diem. At the Block-house, a gunner's mate at 10d. per diem. At Crookhaven, a gunner at 1s. per diem. At Innisherkin, a gunner's mate at 10d. per diem. Valentia, a gunner at 1s. per diem. In all, per ann.,	270	14	2
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 1,358 2 10

ULSTER.

Londonderry, a clerk of the stores at 1s. 8d. per diem; a gunner at 1s. per diem; a matross at 8d. per diem. At Culmore, a gunner's mate at 10d. per diem. At Carrickfergus, a clerk of the stores at 1s. 8d. per diem; a gunner at 1s., a matross at 8d., per diem. In all, per ann.,	136	17	6
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118

HORSE.

HORSE.

	£	s.	d.
The King's Guard of Horse, consisting of a Captain at 19 <i>l.</i> 12 <i>s.</i> each calendar month; a Lieutenant at 12 <i>l.</i> 12 <i>s.</i> ; a Cornet at 12 <i>l.</i> 12 <i>s.</i> ; a Quartermaster at 9 <i>l.</i> 16 <i>s.</i> ; 6 Corporals at 6 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> each; two of the King's trumpets at 6 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> each; four more of the King's trumpets and a kettle-drum at 3 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> each; besides their standing allowances in the Civil List. A sadler, farrier, and armorer at 4 <i>l.</i> 18 <i>s.</i> each; and 100 horsemen at 4 <i>l.</i> 18 <i>s.</i> each; making in all, <i>per mensem</i> , 627 <i>l.</i> 4 <i>s.</i> , which amounts for the whole pay of the said Guard, <i>per ann.</i> , unto,	7,526	8	0
The Lord Lieutenant's Troop, consisting of a Captain at 19 <i>l.</i> 12 <i>s.</i> each calendar month; a Lieutenant at 12 <i>l.</i> 12 <i>s.</i> ; and a Cornet at 9 <i>l.</i> 16 <i>s.</i> ; a Quartermaster at 7 <i>l.</i> ; 3 corporals and 2 trumpets more at 6 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> each; and fifty private horsemen at 2 <i>l.</i> 2 <i>s.</i> each; making in all, <i>per mensem</i> , 184 <i>l.</i> 2 <i>s.</i> , which amounts for the whole pay of the said troop, <i>per ann.</i> , unto,	2,209	4	0
Five troops more belonging to the General Officers, viz., to the Lieutenant-General of the Army, the Serjeant-Major-General of the Army, the Lord President of Connaught, the Commissary-General of the Horse, and the Scout-Master-General of the Army, each troop consisting of a Captain at 19 <i>l.</i> 12 <i>s.</i> each calendar month; a Lieutenant at 12 <i>l.</i> 12 <i>s.</i> ; a Cornet at 9 <i>l.</i> 16 <i>s.</i> ; a Quartermaster at 7 <i>l.</i> ; 3 corporals and 2 trumpets at 3 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> each; and 50 private horsemen at 2 <i>l.</i> 2 <i>s.</i> each; making in all, <i>per mensem</i> , for each troop, 171 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> , which amounts for the whole pay of the said five troops, <i>per ann.</i> , unto,	10,290	0	0
	1,226	8	0

Twenty-three troops, which consisting of the like officers and 45 private horsemen, making in all, <i>per mensem</i> , to each troop, 161 <i>l.</i> , which amounts for the whole pay of the said 23 troops, <i>per ann.</i> , unto,	} £ s. d. 44,436 0 0
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Foot.

The Lord Lieutenant's Company, consisting of a Captain at 11 <i>l.</i> 4 <i>s.</i> each calendar month; a Lieutenant at 5 <i>l.</i> 12 <i>s.</i> ; an Ensign at 4 <i>l.</i> 4 <i>s.</i> ; 2 serjeants at 2 <i>l.</i> 2 <i>s.</i> each; 3 corporals and 2 drums at 1 <i>l.</i> 8 <i>s.</i> each; and 100 private footmen at 14 <i>s.</i> each; making in all, <i>per mensem</i> , 102 <i>l.</i> 4 <i>s.</i> , which amounts for the whole pay of the said company, <i>per ann.</i> , unto,	} 1,226 8 0
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Fifty-nine companies more, each consisting of a Captain at 11 <i>l.</i> 4 <i>s.</i> each calendar month; a Lieutenant at 5 <i>l.</i> 12 <i>s.</i> ; an Ensign at 4 <i>l.</i> 4 <i>s.</i> ; 2 serjeants at 2 <i>l.</i> 2 <i>s.</i> each; 3 corporals and 1 drummer at 1 <i>l.</i> 8 <i>s.</i> each; and 60 private footmen at 14 <i>s.</i> each; making in all, <i>per mensem</i> , for each company, 72 <i>l.</i> 16 <i>s.</i> , which amounts for the whole pay of the said 59 companies, <i>per ann.</i> , unto,	} 51,542 0 8
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A ward at Sligo under the command of Major Robert Edgeworth, consisting of 2 serjeants at 2 <i>l.</i> 2 <i>s.</i> each every calendar month; 3 corporals and one drummer at 1 <i>l.</i> 8 <i>s.</i> each; and 60 private footmen at 14 <i>s.</i> each; making in all, <i>per mensem</i> , 51 <i>l.</i> 16 <i>s.</i> , which amounts, <i>per ann.</i> , unto,	} 621 12 0
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 53,390 0 8

	£	s.	d.
Arthur, Earl of Donnegall, for his entertainment at <i>4s. 2d. per diem</i> , for himself, and for 9 horsemen at <i>9d. each per diem</i> , during his life, by virtue of a grant thereof, dated the last of July, in the 13th year of King James, <i>per ann.</i> ,	199	4	7
The Mayor of the city of Dublin, for his entertainment at <i>8s. per diem</i> ,	146	0	0
	<hr/>		
	2,255	9	4

PARTICULAR GOVERNORS.

The Governor of the County of Clare, for his fee at <i>10s. per diem, per ann.</i> ,	182	10	0
The Governor of the Castle of Dublin, for his fee <i>1l. per diem, per ann.</i> ,	365	0	0
The Governor of the Fort of Sligo, for his fee at <i>10s. per diem, per ann.</i> ,	182	10	0
The Governor of the Fort of Halholling, for his fee at <i>6s. per diem, per ann.</i> ,	109	10	0
The Constable of Hilsborough, at <i>3s. 4d. per diem, per ann.</i> ,	60	16	8

These temporary payments to cease *post mortem*, or other determination of the said grants, except that of the Halholling.

Sum total of the payments aforesaid upon the military list, amounts unto <i>per ann.</i> , }	£163,810	3	11
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By his Majesty's command,

ARLINGTON.

A CATALOGUE OF THE PEERS.

Duke of Ormond. Duke of Leinster. Marquis of Antrim.

EARLS.

Kildare.	Conaway.	Mount-Alexander.
Thomond.	Carbery.	Down.
Cork.	Ardglass.	Longford.
Desmond.	Rannalagh.	Tyrone.
Barrymore.	Cavan.	Bellomont.
Meath.	Inchiquin.	Clanrikard.
Ossory.	Clancarty.	Castlehaven.
Roscommon.	Orrery.	Westmeath.
Londonderry.	Mammoth.	Fingall.
Donnegall.	Drogheda.	Castlemaine.
Arran.	Waterford.	Carlingford.

VISCOUNTS.

Grandison.	Mazareene.	Fitz Williams.
Wilmot.	Dromore.	Gormanstown.
Loftus of Ely.	Dungarven.	Rathcoole.
Swords.	Dungannon.	Barfore.
Kilmurry.	Kells.	Brucher.
Valentia.	Fitzharding.	Galmoy.
Mareborough.	Clare.	Kingsland.
Castleton.	Charlemont.	Mountgaret.
Chaworth.	Powerscourt.	Douth.
Sligo.	Blessington.	Evagh.
Waterford.	Granard.	Kilmallock.
Strangford.	Lanesborough.	Ikernie.
Tuam.	Ross.	Glanmalegræ.
Cashell.	Castalo.	Claine.
Carlo.	Merrion.	Downe.
Cullen.	Fairfax.	Trazey.
Shannon.		

ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPRICKS IN IRELAND.

Archbishoprick of	Bishoprick of	Bishoprick of
— Armagh.	— Clonfert.	— Down.
— Dublin.	— Elphin.	— Killalow.
— Cashells.	— Fernes and	— Cork.
— Tuam.	Laghlin.	— Limerick.
Bishoprick of	— Clogher.	— Cloyne.
— Meath.	— Dromore.	— Killala.
— Kildare.	— Ossory.	— Rapho.
— Waterford.	— Derry.	— Kilmore.

BARONS.

Kingsale.	Colraine.	Athenry.
Kerry.	Leitrim.	Cashir.
Hoath.	Donamore.	Baltimore.
Mountjoy.	Blare.	Strabane.
Folliot.	Killard.	Slane.
Maynard.	Kingston.	Trimleston.
Dundalk.	Colooney.	Dunscany.
Digby.	Sautrey.	Dunboyne.
Lifford.	Lough.	Upper Ossery.
Herbert.	Glawnalley.	Castle-Comell.
Lochlin.	Castle-steward.	Brittas.

A LIST OF THOSE PLACES THAT RETURN
PARLIAMENT MEN IN IRELAND.

LEINSTER.

County of Catherlough, . . . 2	Bur. of Newcastle, . . . 2
Burrough of Catherlough, 2	Bur. of Swords, . . . 2
Bur. of Old-Leighlin, . . . 2	Village de Drogheda, . . . 2
County of Dublin, . . . 2	County of Kilkenny, . . . 2
City of Dublin, . . . 2	Bur. of Callen, . . . 2
University of Dublin, . . . 3	Bur. of Thomas-town, . . . 2
	Bur.

Bur. of Gowran,	2	County of Westmeath,	2
Bur. of Kells,	2	Bur. of Athlone,	2
Bur. of Emistoeague,	2	Bur. of Fower,	2
Bur. of Knoctopher,	2	Bur. of Kilbegan,	2
Bur. of St. Kennis,	2	Bur. of Mullingar,	2
City of Kilkenny,	2	County of Wicklow,	2
County of Kildare,	2	Bur. of Wicklow,	2
Bur. of Kildare,	2	Bur. of Carisford,	2
Bur. of Nass,	2	Bur. of Baltinglass,	2
Bur. of Athy,	2	County of Wexford,	2
<i>Com. Regis,</i>	2	Town of Wexford,	2
Bur. of Philipstown,	2	Town of Ross,	2
Bur. of Byrr,	2	Bur. of Eniscorthy,	2
Bur. of Banagher,	2	Bur. of Featherd,	2
County of Meath,	2	Bur. of Bannow,	2
Bur. of Trim,	2	Bur. of Cloghmaine,	2
Bur. of Kells,	2	Bur. of Arkloe,	2
Bur. of Navan,	2	Bur. of Taughman,	2
Bur. of Athbuy,	2	Bur. of Newburrrough,	2
Bur. of Duleek,	2	County of Longford,	2
Bur. of Ratooth,	2	Bur. of Lanisborough,	2
<i>Com. Regine,</i>	2	County of Lowth,	2
Bur. of Bellakill,	2	Bur. of Dundalk,	2
Bur. of Mariborough,	2	Bur. of Arthdee,	2
Port Arlington,	2	Bur. of Carlingford,	2

MUNSTER.

County of Cork,	2	Bur. of Traly,	2
City of Cork,	2	Bur. of Dinglecough,	2
Bur. of Mallow,	2	Bur. of Ardfart,	2
Bur. of Baltimore,	2	County of Limerick,	2
Bur. of Clognekilty,	2	City of Limerick,	2
Bur. of Bandonbridge,	2	Bur. of Kilmallock,	2
Bur. of Kingsale,	2	Bur. of Askaton,	2
Bur. of Youghall,	2	County of Tipperary,	2
County of Clare,	2	Town of Tipperary,	2
Bur. of Insh,	2	Bur. of Clonmell,	2
County of Kerry,	2	Bur. of Featherd,	2

Town of Cashell,	2	Bur. of Dungarven,	2
Bur. of Thurles,	2	Bur. of Lismore,	2
County of Waterford,	2	Bur. of Tallow,	2
City of Waterford,	2		

ULSTER.

County of Armagh,	2	Bur. of Lifford,	2
Bur. of Armagh,	2	Bur. of Ballishannon,	2
Bur. of Charlemont,	2	Bur. of Kilbegs,	2
County of Antrim,	2	Bur. of Donnegal,	2
Bur. of Belfast,	2	Bur. of St. John's-Town,	2
Bur. of Carrickfergus,	2	County of Fermanagh,	2
Bur. of Lisburne,	2	Bur. of Inniskilling,	2
Bur. of Antrim,	2	County of Londonderry,	2
County of Cavan,	2	City of Londonderry,	2
Bur. of Cavan,	2	Bur. of Colerain,	2
Bur. of Belturbet,	2	Bur. of Lanmevaddy,	2
County of Down,	2	County of Monaghan,	2
Bur. of Down,	2	Bur. of Monaghan,	2
Bur. of Newtown,	2	County of Tyrone,	2
Bur. of Newry,	2	Bur. of Donnegal,	2
Bur. of Ballkillaleagh,	2	Town of Clogher,	2
Bur. of Bangor,	2	Bur. of Agber,	2
Bur. of Hillsborough,	2	Bur. of Strabane,	2
County of Donnegal,	2		

CONNAUGHT.

County of Galway,	2	Bur. of Castlebar,	2
Bur. of Galway,	2	County of Roscommon,	2
Bur. of Athenry,	2	Bur. of Roscommon,	2
Bur. of Tuam,	2	Bur. of Tulsk,	2
County of Leitrim,	2	County of Sligo,	2
Bur. of James-Town,	2	Bur. of Sligo,	2
Bur. of Carickdrumrusk,	2		
County of Mayo,	2	The whole Number,	285

VERBUM
SAPIENTI.

VERBUM SAPIENTI.

THE INTRODUCTION.

1. WHEREAS many are forced to pay one-tenth of their whole estates towards the raising of but 70,000*l. per mensem*, besides what they pay more insensibly and directly, as customs, excise, chimney-money, &c. (viz. in London, they pay 2*d. per mensem*, per pound rent, that is 2*s. per ann.*, or one-tenth of the whole). It must come to pass, that the same persons must from Christmas, 1665, pay one-third of their whole estates, if the war with Holland continue two years longer, at the value of the last year's expense, provided his Majesty be kept out of debt.

2. But if the public charge were laid proportionably, no man need pay above one-tenth of his whole effects, even in case the tax should rise to 250,000*l. per mensem*, which God forbid.

3. That is to say, according to the present ways, some pay four times as much more as they ought, or needed; which disproportion is the true and proper grievance of taxes, and which must be felt when the tax happens to be great and extraordinary: whereas by meer method and proportion, the same may be corrected as aforesaid; and withal, just accounts might be kept of the people, with the respective increases and decreases of them, their wealth, and foreign trade.

CHAPTER I.

Containing several Computations of the Wealth of the Kingdom.

1. THERE are of men, women, and children, in England and Wales, about six millions, whose expense at *6l. 13s. 4d. per ann.*, or near *4½d. per diem*, for food, housing, cloths, and all other necessaries, amount to 40 millions *per ann.*

2. There are in England and Wales, of acres of land (worth *6l. 1s. 8d. per acre*, and 18 years purchase) 24 millions, that is, which yields 8 millions *per ann.*, rent, and which are worth 144 millions to be sold.

3. There be 28,000 houses within the Liberties of the City of London, worth *15l. per ann.*, and twelve years purchase, viz. which yields *420,000l. per ann.*, and are worth *5,040,000l.*

There are without the Liberties, but within the bills of mortality, one-fourth more in number, perhaps not of greater value, viz. *5,040,000l.*

4. There is in all England and Wales near ten times as many chimneys as within the Liberties of London, as appears by the returns; whereof those within the bills are one-fifth of the whole.

5. 'Tis probable, that the housing of all the cities and market-towns, are double in number to those of all London, though of no more worth.

6. 'Tis also probable, that the housing without the cities and towns, are more in number than those within (London excepted) but of no more value.

7. So as the housing of England may be estimated worth 30 millions; and that if their values be estimated by chimneys, those of London are worth *12d. per chimney*, those in the suburbs *10d.*, other cities and market-towns *6d.*, and those without both about *4d.*

8. The shipping of England, &c., is about 500,000 tuns, which at *6d. per tun*, including their ordnance, apparel, &c., is worth three millions.

9. The stock of cattle on the afore-mentioned 24 millions of land, and the waste thereunto belonging, is worth one-fourth of the said land, viz. 36 millions, comprehending horses, oxen, sheep, swine, deer, fisheries, parks, and warrens.

10. The coined gold and silver of the kingdom is scarce worth six millions.

11. The wares, merchandizes, and utensils of plate and furnitures may be estimated at 31 millions, to make the ships and money 40, and the whole 250 millions.

12. The most uncertain part of this estimate, seems to be rating personal estates at above 30 millions, which I make probable thus:—

(1.) First, it is not unlikely that what is contained in all the shops, warehouses, cellars, barns, and graineries, together with household furniture, cloths, ornaments, &c., should be less worth than housing itself that contains them.

(2.) If the value of all the cattle, viz. 36 millions, were added to the 31 personal estates, making 67 together, both will not make up $1\frac{3}{4}$ years provision for the whole nation, whose expense we estimated at 40 millions *per ann.*, and poorer than so we hope it is not.

(3.) I find by the particular estimate of the values of all the plate, lead, iron, copper, and tin; and of all the timber, planks, and woods; and of all silks, linnen, and calicoes; of all cloths, stuffs, and leathers; of all grains and salts; and of all wines, oyles, and other liquids; of all grocery and spicery, and drugs; of jewels, and hangings, beds, and other ornaments (too troublesome to particularize), that this general account may stand.

(4.) The City of London being commonly esteemed and rated at the fifteenth part of the whole, which we reckon at 250 millions, that is, $16\frac{2}{3}$ millions, I think the sum may be well made up by reckoning $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions for the housing as aforesaid, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions for the shipping (half the shipping of the nation belonging to London), and about the double of the value of the housing for what is contained in them. The which, upon considering many several houses, I find not unreasonable.

(Lastly.) Supposing that in the houses within the Liberties of London (worth 5 millions) there be 10 millions worth of goods; I conceive that to allow about as much more (viz. 21 millions) to all the rest of the houses in the kingdom, which are ten times as many as aforesaid, will not overcharge them.

13. Now if the land worth 144 millions, yield 8 millions *per ann.*, the other estate converted into the like species must yield 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ millions more; but because money and other personal estates yield more *per ann.* than land (that is), doubles itself under 17 years purchase, at 6*l. per centum*, then instead of 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ millions, suppose it to yield 7, making the whole annual proceed 15 millions.

CHAPTER II.

Of the Value of the People.

1. Now if the annual proceed of the stock, or wealth of the nation, yields but 15 millions, and the expense be 40, then the labour of the people must furnish the other 25, which may be done, if but half of them, viz. 3 millions, earned but 8*l. 6s. 8d. per ann.*, which is done at 7*d. per diem*, abating the 52 Sundays, and half as many other days for accidents, as holy-days, sickness, recreations, &c.

2. If one-sixth of these 3 millions earned but 2*d. per diem*, another one-sixth 4*d.*, another one-sixth 8*d. per diem*, another 10*d.*, and another 12*d.*, the medium will be this, 7*d. per diem*.

3. Whereas the stock of the kingdom, yielding but 15 millions of proceed, is worth 250 millions, then the people who yield 25, are worth 416 $\frac{2}{3}$ millions. For although the individuals of mankind be reckoned at about 8 years purchase, the species of them is worth as many as land, being in its nature as perpetual, for ought we know.

4. If 6 millions of people be worth 417 millions of pounds sterling, then each head is worth 69*l.*, or each of the 3 millions of workers is worth 138*l.*, which is 7 years purchase, at

about 12*d. per diem*, nor is superlucration above his subsistence to be reckoned in this case.

5. From whence it follows, that 100,000 persons dying of the plague above the ordinary number, is near 7 millions loss to the kingdom, and consequently how well might 70,000*l.* have been bestowed in preventing this centuple loss?

6. We said, that the late mortality by the pest, is a great loss to the kingdom, whereas some think it but a seasonable discharge of its pestilent humours: to clear which difficulty, I say,

7. If the plague discerned well, between the well and the ill affected to peace and obedience, or between the bees and the drones, the fact would determine the question: but if it destroy promiscuously, the loss is proportionable to the benefit we have by them that survive, for 'tis they that make England worth above 600 millions as aforesaid; it being certain, that if one person only had escaped, the whole territory and all that is in it had been worth but a livelihood for that one, and he subject to be a prey to the next two that should invade him.

8. It seems reasonable, that what we call the wealth, stock, or provision of the nation, being the effect of the former or past labour, should not be conceived to differ from efficiencies in being, but should be rated alike, and contribute alike to the common necessities; and then of all and every sum to be raised, the land and stock must pay 3 parts, and the people considered without any estate at all, 5 more; the whole into 8 divided.

9. If the expence of the nation be 40 millions, it seems but the same hardship to set apart 4, viz. one-tenth of the whole for the public use, as what now lies upon many already; but 4 millions would afford one for the ordinary expense, and three for the extraordinary wars, that is 250,000*l. per mensem*; that is $3\frac{1}{2}$ as much as 70. For the raising whereof, many now pay above one-tenth of their whole estates, for want of method and proportion.

10. Labouring men work 10 hours *per diem*, and make 20 meals *per week*, viz. 3 a day for working days, and two on

Sundays; whereby it is plain, that if they could fast on Friday nights, and dine in one hour and a half, whereas they take two from eleven to one, thereby this working one-twentieth more, and spending one-twentieth less, the one-tenth abovementioned might be raised, at least with more ease than to take up arms and resist it.

CHAPTER III.

Of the several Expences of the Kingdom and its Revenues.

1. THE ordinary expence of the kingdom for the navy, ordnance, garrisons, land-forces, Tangier, Jamaica, Bombay, ambassadors, pensions, intelligence, Kings and Royal Families expence, consisting of the Household of the King, Queen, Duke, &c., privy-purse, wardrobe, robes, angel-gold, master of the horse, mews, armory, tents, parks, lodges, goldsmiths, jewels, &c., hath been computed to be about one million, reckoning 200,000*l.* for the navy, 60,000*l.* for the ordnance and powder, 290,000*l.* for land-forces, garrisons, &c., and 450,000*l.* for other things.

2. Towards this, there is in crown-lands 70,000*l.*, post-office 20,000*l.*, coynage and pre-emption of tin 12,000*l.*, forest of deer 4,000*l.*, courts of justice 6,000*l.*, first fruits 18,000*l.*; in all 130,000*l.* Customs at 2 *per centum* 170,000*l.*; in all 300,000*l.* without the duties of wares, wine-licence, aulnage, or butlerage, excise, chimney-money, land-tax, pole and assessments, being regulated and proportionated as followeth, viz.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the Method of Apportioning Taxes.

1. IF a million is to be raised above the 300,000*l.* last-mentioned, then 375,000*l.* is to be levied on the stock, and 625,000*l.* on the people.

Of the 375,000*l.* on the stock,
 216,000*l.* on the lands,
 54,000*l.* on the cattle, &c.,
 60,000*l.* on the personal estates,
 45,000*l.* on the housing.

In all, 375,000*l.*

2. To raise 216,000*l.* out of 8,000,000*l.* rent, requires one-thirty-seventh of the rent, and one-twenty-seventh of one-thirty-seventh; but allowing the charge of collecting, we may express it to a one-thirty-sixth part.

3. To raise 54,000*l.* *per ann.* out of 36,000,000*l.* requires the annual payment of a 666th part of the whole value; but in regard of charges, let it be reduced to a 600th part.

4. The like for the 60,000*l.* of personal estates.

5. To raise 45,000*l.* *per ann.* from all the housing worth 30 millions, or 7,500*l.* for the housing in London Liberties, worth about 5 millions, and whose rent is 420,000*l.* *per ann.*, requires but one-fifty-sixth of the annual rent, which cannot be above 12*d.* a chimney *per ann.*, reckoning 5 to each house. Without the Liberties, about 10*d.* the chimney will effect the same; 6*d.* in the cities and market-towns; and 4*d.* elsewhere.

6. As for the 625,000*l.* to be raised by the people, it requires but 2*s.* 1*d.* *per pole per ann.*, which let rather be divided into a pole of 6*d.* a head, and an excise of 19*d.*, which is not the full one-eighty-fourth part of the mean expence, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; so as the one-eighty-fourth of the value of consumptions will, with the said 6*d.* pole, raise 625,000*l.* *per ann.*

CHAPTER V.

Of Money, and how much is necessary to drive the Trade of the Nation.

1. It may be asked, if there were occasion to raise 4 millions *per ann.*, whether the same six millions (which we hope we have) would suffice for such revolutions and circulations thereof as trade requires? I answer yes; for the expence being 40 millions, if the revolutions were in such short circles, viz., weekly, as happens among poor artizans and labourers, who receive and pay every Saturday, then $\frac{4}{9}$ parts of 1 million of money would answer those ends: but if the circles be quarterly, according to our custom of paying rent and gathering taxes, then ten millions were requisite. Wherefore supposing payments in general to be of a mixt circle between one week and 13, then add 10 millions to $\frac{4}{9}$, the half of the which will be $5\frac{1}{2}$, so as if we have $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions, we have enough.

2. And thus I have shewed, that if one-half of the subjects of England (playing 78 days in the year) will earn *7d. per diem* all the rest of the days, one with another; and if they would work one-twentieth more, and spend one-twentieth less, they might enable their King to maintain double the forces he now doth, without suffering in the general more than many well-affected persons do now through negligence or mistakes in their particulars. Nor is money wanting to answer all the ends of a well-policed state, notwithstanding the great decreases thereof, which have happened within these 20 years.

Nor were it hard to substitute in the place of money (were a competency of it wanting) what should be equivalent unto it. For money is but the fat of the body politick, whereof too much doth as often hinder its agility, as too little makes it sick. 'Tis true, that as fat lubricates the motion of the muscles, feeds in want of victuals, fills up uneven cavities, and beautifies the body; so doth money in the state quicken

its action, feeds from abroad in the time of dearth at home; evens accounts by reason of its divisibility, and beautifies the whole, although more especially the particular persons that have it in plenty.

CHAPTER VI.

The Causes of Irregular Taxing.

1. **THE** causes of error in this great affair of public levies have been these. First, laying too great a stress on the matter of money, which is to the whole effect of the kingdom but as 6 to 667. That is, not one to 100. Secondly, laying the whole burthen on the past effects, and neglecting the present efficiencies, exceeding the former as 417 doth 250. Thirdly, reckoning all the personal estates of the city of London (shipping included) at scarce one-half the value of the very housing, whereas they are double: which happens because the housing of London belongs to the Church, companies, or gentlemen, and are taxed by the citizens their tenants. Fourthly, a fallacious tenderness towards the poor, (who now pay scarce one shilling *per head per ann.* towards all manner of charges) interwoven with the cruelty of not providing them work, and indulging laziness in them, because of our own indisposition to employ them; so some are overcharged through evil custom, and others left to sordid want and brutish irregularity. Fifthly, an opinion that certainty of rules is impossible, and but an idle notion; and then having made such as are not so, and training them to be applied by affection and humour; so as one-fourth of the whole paying needlessly four times too much, may be thereby so netled as to do more mischief than the other unconcerned and thankless three-fourths can allay.

CHAPTER VII.

The Collateral Advantages of these Taxes.

1. BESIDES the equality of taxes, we make this further use of trying it by way of customs, poles, excises, chimney-money, land-tax, and assessments upon the personal estates, viz.

(1.) Of the customs, which we reduce from one-twentieth to one-fiftieth to keep an account of foreign trade and of its balance; for by levying a duty, and encreasing the penalty, these accounts will be less obscured.

(2.) The simple and universal pole keeps an account of the great wealth and strength of the kingdom, the people.

(3.) Rating the houses, *per* chimney, gives a good account of improvements and dilapidations.

(4.) Excise gives an account of domestick expences and publisheth exorbitances.

(5.) Land taxes keep the payments to the proportion of entire value, not of annual rent: so as an estate in housing pays no more than if it were in lands, nor considerably less than goods, and may bring mortgages to their just contribution; many lenders not being so formidable for their money as some have thought them.

(6.) Assessments upon personal estates (if given in as elsewhere upon oath) would bring that branch, which of itself is most dark, to a sufficient clearness.

2. There is also a pole upon titles and dignities worth consideration, though we now omit it; which, as it may check mens forwardness to undeserved pre-eminence, so it may be employed in the encouragement of true worth.

3. We have hitherto computed the old immutable revenue at but 130,000*l.* *per ann.*, nor supposed above 170,000*l.* (viz., less than half what it is at present) to be raised by customs, wholly neglecting wards, butlerage, aulnage, and other obsolete imposts. We have also designed the several proportions towards the raising of a million more *per ann.*, to be raised by the pole, excise, land-tax, assessments, and chimneys.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the Expence of the Navy, Army, and Garrisons.

WE come next to shew, that if 3 millions *per ann.*, or 250,000*l.* *per mensem* (to make up the whole 3,300,000*l.* *per ann.*) were raised, what might be performed thereby for the safety, establishment, and honour both of the King and subject.

Unto which I say, considering the present condition of the navy, two millions will maintain 50,000 men in ships of war for eight months of the year, and 30,000 for the other four months; which I take to be near double the best fleet we ever have seen in Europe, computing the ordnance and harbour charges of the navy; nor will the maintenance of 12,000 foot and 3,000 horse, allowing 100,000*l.* for inland garrisons, and 60,000*l.* for Tangier, &c., put altogether, exceed 600,000*l.*, so as there remains 700,000*l.* for other matters, whereof his Majesty's royal family, by all the accounts I have seen, doth not spend five hundred thousand *per ann.* Nor need the charge of all those levies be above 1 of the 33, viz., the one-thirty-third part for the 500 officers, without ever going five miles from the centre of their abode, who might perform this work; nor would more than 200*l.* *per ann.* for each of them, and their under instruments, be necessary for their respective salaries: for there are 450 areots of 10 mile square in England and Wales.

CHAPTER IX.

Motives to the Quiet Bearing of Extraordinary Taxes.

HAVING shewed how great and glorious things may be done with no less difficulty than what one-fourth of the King's subjects do already endure; I offer these further reasons to quiet men's minds, in case this utmost 250,000*l.* *per mensem* should be ever demanded upon this Holland war.

1. That of all naval expence, not one-twentieth is for foreign commodities, nor need it be one-fortieth if the people would do their part, and the Governors direct them the nearest ways.

2. That stoppage of trade is considerable, but as one to eight; for we exchange not above five millions worth *per ann.* for our 40.

3. That the expence of the King, &c., being about 400,000*l.* *per ann.*, is but one-hundredth part of the expence of the nation, who all have the pleasure and honour of it.

4. That the money of the nation being but about 5 millions and a half, and the earning of the same 25; it is not difficult for them to encrease their money a million *per ann.* by an easy advance of their industry, applied to such manufactures as will fetch money from abroad.

5. The wealth of England lies in land and people, so as they make five parts of six of the whole: but the wealth of Holland lies more in money, housing, shipping, and wares. Now, supposing England three times as rich as Holland in land and people (as it is), and Holland twice as rich as we in other particulars (as it scarce is); we are still, upon the balance of the whole, near twice as rich as they: of which I wish those that understand Holland would consider and calculate.

6. There are in England above four acres of arable, meadow, and pasture land for every soul in it; and those so fertile as that the labour of one man in tilling them is sufficient to get a bare livelihood for above 10: so as 'tis for want of discipline that any poverty appears in England, and that any are hanged or starved upon that account.

CHAPTER X.

How to Employ the People, and the end thereof.

WE said that half the people, by a very gentle labour, might much enrich the kingdom, and advance its honour, by setting apart largely for publick uses; but the difficulty is, upon what shall they employ themselves?

To which I answer in general, upon producing food and necessaries for the whole people of the land by few hands; whether by labouring harder, or by the introducing the compendium, and facilitations of art, which is equivalent to what men vainly hoped from polygamy. Forasmuch as he that can do the work of five men by one, effects the same as the begetting four adult workmen. Nor is such advantage worth fewer years purchase than that of lands, or what we esteem likest to perpetual. Now the making necessaries cheap by the means aforesaid, and not by raising more of them than can be spent whilst they are good, will necessitate others to buy them with much labour of other kinds. For if one man could raise corn enough for the whole better than any one man; then that man would have the natural monopoly of corn, and could exact more labour for it in exchange, than if ten others raised ten times as much corn as is necessary; which would make other labour so much the dearer, as men were less under the need of engaging upon it.

2. By this way we might recover our lost cloth trade, which by the same the Dutch got from us. By this way the East Indians furnish us from the other end of the world with linen cheaper than ourselves can make them with what grows at our own doors. By this means we might fetch flax from France, and yet furnish them with linen, that is, if we make no more than we can vend, but so much with the fewest hands, and cheapest food, which will be when food also is raised by fewer hands than elsewhere.

3. I answer generally, we should employ ourselves by raising such commodities as would yield and fetch in money from abroad: for that would supply any wants of ours from the

same or any other place at all times. Which stores of domestic commodities could not effect, whose value is to call a temporary, *i.e.*, which are of value but *pro hic et nunc*.

4. But when should we rest from this great industry? I answer, when we have certainly more money than any of our neighbour states (though never so little), both in arithmetical and geometrical proportion, *i.e.*, when we have more years provision aforehand and more present effects.

5. What then should we busy ourselves about? I answer, ✓ in ratiocinations upon the works and will of God, to be supported not only by the indolency, but also by the pleasure of the body; and not only by the tranquillity, but serenity of the mind; and this exercise is the natural end of man in this world, and that which best disposeth him for his spiritual happiness in that other which is to come. The motions of the mind being the quickest of all others, afford most variety, wherein is the very form and being of pleasure; and by how much the more we have of this pleasure, by so much the more we are capable of it even *ad infinitum*.

F I N I S .

THE QUERIST.

THE
Q U E R I S T .

CONTAINING,
Several QUERIES

Proposed to the
C O N S I D E R A T I O N
O F T H E
P U B L I C .

BY GEORGE BERKELEY, D.D.
Bishop of Cloyne in Ireland.

*I the Lord have brought down the high Tree,
have exalted the low Tree, have dried up the green
Tree, and have made the dry Tree to flourish.*

Ezek. xvii. 24.

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M DCC LII.

ADVERTISEMENT

BY THE

A U T H O R.

THE **QUERIST** was first printed in the year one thousand seven hundred and thirty-five; since which time, the face of things is somewhat changed. In this edition, some alterations have been made. The three parts are published in one; some few Queries are added, and many omitted, particularly, of those relating to the sketch or plan of a national bank; which it may be time enough to take again in hand, when the public shall seem disposed to make use of such an expedient. I had determined with myself never to prefix my name to the **Querist**, but in the last edition was over-ruled by a friend, who was remarkable for pursuing the public interest with as much diligence as others do their own. I apprehend the same censure on this, that I incurred upon another occasion, for meddling out of my profession. Though to feed the hungry and clothe the naked, by promoting an honest industry, will, perhaps, be

deemed no improper employment for a clergyman, who still thinks himself a member of the commonwealth. As the sum of human happiness is supposed to consist in the goods of mind, body, and fortune, I would fain make my studies of some use to mankind, with regard to each of these three particulars, and hope it will not be thought faulty or indecent in any man, of what profession soever, to offer his mite towards improving the manners, health, and prosperity of his fellow-creatures.

T H E

Q U E R I S T .

Qu. 1. WHETHER there ever was, is, or will be, an industrious nation poor, or an idle rich?

2. Whether a people can be called poor, where the common sort are well fed, clothed, and lodged?

3. Whether the drift and aim of every wise State should not be to encourage industry in its members? And whether those who employ neither heads nor hands for the common benefit, deserve not to be expelled like drones out of a well-governed State?

4. Whether the four elements, and man's labour therein, be not the true source of wealth?

5. Whether money be not only so far useful, as it stirreth up industry, enabling men mutually to participate the fruits of each other's labour?

6. Whether any other means, equally conducing to excite and circulate the industry of mankind, may not be as useful as money?

7. Whether the real end and aim of men be not power? And whether he who could have every thing else at his wish or will, would value money?

8. Whether the public aim in every well-governed State be not that each member, according to his just pretensions and industry, should have power?

9. Whether power be not referred to action; and whether action doth not follow appetite or will?

10. Whether fashion doth not create appetites; and whether the prevailing will of a nation is not the fashion?

11. Whether the current of industry and commerce be not determined by this prevailing will?

12. Whether it be not owing to custom that the fashions are agreeable?

13. Whether it may not concern the wisdom of the Legislature to interpose in the making of fashions; and not leave an affair of so great influence to the management of women and fops, taylors and vintners?

14. Whether reasonable fashions are a greater restraint on freedom than those which are unreasonable?

15. Whether a general good taste in a people would not greatly conduce to their thriving? And whether an uneducated gentry be not the greatest of national evils?

16. Whether customs and fashions do not supply the place of reason in the vulgar of all ranks? Whether, therefore, it doth not very much import that they should be wisely framed?

17. Whether the imitating those neighbours in our fashions, to whom we bear no likeness in our circumstances, be not one cause of distress to this nation?

18. Whether frugal fashions in the upper rank, and comfortable living in the lower, be not the means to multiply inhabitants?

19. Whether the bulk of our *Irish* natives are not kept from thriving by that cynical content in dirt and beggary which they possess to a degree beyond any other people in Christendom?

20. Whether the creating of wants be not the likeliest way to produce industry in a people? And whether, if our peasants were accustomed to eat beef and wear shoes, they would not be more industrious?

21. Whether other things being given, as climate, soil, &c., the wealth be not proportioned to the industry, and this to the circulation of credit, be the credit circulated or transferred by what marks or tokens soever?

22. Whether, therefore, less money, swiftly circulating, be not in effect equivalent to more money slowly circulating?

Or whether, if the circulation be reciprocally as the quantity of coin, the nation can be a loser?

23. Whether money is to be considered as having an intrinsic value, or as being a commodity, a standard, a measure, or a pledge, as is variously suggested by writers? And whether the true idea of money, as such, be not altogether that of a ticket or counter?

24. Whether the value or price of things be not a compounded proportion, directly as the demand, and reciprocally as the plenty?

25. Whether the terms crown, livre, pound sterling, &c., are not to be considered as exponents or denominations of such proportion? And whether gold, silver, and paper, are not tickets or counters for reckoning, recording, and transferring thereof?

26. Whether the denominations being retained, although the bullion were gone, things might not nevertheless be rated, bought, and sold, industry promoted, and a circulation of commerce maintained?

27. Whether an equal raising of all sorts of gold, silver, and copper coin, can have any effect in bringing money into the kingdom? And whether altering the proportions between the several sorts can have any other effect but multiplying one kind and lessening another, without any increase of the sum total?

28. Whether arbitrary changing the denomination of coin be not a public cheat?

29. What makes a wealthy people? Whether mines of gold and silver are capable of doing this? And whether the Negros amidst the gold sands of *Africa*, are not poor and destitute?

30. Whether there be any virtue in gold or silver other than as they set people at work, or create industry?

31. Whether it be not the opinion or will of the people, exciting them to industry, that truly enricheth a nation? And whether this doth not principally depend on the means for counting, transferring, and preserving power, that is, property of all kinds?

32. Whether if there was no silver or gold in the kingdom,

our trade might not nevertheless supply bills of exchange sufficient to answer the demands of absentees in *England* or elsewhere?

33. Whether current bank-notes may not be deemed money? And whether they are not actually the greater part of the money of this kingdom?

34. Provided the wheels move, whether it is not the same thing, as to the effect of the machine, be this done by the force of wind, or water, or animals?

35. Whether power to command the industry of others be not real wealth? And whether money be not in truth tickets or tokens for conveying and recording such power, and whether it be of great consequence what materials the tickets are made of?

36. Whether trade, either foreign or domestic, be in truth any more than this commerce of industry?

37. Whether to promote, transfer, and secure this commerce and this property in human labour, or in other words, this power, be not the sole means of enriching a people, and how far this may be done independently of gold and silver?

38. Whether it were not wrong to suppose land itself to be wealth? And whether the industry of the people is not first to be considered, as that which constitutes wealth, which makes even land and silver to be wealth, neither of which would have any value, but as means and motives to industry?

39. Whether in the wastes of *America* a man might not possess twenty miles square of land, and yet want his dinner, or a coat to his back?

40. Whether a fertile land and the industry of its inhabitants would not prove inexhaustible funds of real wealth, be the counters for conveying and recording thereof what you will, paper, gold, or silver?

41. Whether a single hint be sufficient to overcome a prejudice? And whether even obvious truths will not sometimes bear repeating?

42. Whether if human labour be the true source of wealth, it doth not follow that idleness should of all things be discouraged in a wise state?

43. Whether even gold or silver, if they should lessen the industry of its inhabitants, would not be ruinous to a country? And whether *Spain* be not an instance of this?

44. Whether the opinion of men, and their industry consequent thereupon, be not the true wealth of *Holland*, and not the silver supposed to be deposited in the bank at *Amsterdam*?

45. Whether there is in truth any such treasure lying dead? And whether it be of great consequence to the public that it should be real rather than notional?

46. Whether in order to understand the true nature of wealth and commerce, it would not be right to consider a ship's crew cast upon a desert island, and by degrees forming themselves to business and civil life, while industry begot credit, and credit moved to industry?

47. Whether such men would not all set themselves to work? Whether they would not subsist by the mutual participation of each other's industry? Whether when one man had in his way procured more than he could consume, he would not exchange his superfluities to supply his wants? Whether this must not produce credit? Whether to facilitate these conveyances, to record and circulate this credit, they would not soon agree on certain tallies, tokens, tickets, or counters?

48. Whether reflection in the better sort might not soon remedy our evils? And whether our real defect be not a wrong way of thinking?

49. Whether it would not be an unhappy turn in our gentlemen, if they should take more thought to create an interest to themselves in this or that county or borough, than to promote the real interest of their country?

50. Whether if a man builds a house he doth not in the first place provide a plan which governs his work? And shall the public act without an end, a view, a plan?

51. Whether by how much the less particular folk think for themselves, the public be not so much the more obliged to think for them?

52. Whether small gains be not the way to great profit? And if our tradesmen are beggars, whether they may not thank themselves for it?

53. Whether some way might not be found for making criminals useful in public works, instead of sending them either to *America* or to the other world?

54. Whether we may not, as well as other nations, contrive employment for them? And whether servitude, chains, and hard labour, for a term of years, would not be a more discouraging, as well as a more adequate punishment for felons, than even death itself?

55. Whether there are not such things in *Holland* as bettering houses, for bringing young gentlemen to order? And whether such an institution would be useless among us?

56. Whether it be true that the poor in *Holland* have no resource but their own labour, and yet there are no beggars in their streets?

57. Whether he whose luxury consumeth foreign products, and whose industry produceth nothing domestic to exchange for them, is not so far forth injurious to his country?

58. Whether necessity is not to be hearkened to before convenience, and convenience before luxury?

59. Whether to provide plentifully for the poor be not feeding the root, the substance whereof will shoot upwards into the branches, and cause the top to flourish?

60. Whether there be any instance of a state wherein the people, living neatly and plentifully, did not aspire to wealth?

61. Whether nastiness and beggary do not, on the contrary, extinguish all such ambition, making men listless, hopeless, and slothful?

62. Whether a country inhabited by people well fed, clothed, and lodged, would not become every day more populous? And whether a numerous stock of people in such circumstances would not constitute a flourishing nation; and how far the product of our own country may suffice for the compassing of this end?

63. Whether a people who had provided themselves with the necessaries of life in good plenty, would not soon extend their industry to new arts and new branches of commerce?

64. Whether those same manufactures which *England* imports from other countries may not be admitted from *Ireland*?

And if so, whether lace, carpets, and tapestry, three considerable articles of *English* importation, might not find encouragement in *Ireland*? And whether an Academy for Design might not greatly conduce to the perfecting those manufactures among us?

65. Whether *France* and *Flanders* could have drawn so much money from *England* for figured silks, lace, and tapestry, if they had not had academies for designing?

66. Whether when a room was once prepared, and models in plaister of *Paris*, the annual expence of such an academy need stand the public in above two hundred pounds a-year?

67. Whether our linen manufacture would not find the benefit of this institution? And whether there be any thing that makes us fall short of the *Dutch*, in damasks, diapers, and printed linen, but our ignorance in design?

68. Whether those who may slight this affair as notional, have sufficiently considered the extensive use of the art of design, and its influence in most trades and manufactures, wherein the forms of things are often more regarded than the materials?*

69. Whether there be any art sooner learned than that of making carpets? And whether our women, with little time and pains, may not make more beautiful carpets than those imported from *Turkey*? And whether this branch of the woollen manufacture be not open to us?

70. Whether human industry can produce from such cheap materials a manufacture of so great value, by any other art, as by those of sculpture and painting?

71. Whether pictures and statues are not, in fact, so much treasure? And whether *Rome* and *Florence* would not be poor towns without them?

72. Whether they do not bring ready money, as well as jewels? Whether in *Italy* debts are not paid and children portioned with them, as with gold and silver?

73. Whether

* Since the first publication of this Query the art of design seems to be more considered and countenanced among us.

73. Whether it would not be more prudent to strike out and exert ourselves in permitted branches of trade, than to fold our hands and repine that we are not allowed the woollen?

74. Whether it be true that two millions are yearly expended by *England* by foreign lace and linen?

75. Whether immense sums are not drawn yearly into the *northern* countries for supplying the *British* navy with hempen manufactures.

76. Whether there be any thing more profitable than hemp? And whether there should not be great premiums for encouraging our hempen trade? What advantages may not *Great Britain* make of a country where land and labour are so cheap?

77. Whether *Ireland* alone might not raise hemp sufficient for the *British* navy? And whether it would not be vain to expect this from the *British* Colonies in *America*, where hands are so scarce, and labour so excessively dear?

78. Whether if our own people want will or capacity for such an attempt, it might not be worth while for some undertaking spirits in *England* to make settlements, and raise hemp in the counties of *Clare* and *Limerick*, than which, perhaps, there is not fitter land in the world for that purpose? And whether both nations would not find their advantage therein?

79. Whether if all the idle hands in this kingdom were employed on hemp and flax, we might not find sufficient vent for these manufactures?

80. How far it may be in our own power to better our affairs, without interfering with our neighbours?

81. Whether the prohibition of our woollen trade ought not naturally to put us on other methods which give no jealousy?

82. Whether paper be not a valuable article of commerce? And whether it be not true that one single bookseller in *London* yearly expended above four thousand pounds in that foreign commodity?

83. How it comes to pass that the *Venetians* and *Genoese*, who wear so much less linen, and so much worse than we do,

should yet make very good paper, and in great quantity, while we make very little?

84. How long will it be before my countrymen find out that it is worth while to spend a penny in order to get a groat?

85. If all the land were tilled that is fit for tillage, and all that sowed with hemp and flax that is fit for raising them, whether we should have much sheep-walk beyond what was sufficient to supply the necessities of the kingdom?

86. Whether other countries have not flourished without the woollen trade?

87. Whether it be not a sure sign or effect of a country's thriving to see it well cultivated and full of inhabitants? And if so, whether a great quantity of sheep-walk be not ruinous to a country, rendering it waste and thinly inhabited?

88. Whether the employing so much of our land under sheep, be not in fact an *Irish* blunder?

89. Whether our hankering after our woollen trade be not the true and only reason which hath created a jealousy in *England* towards *Ireland*? And whether any thing can hurt us more than such jealousy?

90. Whether it be not the true interest of both nations to become one people? And whether either be sufficiently apprized of this?

91. Whether the upper part of this people are not truly *English* by blood, language, religion, manners, inclination, and interest?

92. Whether we are not as much *Englishmen* as the children of old *Romans* born in *Britain* were still *Romans*?

93. Whether it be not our true interest not to interfere with them; and in every other case whether it be not their true interest to befriend us?

94. Whether a mint in *Ireland* might not be of great convenience to the kingdom; and whether it could be attended with any possible inconvenience to *Great Britain*? And whether there were not mints in *Naples* and *Sicily*, when those kingdoms were provinces to *Spain* or the House of *Austria*?

95. Whether any thing can be more ridiculous than for the *North of Ireland* to be jealous of a linen manufacture in the *South*?

96. Whether the county of *Tipperary* be not much better land than the county of *Armagh*; and yet whether the latter is not much better improved and inhabited than the former?

97. Whether every landlord in the kingdom doth not know the cause of this? And yet how few are the better for such their knowledge?

98. Whether large farms under few hands, or small ones under many, are likely to be made most of? And whether flax and tillage do not naturally multiply hands, and divide land into small holdings, and well improved?

99. Whether, as our exports are lessened, we ought not to lessen our imports? And whether these will not be lessened as our demands, and these as our wants, and these as our customs or fashions? Of how great consequence, therefore, are fashions to the public?

100. Whether it would not be more reasonable to mend our state than to complain of it; and how far this may be in our own power?

101. What the nation gains by those who live in *Ireland* upon the produce of foreign countries?

102. How far the vanity of our ladies in dressing, and of our gentlemen in drinking, contributes to the general misery of the people?

103. Whether nations as wise and opulent as ours have not made sumptuary laws; and what hinders us from doing the same?

104. Whether those who drink foreign liquors, and deck themselves and their families with foreign ornaments, are not so far forth to be reckoned absentees?

105. Whether as our trade is limited, we ought not to limit our expences; and whether this be not the natural and obvious remedy?

106. Whether the dirt, and famine, and nakedness of the bulk of our people might not be remedied, even although we had no foreign trade? And whether this should not be our

first care; and whether, if this were once provided for, the conveniencies of the rich would not soon follow?

107. Whether comfortable living doth not produce wants, and wants industry, and industry wealth?

108. Whether there is not a great difference between *Holland* and *Ireland*? And whether foreign commerce, without which the one could not subsist, be so necessary for the other?

109. Might we not put a hand to the plough or the spade, although we had no foreign commerce?

110. Whether the exigencies of nature are not to be answered by industry on our own soil? And how far the conveniencies and comforts of life may be procured by a domestic commerce between the several parts of this kingdom?

111. Whether the women may not sew, spin, weave, embroider, sufficiently for the embellishment of their persons, and even enough to raise envy in each other, without being beholden to foreign countries?

112. Suppose the bulk of our inhabitants had shoes to their feet, clothes to their backs, and beef in their bellies? Might not such a state be eligible for the public, even though the 'squires were condemned to drink ale and cyder?

113. Whether if drunkenness be a necessary evil, men may not as well drink the growth of their own country?

114. Whether a nation within itself might not have real wealth, sufficient to give its inhabitants power and distinction, without the help of gold and silver?

115. Whether, if the arts of sculpture and painting were encouraged among us, we might not furnish our houses in a much nobler manner with our own manufactures?

116. Whether we have not, or may not have, all the necessary materials for building at home?

117. Whether tiles and plaister may not supply the place of *Norway* fir for flooring and wainscot?

118. Whether plaister be not warmer, as well as more secure, than deal? And whether a modern fashionable house, lined with fir, daubed over with oil and paint, be not like a fire-ship, ready to be lighted up by all accidents?

119. Whether larger houses, better built and furnished, a greater train of servants, the difference with regard to equipage and table, between finer and coarser, more and less elegant, may not be sufficient to feed a reasonable share of vanity, or support all proper distinctions? And whether all these may not be procured by domestic industry out of the four elements, without ransacking the four quarters of the globe?

120. Whether any thing is a nobler ornament, in the eye of the world, than an *Italian* palace, that is, stone and mortar skilfully put together, and adorned with sculpture and painting; and whether this may not be compassed without foreign trade?

121. Whether an expence in gardens and plantations would not be an elegant distinction for the rich, a domestic magnificence, employing many hands within, and drawing nothing from abroad?

122. Whether the apology which is made for foreign luxury in *England*, to wit, that they could not carry on their trade without imports as well as exports, will hold in *Ireland*?

123. Whether one may not be allowed to conceive and suppose a society or nation of human creatures clad in woollen cloths and stuffs, eating good bread, beef and mutton, poultry and fish in great plenty, drinking ale, mead, and cyder, inhabiting decent houses built of brick and marble, taking their pleasure in fair parks and gardens, depending on no foreign imports either for food or raiment? And whether such people ought much to be pitied?

124. Whether *Ireland* be not as well qualified for such a state as any nation under the sun?

125. Whether in such a state the inhabitants may not contrive to pass the twenty-four hours with tolerable ease and chearfulness? And whether any people upon earth can do more?

126. Whether they may not eat, drink, play, dress, visit, sleep in good beds, sit by good fires, build, plant, raise a name, make estates, and spend them?

127. Whether upon the whole a domestic trade may not

suffice in such a country as *Ireland*, to nourish and clothe its inhabitants, and provide them with the reasonable conveniences, and even comforts of life?

128. Whether a general habit of living well would not produce numbers and industry; and whether, considering the tendency of human kind, the consequence thereof would not be foreign trade and riches, how unnecessary soever?

129. Whether, nevertheless, it be a crime to enquire how far we may do without foreign trade, and what would follow on such a supposition?

130. Whether the number and welfare of the subjects be not the true strength of the crown?

131. Whether in all public institutions there should not be an end proposed, which is to be the rule and limit of the means? Whether this end should not be the well-being of the whole? And whether, in order to this, the first step should not be to clothe and feed our people?

132. Whether there be upon earth any Christian or civilized people so beggarly, wretched, and destitute, as the common *Irish*?

133. Whether, nevertheless, there is any other people whose wants may be more easily supplied from home?

134. Whether if there was a wall of brass a thousand cubits high round this kingdom our natives, might not, nevertheless, live cleanly and comfortably, till the land, and reap the fruits of it?

135. What should hinder us from exerting ourselves, using our hands and brains, doing something or other, man, woman, and child, like the other inhabitants of God's earth?

136. Be the restraining our trade well or ill advised in our neighbours, with respect to their own interest, yet whether it be not plainly ours to accommodate ourselves to it?

137. Whether it be not vain to think of persuading other people to see their interest, while we continue blind to our own?

138. Whether there be any other nation possessed of so much good land, and so many able hands to work it, which yet is beholden for bread to foreign countries?

139. Whether it be true that we import corn to the value of two hundred thousand pounds in some years?*

140. Whether we are not undone by fashions made for other people? And whether it be not madness in a poor nation to imitate a rich one?

141. Whether a woman of fashion ought not to be declared a public enemy?

142. Whether it be not certain that from the single town of *Cork* were exported, in one year, no less than one hundred and seven thousand one hundred sixty-one barrels of beef; seven thousand three hundred and seventy-nine barrels of pork; thirteen thousand four hundred and sixty-one casks, and eighty-five thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven firkins of butter? And what hands were employed in this manufacture?

143. Whether a foreigner could imagine that one-half of the people were starving in a country which sent out such plenty of provisions?

144. Whether an *Irish* lady, set out with *French* silks and *Flanders* lace, may not be said to consume more beef and butter than a hundred of our labouring peasants?

145. Whether nine-tenths of our foreign trade be not carried on singly to support the article of vanity?

146. Whether it can be hoped that private persons will not indulge this folly, unless restrained by the public?

147. How vanity is maintained in other countries? Whether in *Hungary*, for instance, a proud nobility are not subsisted with small imports from abroad?

148. Whether there be a prouder people upon earth than the noble *Venetians*, although they all wear plain black clothes?

149. Whether a people are to be pitied that will not sacrifice their little particular vanities to the public good? And yet, whether each part would not except their own foible from this public sacrifice, the 'squire his bottle, the lady her lace?

150. Whether

* Things are now better in respect of this particular, and some others, than they were when "The Querist" was first published.

150. Whether claret be not often drank rather for vanity, than for health or pleasure?

151. Whether it be true that men of nice palates have been imposed on by elder wine for *French* claret, and by mead for palm sack?

152. Do not *Englishmen* abroad purchase beer and cyder at ten times the price of wine?

153. How many gentlemen are there in *England* of a thousand pounds *per annum*, who never drink wine in their own houses? Whether the same may be said of any in *Ireland*, who have even one hundred pounds *per annum*?

154. What reason have our neighbours in *England* for discouraging *French* wines, which may not hold with respect to us also?

155. How much of the necessary sustenance of our people is yearly exported for brandy?

156. Whether, if people must poison themselves, they had not better do it with their own growth?

157. If we imported neither claret from *France*, nor fir from *Norway*, what the nation would save by it?

158. When the root yieldeth insufficient nourishment, whether men do not top the tree to make the lower branches thrive?

159. Whether, if our ladies drank sage or balm tea out of *Irish* ware, it would be an insupportable national calamity?

160. Whether it be really true that such wine is best as most encourages drinking, *i. e.*, that must be given in the largest dose to produce its effect? And whether this holds with regard to any other medicine?

161. Whether that trade should not be accounted most pernicious, wherein the balance is most against us? And whether this be not the trade with *France*?

162. Whether it be not even madness, to encourage trade with a nation that takes nothing of our manufacture?

163. Whether *Ireland* can hope to thrive, if the major part of her patriots shall be found in the *French* interest?

164. Whether great plenty and variety of excellent wines are not to be had on the coasts of *Italy* and *Sicily*? And

whether those countries would not take our commodities of linen, leather, butter, &c. in exchange for them?

165. Particularly, whether the *Vinum Mamertinum*, which grows on the mountains about *Messina*, a red, generous wine, highly esteemed (if we may credit *Pliny*) by the antient *Romans*, would not come cheap, and please the palates of our islanders?

166. Why, if a bribe by the palate or the purse be in effect the same thing, they should not be alike infamous?

167. Whether the vanity and luxury of a few ought to stand in competition with the interest of a nation?

168. Whether national wants ought not to be the rule of trade? And whether the most pressing wants of the majority ought not to be first considered?

169. Whether it is possible the country should be well improved, while our beef is exported, and our labourers live upon potatoes?

170. If it be resolved that we cannot do without foreign trade, whether, at least, it may not be worth while to consider what branches thereof deserve to be entertained, and how far we may be able to carry it on under our present limitations?

171. What foreign imports may be necessary, for clothing and feeding the families of persons not worth above one hundred pounds a year? And how many wealthier there are in the kingdom, and what proportion they bear to the other inhabitants?

172. Whether trade be not then on a right foot, when foreign commodities are imported in exchange only for domestic superfluities?

173. Whether the quantities of beef, butter, wool, and leather, exported from this island, can be reckoned the superfluities of a country, where there are so many natives naked and famished?

174. Whether it would not be wise so to order our trade, as to export manufactures rather than provisions, and of those such as employ most hands?

175. Whether she would not be a very vile matron, and justly thought either mad or foolish, that should give away

the necessaries of life, from her naked and famished children, in exchange for pearls to stick in her hair, and sweet meats to please her own palate?

176. Whether a nation might not be considered as a family?

177. Whether the remark made by a *Venetian* Ambassador to Cardinal *Richelieu*—*That France needed nothing to be rich and easy, but to know how to spend what she dissipates*—may not be of use also to other people?

178. Whether hungry cattle will not leap over bounds? And whether most men are not hungry in a country where expensive fashions obtain?

179. Whether there should not be published yearly, schedules of our trade, containing an account of the imports and exports of the foregoing year?

180. Whether other methods may not be found for supplying the funds, beside the custom on things imported?

181. Whether any art or manufacture be so difficult as the making of good laws?

182. Whether our peers and gentlemen are born legislators? Or, whether that faculty be acquired by study and reflection?

183. Whether to comprehend the real interest of a people, and the means to procure it, doth not imply some fund of knowledge, historical, moral and political, with a faculty of reason improved by learning?

184. Whether every enemy to learning be not a *Goth*? And whether every such *Goth* among us be not an enemy to the country?

185. Whether, therefore, it would not be an omen of ill presage, a dreadful phenomena in the land, if our great men should take it in their heads to deride learning and education?

186. Whether on the contrary, it should not seem worth while to erect a mart of literature in this kingdom, under wiser regulations and better discipline than in any other part of *Europe*? And whether this would not be an infallible means of drawing men and money into the kingdom?

187. Whether the governed be not too numerous for the governing part of our College? And whether it might not

be expedient to convert thirty natives-places into twenty fellowships?

188. Whether if we had two colleges, there might not spring an useful emulation between them? And whether it might not be contrived, so to divide the fellows, scholars, and revenues, between both, as that no member should be a loser thereby?

189. Whether ten thousand pounds well laid out, might not build a decent college, fit to contain two hundred persons; and whether the purchase-money of the chambers, would not go a good way towards defraying the expence?

190. Where this college should be situated?

191. Whether in imitation of the Jesuits at *Paris*, who admit Protestants to study in their colleges, it may not be right for us also to admit Roman-Catholics into our college, without obliging them to attend chapel-duties, or catechisms, or divinity-lectures? And whether this might not keep money in the kingdom, and prevent the prejudices of a foreign education?

192. Whether it is possible a State should not thrive, whereof the lower part were industrious, and the upper wise?

193. Whether the collected wisdom of ages and nations be not found in books?

194. Whether *Themistocles* his art of making a little city, or a little people, become a great one, be learned any where so well as in the writings of the ancients?

195. Whether a wise State hath any interest nearer heart, than the education of youth?

196. Whether the mind, like soil, doth not by disuse grow stiff; and whether reasoning and study be not like stirring and dividing the glebe?

197. Whether an early habit of reflection, although obtained by speculative sciences, may not have its use in practical affairs?

198. Whether even those parts of academical learning which are quite forgotten, may not have improved and enriched the soil, like those vegetables which are raised, not for themselves, but plowed in for a dressing of land?

199. Whether it was not an *Irish* professor who first opened the public schools at *Oxford*? Whether this island hath not been antiently famous for learning? And whether at this day it hath any better chance for being considerable?

200. Whether we may not with better grace sit down and complain, when we have done all that lies in our power to help ourselves?

201. Whether the gentleman of estate hath a right to be idle; and whether he ought not to be the great promoter and director of industry, among his tenants and neighbours?

202. Whether in the cantons of *Switzerland* all under thirty years of age are not excluded from their great councils?

203. Whether *Homer's* Compendium of Education,

Μύθων μὲν ῥητῆρ ἔμεναι, κρηκτῆρά τε ἔργων,*

would not be a good rule for modern educators of youth? And whether half the learning and study of these kingdoms is not useless, for want of a proper delivery and pronounciation being taught in our schools and colleges?

204. Whether in any order a good building can be made of bad materials? Or whether any form of government can make a happy State out of bad individuals?

205. What was it that *Solomon* compared to a jewel of gold in a swine's snout?

206. Whether the public is more concerned in any thing than in the procreation of able citizens?

207. Whether to the multiplying of humankind, it would not much conduce, if marriages were made with good-liking?

208. Whether, if women had no portions, we should then see so many unhappy and unfruitful marriages?

209. Whether the laws be not, according to *Aristotle*, a mind without appetite or passion? And consequently without respect of persons?

210. Suppose a rich man's son marries a poor man's daughter, suppose also that a poor man's daughter is deluded and debauched

* *Iliad* ix.

debauched by the son of a rich man; which is most to be pitied?

211. Whether the punishment should be placed on the seduced or the seducer?

212. Whether a promise made before God and man in the most solemn manner ought to be violated?

213. Whether it was *Plato's* opinion that *for the good of the community, rich should marry with rich?* *de Leg.* l. 4.

214. Whether as seed equally scattered produceth a goodly harvest, even so an equal distribution of wealth doth not cause a nation to flourish?

215. Whence is it that *Barbs* and *Arabs'* are so good horses? And whether in those countries they are not exactly nice in admitting none but males of a good kind to their mares?

216. What effects would the same care produce in families?

217. Whether the real foundation for wealth must not be laid in the numbers, the frugality, and the industry of the people? And whether all attempts to enrich a nation by other means, as raising the coin, stock-jobbing and such arts, are not vain?

218. Whether a door ought not to be shut against all other methods of growing rich, save only by industry and merit? And whether wealth got otherwise would not be ruinous to the public?

219. Whether the abuse of banks and paper-money is a just objection against the use thereof? And whether such abuse might not easily be prevented?

220. Whether national banks are not found useful in *Venice, Holland, and Hamburgh?* And whether it is not possible to contrive one that may be useful also in *Ireland?*

221. Whether the banks of *Venice* and *Amsterdam,* are not in the hands of the public?

222. Whether it may not be worth while to inform ourselves in the nature of those banks? And what reason can be assigned, why *Ireland* should not reap the benefit of such public banks, as well as other countries?

223. Whether a bank of national credit, supported by public funds, and secured by Parliament, be a chimera or impos-

sible thing; and if not, what would follow from the supposal of such a bank?

224. Whether the currency of a credit so well secured would not be of great advantage to our trade and manufactures?

225. Whether the notes of such public bank would not have a more general circulation than those of private banks, as being less subject to frauds and hazards?

226. Whether it be not agreed that paper hath in many respects, the advantage above coin, as being of more dispatch in payments, more easily transferred, preserved and recovered when lost?

227. Whether, besides these advantages, there be not an evident necessity for circulating credit by paper, from the defect of coin in this kingdom?

228. Whether it be rightly remarked by some, that, as banking brings no treasure into the kingdom, like trade, private wealth must sink as the bank riseth? And whether whatever causeth industry to flourish and circulate, may not be said to increase our treasure?

229. Whether the ruinous effects of Mississippi, South-Sea, and such schemes, were not owing to an abuse of paper-money or credit, in making it a means for idleness and gaming, instead of a motive and help to industry?

230. Whether the rise of the bank of *Amsterdam* was not purely casual, for the security and dispatch of payments? And whether the good effects thereof, in supplying the place of coin, and promoting a ready circulation of industry and commerce, may not be a lesson to us, to do that by design, which others fell upon by chance?

231. Whether plenty of small cash be not absolutely necessary for keeping up a circulation among the people; that is, whether copper be not more necessary than gold?

232. Whether that, which increaseth the stock of a nation, be not a means of increasing its trade? And whether that, which increaseth the current credit of a nation, may not be said to increase its stock.

233. Whether the credit of the public funds be not a mine

of gold to *England*? And whether any step that should lessen this credit ought not to be dreaded?

234. Whether such credit be not the principal advantage that *England* hath over *France*? I may add, over every other country in Europe?

235. Whether by this the public is not become possessed of the wealth of foreigners as well as natives? And whether *England* be not in some sort the treasury of Christendom?

236. Whether as our current domestic credit grew, industry would not grow likewise; and if industry, our manufactures; and if these, our foreign credit?

237. Whether foreign demands may not be answered by our exports without drawing cash out of the kingdom?

238. Whether as industry increased, our manufactures would not flourish; and as these flourished, whether better returns would not be made from estates to their landlords, both within and without the kingdom?

239. Whether the sure way to supply people with tools and materials, and to set them at work, be not a free circulation of money, whether silver or paper?

240. Whether in *New-England*, all trade and business is not as much at a stand, upon a scarcity of paper-money, as with us from the want of specie?

241. Whether it be certain, that the quantity of silver in the bank of *Amsterdam* be greater now than at first; but whether it be not certain that there is a greater circulation of industry and extent of trade, more people, ships, houses and commodities of all sorts, more power by sea and land?

242. Whether money, lying dead in the bank of *Amsterdam*, would not be as useless as in the mine?

243. Whether our visible security in land could be doubted? And whether there be any thing like this in the bank of *Amsterdam*?

244. Whether it be just to apprehend danger from trusting a national bank with power to extend its credit, to circulate notes which it shall be felony to counterfeit, to receive goods on loans, to purchase lands, to sell also or alienate them, and to deal in bills of exchange; when these powers are no other

than have been trusted for many years with the Bank of *England*, although in truth but a private bank?

245. Whether the objection from monopolies and an over-growth of power, which are made against private banks, can possibly hold against a national one?

246. Whether the evil effects, which, of late years have attended paper-money, and credit in Europe, did not spring from subscriptions, shares, dividends and stock-jobbing?

247. Whether the great evils attending paper-money in the British-plantations of *America* have not sprung from the over-rating their lands, and issuing paper without discretion, and from the legislators breaking their own rules in favour of themselves, thus sacrificing the public to their private benefit? And whether a little sense and honesty might not easily prevent all such inconveniencies?

248. Whether the subject of free-thinking in religion be not exhausted? And whether it be not high time for our free-thinkers, to turn their thoughts to the improvement of their country?

249. Whether it must not be ruinous for a nation to sit down to game, be it with silver or with paper?

250. Whether, therefore, the circulating paper, in the late ruinous schemes of *France* and *England*, was the true evil, and not rather the circulating thereof without industry? And whether the Bank of *Amsterdam*, where industry had been for so many years subsisted and circulated by transfers on paper, doth not clearly decide this point?

251. Whether there are not to be seen in *America* fair towns, wherein the people are well lodged, fed and clothed, without a beggar in their streets, although there be not one grain of gold or silver current among them?

252. Whether these people do not exercise all arts and trades, build ships, and navigate them to all parts of the world, purchase lands, till and reap the fruits of them, buy and sell, educate and provide for their children? Whether they do not even indulge themselves in foreign vanities?

253. Whether, whatever inconveniencies those people may have incurred, from not observing either rules or bounds in their

their paper-money, yet it be not certain that they are in a more flourishing condition, have larger and better built towns, more plenty, more industry, more arts and civility, and a more extensive commerce, than when they had gold and silver current among them?

254. Whether a view of the ruinous effects of absurd schemes and credit mismanaged, so as to produce gaming and madness instead of industry, can be any just objection against a national bank calculated purely to promote industry?

255. Whether a scheme for the welfare of this nation should not take in the whole inhabitants? And whether it be not a vain attempt to project the flourishing of our Protestant gentry, exclusive of the bulk of the natives?

256. Whether an oath, testifying allegiance to the King and disclaiming the Pope's authority in temporals, may not be justly required of the Roman Catholics? And whether, in common prudence or policy, any priest should be tolerated who refuseth to take it?

257. Whether there is any such thing as a body of inhabitants, in any Roman Catholic country under the sun, that profess an absolute submission to the Pope's orders in matters of an indifferent nature, or that in such points do not think it their duty to obey the civil government?

258. Whether since the peace of *Utrecht* Mass was not celebrated, and the sacraments administered in divers dioceses of *Sicily*, notwithstanding the Pope's interdict?

259. Whether a sum, which would go but a little way towards erecting hospitals for maintaining and educating the children of the native *Irish*, might not go far in binding them out apprentices to Protestant masters, for husbandry, useful trades, and the service of families?

260. Whether there be any instance of a people's being converted in a Christian sense otherwise than by preaching to them and instructing them in their own language?

261. Whether catechists in the *Irish* tongue may not easily be procured and subsisted? And whether this would not be the most practicable means for converting the natives?

262. Whether it be not of great advantage to the Church

of *Rome*, that she hath clergy suited to all ranks of men, in gradual subordination from cardinals down to mendicants?

263. Whether her numerous poor clergy are not very useful in missions, and of much influence with the people?

264. Whether in defect of able missionaries, persons conversant in low life, and speaking the *Irish* tongue, if well instructed in the first principles of religion and in the Popish controversy, though for the rest on a level with the parish clerks or the schoolmasters of charity schools, may not be fit to mix with and bring over our poor illiterate natives to the Established Church? Whether it is not to be wished that some parts of our liturgy and homilies were publicly read in the *Irish* language? And whether, in these views, it may not be right to breed up some of the better sort of children in the charity schools, and qualify them for missionaries, catechists, and readers?

265. Whether a squire possessed of land to the value of a thousand pounds *per annum*, or a merchant worth twenty thousand pounds in cash would have most power to do good or evil upon any emergency? And whether the suffering Roman Catholics to purchase forfeited lands would not be good policy as tending to unite their interest with that of the Government?

266. Whether the sea-ports of *Galway*, *Limerick*, *Cork*, and *Waterford*, are not to be looked on as keys of this kingdom? And whether the merchants are not possessed of these keys; and who are the most numerous merchants in those cities?

267. Whether a merchant cannot more speedily raise a sum, more easily conceal or transfer his effects, and engage in any desperate design with more safety than a landed man, whose estate is a pledge for his behaviour?

268. Whether a wealthy merchant bears not great sway among the populace of a trading city? And whether power be not ultimately lodged in the people?

269. Whether, as others have supposed an *Atlantis* or *Eutopia*, we also may not suppose an *hyperborean* island inhabited by reasonable creatures?

270. Whether an indifferent person, who looks into all

hands, may not be a better judge of the game than a party who sees only his own?

271. Whether there be any country in Christendom more capable of improvement than Ireland?

272. Whether we are not as far before other nations with respect to natural advantages, as we are behind them with respect to arts and industry?

273. Whether we do not live in a most fertile soil and temperate climate, and yet whether our people in general do not feel great want and misery?

274. Whether my countrymen are not readier at finding excuses than remedies?

275. Whether the wealth and prosperity of our country do not hang by a hair, the probity of one banker, the caution of another, and the lives of all?

276. Whether we have not been sufficiently admonished of this by some late events?

277. Whether a national bank would not at once secure our properties; put an end to usury, facilitate commerce, supply the want of coin, and produce ready payments in all parts of the kingdom?

278. Whether the use or nature of money, which all men so eagerly pursue, be yet sufficiently understood or considered by all?

279. What doth Aristotle mean by saying,—*λῆρος εἶναι δοκεῖ τὸ νόμισμα.* *de Repub.* l. ix. 9.

280. Whether mankind are not governed by imitation rather than by reason?

281. Whether there be not a measure or limit within which gold and silver are useful, and beyond which they may be hurtful?

282. Whether that measure be not the circulating of industry?

283. Whether a discovery of the richest gold mine that ever was, in the heart of this kingdom, would be a real advantage to us?

284. Whether it would not tempt foreigners to prey upon us?

285. Whether it would not render us a lazy, proud, and dastardly people?

286. Whether every man who had money enough would not be a gentleman? And whether a nation of gentlemen would not be a wretched nation?

287. Whether all things would not bear a high price? And whether men would not increase their fortunes without being the better for it?

288. Whether the same evils would be apprehended from paper-money under an honest and thrifty regulation?

289. Whether, therefore, a national bank would not be more beneficial than even a mine of gold?

290. Whether without private banks what little business and industry there is would not stagnate? But whether it be not a mighty privilege for a private person to be able to create an hundred pounds with a dash of his pen?

291. Whether the wise state of *Venice* was not the first that conceived the advantage of a national bank?

292. Whether the great exactness and integrity with which this bank is managed be not the chief support of that republic?

293. Whether the Bank of *Amsterdam* was not begun about one hundred and thirty years ago, and whether at this day its stock be not conceived to amount to three thousand tons of gold, or thirty millions sterling?

294. Whether all payments of contracts for goods in gross and letters of exchange must not be made by transfers in the bank-books, provided the sum exceed three hundred florins?

295. Whether it be not owing to this bank that the city of *Amsterdam*, without the least confusion, hazard, or trouble, maintains and every day promotes so general and quick a circulation of industry?

296. Whether it be not the greatest help and spur to commerce, that property can be so readily conveyed and so well secured by a *Compte en Banc*, that is, by only writing one man's name for another's in the bank-book?

297. Whether at the beginning of the last century those who had lent money to the public during the war with *Spain*

were not satisfied by the sole expedient of placing their names in a *Compte en Banc*, with liberty to transfer their claims?

298. Whether the example of those easy transfers in the *Compte en Banc*, thus casually erected, did not tempt other men to become creditors to the public, in order to profit by the same secure and expeditious method of keeping and transferring their wealth?

299. Whether this *Compte en Banc* hath not proved better than a mine of gold to *Amsterdam*?

300. Whether that city may not be said to owe her greatness to the unpromising accident of her having been in debt more than she was able to pay?

301. Whether it be known that any state from such small beginnings, in so short a time, ever grew to so great wealth and power as the province of *Holland* hath done; and whether the Bank of *Amsterdam* hath not been the real cause of such extraordinary growth?

302. Whether the success of those public banks in *Venice*, *Amsterdam*, and *Hamburgh*, would not naturally produce in other states an inclination to the same methods?

303. Whether it be possible for a national bank to subsist and maintain its credit under a *French* government?

304. Whether our natural appetites, as well as powers, are not limited to their respective ends and uses? But whether artificial appetites may not be infinite?

305. Whether the simple getting of money, or passing it from hand to hand without industry, be an object worthy of a wise government?

306. Whether, if money be considered as an end, the appetite thereof be not infinite? But whether the ends of money itself be not bounded?

307. Whether the total sum of all other powers, be it of enjoyment or action, which belong to man, or to all mankind together, is not in truth a very narrow and limited quantity? But whether fancy is not boundless.

308. Whether this capricious tyrant, which usurps the place of reason, doth not most cruelly torment and delude those poor men, the usurers, stock-jobbers, and projectors, of content

to themselves from heaping up riches, that is, from gathering counters, from multiplying figures, from enlarging denominations, without knowing what they would be at, and without having a proper regard to the use, or end, or nature of things?

309. Whether the *Ignis fatuus* of fancy doth not kindle immoderate desires, and lead men into endless pursuits and wild labyrinths?

310. Whether counters be not referred to other things, which so long as they keep pace and proportion with the counters, it must be owned the counters are useful, but whether beyond that to value or covet counters, be not direct folly?

311. Whether the public aim ought not to be that men's industry should supply their present wants, and the overplus be converted into a stock of power?

312. Whether the better this power is secured, and the more easily it is transferred, industry be not so much the more encouraged?

313. Whether money, more than is expedient for those purposes, be not upon the whole hurtful, rather than beneficial to a State?

314. Whether the promoting of industry should not be always in view, as the true and sole end, the rule and measure of a national bank? And whether all deviations from that object should not be carefully avoided?

315. Whether it may not be useful, for supplying manufactures and trade with stock, for regulating exchange, for quickening commerce, for putting spirit into the people?

316. Whether we are sufficiently sensible of the peculiar security there is in having a bank, that consists of land and paper, one of which cannot be exported, and the other is in no danger of being exported?

317. Whether it be not delightful to complain? And whether there be not many who had rather utter their complaints than redress their evils?

318. Whether, if *the crown of the wise be their riches*,* we are not the foolishest people in Christendom?

319. Whether

* Prov. xiv. 24.

319. Whether we have not all the while great civil as well as natural advantages?

320. Whether there be any people, who have more leisure to cultivate the arts of peace, and study the public weal?

321. Whether other nations who enjoy any share of freedom, and have great objects in view, be not unavoidably embarrassed and distracted by factions? But whether we do not divide upon trifles, and whether our parties are not a burlesque upon politics?

322. Whether it be not an advantage that we are not embroiled in foreign affairs, that we hold not the balance of Europe, that we are protected by other fleets and armies, that it is the true interest of a powerful people, from whom we are descended, to guard us on all sides?

323. Whether *England* doth not really love us and wish well to us, as *bone* of her *bone*, and *flesh* of her *flesh*? And whether it be not our part, to cultivate this love and affection all manner of ways?

324. What sea-ports or foreign trade have the *Swisses*; and yet how warm are those people and how well provided?

325. Whether there may not be found a people who so contrive as to be impoverished by their trade? And whether we are not that people?

326. Whether it would not be better for this island, if all our fine folk of both sexes were shipped off, to remain in foreign countries, rather than that they should spend their estates at home in foreign luxury, and spread the contagion thereof through their native land?

327. Whether our gentry understand or have a notion of magnificence, and whether for want thereof, they do not affect very wretched distinctions?

328. Whether there be not an art or skill in governing human pride, so as to render it subservient to the public aim?

329. Whether the great and general aim of the public should not be to employ the people?

330. What right an eldest son hath to the worst education?

331. Whether men's councils are not the result of their knowledge and their principles?

332. Whether there be not labour of the brains as well

as of the hands, and whether the former is beneath a gentleman?

333. Whether the public be more interested, to protect the property acquired by mere birth, than that which is the immediate fruit of learning and virtue?

334. Whether it would not be a poor and ill-judged project to attempt to promote the good of the community, by invading the rights of one part thereof, or of one particular order of men?

335. Whether there be a more wretched, and at the same time a more unpitied case, than for men to make precedents for their own undoing?

336. Whether to determine about the rights and properties of men by other rules than the law, be not dangerous?

337. Whether those men, who move the corner-stones of a Constitution, may not pull an old house on their own heads?

338. Whether there be not two general methods whereby men become sharers in the national stock of wealth or power, industry and inheritance? And whether it would be wise in a civil society to lessen that share which is allotted to merit and industry?

339. Whether all ways of spending a fortune be of equal benefit to the public, and what sort of men are aptest to run into an improper expence?

340. If the revenues allotted for the encouragement of religion and learning were made hereditary in the hands of a dozen lay-lords and as many overgrown commoners, whether the public would be much the better for it?

341. Whether the Church's patrimony belongs to one tribe alone; and whether every man's son, brother, or himself may not, if he please, be qualified to share therein?

342. What is there in the clergy to create a jealousy in the public? Or what would the public lose by it, if every squire in the land wore a black coat, said his prayers, and was obliged to reside?

343. Whether there be any thing perfect under the sun? And, whether it be not with the world as with a particular State, and with a State or body-politic, as with the human

body, which lives and moves under various indispositions, perfect health being seldom or never to be found?

344. Whether, nevertheless, men should not in all things aim at perfection? And, therefore, whether any wise and good man would be against applying remedies? But whether it is not natural to wish for a benevolent physician?

345. Whether the public happiness be not proposed by the Legislature, and whether such happiness doth not contain that of the individuals?

346. Whether, therefore, a legislator should be content with a vulgar share of knowledge? Whether he should not be a person of reflection and thought, who hath made it his study to understand the true nature and interest of mankind, how to guide men's humours and passions, how to incite their active powers, how to make their several talents cooperate to the mutual benefit of each other, and the general good of the whole?

347. Whether it doth not follow, that above all things a gentleman's care should be to keep his own faculties sound and entire?

348. Whether the natural phlegm of this island needs any additional stupifier?

349. Whether all spirituous liquors are not, in truth, opiates?

350. Whether our men of business are not generally very grave by fifty?

351. Whether all men have not faculties of mind or body, which may be employed for the public benefit?

352. Whether the main point be not to multiply and employ our people?

353. Whether hearty food and warm clothing would not enable and encourage the lower sort to labour?

354. Whether in such a soil as ours, if there was industry, there could be want?

355. Whether the way to make men industrious, be not to let them taste the fruits of their industry? And whether the labouring ox should be muzzled?

356. Whether our landlords are to be told, that industry

and numbers would raise the value of their lands, or that one acre about the Tholsel is worth ten thousand acres in *Connaught* ?

357. Whether our old native *Irish* are not the most indolent and supine people in *Christendom* ?

358. Whether they are yet civilized, and whether their habitations and furniture are not more sordid than those of the savage *Americans* ?

359. Whether it be not a sad circumstance to live among lazy beggars? And whether, on the other hand, it would not be delightful to live in a country swarming, like *China*, with busy people ?

360. Whether we should not cast about, by all manner of means, to excite industry, and to remove whatever hinders it? And whether every one should not lend an helping hand ?

361. Whether vanity itself should not be engaged in this good work? And whether it is not to be wished, that the finding of employment for themselves and others, were a fashionable distinction among the ladies ?

362. Whether idleness be the mother or the daughter of spleen ?

363. Whether it may not be worth while to publish the conversation of *Ischomachus* and his wife in *Xenophon*, for the use of our ladies ?

364. Whether it is true, that there have been, upon a time, one hundred millions of people employed in *China*, without the woollen-trade, or any foreign commerce ?

365. Whether the natural inducements to sloth are not greater in the Mogul's country than in *Ireland*, and yet whether in that suffocating and dispiriting climate, the *Banyans* are not all, men, women and children, constantly employed ?

366. Whether it be not true, that the Great Mogul's subjects might undersell us even in our own markets, and clothe our people with their stuffs and calicoes, if they were imported duty-free ?

367. Whether there can be a greater reproach on the leading men and the patriots of a country than that the people should

want employment? And whether methods may not be found to employ even the lame and the blind, the dumb, the deaf, and the maimed, in some or other branch of our manufactures?

368. Whether much may not be expected from a biennial consultation of so many wise men about the public good?

369. Whether a tax upon dirt would not be one way of encouraging industry?

370. Whether it would be a great hardship, if every parish were obliged to find work for their poor?

371. Whether children, especially, should not be inured to labour betimes?

372. Whether there should not be erected, in each province, an hospital for orphans and foundlings at the expence of old batchelors?

373. Whether it be true, that in the *Dutch* work-houses, things are so managed, that a child four years old, may earn its own livelihood?

374. What a folly is it to build fine houses, or establish lucrative posts and large incomes, under the notion of providing for the poor?

375. Whether the poor grown up and in health need any other provision, but their own industry under public inspection?

376. Whether the poor-tax in *England* hath lessened, or increased the number of the poor?

377. Whether work-houses should not be made at the least expence, with clay-floors and walls of rough stone, without plaistering, ceiling, or glazing?

378. Whether it be an impossible attempt to set our people at work, or whether industry be a habit which like other habits, may by time and skill be introduced among any people?

379. Whether all manner of means should not be employed to possess the nation in general, with an aversion and contempt for idleness and all idle folk?

380. Whether it would be a hardship on people destitute of all things, if the public furnished them with necessaries which they should be obliged to earn by their labour?

381. Whether other nations have not found great benefit from the use of slaves in repairing high-roads, making rivers navigable, draining bogs, erecting public buildings, bridges and manufactures?

382. Whether temporary servitude would not be the best cure for idleness and beggary?

383. Whether the public hath not a right to employ those who cannot, or who will not find employment for themselves?

384. Whether all sturdy beggars should not be seized and made slaves to the public, for a certain term of years?

385. Whether he who is chained in a jail or dungeon, hath not, for the time, lost his liberty? And if so, whether temporary slavery be not already admitted among us?

386. Whether a state of servitude, wherein he should be well worked, fed and clothed, would not be a preferment to such a fellow?

387. Whether criminals in the freest country may not forfeit their liberty, and repair the damage they have done the public, by hard labour?

388. What the word servants signifies in the New-Testament?

389. Whether the view of criminals chained in pairs and kept at hard labour, would not be very edifying to the multitude?

390. Whether the want of such an institution be not plainly seen in *England*, where the disbelief of a future state hardeneth rogues against the fear of death, and where, through the great growth of robbers and house-breakers it becomes every day more necessary?

391. Whether it be not easier to prevent than to remedy, and whether we should not profit by the example of others?

392. Whether felons are not often spared, and therefore encouraged, by the compassion of those who should prosecute them?

393. Whether many that would not take away the life of a thief, may not nevertheless be willing to bring him to a more adequate punishment?

394. Whether the most indolent would be fond of idleness if they regarded it as the sure road to hard labour?

395. Whether the industry of the lower part of our people doth not much depend on the expence of the upper?

396. What would be the consequence, if our gentry affected to distinguish themselves by fine houses rather than fine clothes?

397. Whether any people in *Europe* are so meanly provided with houses and furniture in proportion to their incomes, as the men of estates in *Ireland*?

398. Whether building would not peculiarly encourage all other arts in this kingdom?

399. Whether smiths, masons, bricklayers, plaisterers, carpenters, joiners, tylers, plumbers, and glaziers, would not all find employment if the humour of building prevailed?

400. Whether the ornaments and furniture of a good house do not employ a number of all sorts of artificers, in iron, wood, marble, brass, pewter, copper, wool, flax, and divers other materials?

401. Whether in buildings and gardens, a great number of day-labourers do not find employment?

402. Whether by these means much of that sustenance and wealth of this nation which now goes to foreigners would not be kept at home, and nourish and circulate among our own people?

403. Whether as industry produced good living, the number of hands and mouths would not be increased; and in proportion thereunto, whether there would not be every day more occasion for agriculture? And whether this article alone would not employ a world of people?

404. Whether such management would not equally provide for the magnificence of the rich, and the necessities of the poor?

405. Whether an expence in building and improvements doth not remain at home, pass to the heir, and adorn the public? And whether any of these things can be said of claret?

406. Whether fools do not make fashions, and wise men follow them?

407. Whether, for one who hurts his fortune by improvements, twenty do not ruin themselves by foreign luxury?

408. Whether in proportion as *Ireland* was improved and beautified by fine seats, the number of absentees would not decrease?

409. Whether he who employs men in buildings and manufactures doth not put life in the country, and whether the neighbourhood round him be not observed to thrive?

410. Whether money circulated on the landlord's own lands, and among his own tenants, doth not return into his own pocket?

411. Whether every 'squire that made his domain swarm with busy hands, like a bee-hive or ant-hill, would not serve his own interest, as well as that of his country?

412. Whether a gentleman, who hath seen a little of the world and observed how men lived elsewhere, can contentedly sit down in a cold, damp, sordid habitation, in the midst of a bleak country, inhabited by thieves and beggars?

413. Whether on the other hand, a handsome seat amidst well-improved lands, fair villages, and a thriving neighbourhood, may not invite a man to dwell on his own estate, and quit the life of an insignificant saunterer about town, for that of an useful country gentleman?

414. Whether it would not be of use and ornament, if the towns throughout this kingdom were provided with decent churches, town-houses, work-houses, market-places and paved streets, with some order taken for cleanliness?

415. Whether if each of these towns were addicted to some peculiar manufacture, we should not find, that the employing many hands together on the same work was the way to perfect our workmen? And whether all these things might not soon be provided by a domestic industry, if money were not wanting?

416. Whether money could ever be wanting to the demands of industry, if we had a national bank?

417. Whether the fable of *Hercules* and the carter, ever suited any nation like this nation of *Ireland*?

418. Whether it be not a new spectacle under the sun, to behold in such a climate and such a soil, and under such a

gentle government, so many roads untrodden, fields untilled, houses desolate and hands unemployed?

419. Whether there is any country in *Christendom*, either kingdom or republic, depending or independent, free or enslaved, which may not afford us an useful lesson?

420. Whether the frugal *Swisses* have any other commodities, but their butter and cheese and a few cattle, for exportation; whether, nevertheless, the single canton of *Bearn* hath not in her public treasury two millions sterling?

421. Whether that small town of *Bearn*, with its scanty, barren territory in a mountainous corner, without sea-ports, without manufactures, without mines, be not rich by mere dint of frugality?

422. Whether the *Swisses* in general have not sumptuary laws prohibiting the use of gold, jewels, silver, silk, and lace in their apparel, and indulging the women only to wear silk on festivals, weddings, and public solemnities?

423. Whether there be not two ways of growing rich, sparing and getting? But whether the lazy spendthrift must not be doubly poor?

424. Whether money circulating be not the life of industry; and whether the want thereof doth not render a State gouty and inactive?

425. But, whether if we had a national bank, and our present cash (small as it is) were put into the most convenient shape, men should hear any public complaints for want of money?

426. Whether all circulation be not unlike a circulation of credit, whatsoever medium (metal or paper) is employed, and whether gold be any more than credit for so much power?

427. Whether the wealth of the richest nations in *Christendom* doth not consist in paper, vastly more than in gold and silver?

428. Whether Lord *Clarendon* doth not aver of his own knowledge, that the Prince of *Orange*, with the best credit, and the assistance of the richest men in *Amsterdam*, was above ten days endeavouring to raise twenty thousand pounds

in specie, without being able to raise half the sum in all that time? See Clarendon's *History*, B. 12.

429. Supposing there had been hitherto no such thing as a bank, and the question were now first proposed, whether it would be safer to circulate unlimited bills in a private credit, or bills to a limited value on the public credit of the community, what would men think?

430. Whether the maxim, *What is every body's business is no body's*, prevails in any country under the sun more than in *Ireland*?

431. Whether the united stock of a nation be not the best security? And whether any thing but the ruin of the State can produce a national bankruptcy?

432. Whether the total sum of the public treasure, power and wisdom, all co-operating, be not most likely to establish a bank of credit, sufficient to answer the ends, relieve the wants, and satisfy the scruples of all people?

433. Whether *London* is not to be considered as the metropolis of *Ireland*? And whether our wealth (such as it is) doth not circulate through *London*, and throughout all *England*, as freely as that of any part of his Majesty's dominions?

434. Whether, therefore, it be not evidently the interest of *England*, to encourage rather than to oppose a national bank in this kingdom, as well as every other means for advancing our wealth, which shall not impair their own?

435. Whether it is not our interest to be useful to them rather than rival them; and whether in that case we may not be sure of their good offices?

436. Whether we can propose to thrive so long as we entertain a wrongheaded distrust of *England*?

437. Whether, as a national bank would increase our industry and that our wealth, *England* may not be a proportionable gainer; and whether we should not consider the gains of our mother-country as some accession to our own?

438. Whether there be any difficulty in comprehending, that the whole wealth of the nation is in truth the stock of a national bank? And whether any more than the right com-

prehension of this, be necessary to make all men easy with regard to its credit?

439. Whether the prejudices about gold and silver are not strong, but whether they are not still prejudices?

440. Whether paper doth not by its stamp and signature acquire a local value, and become as precious and as scarce as gold? And whether it be not much fitter to circulate large sums, and therefore preferable to gold?

441. Whether it doth not much import to have a right conception of money? And whether its true and just idea be not that of a ticket, entitling to power and fitted to record and transfer such power?

442. Though the bank of *Amsterdam* doth very rarely, if at all, pay out money, yet whether every man possessed of specie be not ready to convert it into paper, and act as cashier to the Bank? And whether, from the same motive, every monied man throughout this kingdom, would not be cashier to our national bank?

443. Whether we may not obtain that as friends, which it is vain to hope for as rivals?

444. Whether in every instance by which we prejudice *England*, we do not in a greater degree prejudice ourselves?

445. Whether in the rude original of society, the first step was not the exchanging of commodities, the next a substituting of metals by weight as the common medium of circulation, after this the making use of coin, lastly a further refinement by the use of paper with proper marks and signatures? And whether this, as it is the last, so it be not the greatest improvement?

446. Whether we are not in fact the only people who may be said to starve in the midst of plenty?

447. Whether there can be a worse sign than that people should quit their country for a livelihood? Though men often leave their country for health, or pleasure, or riches, yet to leave it merely for a livelihood? Whether this be not exceeding bad, and sheweth some peculiar mismanagement?

448. Whether in order to redress our evils, artificial helps

are not most wanted, in a land where industry is most against the natural grain of the people?

449. Whether, although the prepossessions about gold and silver have taken deep root, yet the example of our colonies in *America* doth not make it as plain as day-light, that they are not so necessary to the wealth of a nation, as the vulgar of all ranks imagine?

450. Whether it be not evident that we may maintain a much greater inward and outward commerce, and be five times richer than we are, nay, and our bills abroad be of far greater credit, though we had not one ounce of gold or silver in the whole island?

451. Whether wrongheaded maxims, customs and fashions, are not sufficient to destroy any people which hath so few resources as the inhabitants of *Ireland*?

452. Whether it would not be an horrible thing to see our matrons make dress and play their chief concern?

453. Whether our ladies might not as well endow monasteries as wear *Flanders* lace? And whether it be not true that Popish nuns are maintained by Protestant contributions?

454. Whether *England*, which hath a free trade, whatever she remits for foreign luxury with one hand, doth not with the other receive much more from abroad? Whether, nevertheless, this nation would not be a gainer if our women would content themselves with the same moderation in point of expence as the *English* ladies.

455. But whether it be not a notorious truth, that our *Irish* ladies are on a foot, as to dress, with those of five times their fortune in *England*?

456. Whether it be not even certain that the matrons of this forlorn country send out a greater proportion of its wealth, for fine apparel, than any other females on the whole surface of this terraqueous globe?

457. Whether the expence, great as it is, be the greatest evil; but whether this folly may not produce many other follies, an entire derangement of domestic life, absurd manners, neglect of duties, bad mothers, a general corruption in both sexes?

458. Whether the first beginning of expedients do not always meet with prejudices? And whether even the prejudices of a people ought not to be respected?

459. Whether a national bank be not the true philosopher's stone in a State?

460. Whether all regulations of coin should not be made, with a view to encourage industry and a circulation of commerce, throughout the kingdom?

461. Whether to oil the wheels of commerce be not a common benefit? And whether this be not done by avoiding fractions and multiplying small silver?

462. Whether, all things considered, a general raising the value of gold and silver be not so far from bringing greater quantities thereof into the kingdom, that it would produce a direct contrary effect, inasmuch as less, in that case, would serve, and therefore less be wanted? And whether men do not import a commodity, in proportion to the demand or want of it?

463. Whether the lowering of our gold would not create a fever in the State? And whether a fever be not sometimes a cure, but whether it be not the last cure a man would choose?

464. Whether raising the value of a particular species will not tend to multiply such species, and to lessen others in proportion thereunto? And whether a much less quantity of cash in silver would not, in reality, enrich the nation more than a much greater in gold?

465. Whether, *ceteris paribus*, it be not true that the prices of things increase as the quantity of money increaseth, and are diminished as that is diminished? And whether, by the quantity of money, is not to be understood the amount of the denominations, all contracts being nominal for pounds, shillings, and pence, and not for weights of gold or silver?

466. Whether our exports do not consist of such necessaries as other countries cannot well be without?

467. Whether upon the circulation of a national bank more land would not be tilled, more hands employed, and consequently more commodities exported?

468. Whether silver and small money be not that which circulates the quickest, and passeth through all hands, on the road, in the market, at the shop?

469. Whether, all things considered, it would not be better for a kingdom that its cash consisted of half a million in small silver, than of five times that sum in gold?

470. Whether there be not every day five hundred lesser payments made for one that requires gold?

471. Whether *Spain*, where gold bears the highest value, be not the laziest, and *China*, where it bears the lowest, be not the most industrious country in the known world?

472. Whether it be not evidently the interest of every State that its money should rather circulate than stagnate?

473. Whether the principal use of cash be not its ready passing from hand to hand, to answer common occasions of the common people, and whether common occasions of all sorts of people are not small ones?

474. Whether business at fairs and markets is not often at a stand and often hindered, even though the seller hath his commodities at hand, and the purchaser his gold, yet for want of change?

475. As wealth is really power, and coin a ticket conveying power, whether those tickets which are the fittest for that use ought not to be preferred?

476. Whether those tickets which singly transfer small shares of power, and being multiplied, large shares, are not fitter for common use than those which singly transfer large shares?

477. Whether the public is not more benefited by a shilling that circulates than a pound that lies dead?

478. Whether six pence twice paid be not as good as a shilling once paid?

479. Whether the same shilling circulating in a village may not supply one man with bread, another with stockings, a third with a knife, a fourth with paper, a fifth with nails, and so answer many wants which must otherwise have remained unsatisfied?

480. Whether facilitating and quickening the circulation

of power to supply wants be not the promoting of wealth and industry among the lower people? And whether upon this the wealth of the great doth not depend?

481. Whether, without the proper means of circulation, it be not vain to hope for thriving manufactures and a busy people?

482. Whether four pounds in small cash may not circulate and enliven an *Irish* market, which many four-pound pieces would permit to stagnate?*

483. Whether a man that could move nothing less than an hundred pound weight would not be much at a loss to supply his wants; and whether it would not be better for him to be less strong and more active?

484. Whether the natural body can be in a state of health and vigour without a due circulation of the extremities, even in the fingers and toes; and whether the political body, any more than the natural, can thrive without a proportionable circulation through the minutest and most inconsiderable parts thereof?

485. If we had a mint for coining only shillings, six-pences, and copper-money, whether the nation would not soon feel the good effects thereof?

486. Whether the greater waste by wearing of small coins would not be abundantly overbalanced by their usefulness?

487. Whether it be not the industry of common people that feeds the State, and whether it be possible to keep this industry alive without small money?

488. Whether the want of this be not a great bar to our employing the people in these manufactures which are open to us, and do not interfere with *Great Britain*?

489. Whether, therefore, such want doth not drive men into the lazy way of employing land under sheep-walk?

490. Whether the running of wool from *Ireland* can so effectually

* In the year 1735 this country abounded with the large gold coins of *Portugal*, which being over-rated, flowed in from all parts. But that evil is since remedied.

effectually be prevented, as by encouraging other business and manufactures among our people?

491. Whatever commodities *Great Britain* importeth, which we might supply, whether it be not her real interest to import them from us rather than from any other people?

492. Whether the apprehension of many among us (who, for that very reason, stick to their wool) that *England* may hereafter prohibit, limit, or discourage our linen trade, when it hath been once, with great pains and expence, thoroughly introduced and settled in this land, be not altogether groundless and unjust?

493. Whether it is possible for this country, which hath neither mines of gold nor a free trade, to support, for any time, the sending out of specie?

494. Whether, in fact, our payments are not made by bills? And whether our foreign credit doth not depend on our domestic industry, and our bills on that credit?

495. Whether, in order to mend it, we ought not first to know the peculiar wretchedness of our state? And whether there be any knowing of this but by comparison?

496. Whether there are not single market-towns in *England* that turn more money in buying and selling than whole counties (perhaps provinces) with us?

497. Whether the small town of *Birmingham* alone doth not, upon an average, circulate every week, one way or other, to the value of fifty thousand pounds? But whether the same Crown may not be often paid?

498. Whether any kingdom in *Europe* be so good a customer at *Bourdeaux* as *Ireland*?

499. Whether the police and economy of *France* be not governed by wise councils? And whether any one from this country, who sees their towns, and manufactures, and commerce, will not wonder what our senators have been doing?

500. What variety and number of excellent manufactures are to be met with throughout the whole kingdom of *France*?

501. Whether there are not every where some or other mills for many uses, forges and furnaces for iron-work, looms for tapestry, glass-houses, and so forth?

502. What quantities of paper, stockings, hats, what manufactures of wool, silk, linen, hemp, leather, wax, earthen-ware, brass, lead, tin, &c.?

503. Whether the manufactures and commerce of the single town of *Lyons* do not amount to a greater value than all the manufactures and all the trade of this kingdom taken together?

504. Whether in the anniversary fair at the small town of *Beaucair* upon the *Rhone*, there be not as much money laid out as the current cash of this kingdom amounts to?

505. Whether the very shreds shorn from woollen-cloth, which are thrown away in *Ireland*, do not make a beautiful tapestry in *France*?

506. Whether there be not *French* towns subsisted merely by making pins?

507. Whether the coarse fingers of those very women, those same peasants, who one part of the year till the ground and dress the vineyards, are not another employed in making the finest *French* point?

508. Whether there is not a great number of idle fingers among the wives and daughters of our peasants?

509. Whether the *French* do not raise a trade from saffron, dying drugs and the like products, which may do with us as well as with them?

510. Whether we may not have materials of our own growth to supply all manufactures, as well as *France*, except silk, and whether the bulk of what silk, even *France* manufactures, be not imported?

511. Whether it be possible for this country to grow rich, so long as what is made by domestic industry is spent in foreign luxury?

512. Whether our natural Irish are not partly *Spaniards* and partly *Tartars*; and whether they do not bear signatures of their descent from both these nations, which is also confirmed by all their histories?

513. Whether the *Tartar* progeny is not numerous in this land? And whether there is an idler occupation under the sun than to attend flocks and herds of cattle?

514. Whether the wisdom of the State should not wrestle with this hereditary disposition of our *Tartars*, and with a high hand introduce agriculture?

515. Whether once upon a time *France* did not, by her linen alone, draw yearly from *Spain* about eight millions of livres?

516. Whether the *French* have not suffered in their linen-trade with *Spain*, by not making their cloth of due breadth; and whether any other people have suffered, and are still likely to suffer, through the same prevarication?*

517. Whether the *Spaniards* are not rich and lazy, and whether they have not a particular inclination and favour for the inhabitants of this island? But whether a punctual people do not love punctual dealers?

518. Whether about fourteen years ago we had not come into a considerable share of the linen-trade with *Spain*, and what put a stop to this?

519. Whether if the linen-manufacture were carried on in the other provinces, as well as in the north, the merchants of *Cork*, *Limerick*, and *Galway* would not soon find the way to *Spain*?

520. Whether the woollen-manufacture of *England* is not divided into several parts or branches, appropriated to particular places, where they are only, or principally manufactured; fine cloths in *Somersetshire*, coarse in *Yorkshire*, long ells at *Exeter*, saies at *Sudbury*, crapes at *Norwich*, linseys at *Kendal*, blankets at *Whitney*, and so forth?

521. Whether the united skill, industry, and emulation of many together on the same work, be not the way to advance it? And whether it had been otherwise possible for *England* to have carried on her woollen-manufacture to so great perfection?

522. Whether it would not on many accounts be right if we observed the same course with respect to our linen-manufacture; and that diapers were made in one town or district,
damasks

* Things, we hear, are in a way of being mended with us in this respect.

damasks in another, sheeting in a third, fine wearing linen in a fourth, coarse in a fifth, in another cambricks, in another thread and stockings, in others stamped linen, or striped linen, or tickings, or dyed linen, of which last kinds there is so great a consumption among the sea-faring men of all nations?

523. Whether it may not be worth while to inform ourselves of the different sorts of linen, which are in request among different people?

524. Whether we do not yearly consume of *French* wines about a thousand tun more than either *Sweden* or *Denmark*, and yet, whether those nations pay ready money as we do?

525. Whether it be not a custom for some thousands of *Frenchmen* to go about the beginning of *March* into *Spain*, and having tilled the lands and gathered the harvest of *Spain*, to return home with money in their pockets about the end of *November*?

526. Whether of late years our *Irish* labourers do not carry on the same business in *England*, to the great discontent of many there? But whether we have not much more reason than the people of *England* to be displeased at this commerce?

527. Whether, notwithstanding the cash supposed to be brought into it, any nation is, in truth, a gainer by such traffic?

528. Whether the industry of our people employed in foreign land, while our own are left uncultivated, be not a great loss to the country?

529. Whether it would not be much better for us, if, instead of sending our men abroad, we could draw men from the neighbouring countries to cultivate our own?

530. Whether, nevertheless, we are not apt to think the money imported by our labourers to be so much clear gains to this country; but whether a little reflection and a little political arithmetic may not show us our mistake?

531. Whether our prejudices about gold and silver are not very apt to infect or misguide our judgments and reasonings about the public weal?

532. Whether it be not a good rule whereby to judge of the trade of any city, and its usefulness, to observe whether there is a circulation through the extremities, and whether the people round about are busy and warm?

533. Whether we had not, some years since, a manufacture of hats at *Athlone*, and of earthen-ware at *Arklow*, and what became of those manufactures?

534. Why do we not make tiles of our own, for flooring and roofing, rather than bring them from *Holland*?

535. What manufactures are there in *France* and *Venice* of gilt-leather, how cheap and how splendid a furniture?

536. Whether we may not for the same use, manufacture divers things at home, of more beauty and variety than wain-scot, which is imported at such expence from *Norway*?

537. Whether the use and the fashion will not soon make a manufacture?

538. Whether if our gentry used to drink mead and cyder, we should not soon have those liquors in the utmost perfection and plenty?

539. Whether it be not wonderful, that with such pastures, and so many black cattle, we do not find ourselves in cheese?

540. Whether great profits may not be made by fisheries; but whether those of our *Irish* who live by that business, do not contrive to be drunk and unemployed one half of the year?

541. Whether it be not folly to think an inward commerce cannot enrich a state, because it doth not encrease its quantity of gold and silver? And whether it is possible a country should not thrive, while wants are supplied and business goes on?

542. Whether plenty of all the necessaries and comforts of life be not real wealth?

543. Whether *Lyons*, by the advantage of her midland situation and the rivers *Rhone* and *Sone*, be not a great magazine or mart for inward commerce? And whether she doth not maintain a constant trade with most parts of *France*; with *Provence* for oils and dried fruits, for wines and cloth with *Languedoc*, for stuffs with *Champaign*, for linen with *Picardy*, *Normandy*, and *Bretagne*, for corn with *Burgundy*?

544. Whether she doth not receive and utter all those commodities, and raise a profit from the distribution thereof, as well as of her own manufactures, throughout the kingdom of *France*?

545. Whether the charge of making good roads and navigable rivers across the country, would not be really repaid by an inward commerce?

546. Whether as our trade and manufactures increased, magazines should not be established in proper places fitted by their situation, near great roads and navigable rivers, lakes, or canals, for the ready reception and distribution of all sorts of commodities from and to the several parts of the kingdom; and whether the town of *Athlone*, for instance, may not be fitly situated for such a magazine or centre of domestic commerce?

547. Whether an inward trade would not cause industry to flourish and multiply the circulation of our coin, and whether this may not do as well as multiplying the coin itself?

548. Whether the benefits of a domestic commerce are sufficiently understood and attended to, and whether the cause thereof be not the prejudiced and narrow way of thinking about gold and silver?

549. Whether there be any other more easy and unenvied method of increasing the wealth of a people?

550. Whether we of this island are not from our peculiar circumstances determined to this very commerce above any other, from the number of necessaries and good things that we possess within ourselves, from the extent and variety of our soil, from the navigable rivers and good roads which we have or may have, at a less expence than any people in *Europe*, from our great plenty of materials for manufactures, and particularly from the restraints we lie under with regard to our foreign trade?

551. Whether annual inventories should not be published of the fairs throughout the kingdom, in order to judge of the growth of its commerce?

552. Whether there be not every year more cash circulated at the card-tables of *Dublin*, than at all the fairs of *Ireland*?

553. Whether the wealth of a country will not bear proportion to the skill and industry of its inhabitants?

554. Whether foreign imports that tend to promote industry should not be encouraged, and such as have a tendency to promote luxury should not be discouraged?

555. Whether the annual balance of trade between *Italy* and *Lyons* be not about four millions in favour of the former, and yet, whether *Lyons* be not a gainer by this trade?

556. Whether the general rule of determining the profit of a commerce by its balance, doth not, like other general rules, admit of exceptions?

557. Whether it would not be a monstrous folly to import nothing but gold and silver, supposing we might do it, from every foreign part to which we trade? And yet, whether some men may not think this foolish circumstance a very happy one?

558. But whether we do not all see the ridicule of the Mogul's subjects, who take from us nothing but our silver, and bury it under ground in order to make sure thereof against the resurrection?

559. Whether he must not be a wrongheaded patriot or politician, whose ultimate view was drawing money into a country and keeping it there?

560. Whether it be not evident, that not gold but industry causeth a country to flourish?

561. Whether it would not be a silly project in any nation, to hope to grow rich by prohibiting the exportation of gold and silver?

562. Whether there can be a greater mistake in politics, than to measure the wealth of the nation by its gold and silver?

563. Whether gold and silver be not a drug, where they do not promote industry? Whether they be not even the bane and undoing of an idle people?

564. Whether gold will not cause either industry or vice to flourish? And whether a country, where it floweth in without labour, must not be wretched and dissolute like an island inhabited by buccaneers?

565. Whether arts and virtue are not likely to thrive, where money is made a means to industry? But whether money without this would be a blessing to any people?

566. Whether keeping cash at home, or sending it abroad, just as it most serves to promote industry, be not the real interest of every nation?

567. Whether commodities of all kinds do not naturally flow where there is the greatest demand? Whether the greatest demand for a thing be not where it is of most use? Whether money, like other things, hath not its proper use? Whether this use be not to circulate? Whether therefore there must not of course be money where there is a circulation of industry?

568. Whether it is not a great point to know what we would be at? And whether whole states, as well as private persons, do not often fluctuate for want of this knowledge?

569. Whether gold may not be compared to *Sejanus's* horse, if we consider its passage through the world, and the fate of those nations which have been successively possessed thereof?

570. Whether means are not so far useful as they answer the end? And whether, in different circumstances, the same ends are not obtained by different means?

571. If we are a poor nation, abounding with very poor people, will it not follow that a far greater proportion of our stock should be in the smallest and lowest species, than would suit with *England*?

572. Whether, therefore, it would not be highly expedient, if our money were coined of peculiar values, best fitted to the circumstances and uses of our own country; and whether any other people could take umbrage at our consulting our own convenience, in an affair entirely domestic, and that lies within ourselves?

573. Whether every man doth not know, and hath not long known, that the want of a mint causeth many other wants in this kingdom?

574. What harm did *England* sustain about three centuries ago, when silver was coined in this kingdom?

575. What harm was it to *Spain* that her provinces of *Naples* and *Sicily* had all along mints of their own?

576. Whether it may not be presumed, that our not having a privilege, which every other kingdom in the world enjoys, be not owing to our own want of diligence and unanimity in soliciting for it?

577. Whether it be not the interest of *England*, that we should cultivate a domestic commerce among ourselves? And whether it could give them any possible jealousy if our small sum of cash was contrived to go a little further, if there was a little more life in our markets, a little more buying and selling in our shops, a little better provision for the backs and bellies of so many forlorn wretches throughout the towns and villages of this island?

578. Whether *Great-Britain* ought not to promote the prosperity of her colonies, by all methods consistent with her own? And whether the colonies themselves ought to wish or aim at it by others?

579. Whether the remotest parts from the metropolis, and the lowest of the people, are not to be regarded as the extremities and capillaries of the political body?

580. Whether, although the capillary vessels are small, yet obstructions in them do not produce great chronical diseases?

581. Whether faculties are not enlarged and improved by exercise?

582. Whether the sum of the faculties put into act, or in other words, the united action of a whole people doth not constitute the *momentum* of a State?

583. Whether such *momentum* be not the real stock or wealth of a State; and whether its credit be not proportional thereunto?

584. Whether in every wise State the faculties of the mind are not most considered?

585. Whether the *momentum* of a State doth not imply the whole exertion of its faculties, intellectual and corporeal; and whether the latter without the former, could act in concert?

586. Whether the divided force of men, acting singly, would not be a rope of sand?

587. Whether the particular motions of the members of a State, in opposite directions, will not destroy each other, and lessen the *momentum* of the whole; but whether they must not conspire to produce a great effect?

588. Whether the ready means to put spirit into this State, to fortify and increase its *momentum*, would not be a national bank and plenty of small cash?

589. Whether that which employs and exerts the force of a community, deserves not to be well considered and well understood?

590. Whether the immediate mover, the blood and spirits, be not money, paper, or metal, and whether the soul or will of the community, which is the prime mover that governs and directs the whole, be not the Legislature?

591. Supposing the inhabitants of a country quite sunk in sloth, or even fast asleep, whether upon the gradual awakening and exertion, first, of the sensitive and locomotive faculties, next of reason and reflection, then of justice and piety, the *momentum* of such country or State, would not, in proportion thereunto, become still more and more considerable?

592. Whether that which in the growth is last attained, and is the finishing perfection of a people, be not the first thing lost in their declension?

593. Whether force be not of consequence, as it is exerted; and whether great force without great wisdom may not be a nuisance?

594. Whether the force of a child applied with art, may not produce greater effects than that of a giant? And whether a small stock in the hands of a wise State, may not go further, and produce more considerable effects than immense sums in the hands of a foolish one?

595. Whose fault is it if poor *Ireland* still continues poor?

FINIS.

A

Word to the Wise.

A
Word to the Wife:
OR, AN
EXHORTATION
TO THE
ROMAN CATHOLIC CLERGY
OF
I R E L A N D.

BY GEORGE BERKELEY, D.D.
Bishop of Cloyne in Ireland.

Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto.

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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Word to the Wife.

BE not startled, *Reverend Sirs*, to find yourselves addressed to by one of a different communion. We are, indeed (to our shame be it spoken) more inclined to hate for those articles wherein we differ, than to love one another for those wherein we agree. But if we cannot extinguish, let us at least suspend our animosities, and forgetting our religious feuds, consider ourselves in the amiable light of countrymen and neighbours. Let us for once turn our eyes on those things, in which we have one common interest. Why should disputes about faith interrupt the duties of civil life? or the different roads we take to heaven prevent our taking the same steps on earth? Do we not inhabit the same spot of ground, breathe the same air, and live under the same Government? why, then should we not conspire in one and the same design, to promote the common good of our country?

We are all agreed about the usefulness of meat, drink, and clothes, and, without doubt, we all sincerely wish our poor neighbours were better supplied with them. Providence and nature have done their part; no country is better qualified to furnish the necessaries of life, and yet no people are worse provided. In vain is the earth fertile, and the climate benign, if human labour be wanting. Nature supplies the materials, which art and industry improve to the use of man, and it is the want of this industry that occasions all our other wants.

The public hath endeavoured to excite and encourage this
5 most

most useful virtue. Much hath been done; but whether it be from the heaviness of the climate, or from the *Spanish*, or *Scythian* blood that runs in their veins, or whatever else may be the cause, there still remains in the natives of this island a remarkable antipathy to labour. You, *Gentlemen*, can alone conquer their innate hereditary sloth. Do you, then, as you love your country, exert yourselves.

You are known to have great influence on the minds of your people, be so good as to use this influence for their benefit. Since other methods fail, try what *you* can do. *Be instant in season, out of season, reprove, rebuke, exhort.** Make them thoroughly sensible of the sin and folly of sloth. Show your charity in clothing the naked and feeding the hungry, which you may do by the mere breath of your mouths. Give me leave to tell you, that no set of men upon earth have it in their power to do good on easier terms, with more advantage to others, and less pains or loss to themselves. Your flocks are, of all others, most disposed to follow directions, and, of all others, want them most; and, indeed, what do they not want?

The house of an *Irish peasant* is the cave of poverty; within, you see a pot and a little straw; without, a heap of children tumbling on the dung-hill. Their fields and gardens are a lively counterpart of *Solomon's* description in the Proverbs: *I went, saith that wise king, by the field of the slothful, and by the vineyard of the man void of understanding, and lo! it was all grown over with thorns, and nettles had covered the face thereof, and the stone wall thereof was broken down.†* In every road the ragged ensigns of poverty are displayed; you often meet caravans of poor, whole families in a drove, without clothes to cover, or bread to feed them, both which might be easily procured by moderate labour. They are encouraged in this vagabond life by the miserable hospitality they meet with in every cottage, whose inhabitants expect the same kind reception in their turn, when they become beggars themselves

* 2 Tim. ch. iv. ver 2.

† Prov. ch. xxiv. ver. 30, 31.

themselves; beggary being the last refuge of these improvident creatures.

If I seem to go out of my province, or to prescribe to those who must be supposed to know their own business, or to paint the lower inhabitants of this land in no very pleasing colours, you will candidly forgive a well-meant zeal, which obligeth me to say things, rather useful than agreeable, and to lay open the sore in order to heal it.

But whatever is said must be so taken, as not to reflect on persons of rank and education, who are no way inferior to their neighbours; nor yet to include all even of the lowest sort, though it may well extend to the generality, of those especially in the *western* and *southern* parts of the kingdom, where the *British* manners have less prevailed. We take our notions from what we see, mine are a faithful transcript from originals about me.

The *Scythians* were noted for wandering, and the *Spaniards* for sloth and pride; our *Irish* are behind neither of these nations from which they descend in their respective characteristics. *Better is he that laboureth and aboundeth in all things, than he that boasteth himself and wanteth bread*, saith the son of *Sirach*,* but so saith not the *Irishman*. In my own family a kitchen-wench refused to carry out cinders, because she was descended from an old *Irish stock*. Never was there a more monstrous conjunction than that of pride with beggary; and yet this prodigy is seen every day in almost every part of this kingdom. At the same time these proud people are more destitute than *savages*, and more abject than *negroes*. The *negroes* in our plantations have a saying, *If negro was not negro, Irishman would be negro*. And it may be affirmed with truth, that the very *savages* of *America* are better clad and better lodged than the *Irish cottagers* throughout the fine fertile counties of *Limerick* and *Tipperary*.

Having long observed and bewailed this wretched state of my countrymen, and the insufficiency of several methods set
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* Ch. x. ver. 27.

on foot to reclaim them, I have recourse to *your Reverences*, as the *dernier resort*. Make them to understand that you have their interest at heart, that you persuade them to work for their own sakes, and that God hath ordered matters so as that, they who will not work for themselves, must work for others. The terrors of debt, slavery, and famine should, one would think, drive the most slothful to labour. Make them sensible of these things, and that the ends of Providence and order of the world require industry in human creatures. *Man goeth forth to his work, and to his labour until the evening*, saith the *Psalmist*, when he is describing the beauty, order, and perfection of the works of God.* But what saith the slothful person? *yet a little sleep, a little slumber, a little folding of the hands to sleep.*† But, what saith the wise man? *so shall thy poverty come as one that travelleth, and thy want as an armed man.*‡

All nature will furnish you with arguments and examples against sloth, *go to the ant, thou sluggard*, cries *Solomon*. The ant, the bee, the beetle, and every insect but the drone reads a lesson of industry to man. But the shortest and most effectual lesson is that of *Saint Paul*, *if any man will not work neither should he eat.*§ This command was enjoined the *Thessalonians*, and equally respects all *Christians*, and, indeed, all *mankind*; it being evident by the light of nature, that the whole creation works together for good, and that no part was designed to be useless; as, therefore, the *idle man* is of no use, it follows that he hath no right to a subsistence. *Let them work*, saith the *Apostle*, *and eat their own bread*; || not bread got by begging, not bread earned by the sweat of other men; but their own bread, that which is got by their own labour. *Then shalt thou eat the labour of thine hands*, saith the *Psalmist*, to which he adds, *happy shalt thou be, and it shall be well with thee*; ¶ intimating, that to work and enjoy the fruits thereof is a great blessing.

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* Ps. clv. ver. 28. † Prov. ch. vi. ver. 10. ‡ Prov. ch. vi. ver. 11.
§ 2 Thess. ch. iii. ver. 10. || 2 Thess. ch. iii. ver. 12. ¶ Ps. cxxviii. ver. 2.

A slothful man's imagination is apt to dress up labour in a horrible masque; but, horrible as it is, idleness is more to be dreaded, and a life of poverty (its necessary consequence) is far more painful. It was the advice of *Pythagoras*, to *chuse the best kind of life*, for that use would render it agreeable, reconciling men even to the roughest exercise. By practice, pains become at first easy, and in the progress pleasant; and this is so true, that whoever examines things will find, there can be no such thing as a happy life without labour, and that whoever doth not labour with his hands, must, in his own defence, labour with his brains.

Certainly, planting and tilling the earth is an exercise not less pleasing than useful; it takes the peasant from his smoky cabin into the fresh air and the open field, rendering his lot far more desirable than that of the sluggard, who lies in the straw, or sits whole days by the fire.

Convince your people that not only pleasure invites, but necessity also drives them to labour. If you have any compassion for these poor creatures, put them in mind how many of them perished in a late memorable distress, through want of that provident care against a hard season, observable not only in all other men, but even in irrational animals. Set before their eyes in lively colours, their own indigent and sordid lives, compared with those of other people, whose industry hath procured them hearty food, warm clothes, and decent dwellings. Make them sensible what a reproach it is, that a nation which makes so great pretensions to antiquity, and is said to have flourished many ages ago in arts and learning, should in these our days turn out a lazy, destitute, and degenerate race.

Raise your voices, *Reverend Sirs*, exert your influence, show your authority over the multitude, by engaging them to the practice of an honest industry, a duty necessary to all, and required in all, whether *Protestants* or *Roman Catholics*, whether *Christians*, *Jews*, or *Pagans*. Be so good, among other points, to find room for *this*, than which none is of more concern to the souls and bodies of your hearers, nor, consequently, deserves to be more amply, or frequently insisted on.

Many and obvious are the motives that recommend this duty. Upon a subject so copious you can never be at a loss for something to say. And while by these means you rescue your countrymen from want and misery, you will have the satisfaction to behold your country itself improved. What pleasure must it give you to see these waste and wild scenes, these naked ditches, and miserable hovels, exchanged for fine plantations, rich meadows, well-tilled fields, and neat dwellings; to see people well fed, and well clad, instead of famished, ragged scarecrows; and those very persons tilling the fields that used to beg in the streets.

Neither ought the difficulty of the enterprise to frighten you from attempting it. It must be confessed a habit of industry is not at once introduced; neighbour, nevertheless, will emulate neighbour, and the contagion of good example will spread as surely as of bad, though perhaps not so speedily. It may be hoped, there are many that would be allured by a plentiful and decent manner of life to take pains, especially when they observe it to be attained by the industry of their neighbours, in no sort better qualified than themselves.

If the same gentle spirit of sloth did not sooth our squires as well as peasants, one would imagine there should be no idle hands among us. Alas! how many incentives to industry offer themselves in this island, crying aloud to the inhabitants for work? Roads to be repaired, rivers made navigable, fisheries on the coasts, mines to be wrought, plantations to be raised, manufactures improved, and, above all, lands to be tilled and sowed with all sorts of grain.

When so many circumstances provoke and animate your people to labour, when their private wants, and the necessities of the public, when the laws, the magistrates, and the very country calls upon them, you cannot think it becomes you alone to be silent, or hindmost in every project for promoting the public good. Why should you, whose influence is greatest, be least active? Why should you, whose words are most likely to prevail, say least in the common cause?

Perhaps it will be said, the discouragements attending those of your communion are a bar against all endeavours for

exciting them to a laudable industry. Men are stirred up to labour by the prospect of bettering their fortunes, by getting estates or employments; but those who are limited in the purchase of estates, and excluded from all civil employments, are deprived of those spurs to industry.

To this it may be answered, that admitting these considerations do, in some measure, damp industry and ambition in persons of a certain rank, yet they can be no let to the industry of poor people, or supply an argument against endeavouring to procure meat, drink, and clothes. It is not proposed, that you should persuade the better sort to acquire estates, or qualify themselves for becoming magistrates; but only that you should set the lowest of the people at work, to provide themselves with necessaries, and supply the wants of nature.

It will be alledged in excuse of their idleness, that the country people want encouragement to labour, as not having a property in the lands. There is small encouragement, say you, for them to build, or plant upon another's land, wherein they have only a temporary interest. To which I answer, that life itself is but temporary; that all tenures are not of the same kind; that the case of our *English* and the original *Irish* is equal in this respect; and that the true *aborigines*, or natural *Irish* are noted for want of industry in improving even on their own lands, whereof they have both possession and property.

How many industrious persons are there in all civilized countries, without any property in lands, or any prospect of estates, or employments? Industry never fails to reward her votaries. There is no one but can earn a little, and little added to little makes a heap. In this fertile and plentiful island, none can perish for want but the idle and improvident. None who have industry, frugality, and foresight but may get into tolerable, if not wealthy circumstances. Are not all trades and manufactures open to those of your communion? Have you not the same free use, and may you not make the same advantage of fairs and markets as other men? Do you pay higher duties, or are you liable to greater impositions

than your fellow subjects? And are not the public premiums and encouragements given indifferently to artists of all communions? Have not, in fact, those of your communion a very great share of the commerce of this kingdom in their hands? And is not more to be got by this than by purchasing estates, or possessing civil employments, whose incomes are often attended with large expences?

A tight house, warm apparel, and wholesome food are sufficient motives to labour. If all had them, we should be a flourishing nation. And if those who take pains may have them, those who will not take pains are not to be pitied; they are to be looked on and treated as drones, the pest and disgrace of society.

It will be said, the hardness of the landlord cramps the industry of the tenant. But if rent be high, and the landlord rigorous, there is more need of industry in the tenant. It is well known that in *Holland*, taxes are much higher, and rent both of land and houses far dearer than in *Ireland*. But this is no objection or impediment to the industry of the people, who are rather animated and spurred on to earn a livelihood by labour, that is not to be got without it.

You will say, it is an easy matter to make a plausible discourse on industry, and its advantages; but what can be expected from poor creatures, who are destitute of all conveniencies for exerting their industry, who have nothing to improve upon, nothing to begin the world with? I answer, they have their four quarters and five senses. Is it nothing to possess the bodily organs sound and entire? That wonderful machine the hand, was it formed to be idle?

Was there but will to work, there are not wanting in this island either opportunities or encouragements. Spinning alone might employ all idle hands (children as well as parents), being soon learned, easily performed, and never failing of a market, requiring neither wit nor strength, but suited to all ages and capacities. The public provides utensils, and persons for teaching the use of them; but the public cannot provide a heart and will to be industrious. These, I will not deny, may be found in several persons in some other parts of

the kingdom, and wherever they are found, the comfortable effects shew themselves. But seldom, very seldom are they found in these *Southern* people, whose indolence figureth a lion in the way, and is proof against all encouragement.

But you will insist, how can a poor man whose daily labour goes for the payment of his rent, be able to provide present necessaries for his family, much less to lay up a store for the future. It must be owned, a considerable share of the poor man's time and labour goes towards paying his rent. But how are his wife and children employed, or how doth he employ himself the rest of his time? The same work tires, but different works relieve. Where there is a true spirit of industry, there will never be wanting something to do, without doors or within, by candle-light if not by day-light. *Labor ipse Voluptas*, saith the poet, and this is verified in fact.

In *England*, when the labour of the field is over, it is usual for men to betake themselves to some other labour of a different kind. In the *Northern* parts of that industrious land, the inhabitants meet, a jolly crew, at one another's houses, where they merrily and frugally pass the long and dark winter evenings; several families by the same light and the same fire, working at their different manufactures of wool, flax, or hemp; company mean while mutually cheering and provoking to labour. In certain other* parts you may see, on a summer's evening, the common labourers sitting along the streets of a town or village, each at his own door, with a cushion before him making bone-lace, and earning more in an evening's pastime than an *Irish family* would in a whole day. Those people instead of closing the day with a game on greasy cards, or lying stretched before the fire, pass their time much more chearfully in some useful employment, which custom hath rendered light and agreeable.

But admitting, for various reasons above alleged, that it is impossible for our cottagers to be rich, yet it is certain they may be clean. Now bring them to be cleanly, and your work

* e. g. *Newport Pagnel* in *Buckinghamshire*.

work is half done. A little washing, scrubbing, and rubbing bestowed on their persons and houses, would introduce a sort of industry, and industry in any one kind is apt to beget it in another.

Indolence in dirt is a terrible symptom, which shews itself in our lower *Irish* more, perhaps, than in any people on this side the *Cape of Good Hope*. I will venture to add, that look throughout the kingdom, and you shall not find a clean house inhabited by clean people, and yet wanting necessaries; the same spirit of industry that keeps folk clean, being sufficient to keep them also in food and raiment.

But alas! our poor *Irish* are wedded to dirt upon principle. It is with some of them a maxim, that the way to make children thrive is to keep them dirty. And I do verily believe, that the familiarity with dirt, contracted and nourished from their infancy, is one great cause of that sloth which attends them in every stage of life. Were children but brought up in an abhorrence of dirt, and obliged to keep themselves clean, they would have something to do, whereas they now do nothing.

It is past all doubt, that those who are educated in a supine neglect of all things either profitable or decent, must needs contract a sleepiness and indolence which doth necessarily lead to poverty, and every other distress that attends it. *Love not sleep, cries Solomon, lest thou come to poverty; open thine eyes and thou shalt be satisfied with bread.** It is, therefore, greatly to be wished, that you would persuade parents to inure their children betimes to a habit of industry, as the surest way to shun the miseries that must otherwise befall them.

An early habit, whether of sloth or diligence, will not fail to show itself throughout the whole course of a man's life. *Train up a child, saith the wise man, in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it †* The first tincture often leaves so deep a stain as no afterthought or endeavour can wash out. Hence sloth in some minds is proof
against

* Prov. ch. xx. ver. 13.

† Prov. ch. xxii. ver. 6.

against all arguments and examples whatsoever, all motives of interest and duty, all impressions even of cold and hunger. This habit rooted in the child, grows up and adheres to the man, producing a general listlessness and aversion from labour. This I take to be our great calamity.

For admitting, that some of our squires and landlords are vultures with iron bowels, and that their hardness and severity is a great discouragement to the tenant, who will naturally prefer want and ease before want and toil; it must at the same time be admitted, that neither is the landlord, generally speaking, so hard, nor the climate so severe, nor the soil so ungrateful, as not to answer the husbandman's labour where there is a spirit of industry; the want of which is the true cause of our national distress. Of this there are many evident proofs.

I have myself known a man, from the lowest condition of life, without friends or education, not knowing so much as to write or read, bred to no trade or calling, by pure dint of day-labour, frugality, and foresight, to have grown wealthy, even in this island and under all the abovementioned disadvantages. And what is done by one is possible to another.

In *Holland*, a child of five years old is maintained by its own labour; in *Ireland*, many children of twice that age do nothing but steal, or encumber the hearth and dunghill. This shameful neglect of education shows itself through the whole course of their lives, in a matchless sloth bred in the very bone, and not to be accounted for by any outward hardship or discouragement whatever. It is the native colour, if we may so speak, and complexion of the people. *Dutch, English, French, or Flemish* cannot match them.

Mark an *Irishman* at work in the field; if a coach or horseman go by, he is sure to suspend his labour and stand staring until they are out of sight. A neighbour of mine made it his remark in a journey from *London to Bristol*, that all the labourers of whom he inquired the road, constantly answered without looking up or interrupting their work, except one, who stood staring and leaning on his spade, and him he found to be an *Irishman*.

It is a shameful thing and peculiar to this nation, to see lusty vagabonds strolling about the country, and begging without any pretence to beg. Ask them why they do not labour to earn their own livelihood, they will tell you, they want employment; offer to employ them, and they shall refuse your offer; or, if you get them to work one day, you may be sure not see them the next. I have known them decline even the lightest labour, that of hay-making, having at the same time neither clothes for their backs nor food for their bellies.

A sore leg is an estate to such a fellow, and this may be easily got, and continued with small trouble. Such is their laziness, that rather than work they will cherish a distemper. This I know to be true, having seen more than one instance, wherein the second nature so far prevailed over the first, that sloth was preferred to health. To these beggars who make much of their sores, and prolong their diseases, you cannot do a more thankless office than cure them, except it be to shave their beards, which conciliate a sort of reverence to that order of men.

It is, indeed, a difficult task to reclaim such fellows from their slothful and brutal manner of life, to which they seem wedded with an attachment that no temporal motives can conquer; nor is there, humanly speaking, any hopes they will mend, except their respect for your lessons, and fear of something beyond the grave be able to work a change in them.

Certainly, if I may advise, you should in return for the lenity and indulgence of the Government, endeavour to make yourselves useful to the public; and this will best be performed, by rousing your poor countrymen from their beloved sloth. I shall not now dispute the truth, or importance of other points, but will venture to say, that you may still find time to inculcate this doctrine of an *honest industry*, and that this would by no means be time thrown away, if promoting your country's interest, and rescuing so many unhappy wretches of your communion from beggary, or the gallows, be thought worth your pains.

It should seem you cannot in your sermons do better than

inveigh against idleness, that extensive parent of many miseries and many sins; idleness the mother of hunger and sister of theft; *idleness which, the son of Sirach assures us, teacheth many vices.*

The same doctrine is often preached from the gallows. And, indeed, the poverty, nakedness, and famine which idleness entaileth on her votaries, do make men so wretched, that they may well think it better to die than to live such lives. Hence a courage for all villainous undertakings, which, bringing men to a shameful death, do then open their eyes when they are going to be closed for ever.

If you have any regard (as it is not to be doubted) either for the souls or bodies of your people, or even for your own interest and credit, you cannot fail to inveigh against this crying sin of your country. Seeing you are obnoxious to the laws, should you not in prudence try to reconcile yourselves to the favour of the public; and can you do this more effectually than by co-operating with the public spirit of the Legislature and men in power?

Were this but done heartily, would you but *be instant in season, and out of season, reprove, rebuke, exhort,** such is the ascendant you have gained over the people, that we might soon expect to see the good effects thereof. We might hope *that our garners would be soon full, affording all manner of store, that our sheep would bring forth thousands, that our oxen would be strong to labour, that there would be no breaking in, nor going out (no robbery nor migration for bread), and that there would be no complaining in our streets.†*

It stands you upon to act with vigour in this cause, and shake off the shackles of sloth from your countrymen, the rather because there be some who surmise that yourselves have put them on. Right or wrong, men will be apt to judge of your doctrines by their fruits. It will reflect small honour on their teachers if, instead of honesty and industry, those of your communion are peculiarly distinguished by the contrary qualities,

* 2 Tim. ch. iv. ver. 2.

† Ps. cxliv. ver. 13, 14.

qualities, or if the nation converted by the great and glorious *Saint Patrick* should, above all other nations, be stigmatised and marked out as good for nothing.

I can never suppose you so much your own enemies as to be friends to this odious sloth. But were this once abolished, and a laudable industry introduced in its stead, it may, perhaps, be asked, who are to be gainers? I answer, *your Reverences* are like to be great gainers; for every penny you now gain, you will gain a shilling; you would gain also in your credit; and your lives would be more comfortable.

You need not be told how hard it is to rake from rags and penury a tolerable subsistence; or how offensive to perform the duties of your function amidst stench and nastiness; or how much things would change for the better in proportion to the industry and wealth of your flocks. Duty as well as interest calls upon you to clothe the naked and feed the hungry, by persuading them to *eat* (in the *Apostle's* phrase) *their own bread*, or, as the *Psalmist* expresseth it, *the labour of their own hands*. By inspiring your flocks with a love of industry, you will at once strike at the root of many vices, and dispose them to practise many virtues. This, therefore, is the readiest way to improve them.

Consult your superiors. They shall tell you the doctrine here delivered is a sound Catholic doctrine, not limited to *Protestants*, but extending to all, and admitted by all, whether *Protestants* or *Roman Catholics*, *Christians* or *Mahometans*, *Jews* or *Gentiles*. And as it is of the greatest extent, so it is also of the highest importance. *Saint Paul* expressly saith, *That if any provide not for his own, and especially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel.**

In vain, then, do you endeavour to make men orthodox in points of faith, if, at the same time, in the eyes of *Christ* and His *Apostles*, you suffer them to be worse than infidels, than those who have no faith at all. There is something, it seems,

worse

* 1 Tim. ch. v. ver. 8.

worse than even infidelity; and to incite and stimulate you to put away that cursed thing from among you, is the design and aim of this *Address*. The doctrine we recommend is an evident branch of the law of nature; it was taught by prophets, inculcated by Apostles, encouraged and enforced by philosophers, legislators, and all wise States, in all ages, and in all parts of the world. Let me, therefore, intreat you to exert yourselves, *to be instant in season, and out of season, rebuke, reprove, exhort*. Take all opportunities to drive the lion out of the way; raise your voices, omit no occasion, public or private, of awakening your wretched countrymen from their sweet dream of sloth.

Many suspect your religion to be the cause of that notorious idleness which prevails so generally among the natives of this island, as if the *Roman Catholic* faith was inconsistent with an honest diligence in a man's calling. But whoever considers the great spirit of industry that reigns in *Flanders* and *France*, and even beyond the *Alps*, must acknowledge this to be a groundless suspicion. In *Piedmont* and *Genoa*, in the *Milanese* and the *Venetian State*, and indeed throughout all *Lombardy*, how well is the soil cultivated, and what manufactures of silk, velvet, paper, and other commodities flourish? The King of *Sardinia* will suffer no idle hands in his territories, no beggar to live by the sweat of another's brow; it has even been made penal at *Turin* to relieve a strolling beggar. To which I might add, that the person whose authority will be of the greatest weight with you, even the *Pope* himself, is at this day endeavouring to put new life into the trade and manufactures of his country.

Though I am in no secret of the Court of *Rome*, yet I will venture to affirm, that neither *Pope* nor *Cardinals* will be pleased to hear, that those of their communion are distinguished above all others, by sloth, dirt, and beggary; or be displeased at your endeavouring to rescue them from the reproach of such an infamous distinction.

The case is as clear as the sun; what we urge is enforced by every motive that can work on a reasonable mind. The good of your country, your own private interest, the duty of

your function, the cries and distresses of the poor, do with one voice call for your assistance. And if it is on all hands allowed to be right and just, if agreeable both to reason and religion, if coincident with the views both of your temporal and spiritual superiors, it is to be hoped, *this Address* may find a favourable reception, and that a zeal for disputed points will not hinder your concurring to propagate so plain and useful a doctrine, wherein we are all agreed.

When a leak is to be stopped, or a fire extinguished, do not all hands co-operate without distinction of sect or party? Ur if I am fallen into a ditch, shall I not suffer a man to help me out until I have first examined his creed? Or when I am sick, shall I refuse the physaic because my physician doth, or doth not believe the *Pope's* supremacy?

Fas est et ab hoste doceri. But, in truth, I am no enemy to your persons, whatever I may think of your tenets. On the contrary, I am your sincere well-wisher. I consider you as my countrymen, as fellow-subjects, as professing belief in the same *Christ*. And I do most sincerely wish there was no other contest between us but *Who shall most completely practise the precepts of Him by whose name we are called, and whose disciples we all profess to be.*

Soon after the preceding ADDRESS was published, the Printer hereof received the following LETTER from the *Roman Catholic Clergy* of the Diocese of *Dublin*, desiring it to be inserted in the *Dublin Journal* of *November 18, 1749.*

You will very much oblige many of your constant readers, if you acquaint the public, that the ADDRESS you lately published, intitled, *A Word to the Wise; or an Exhortation to the Roman Catholic Clergy of Ireland*, was received by the *Roman Catholic Clergy of Dublin*, with the highest sense of gratitude; and they take the liberty, in this public manner, to return their sincere and hearty thanks to the worthy author, assuring him that they are determined to comply with every particular recommended in it to the utmost of their power. In every page it contains a proof of the author's extensive charity. His views are only towards the public good. The means he prescribeth are easily complied with, and his manner of treating persons in their circumstances so very singular, that they plainly show the good man, the polite gentleman, and the true patriot. All this hath so great an effect upon them, that they have already directed circular letters to the parish priests of this diocese, recommending, in the most earnest manner, the perusal and zealous execution of what is contained in the said Address; and it is hoped, that by publishing this in your journal, the *Roman Catholic Clergy* of the other parts of this kingdom will be induced to follow their example, which must promote the laudable views of that great and good man. At the same time he may be assured, that the *Roman Catholic Clergy* of this city, have frequently taken considerable pains to recommend, to their respective flocks, industry, and a due application to their different trades and callings, as an indispensable duty, and the means of avoiding the many vices and bad consequences which gener-

ally attend criminal poverty and want. But the more effectually to prevent these evils, and remove all excuses for sloth and idleness, they have, several months ago, pursuant to the example of many bishopricks in *Lombardy, Spain, Naples, &c.*, taken the steps most proper and expedient, in their opinion, to lessen considerably the number of holidays in this kingdom; and they make no doubt but their expectations will, in a short time, be fully answered, to the great advantage of the public.

We are, &c.

FINIS.

PRIOR'S
List of the Absentees
OF
IRELAND.

A
L I S T
OF THE
A B S E N T E E S
OF
I R E L A N D,
AND THE
Y E A R L Y V A L U E
OF THEIR
E S T A T E S and I N C O M E S
Spent Abroad.
WITH
O B S E R V A T I O N S
On the P R E S E N T
Trade and Condition
OF THAT
K I N G D O M.

Thomas Davis
The Second EDITION. With an APPENDIX.

Vincit Amor Patriæ. VIRGIL.

D U B L I N:
Printed for R. GUNNE in *Capel-street.* M DCC XXIX.

To His EXCELLENCY

J O H N

Lord C A R T E R E T,

Lord Lieutenant General and General Governour
of *Ireland*,

AND TO THE

L O R D S

SPIRITUAL and TEMPORAL

AND

C O M M O N S

In PARLIAMENT Asssembled,

THESE

O B S E R V A T I O N S

ARE,

With all Respect and Submission

Humbly Dedicated by the

AUTHOR.

Di Patrij, Servate Domum, Servate Nepotes. VIRG.

THE
PREFACE.

THE great scarcity of coin, which of late we have been very sensible of, put me on considering what should be the cause thereof.

It soon occurred, that our gentlemen abroad drew yearly out of the kingdom great quantities of our species; but what the same amounted to, I saw, could not be ascertained, but by taking an account of the particular persons to whom those remittances were made, and of the yearly value of the same.

On inquiry made the last summer, I collected the following List, with this particular caution, to be under the real value in every article: and in order to know whether we were losers or gainers yearly by our dealings and remittances, I found it necessary to examine whether the whole profit of our trade was sufficient to answer the demands upon us.

This I was enabled in some measure to do by an opportunity I met with, of perusing some copies of the Custom House books relating to the exports and imports of Ireland, which were found among the papers of a great man lately deceased: from them I drew several estimates relating to

the balances of our trade with particular countries, and also made the best inquiry I could among our merchants for my better information in other particulars.

These matters of fact being layed down as principles, I have from thence made some observations, with respect to the consequences of our gentlemen living abroad : and at the same time have given a view of our trade with other countries, and of the benefits which accrue to England by its dealings with Ireland: and have likewise endeavoured to show, that it is the interest of England to encourage our trade in all its branches.

And as I thought that any light given in these affairs, how small soever, may possibly be of some service to this country, so I have with the same view suggested several hints for the further improvement of our trade and manufactures.

A

LIST OF LORDS,

GENTLEMEN, AND OTHERS,

Who having ESTATES, EMPLOYMENTS, and PENSIONS in Ireland, spend the same abroad; together with an Estimate of the Yearly Value of the same, as taken in the months of May, June, and July, 1729.

THE LORDS and GENTLEMEN of ESTATE, are divided into THREE CLASSES.

FIRST CLASS comprehends those who live constantly abroad, and are seldom or never seen in *Ireland*.

SECOND CLASS comprehends those who live generally abroad, and visit *Ireland* now and then for a month or two.

THIRD CLASS takes in those who live generally in *Ireland*, but were occasionally absent at the time the said list was taken, either for health, pleasure, or business; but their number is commonly the same, for if some come home others go abroad, and supply their places.

FIRST CLASS comprehends those who live constantly abroad.

LORDS.	Yearly Value of their Estates spent abroad.		
	£	s.	d.
Aran,	11,000	0	0
Blundel,	2,300	0	0
Boyne,	1,700	0	0
Burlington,	17,000	0	0
9	Castlehaven,		

	Yearly Value of their Estates spent abroad.		
	£	s.	d.
Castlehaven,	800	0	0
Castlecomber,	3,000	0	0
Clanrickard,	3,000	0	0
Darnly,	5,000	0	0
Delvin,	400	0	0
Digby,	2,500	0	0
Donegal's Estate,	4,000	0	0
Gowran, in estate and interest of money,	7,000	0	0
Grandison,	6,000	0	0
Lord Archibald Hamilton,	1,000	0	0
Inchiquin,	3,000	0	0
Kingsale,	800	0	0
Limington,	2,300	0	0
Londonderry, in estate and interest of money,	6,200	0	0
Malton,	6,000	0	0
Orrery,	4,000	0	0
Peasely,	1,800	0	0
Palmerston,	3,000	0	0
Percival,	3,000	0	0
Shannon,	2,500	0	0
Thomond,	6,000	0	0
Strafford,	600	0	0
Weymouth,	2,000	0	0

LADIES.

Lady Drogheda,	1,100	0	0
Dowager Lady Doneraill,	1,500	0	0
Lady Jane Holt,	400	0	0
Lord Effingham Howard's Daughters,	1,000	0	0
Dowager Lady Kildare,	1,200	0	0
Lady Jones Widow,	600	0	0
Lady Betty Molyneux,	1,100	0	0
Lady Pine,	400	0	0
Late Lord Ranelagh's Daughters, <i>viz.</i> , Lady } Conningsby, Lady Katherine Jones, and } Lady Kildare, }	3,000	0	0

	Yearly Value of their Estates spent abroad.		
	£	s.	d.
GENTLEMEN.			
Francis Annesley of Lincoln's-Inn-Fields,	1,000	0	0
Randal Adams,	600	0	0
— Barret of Clownish,	1,200	0	0
Alderman Beecher of Bristol,	1,200	0	0
<i>Doctor Berkeley, Dean of Derry,</i>	900	0	0
George Rodney Bridges,	800	0	0
Sir Brook Bridges,	1,500	0	0
Thomas Broderick,	2,500	0	0
John Chichester, Brother of Lord Donegal,	1,000	0	0
John Clayton of the county of Cork,	400	0	0
Sir William Courtney of Devonshire,	8,000	0	0
William Domvill, of the county of Dublin,	1,400	0	0
Joseph Damer, in estate and interest money,	1,800	0	0
Sir Redmond Everard, bart.,	1,000	0	0
Col. Foulks,	1,000	0	0
H. Arthur Herbert of Oakly Park,	3,000	0	0
Mark Hill of Loughbrickland,	600	0	0
Mr. Hobson, estate in county of Down,	600	0	0
Hugh Howard,	800	0	0
Mr. Hull, in estate and interest of money,	600	0	0
Rev. John Jackson of Lancashire,	400	0	0
Sir Richard Kennedy's estate,	1,200	0	0
Colonel Loyde of England,	1,000	0	0
London Society and Company, in the county of Derry, yearly income and fines included, }	8,000	0	0
James Macartney,	2,500	0	0
Randal Macdonnell, county of Clare,	1,400	0	0
William Mitchel of London,	400	0	0
The Honourable and Rev. Mr. Henry Moore,	400	0	0
Pleydell Morton,	1,200	0	0
— Murray of Broughton in Scotland,	1,000	0	0
John Neal of Coventry,	900	0	0
Robert Needham of Jamaica,	2,300	0	0
Sir William Penn's estate,	1,400	0	0
John Pigott of Somersetshire,	400	0	0

	Yearly Value of their Estates spent abroad.		
	£	s.	d.
— Plunkett of Dunshauglin,	700	0	0
John Rawlinson of London, estate in the } county of Derry, }	800	0	0
General Sabine,	500	0	0
Thomas Scawen of London,	2,000	0	0
The Honourable Robert Shirley,	2,000	0	0
Oliver St. John,	1,400	0	0
— Smith,	6,000	0	0
Ralph Smith, sen.,	800	0	0
Sir John Stanley,	1,200	0	0
Edward Southwell, Secretary of State,	3,500	0	0
John Temple,	3,000	0	0
— Trenchard, county of Limerick,	1,500	0	0
— Warringford,	400	0	0
Sir Thomas Webster,	800	0	0
<i>Sir Cecil Wray</i> ,	2,300	0	0
Several cities and corporations in England, } have estates in Ireland to the yearly value } of, }	1,500	0	0

GENTLEWOMEN.

Widow Bagnal,	1,800	0	0
Miss Edwards, in estate and interest of money,	7,000	0	0
Mr. Pine's Daughters,	1,200	0	0
<i>Widow Putland, senior</i> ,	1,000	0	0
Widow Titchburn,	400	0	0
Mrs. Vernon,	800	0	0

SECOND CLASS comprehends those who live generally abroad,
and visit Ireland now and then for a month or two.

LORDS.

Abercorne,	2,000	0	0
Anglesey,	7,000	0	0
Barrymore,	5,000	0	0
Carberry,	5,500	0	0
Fane,	4,000	0	0

	Yearly Value of their Estates spent abroad.		
	£	s.	d.
Fitzwilliam,	5,000	0	0
Kingston,	2,000	0	0
Limerick,	3,500	0	0
Middleton,	1,500	0	0
Montrath,	4,000	0	0
Mountjoy, estate,	2,500	0	0
Molesworth,	1,000	0	0
Ranelagh,	1,800	0	0
Shelburn, estate and interest of money,	9,000	0	0

LADIES.

Lady Mary Coolley and her Daughters,	1,200	0	0
Lady Phil Prat,	500	0	0

GENTLEMEN.

Basil Ball,	1,600	0	0
<i>William Balfour,</i>	600	0	0
— Butler of Ballyragget,	1,500	0	0
Robert Colvil,	5,000	0	0
Lieutenant-General Crofts,	500	0	0
— Darcy,	800	0	0
— Dowdal,	400	0	0
Capt. Charles Echlyn,	1,200	0	0
Mr. Fox, and Mr. Lane, late Lord Lanes- borough, estate,	3,000	0	0
Joseph Gascoigne,			
John Hamilton,	500	0	0
Sir Gustavus Humes,	2,000	0	0
Brigadier Jones,	500	0	0
Sir Randal Mac Donnel,	400	0	0
Mr. — Michletwait,	600	0	0
The Honourable Capel Moore,	1,000	0	0
The Honourable Robert Moore,	400	0	0
— Martin, out of Bagnal's estate,	1,000	0	0
Sir Edward O'Brien, bart.,	2,500	0	0
Henry O'Brien's estate,	2,500	0	0

	Yearly Value of their Estates spent abroad.		
	£	s.	d.
Sir Thomas Pendergast,	2,000	0	0
Patrick Segrave,	400	0	0
Oliver St. George,	2,500	0	0
— Sloan, in estate and interest of money, .	800	0	0
Richard Whitched,	1,500	0	0
Benjamin Wolley of London,	900	0	0
Mr. — Wogan of Racoffy,	400	0	0

THIRD CLASS comprehends those who live generally in IRELAND, but were occasionally absent in May, June, and July, 1729, for health, pleasure, or business.

LORDS.

Bellew,	600	0	0
Blessington,	800	0	0
Forbes,	1,200	0	0
Kingsland,	2,000	0	0
Ikerin,	2,000	0	0

LADIES.

Lady Kerry,	500	0	0
Lady Tyrone,	800	0	0

GENTLEMEN.

Francis Bernard, junior,	1,200	0	0
— Brown of the Neal,	500	0	0
Francis Burton of the county of Clare, .	1,000	0	0
Captain Thomas Burton,	400	0	0
Sir John Burne, baronet,	2,500	0	0
Reverend Doctor Clayton,	600	0	0
William Conolly, junior,	1,000	0	0
John Cliff,	600	0	0
The Reverend Mr. Cotterell, Dean of Raphoe, .	1,000	0	0
Henry Cunningham,	800	0	0
— Dillon, son of Sir John Dillon,	400	0	0

	Yearly Value of their Estates spent abroad.		
	£	s.	d.
Robert Dickson, Councillor-at-Law,	800	0	0
Sir Compton Domvill,	1,500	0	0
— Dodwell,	800	0	0
Henry Downing,	400	0	0
Richard Edgworth,	500	0	0
William Forward,	1,000	0	0
Charles Ford,	600	0	0
Sir John Freke,	1,800	0	0
Arthur Gore of the county of Clare,	1,000	0	0
Captain Arthur Gore,	600	0	0
William Graham of Drogheda,	3,000	0	0
Sir Standish Harstongue,	1,200	0	0
Edward Hussey,	400	0	0
Richard Lehunt of the county of Wexford,	800	0	0
George Macartney of Belfast,	500	0	0
John Maxwell of the city of Dublin,	2,000	0	0
Sir Richard Mead, baronet,	3,000	0	0
Mark Morgan of the county of Meath,	800	0	0
George Ogle,	600	0	0
Philip Percival,	1,400	0	0
Periam Poole of the Queen's County,	1,000	0	0
Richard Reed of the county of Kilkenny,	400	0	0
— Riggs,	1,000	0	0
Arthur Stafford, <i>alias</i> Geoghegan,	800	0	0
— Tennison,	400	0	0
— Tasborough,	600	0	0
William Wall, county Waterford,	1,500	0	0
Richard Warburton of Garryhinch,	1,000	0	0
Richard Weisly of Dangan,	3,000	0	0

GENTLEWOMEN.

Mrs. Drelincourt,	400	0	0
Widow Stafford, junior,	500	0	0
Widow Usher,	800	0	0
Widow Weisly,	2,000	0	0

	Yearly Value spent abroad.		
	£	s.	d.
Spent abroad yearly by those whose yearly income is under 400 <i>l.</i> <i>per ann.</i> in Ireland; and who either live for the most part in England, or go thither occasionally for pleasure or health,	40,000	0	0

Half of these are supposed to belong to the **FIRST CLASS**, and the other half equally to the other two.

N.B.—There is no person mentioned in the precedent list whose estate is supposed to be less than 400*l.* *per ann.*

The travelling expences of dealers and traders who go over yearly in great numbers from Ireland to England to buy or sell commodities,	3,000	0	0
Spent yearly in the education of the children of Protestants and men of fortune at <i>Oxford</i> , and <i>Cambridge</i> , and the schools of <i>England</i> , and of the children of Papists in foreign colleges,	8,000	0	0
Spent yearly by young students at the several inns of court,	5,000	0	0
Spent in law-suits on appeals to the House of Lords, Courts of Delegates, and on Writs of Error to the Court of King's Bench in <i>England</i> , and for the advice of lawyers there, on other occasions yearly,	9,000	0	0
Spent in attendance and applications for employments, civil and military, and other business,	8,000	0	0

PROFITS of EMPLOYMENTS spent abroad.

Post Office, <i>per ann.</i> ,	6,000	0	0
Vice-Treasurers, Lord Falmouth and Mr. Edgcomb,	8,000	0	0
Lord Treasurer, Lord Burlington,	365	0	0

	Yearly Value spent abroad.		
	£	s.	d.
Commissioners of the Revenue, four generally } absent, }	4,000	0	0
Auditor-General, Lord Nassau Paulet,	1,000	0	0
Master of the Rolls, Lord Berkeley,	1,000	0	0
Master of the Ordnance, Marquis Montandre,	800	0	0
Chief Remembrancer, Lord Palmerston,	1,200	0	0
Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant,	2,000	0	0
Clerk of the Pells, Mr. Dodington,	1,600	0	0
Secretary of State, Edward Southwell, esq.,	600	0	0
Clerk of the Council, Mr. Poultney,	600	0	0
Master of the Revells, Mr. Hopkins,	300	0	0
Searcher of the Port of Dublin, Mr. Webster,	400	0	0
Comptroller of ditto, Mr. Eldred,	300	0	0
Register of Forfeitures and Clerk of the Quit- } Rent Office, Mr. Coppleston, }	700	0	0
Clerk of the { Leinster, Mr. Witchcot, } Crown for { Munster, Mr. Osburn, } { Ulster, }	250	0	0
200	0	0	
200	0	0	
Wine Taster and Keeper of the King's Houses, } Mr. Delafay, }	500	0	0
Governour of Cork, Mr. Jefferys,	365	0	0
Governour of Duncannon Fort, Lieutenant- } General Honnywood, }	365	0	0
Governour of Kinsale, Lieutenant-General } Humphry Gore, }	365	0	0
Remitted to Greenwich Hospital, six pence } per month for every sailor. }	400	0	0

It appears by the ESTABLISHMENT for the year 1727, given in
to PARLIAMENT :

That the civil list pensions amounted to } 36,047 <i>l.</i> 18 <i>s.</i> , which, clear of four shil- } lings in the pound, came to 28,838 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> } 4 <i>d.</i> , whereof we may very well suppose } four parts in five to be spent abroad, . . . }	23,070	13	1
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	Yearly Value spent abroad.		
	£	s.	d.
That the military pensions amounted to 6,409 <i>l.</i> 15 <i>s.</i> , two-thirds thereof spent abroad,	4,273	3	4
That the establishment for general officers was 16,500 <i>l.</i> <i>per ann.</i> , two-thirds spent abroad,	11,000	0	0
That the pay of all the commissioned officers of 18 battalions of foot, four regiments of horse, and six of dragoons (the forces now in the kingdom), amounts, by an exact computation, to 116,508 <i>l.</i> <i>per ann.</i> , one-fourth part thereof spent abroad,	29,127	0	0
That the establishment for half-pay officers amounted to 22,900 <i>l.</i> <i>per ann.</i> , one-fourth part thereof spent abroad,	5,725	0	0
For officers' widows, 3,600 <i>l.</i> <i>per ann.</i> , a third part spent abroad,	1,200	0	0
French pensions, 12,800 <i>l.</i> <i>per ann.</i> , a fifth part spent abroad,	2,560	0	0
Sent to <i>England</i> , one year with another, to buy recruit-horses for ten regiments of horse and dragoons,	4,000	0	0
Spent in <i>England</i> in raising recruits for the foot service <i>per ann.</i> ,	2,000	0	0
Pay remitted to <i>Gibraltar</i> for three regiments, exchange included,	30,000	0	0
Perquisites on clothing 31 regiments, at 500 <i>l.</i> each regiment yearly, comes to 15,500 <i>l.</i> , two-thirds thereof spent abroad,	10,333	6	8
Carried off yearly by adventurers to <i>America</i> , who may be reckoned to be 3,000 in number, and to carry off 10 <i>l.</i> each, one with another,	30,000	0	0

REMITTED out of the KINGDOM yearly on the account of:

	Yearly Value spent abroad.		
	£	s.	d.
Ensurance of ships and goods.			
Assurance from fire.			
For religious uses by Papists.			
For freight of shipping.			
For newspapers from <i>England</i> .			
For coach and saddle-horses from <i>England</i> .			
For gold and silver watches, precious stones, rich toys, fine <i>Flanders</i> lace, gold and silver lace, rich cloaths, and furniture of all sorts, which are supposed not to ap- pear in the Custom House books.			
'Tis difficult to ascertain the value of all these articles; but we may reasonably suppose them to amount yearly unto, .	20,000	0	0
Total of the present annual remittances out of the kingdom,	627,799	3	1

A GENERAL ABSTRACT of the quantity of money drawn out of
the kingdom yearly, viz. :—

By those of the First Class,	204,200	0	0
By those of the Second Class,	91,800	0	0
By those of the Third Class,	54,000	0	0
By those whose income is under 400 <i>l.</i> <i>per ann.</i>	40,000	0	0
By those who have employments in <i>Ireland</i> ,	31,510	0	0
For the education of youth, law suits, at- tendance, and by dealers,	33,000	0	0
By the Pensioners on the civil list,	23,070	13	1
By those on the military establishment,	67,658	10	0
By <i>French</i> pensioners,	2,560	0	0
By remittances to <i>Gibraltar</i> ,	30,000	0	0
By adventurers to <i>America</i> ,	30,000	0	0
On account of several articles mentioned in the last paragraph,	20,000	0	0
	<hr/>		
	627,799	3	1

SUPPLEMENT.

I SHALL by way of supplement, take notice of some additional articles, which ought to be taken into consideration whenever we come to compute the quantity of money yearly drawn out of the kingdom, and which could not so properly be brought under any of the heads mentioned in the precedent list.

1st. We are to observe that a great many estates and woods, have of late been sold in *Ireland*, and all the purchase money at once carried into *England*: and which is further remarkable, some estates have in the compass of a few years been sold again, and all the purchase money sent away a second time.

2nd. That great sums of money are yearly sent abroad to discharge old debts, contracted by persons now residing in *Ireland*.

3rd. Though some of the aforesaid persons may spend less abroad than here rated, yet many of them spend much more than their yearly income, which debts must be paid in *England*, after they come to reside in *Ireland*.

4th. That several estates of *Irish* landlords, who live abroad, have of late been much raised, and large fines taken and remitted to them; and many more estates will not fail to be raised to the height, as the old leases expire, and thereby increase their yearly draughts upon us.

5th. That several persons, who live abroad, have large mortgages on estates in *Ireland*, the interest money whereof, is constantly returned to them in *England*.

6th. Many of our young lords and gentlemen, in a few years after they come to age, squander in other countries all
20 the

the ready money which had been saved for them by their guardians, in their minorities.

7th. Great numbers live abroad, whose names or estates, for want of due information, are here omitted.

8th. There is yearly carried out of this kingdom, about 60,000*l.* by the colliers of *England* and *Scotland*, who take very little else but ready money in return for their coals; but this point will be more properly come to be considered hereafter, upon the article of trade.

I shall now beg leave to take notice of the method and caution made use of, in forming and drawing up the said list; and to observe, that the best endeavours have not been wanting to procure from receivers, agents, and others, an exact information of the clear yearly income of the estates of the persons mentioned in the said list, and of the sums of money they may be reasonably supposed to spend abroad, and that care has been taken in the computation to be always under the real value, in order to make allowances for loss to agents, quit-rents, and other charges.

We are farther to observe, that the estates of many of the said persons are much larger than here set down; *but part thereof being applied to the payment of jointures, rent-charges, and debts, or otherwise spent or saved at home*; we have not, therefore, set forth the full value of them, but so much only as is supposed to be spent abroad.

Though some of our gentlemen stay abroad but a short time, yet, when we would compute how much money is yearly drawn out of the kingdom, we are obliged to take notice of all those persons who are at any one time absent; for if some come home, others do not fail to go abroad, and supply their places.

If through misinformation, the yearly income or remittances of some persons mentioned in the said list, should happen to be over-rated; that is amply made up by others, who will be found upon inquiry to be undercharged; and, indeed, many make the annual drain of money arising from the aforesaid articles, to be two hundred thousand pounds more than herein estimated.

OBSERVATIONS

On the Precedent

L I S T :

TOGETHER

With a View of the TRADE of Ireland, and the great Benefits, which accrue to England thereby ; with some HINTS for the farther Improvement of the same.

MONEY being the measure of all commerce, a certain quantity thereof is necessary for the carrying on the trade of each country, in proportion to the business thereof.

It is generally estimated, that the current species of *England* is at present twelve or fifteen million, *sterling*, and that so much is necessary for the support of its foreign and domestic trade, in which it is much assisted by many millions more in Bank notes, Bank, and South-Sea Stock, and other public securities, which being easily transferred from one to another, have in effect, the use and conveniency of money.

It is reasonable to suppose, that the quantity of species requisite to carry on the trade of *Ireland* with ease and advantage, cannot be less than a million or 800,000*l.*, if we consider that the yearly value of our exports is at a medium 1,044,000*l.*, and of our imports 864,000*l.*; that the public revenue and charge of the establishment are each near 500,000*l. per ann.*, and that our rents and domestic commerce amount yearly to the value of several millions; all

which articles must be paid in ready money, and therefore can hardly be supposed to require less than 800,000*l.* for the convenient management thereof.

It is very probable that we were possessed of so much coin in the year 1700, and that the same was in a great measure owing to the war that happened at the time of the Revolution; which, though it laid the country waste, yet brought in a great deal of money for payment of the armies, which continuing to circulate among us gave life to all business, and much sooner than could be expected retrieved the affairs of *Ireland*: but the Act of Resumption soon after taking place, swept away at once about 600,000*l.* of our treasure; under which loss we languished for some years, and did not fully recover ourselves till about the year 1715, when the balance of trade running much in our favour, and our remittances abroad being moderate, there was no want of money or credit for the support of business, but on the contrary the interest of money was lowered, and the price of lands grew high.

Thus we continued for some time in a tolerable condition, but of late, that treasure, which was the fruit and acquisition of many years, hath gradually flowed from us, which makes us daily more sensible of the scarcity of money, which could formerly be easily had at 6*l. per cent.* interest, but now cannot, without some difficulty, be had at 7*l.* This want of money in the kingdom, throws a damp upon all business; manufacturers cannot be set to work, materials purchased, or credit subsist; and people, who are willing to support themselves by their industry, are left to struggle with poverty for want of employment.

We are not now at a loss to point out the principal *source* of all our misfortunes, and the chief *cause* of all this distress; it appears plainly from the list of *absentees*, and the estimate of the quantity of species they may be reasonably supposed to draw yearly out of the kingdom, that no other country labours under so wasteful a drain of its treasure, as *Ireland* does at present, by an annual remittance of above 600,000*l.* to our *gentlemen* abroad, without the least consideration or

value returned for the same: this is so great a burthen upon us, that I believe there is not in history, an instance of any one country paying so large a yearly tribute to another.

Countries that abound in mines of gold and silver, are enabled by the bounty of nature to bear an exportation of their bullion; but others, which want this natural produce, and have no other way of getting or keeping money but by having the balance of trade in their favour, suffer extremely whenever they want coin sufficient for circulating their business.

It is believed by many, who understand our money affairs, that there is less species now in the kingdom, than was at any one time since the *Revolution*, if not since the *Restoration*: the most sanguine do not reckon that we have 400,000*l.* now remaining; if so, it is impossible to subsist much longer under such a drain; for if the quantity of money exported, vastly over balances any income or gain we have by trade (as plainly appears by examining the said list, the balance of our trade herein set forth, and a constant course of exchange against us), it evidently follows, that all our remaining species will in a little time be carried off: the consequence whereof will be, that we shall be utterly disabled from carrying on our foreign and domestic commerce, paying rents or discharging the public establishment.

It is to be feared, this misfortune will fall upon us much sooner, than could be thought of; since we are credibly informed, that Miss *Edwards's* estate in this kingdom, said to be worth £150,000, is immediately to be sold, and the purchase-money sent away; that a *noble lord*, of the greatest fortune here, is to have £80,000 remitted to him, by sale of part of his estate, and that several others are selling or mortgaging their lands for large sums; if all these designs should soon take place, they will be sufficient to carry off all the circulating cash of the kingdom in a very short time.

It is true, this evil is of such a nature, as in a little time it must cure itself; for if the demands of our *absentees* greatly exceed all our gain by trade, and amount to as much yearly as the whole current coin of the kingdom, there will be soon

nothing left for them to draw away, and they must be forced to return to their native country; which must necessarily be the case, unless (which cannot reasonably be supposed), they shall think it a less grievance to starve abroad.

When things come to this extremity, great must be the calamity of all, even of those who are innocent, and have not had the least share in bringing this evil upon us; for then, no rents can be paid in money, but all in kind; no sort of trade can be carried on, but by bartering one commodity for another. The price of lands must universally fall, the army must be broke, or live on free quarters, and the establishment, and all professions must sink for want of money to support them.

We shall be then reduced to the condition of some of our *Plantations*, out of which, for the same causes, all money is carried off as fast as it enters, and nothing left current but paper, by the authority of Government, under a great discount.

If our *gentlemen* abroad were the only sufferers by their conduct, we should have no reason to complain; but it happens in this case, that though they bring this *evil* upon us, they will be the last that will feel the effects of it; but at length, must share the same fate with ourselves.

I shall, in what follows, consider the balance of the trade of *Ireland*, and how far it may enable us to support these remittances abroad; it will appear clearly from thence, that whatever gain we had formerly, the same has decreased of late years considerably, and falls much short of what is sufficient to answer the demands of our *gentlemen* abroad; inso-much, that the balance of our whole trade for the year 1726, instead of being in our favour, was £12,000 against us, occasioned by a great importation of foreign commodities.

It is melancholy to observe, that now we are labouring under great disadvantages in trade, and struggling with penury and want. The humour of living and spending abroad, still increases among our men of *quality* and *station*, and has even infected our *ladies*, who may be sooner found out at *London, Paris, Rome*, or any foreign place of expense, than at home.

If those *gentlemen*, who now draw out of the kingdom yearly, £600,000, could be prevailed upon to spend the same at home, the advantages and good effects thereof, would be soon visible in the improvement of lands and houses ; in the increase of people, arts, and manufactures, in a greater produce in the Excise and Customs, and in a better support of the Government: whereas now, by the means of our *nobility* and *gentry* deserting their own country, and spending all abroad, our people are left without employment, and are forced to shift to foreign countries, even to *America*, to get a livelihood; and the public funds fall very short of the necessary establishment, and must grow worse every day; so that in time of peace, we shall be driven to the necessity, either of lessening the establishment, or increasing our taxes, without any ability to pay them.

It is too much in reason for these *gentlemen* to expect that we shall patiently bear with the loss of our trade, loss of our money, and additional taxes; for no other reason, but to gratify the vanity of those who have thus wantonly abandoned their country, and riot abroad in its ruin. There is no way left to save us, but by obliging them to live at home, or making them pay for living abroad.

Perhaps, some may imagine that our *Absentees* have great encouragement to go, and spend their fortunes abroad, that they are received with open arms and preferred to places of profit, honour, and power; but alas! if we examine the said list, we shall find that there is not any one therein mentioned, born and bred in *Ireland*, except *Hugh Howard*, Esq., who has got any pension, any Civil or Military employment by living abroad; not even of those who are Members of either House of Parliament of *Great Britain*, though there are several in the said list, who have put themselves to expense, to obtain the honour of sitting there: so little are they regarded in those countries, where they spend all their fortunes, The case indeed is otherwise with the *North Britains*, who lose nothing by going into other countries, whatever they gain there. It is true, there are two or three *lords* in the said list, who have employments abroad; but these *honourable* persons

were neither bred, nor born in *Ireland*, and owe their preferences to their interests and alliances abroad, and not to any Estates they happen to have in *Ireland*.

Nor can we think it strange, that our *Absentees* are thus served; for how can persons who can get no employment in their own *country*, by virtue of the interest, they have there, expect to be preferred in another, where they have no interest at all. Perhaps they may reckon much on their personal abilities to serve the Government there, and to be preferred for their services; but we do not find, that *any one* of them has as yet been distinguished by any *considerable preferment*, or *even any preferment at all*.

We may be soon cured of any vain expectations of that kind, if we consider that our countrymen are so far from being caressed, that they are generally slighted and hated in other countries. It must be owned, that the *poverty* of some of our *natives*, and the *extravagance* of many of our men of *fortune* have brought us into *discredit* and *contempt*; so that of all nations, we have the misfortune to be the least regarded by *those* who get most by us. And yet such is our *folly*, that many of our people choose to spend their Estates in a mean, obscure way abroad, under the contempt and hatred of all about them, rather than live at home in *plenty, honour, and esteem*.

I wish we could say, that these gentlemen, by living abroad, had any way contributed to the interest of *Ireland*; but, I am afraid they have little merit of this kind to plead; for except a very few persons who, upon all occasions, have been willing, industrious, and able to serve us, (and which we shall ever with the greatest gratitude acknowledge), we know of none of our *Absentees* who, upon emergency, wherein the interest of *Ireland* was concerned, have had spirit or disposition, interest, or weight, or even a sufficient knowledge of the affairs of their own country to do it service; they are generally either strangers to the circumstances and interests of *Ireland*, or have no power or qualifications to be of use to it.

If we inquire into the motives of this conduct of our gentlemen, so injurious to their own, and their country's interest,

we shall find, that a luxuious manner of living, an affectation of imitating the nobility and gentry of other countries in their expenses, together with the largeness of their fortunes, are the principal motives of their spending all their Estates abroad; which they seldom fail to incumber with great debts, and frequently sell, either to gratify their present vanity, or pay for past follies.

It is a *melancholy observation*, and fit to be remembered, that almost all the Estates, which of late years have been sold in *Ireland*, have belonged to such of our *gentlemen*, as brought themselves under a necessity of selling, to discharge debts contracted abroad. We can justly date the ruin of several great families from the fatal period of their going to live abroad; and we may now prophetically pronounce the like fate of several others who have of late, or shall hereafter follow the same course of living, *that their lands shall pass away to strangers, and their names be no more heard of.*

The extinction of such families may probably be no hurt to the public, but then the value of their Estates spent abroad, is certainly lost to the kingdom; an *English* prodigal injures none but his own family, since whatever he squanders, goes into the pockets of others, of the same country; but an *Irish spendthrift*, who commonly makes *London* or *Paris*, the scene of his extravagance, not only deprives his family, but his country also, of the full value of all he consumes.

It has been observed (as another ill effect of living abroad), concerning such of our *gentlemen* of fortune as happen to marry there, that they and their posterity are for the most part lost to this kingdom. It is shocking to an *English lady* to think of living in such a poor, despised place as *Ireland* is, and if she has not made it an article of marriage, as it often is the case, she seldom fails some other way to prevail on an *easy* husband to forsake his country; and takes care to breed up her children in the same aversion, and from that time forward, we hear no more of them, but by their constant drawing all their rents from hence, and racking their poor tenants. Such *deserters*, and others also who can be prevailed upon by their *Irish ladies to live abroad*, prove the worst enemies to *Ireland*,

by laying it under a continual yearly pillage to their vanity and luxury, without contributing the least farthing towards the support of the Government.

And here I cannot but take notice, of the conduct of some of our *gentlemen*, in sending their children to other countries for education. It is certain, if they were better apprised of the manner of living, studying, and performances required of them abroad, they would believe it much better to educate them in our Colleges at home, where a greater strictness and attendance to duties, more reading and studying, and generally better scholars, in proportion to their numbers, and less corruption, are to be found. This humour proceeding from a want of judgment and observation, is often attended with this consequence, and the young *gentlemen* educated abroad, either take a liking to other countries, and so are for ever lost to their own, if their fortune will enable them to live there; or if they return home, perhaps bring nothing with them but the follies and luxuries of our neighbours, by which we suffer too much already.

If some think it a hardship that many of our *employments* are given to other people, we all have just reasons to complain, that those employments are served by deputies, and of consequence the greatest part of the profits thereof carried out of the kingdom and spent abroad. It is our misfortune that too many of the *English*, who obtain places in this country, seldom favour us with their company in the enjoyment of them; it is true we have one visit from them, when they come over to qualify themselves here, and take possession of their preferments; though some of them will not even be at so much trouble, but obtain Acts of Parliament in *England* to dispence with their qualifications in *Ireland*; and after this beginning we see no more of them but their names in our public establishments; of which we have a remarkable instance in one who, having obtained an employment in *Ireland*, landed in *Dublin* on a *Saturday* evening, went next day to a parish church, and received the sacrament; on *Monday* morning he took the oaths in the courts, and in the afternoon set sail for *England* again, and we never saw more of him.

But as to *those* who get preferment here, and live and settle with us, we have no cause to repine; they become one with us, heartily espouse the interest of the country, and are in all respects an advantage to it. We cannot but remember that a great many considerable families now in the kingdom are the descendants of such, who came hither for preferment; and we must be so just as to acknowledge that those *Englishmen* who are promoted to the highest preferments in the *Church* and the *law* in *Ireland* generally attend their functions here and dwell among us.

The greatest hardship we suffer on account of the pensions on our establishment is, that, for the most part, they are spent abroad. Taxes spent at home do not impoverish us, though private persons may suffer in the payment of them; but whatever is spent abroad is a general loss to the kingdom.

Nor can we altogether excuse the *military officers* from contributing to the impoverishment of this country. Of the many General Officers on our establishment, very few of them are at any time to be found here, though they are, perhaps, the only Generals in *Europe* in full pay in time of peace; and if at any time any of them are ordered to review our forces, which is the only part of duty required of them, they expect to be allowed for that service in *Ireland*, which does not last above six weeks or two months, 300*l.* or 500*l.* over and above their pay as General, which is as much as any Lieutenant-General in the foreign service is allowed a-year; and this, too, though they happen to come over at the same time to take possession of a *good government*. Many of our Colonels and Field Officers, by the same example, live for the most part abroad, to the disabling the poor people of this kingdom from paying that very establishment by which they are maintained.

We are apt to complain of the hardships laid upon us by *England* in respect to our trade, and when we are pinched and in distress charge our misfortunes to the account of other people; but if we truly examine all circumstances we shall find that to *ourselves* we owe most of the misfortunes and inconveniences we labour under; we owe them to our im-

moderate consumption of foreign commodities at home and extravagant spending abroad.

It is not to be wondered at that we should grow poorer every day under such an unprofitable issue of money, which all the labour of the people and produce of the country, with every acquisition they can make, are not sufficient to supply. This is an *evil* long complained of, and in our days is increased to that degree that we shall soon be utterly exhausted, unless some effectual stop be put thereto; and as it arises principally from *ourselves*, it is much in our own power to redress it. With this view I shall take notice of what provisions our ancestors made in this case, and beg leave to suggest some expedients that may remedy this growing evil.

Sir *John Davis*, Attorney-General in Ireland to King *James I.*, in his *Historical Relations*, has observed, that the absence of the *great lords* (who, having great estates in Ireland, yet kept their continual residence in *England*) was the principal cause of the slow progress made in the reduction of *Ireland*, and of the frequent rebellions of the *Irish*, who were thereby encouraged to make encroachments upon the *English* and dispossess them of their lands; and that the Kings of *England* were thereby put to the necessity of sending armies over from time to time to reduce and reconquer several provinces thereof.

For which reason an ordinance had been made in *England*, the 3rd of *Richard II.*, against “such as were absent from their lands in *Ireland*, which gave *two-third* parts of the *profits* thereof unto the *King*, until they returned or placed a sufficient number of men to defend the same; which ordinance was put in execution for many years after, as appears by sundry seizures made thereupon in the time of *Richard II.* and *Henry IV., V., and VI.*, whereof there remain records in the Remembrancer’s Office here. Among the rest, the Duke of *Norfolk* himself was impleaded on this ordinance, for two parts of the profits of his lands in the county of *Wexford*, in the time of *Henry VI.*, and afterwards, on the same reason of State, all the lands of the house of *Norfolk*, of the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Lord *Berkely*, and others

“(who having lands in *Ireland*, yet resided continually in *England*), were entirely resumed and vested in the Crown “by the *Act of Absentees*, made the 28th of *Henry VIII.*”

Not only two-third parts of the profits of the lands of *absentees* were forfeited by law, but if any in *office* went out of the kingdom, his *office* became void immediately, and, therefore, in the 25th of *Henry VI.*, an Act passed in *Ireland*, “that whereas it was in doubt, if any persons in *office* did “pass by sea from one port of *Ireland* to another, whether “their *offices* were void, as if they had passed into *England* “or into other lands out of *Ireland*; it was thereby declared, “that any *officer* may pass in ships or boats from any part of “*Ireland* to another without forfeiting his *office*. And by “another Act made in the same year, entitled, *An Act concerning Absentees*, it was ordained, that if any of the *King’s* “subjects or officers be absent out of the land of *Ireland* by “the commandment of the *King*, or the *Governour*, or *Council*, that their lands, rents, or offices, by their said *absence*, “shall not be seized nor taken into the *King’s* hands, and “their offices shall not be void.”

These acts do necessarily imply and presuppose that there were then acts in force (which, though now not mentioned in our Statute-books, as many now lying in the Rolls Office are not, yet, possibly, may be found in some of our offices of record) whereby the offices and two-third parts of the profits of the lands of *absentees* were forfeited to the *King*; and the Statute of *Absentees*, of the 28th of *Henry VIII.*, expressly takes notice, that two parts in three of the yearly profits of the lands of *absent persons* did, by reason of their *absence*, belong to the *King*, by virtue of the statutes for that purpose provided.

By an Act passed 10 *Car. I. cap. 21*, it is enacted, “That “all persons dwelling in *England* or elsewhere, who shall “obtain titles of honour among the nobility of *Ireland*, shall, “though resident in *England* or elsewhere, contribute to- “wards all public charges taxed by Parliament, rateably and “in such manner as others of their rank, resident in this “kingdom, are or shall be liable unto.”

These are the legal provisions which our *ancestours* made to prevent our *gentlemen* of estate and *office* from living abroad; and we do not find they were ever repealed: happy had it been for this kingdom if they had been duly executed. As this evil grows daily upon us, and has already thrown the nation into a wasteful consumption of all its substance, it is high time to apply some remedy to stop this immoderate drain which has reduced us almost to nothing. And this can be done no other way than in imitation of our *ancestours* and of all *wise nations* in the like case, by *taxing* the estates of those who, out of wantonness and luxury, choose to spend all the profits thereof abroad, to the impoverishment and ruin of their native country. Unless some such method be taken we shall soon be deprived of all the little money left among us, be disabled from answering the charges of the public, and become a burthen to *England*, as in former times.

It is not reasonable to expect that the security of the Protestant religion and interest in this kingdom, the prosperity of the people, and safety of the Government, should all give way to the gratifications of our *gentlemen* abroad. If they set so high a value on their foreign pleasures that for the enjoyment of them the kingdom must be brought into ruin, it is to be hoped they shall not be indulged in all this without contributing their quota towards the charges of the *public*. As the case stands at present, while all others at home pay largely in taxes for the maintenance of our establishment, *these gentlemen*, though they have generally nothing but what they derive from this country, yet pay not one farthing for the support of it. They have, indeed, the merit of paying, by their foreign consumptions, the taxes of all countries but their own.

It is notorious that some have drawn out of the kingdom 100,000*l.*, some 200,000*l.*, and others above 300,000*l.*, the last 20 years, and yet the said persons have not contributed to the support of the public charges as much as the meanest persons, who pay *the least part of our taxes*.

It cannot be supposed that our *Irish landlords* who live abroad and consume no part of the produce or manufacture

of their country, pay the least share of the duties or taxes thereof; or relieve any of its poor whose miseries they never see; or make any improvements who never mean to live among us. Nay, their living abroad seems to have so far alienated their affections from their country, and hardened their tempers towards it, that they, above all others, are remarkable for setting their estates at a *rack-rent*, so as hardly to allow a livelihood to their poor tenants by whom they are supported.

There is no country in *Europe* which produces and exports so great a quantity of *beef, butter, tallow, hides, and wool* as *Ireland* does; and yet our common people are very poorly clothed, go bare-legged half the year, and very rarely taste of that fleshmeat with which we so much abound. We pinch ourselves in every article of life, and export more than we can well spare, with no other effect or advantage than to enable our *gentlemen and ladies* to live more luxuriously abroad.

And *they* are not content to treat us thus, but add insult to ill-usage. *They* reproach us with our poverty at the same time that *they* take away our money; and can tell us we have no diversions or entertainments in *Ireland* for them when they themselves disable us from having better by withdrawing from us.

But it is to be hoped that our Legislature will take care that those gentlemen who spend their fortunes abroad, and are thereby the greatest and almost only cause of its poverty and distress, shall not be the only persons favoured and exempted from paying the taxes thereof.

A tax of four shillings in the pound on the estates of *absentees* would, in all likelihood, remove the evils complained of, by stopping, in a great measure, those wasteful drains of our money; and would, in all respects, answer the occasions of the Government; for if these gentlemen will, notwithstanding, still live abroad, then a considerable fund will arise out of their estates to defray the public charges; and if they should return home, then the public revenue will increase by a greater produce in the excise and customs in

proportion as the home consumption would be enlarged by the spending of so much more money among us. Either way the public occasions would be supplied, and the people relieved.

We may farther observe by the said List, that the great and continual drain of money out of this kingdom is from the large estates; few gentlemen of small fortunes do or can live abroad.

An act of gavelkind, whereby all estates above 500*l.* *per ann.* should descend, and be divided in equal proportion, among all the sons as co-heirs (with certain reservation in favour of those who have titles of honour, of all present family settlements, and of eldest sons, if it should be thought advisable), would, in a great measure, prevent so much living and spending abroad, and induce all the sons to sit down on their own respective patrimonies and improve them.

Such a descent of estates is certainly agreeable to the law of nature, for children equally related to their parents ought to be equally their care; but our law and custom, that gives the whole real estate to the eldest son, serves, indeed, no other purpose but to gratify the *pride* and *vanity* of families, and leaves to the younger children (often the most deserving) a poor, scanty provision, or, perhaps, no provision at all; whilst the eldest son is tempted by the largeness of his estate to spend all luxuriously abroad, to the utter ruin of the family and great loss of the kingdom. *The pride of names and families is despised by all people of sense, and is rarely to be found but in poor countries or persons of reduced fortunes, and is generally accompanied with the want of real merit.*

It is true policy, and would tend much to the benefit of remote provinces, if property were more equally divided among the inhabitants. Large, over-grown estates are generally consumed either abroad or at the capital, and may be reckoned as so much tribute, in effect, drawn from the provinces; while small fortunes are spent in the place where they arise with more virtue and advantage to the country.

And till we can be so happy as to obtain such an Act of Parliament, which would be greatly to the benefit of this

kingdom, it is to be hoped that gentlemen of large estates, out of regard to their posterity and the good of their country, will, in their marriage settlements or last wills, choose rather to bring in their younger sons for a share of their lands, and so make many thriving young families, than by giving all to one son to tempt him, by extravagant living abroad, to put an end to the family at once, as it hath often happened of late within the knowledge and observation of every one.

We must own, that there are many of our *gentlemen* abroad who wish well to their country, and abhor all thoughts of having a hand in the ruin of it, who yet are not sensible how much this kingdom is distressed and suffers by their living and spending their estates in other countries; but when they come to reflect on the consequences thereof, and see the poverty and miseries we labour under by their means, and that they themselves must at last share therein, it is not to be doubted but that they will, out of regard to themselves and compassion to their country, change their conduct and act as becomes them.

We must not forget, that as on the one hand we suffer extremely by many who have abdicated their country, and have no sense of its miseries, so on the other hand we lie under the greatest obligations to those lords and gentlemen, who constantly live and spend their fortunes among us. If the Earl of *Kildare* and others of our nobility, Mr. *Conolly* and others of our *commons*, had not all along resided among us, we should long since have been exhausted of all our treasure and reduced to the greatest distress.

I cannot forbear on this occasion to take notice of one remarkable instance, among many others, which Mr. *John Damer*, one of our richest commoners, has lately given us of the just sense he has of the good of this country, and how much he has the interest thereof at heart. This gentleman having no prospect of issue to inherit his great estate, in order to engage his brother (who, we may suppose, is designed to be his heir, and has several children and a large fortune in *England*), to settle in this *Kingdom*, has agreed to make over to him at present a considerable estate, with a fine

house well furnished thereon, upon this *express condition and consideration*, that he shall immediately bring over his family and reside among us, and I am informed his brother has agreed thereto. By this means he has provided that his estate shall continue to be spent in the kingdom, which otherwise would, in all probability, be constantly carried off after his decease; and it is to be hoped that other gentlemen, moved by the same spirit, will show themselves the same true *patriots*, and by their last wills oblige their heirs to reside among us.

The love of one's country is seldom found in any remarkable degree, but in those who live long in it, agreeable to the intention of *nature*, which disposes all men and other creatures to a fondness for those places in which they live; if this be the case, I fear we can expect but little good from those, who, by forsaking their country, must have lost almost all natural affection towards it; and this may teach us, who still retain a sense of the duty we owe our country, to be very cautious on all future elections of Parliament men, or on any other occasions, how we pay any regard to those who do not live constantly among us. It must be of service to take public notice of those actions, which tend both to the good and hurt of one's country, in order to excite us to the practice of the first, and prevent our being guilty of the second.

OF THE
TRADE OF IRELAND.

I SHALL now proceed to consider the trade of *Ireland*, in order to examine whether the balance arising from thence, will enable us to answer those great and constant draughts upon us from abroad; and also to give such a just representation of our commercial affairs, as that gentlemen, by being better apprised of the true state of their country, may be thereby qualified to think on proper methods and schemes

for improving the same; for surely nothing will so effectually enable men to take right measures for the good of their country, as to be rightly informed concerning the trade and true interest thereof.

I shall consider our trade under the following heads:—

1st. I shall examine what *Ireland* gains or loses, both in respect of its general trade with all the world, and of its particular trade with the several countries it has dealings with.

2ndly. I shall particularly take notice of the countries we trade with, to most advantage or disadvantage.

3rdly. I shall set forth the great benefits which accrue to *England* by the trade of *Ireland*, and how much it is its interest to encourage it.

4thly. I shall offer some hints for the better improvement and regulation of our trade.

As to the first head, we are to observe, that in order to form a right judgment of the trade of any country, and whether it gains or loses in its commerce with any particular nation, or its traffic with all countries, it is absolutely necessary to be well informed how much money that country pays for its imports, and receives for its exports, for the difference of both in value, is the true measure of loss or gain; if the exports sell for more than is laid out in purchasing the imports, or if the imports cost more than the exports amount to, the difference will be returned in specie, and is called the balance.

Though it must be confessed to be very difficult to come to an exact knowledge of the true value of all goods imported and exported, in a country that has an extensive trade, and has loaded its imports with high duties; yet, I hope, we shall be thought to come very near the truth, by the means of those inquiries and calculations we have made, and especially by the help of those *abstracts* which have been laid from time to time before the *House of Commons*, by the officers of the *Custom House*, who make up yearly accounts of the quantity and value of all commodities imported and exported: and having made several estimates and observations from the said *abstracts*, and from copies of the *Custom House books*, which

I had an opportunity of examining very carefully, I shall present them to the reader in one view for his better information, judging them the best foundation we can go upon for forming a just estimate of our trade, compared with other nations; and the only way to clear up the mistakes and wrong notions, which several entertain concerning our trade with particular countries; and as there are several articles, not taken notice of by the officers of the *Custom House*, which ought to be taken into consideration when we are drawing up the balances of our respective trades, I shall endeavour to supply them in what follows.

AN ACCOUNT of the Value of the Exports and Imports of *Ireland* for Seven Years ending the 24th March, 1720, taken from the *Custom House Books* in *Dublin* :—

In the Year.	Value of Exports in Pounds Sterling.	Value of Imports.
	£	£
1714, . . .	1,529,765	972,688
1715, . . .	1,067,913	873,044
1716, . . .	1,255,085	875,566
1717, . . .	1,180,012	907,160
1718, . . .	1,115,304	887,758
1719, . . .	1,038,381	891,678
1720, . . .	859,581	683,364
	8,046,041	6,091,258

	£	s.	d.
Value of exports at a medium yearly, for said seven years,	1,149,434	8	7
Value of imports at a medium yearly, for said seven years,	870,179	14	3½
Balance yearly in favour of <i>Ireland</i> for said seven years,	279,254	14	3½
	39		AN

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AN ACCOUNT of the Value of the Exports and Imports of *Ireland* for Seven Years ending the 24th *March*, 1727:—

In the Year.	Value of Exports.	Value of Imports.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1721, .	986,346 14 2	730,558 10 9
1722, .	1,074,269 12 2	829,367 17 2
1723, .	1,090,675 13 5	920,802 11 6
1724, .	1,053,782 13 11	819,761 13 3
1725, .	1,026,537 6 4	889,832 18 5
1726, .	1,017,872 15 4	1,030,059 16 4
1727, .	1,063,319 10 9	830,791 10 8
	7,311,804 6 1	6,051,174 18 1

Value of exports at a medium yearly, for said seven years, £ s. d.
1,044,543 9 5½

Value of imports at a medium yearly, for said seven years, 864,453 11 2

Balance yearly in favour of *Ireland*, for said seven years, 180,089 18 3¼

In the Year.	Value of the Exports from <i>Ireland</i> to <i>Great Britain</i> .	Value of the Imports from <i>Great Britain</i> to <i>Ireland</i> .
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1721, .	452,203 12 9	438,756 17 6
1722, .	558,400 10 5	535,206 5 2
1723, .	578,009 7 1	552,859 7 5
1724, .	497,882 15 1	472,802 1 8
1725, .	477,972 14 11	540,587 6 7
1726, .	504,881 15 4	588,024 3 6
1727, .	462,097 14 0	443,460 19 6
	3,531,448 9 7	3,571,697 1 4

Value of imports at a medium yearly, for said seven years, £ s. d.
510,312 8 9

Value of exports at a medium yearly, for said seven years, 504,492 12 9

Balance yearly, in favour of *Great Britain*, 5,749 16 0

In the Year.	Value of Exports from <i>Ireland to France.</i>	Value of Imports from <i>France to Ireland.</i>
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1721, .	121,237 10 9	132,908 2 3
1722, .	122,426 10 5	117,881 13 3
1723, .	176,777 8 2	150,563 18 3
1724, .	214,422 17 6	141,650 9 5
1725, .	205,317 7 7	159,055 5 2
1726, .	137,702 10 7	193,954 12 6
1727, .	179,568 12 10	177,705 10 9
	1,157,452 17 10	1,073,719 11 7

	£ s. d.
Value exported at a medium yearly, for said seven years,	165,350 8 3
Value imported at a medium yearly, for said seven years,	153,388 10 1
Balance yearly in favour of <i>Ireland</i> ,	11,961 18 2

In the Year.	Value of Exports to <i>Denmark, Norway, Hamburg, and Balick.</i>	Value of Imports from thence.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1721, .	80,700 1 4	49,742 7 8
1722, .	46,531 4 8	54,292 0 11
1723, .	44,951 1 9	67,000 9 9
1724, .	42,049 10 3	74,300 8 11
1725, .	39,574 17 5	59,400 3 11
1726, .	53,211 9 9	67,193 7 6
1727, .	55,189 10 4	75,526 1 4
	362,207 15 6	447,450 0 0

	£ s. d.
Value of imports at a medium yearly, for said seven years,	63,922 2 10
Value of exports at a medium yearly, for said seven years,	51,743 19 4
Balance yearly against <i>Ireland</i> ,	12,178 3 6

In the Year.	Value of Exports to <i>Holland</i> and <i>Flanders</i> .			Imports from thence.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1721, .	87,032	19	11	51,187	3	4
1722, .	89,327	4	1	55,624	16	9
1723, .	60,866	7	7	82,224	17	2
1724, .	52,618	1	1	70,048	14	3
1725, .	63,922	15	3	69,206	2	2
1726, .	93,713	15	6	84,048	6	2
1727, .	100,865	10	4	70,031	0	5
	548,346	13	9	492,371	0	3

	£	s.	d.
Value exported at a medium yearly, for said seven years,	78,335	4	10
Value imported at a medium yearly,	70,338	14	4
Balance yearly in favour of <i>Ireland</i> ,	7,996	10	6

In the Year.	Value of Exports to <i>Spain</i> , <i>Portugal</i> , and the <i>Mediterranean</i> .			Imported from thence.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1721, .	176,768	6	1	57,963	19	11
1722, .	183,239	13	0	56,363	1	0
1723, .	147,265	1	11	68,153	18	9
1724, .	149,984	1	0	60,959	16	11
1725, .	135,751	8	8	61,584	0	6
1726, .	118,049	4	5	96,839	6	6
1727, .	146,353	12	11	64,067	19	6
	1,057,411	8	0	465,932	3	1

	£	s.	d.
Value exported at a medium yearly,	151,058	15	5
Value imported at a medium yearly,	66,561	14	7
Balance yearly in favour of <i>Ireland</i> ,	84,497	0	10
			In

In the Year.			Exported from <i>Ireland</i> to the <i>Plantations</i> .		
			Value.		
			£	s.	d.
1721,	.	.	68,404	3	2
1722,	.	.	74,344	9	6
1723,	.	.	82,806	6	9
1724,	.	.	96,825	8	10
1725,	.	.	103,998	2	4
1726,	.	.	110,313	19	7
1727,	.	.	118,244	10	1
			654,937	0	3

Value exported at a medium yearly, £ 93,562 s. 0 d. 9

A TABLE of the Value of the Exports and Imports of *Ireland*, at a Medium yearly, for Seven Years, ending the 24th of *March*, 1727:—

The Nations to and from which the Exports and Imports are made.	Exports in Value.			Imports in Value.			Balance.			
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
Great Britain,	504,492	12	9	510,242	8	9	5,49	16	0	Against us.
France,	165,350	8	3	153,388	10	1	11,961	18	2	For us.
Denmark, Norway, Hamburg, and the Baltick,	51,743	19	4	63,922	2	10	12,178	3	6	Against us.
Holland and Flanders,	78,335	4	10	70,338	14	4	7,996	10	6	For us.
Spain, Portugal, and the Mediterranean,	151,058	15	5	66,561	14	7	84,497	0	10	For us.
Plantations,	93,562	9	0	—			93,562	9	0	For us.
Total,	1,044,543	9	7	864,453	10	7	—			

Net Balance in favour of *Ireland* at a medium yearly, for said seven years, £ 180,089 s. 19 d. 0

N.B.—All fractions less than a penny are omitted, which amount to nimpence in the whole.

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	£	s.	d.
The value of imports from all countries } into <i>Ireland</i> at a medium yearly for } the last seven years is, }	864,453	11	2
The value of imports from <i>Great Bri-</i> } <i>tain</i> at a medium yearly, }	510,252	8	9

So that the imports from *Great Britain* only, are in value, near five parts in eight, of our whole importations.

The value of our exports to all countries } at a medium yearly for said seven } years, }	1,044,543	9	7
The value of exports to <i>Great Britain</i> } yearly at a medium, }	504,492	12	9

Therefore, our exports to *Great Britain* only, are in value, near half of our whole exportations.

The general balance in favour of <i>Ireland</i> } at a medium yearly for seven years, } ending the 24th of <i>March</i> , 1720, was, }	279,254	14	3½
The general balance for <i>Ireland</i> at a } medium yearly for last seven years, } was, }	180,089	18	3½

The yearly decrease of the balance of } trade for last seven years, }	99,164	16	0
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Value of imports in 1726,	1,030,059	16	4½
Value of exports in 1726,	1,017,872	15	4

Balance against *Ireland*, in 1726, 12,187 1 0½

Thus far we are instructed by the *Custom House books* concerning the value of our commodities imported and exported, and the respective balances depending thereon, and find that the balance in our favour of all our trade in general,

taken at a medium yearly, for the last seven years ending the 24th of *March*, 1727, amounts to 180,089*l.* 18*s.* 3*d.*

It is proper to take notice of the manner of valuation practised by the proper officers, who, as I am well informed, value all our exports at a medium of the price current in our markets at home; and all the imports at the mean rate we are supposed to pay for them to other countries. And to do justice to the care and skill of the officers, we must observe that of late years they are, for the most part, pretty exact and right in their valuations; their books show that they have made it their business to be well informed by merchants and other dealers of the current rates of commodities both at home and abroad.

It must be owned that this manner of valuation will not give us the true balances of our trade with other countries; for, though in respect to the imports, no alteration is to be made in the value of them, on the supposition that we rate them no higher than the prime cost we pay for them to other countries, yet we must add to the value of our exports whatever we sell them for abroad more than they are rated for at home. This additional value arises from the duty and charges of exportation, the freight, expence, and profit of merchants, which in long voyages, are very considerable, and enhance the price of commodities to the gain of that nation in whose ships and on whose account these goods are exported.

To adjust these articles that are either to be added to or subtracted from the respective balances, as they are settled by our *Custom House officers*, is very difficult, and requires the knowledge of many particulars not easily to be come at. However, I shall endeavour to give all the satisfaction I am able from such lights and information as I have had in this affair; and, in the first place, I shall lay down an estimate of the tunnage of shipping employed in the trade of *Ireland* for several years.

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AN ESTIMATE of the TUNNAGE of SHIPPING employed in the TRADE of IRELAND.

In the Year	Number of Ships.	Irish Tuna.	English Tuna.	Scotch Tuna.	Dutch Tuna.	East Country Tuna.	French Tuna.	Spanish Tuna.	Totals.
1721,	3,499	35,006	94,177	15,739	8,641	3,244	1,384	231	158,422
1722,	3,657	33,212	218,299	18,355	11,201	2,444	2,868	115	286,494
1723,	4,012	42,136	96,440	19,247	9,292	3,915	2,751	205	173,986
1724,	3,833	39,085	95,980	19,095	967	12,318	1,989	511	169,925
1725,	3,461	36,795	92,321	18,098	11,870	2,179½	775½	365	162,404
1726,	3,703	43,089	103,961	19,882	12,266	1,910	2,400	432	183,940
1727,	3,494	40,469	99,394	15,648	12,086	2,543	2,652	401	173,193
Totals,	25,659	269,792	800,572	126,064	66,323	28,553½	14,819½	2,260	1,308,364
At a medium yearly,	3,665½	38,541½	114,367½	18,009½	9,474½	4,079¼	2,117¼	322½	186,909½

This estimate shows us what share we ourselves, as well as other countries, have in the shipping employed in the exportation and importation of our commodities; but what proportion of those commodities are exported or imported on the account of our own merchants, is not so easy to ascertain; but upon the best inquiry I have been able to make, I judge that at a medium the third part of the value of our whole exports may be the proportion that our merchants export on their own accounts, and that a profit of 12*l. per cent.* at a medium may be allowed to arise from this part of our exportation, including the freight of our own shipping. Upon this supposition the gain accruing to the kingdom thereby will, by an allowance of 12*l. per cent.* for the sum of 348,500*l.* (which is the third part of our whole exportation), amount to 41,800*l. per ann.*; and if we should be concerned in half the value of our exports, or that the gain arising from thence should be 18 *per cent.*, as some imagine, then a profit of 93,960*l.* must be brought into the account.

This surplus profit arises from that part of our exports which we send abroad on our own accounts, and sell for so much more abroad than they are rated at home, and must be added in our favour to the yearly balance of 180,089*l.* 19*s.*, stated by the Custom House officers. And in case those officers should have rated our imports higher than we paid

for them to foreigners, the overplus ought to be deducted from the value of the imports set down by them, which will increase the balance in our favour; and, on the contrary, the overplus ought to be added to the value of our imports, if they have under-rated them, which will lessen the balance. But, though it would be agreeable to find the balance of trade enlarge in our favour from so considerable an addition to it, arising from some articles which could not come within the province of the Custom House officers, yet, upon examination, I am afraid we shall find a great drawback upon us, and be obliged to abate a great deal of that supposed balance, and, perhaps, reduce it lower than the balance stated by the Custom House, when we consider the great quantity of goods which are yearly run into the kingdom without any entry in the Custom House books or duty paid for the same, for which we paid value abroad.

It is impossible to ascertain the value of this clandestine importation, but the fair trader complains of great quantities of all sorts of *East India* commodities, silks, tobacco, wine, &c., imported by stealth; and of late we have discovered a long scene of running of brandy, even in our *metropolis*, where officers abound and are under the immediate eye of the Commissioners; and yet, neither the trusts, nor oaths, penalties, or number of officers were sufficient checks to prevent their being bribed by the runners; if it is so difficult to prevent this sort of traffic in *Dublin*, what quantities must we suppose to be privately imported in the other parts of the kingdom, in a compass of near 800 miles in circuit, abounding in harbours and creeks, where neither the number or care of officers can be sufficient to prevent these clandestine conveyances; and though such sort of people are by a late Act of Parliament deprived of the use of the *Isle of Man* for carrying on this traffic, yet how easy is it to shift the scene of this pernicious dealing, when the profit shall countervail all hazards, as it always does, where the duties are high; but whatever is the yearly balance on our side by trade, whether 180,000*l.* or 280,000*l.* or more, yet all this falls very much short of answering that immoderate and unprofitable drain of money

we labour under, to support our gentry abroad; whatever gain we make in any part of the world, is immediately carried off by this flux, which has already consumed the greatest part of our capital stock, as appears by that universal face of poverty which is spread over the nation.

I shall close this head with an observation, which may pass for a political axiom, *that one of the greatest evils which can befall any country, is to have the gentlemen of estate and employment desert it, and spend the profits thereof abroad.*

Under the second head I shall take notice of the countries we trade with, to most advantage or disadvantage.

And I shall lay down the following *rules*, as a foundation to judge by:—

I. That is the most advantageous trade which takes off the greatest quantity of the produce of a country, and especially of its manufactures, and which imports fewest commodities, and those capable of farther improvement, in which case there will be the greatest return of specie to make up the balance.

II. On the contrary, that is the most disadvantageous trade which takes off the smallest quantity of the produce of a country, and that unmanufactured, and in return imports the greatest quantity of commodities for luxury, and fully wrought up, in which case the imports will most exceed the exports in value.

According to this rule, we shall find the trade of *England* of great importance to us, since it takes off above the value of 500,000*l.* yearly, which is near the half of all our exports, and among the rest, the greatest part of our linen manufactures.

It is true the *English* take from us all our wool, worsted, woollen and linen-yarn, which they work up to their great advantage, and import to us in manufactures fully wrought up, near the full value of all we export to them.

Our trade to *Spain*, *Portugal*, and the *Mediterranean* is very beneficial to us, since it carries off yearly to the value of 151,000*l.* in our commodities, and in return we have from thence near three parts in five of the value returned in specie.

Holland and *Flanders* take from us to the value of 78,000*l.* yearly, in the simple produce of the country, principally in raw hides, which they tan, and in great quantities of butter; and in return, they send us the value of 70,000*l.* in *Hollands*, *cambrics*, *madder*, and other commodities, most of which we could furnish ourselves with from our own industry, if proper measures were taken.

We send to *Hamburg*, *Norway*, and the *Baltic* yearly, to the value of 52,000*l.*, and import from thence to the value of 64,000*l.*, so that there lies a balance of 12,000*l.* yearly against us; but considering that our imports from thence consist principally of deal boards, timber of all sorts, iron, hemp, and naval stores, which we cannot be without, or supply ourselves with cheaper elsewhere, we must be content with that trade on the foot it stands.

As to the trade of *France*, by the Custom House books (from which I always take such estimates and valuations as are herein mentioned), the value of our exports thither yearly at a medium of the last seven years, amounts unto 165,000*l.*, and our imports from thence to 153,000*l. per ann.*, by which we seem to have a balance on our side yearly of 12,000*l.*, but if we make allowances for great quantities of silken manufacture, brandy, and many other expensive articles, clandestinely imported from thence from time to time, we shall find, I am afraid, a considerable balance lie against us, as appears plainly from a constant course of exchange in favour of *France*.

We find by the Custom House books, that the importation of *French* wines has increased so much of late years, that there is a third part more now imported than used to be twelve years ago, notwithstanding the prime cost thereof has been considerably raised upon our merchants in *France*, and the price thereof increased much more on our consumers at home.

It may be, therefore, advisable to put a stop to this immoderate consumption of *French* wine, by laying an additional duty thereon which will have this good effect, that we shall thereby save a great deal of money to the kingdom yearly, and at the same time increase the consumption of the produce of the country, and consequently our home excise.

Many are of opinion, that the *French* trade is very detrimental to this country, *1st.* Because our importations from thence consist principally of wine and brandy, which are materials for luxury and not for use. *2ndly.* Because the *French* will take no manufactures from us, not even a tanned hide, nor any other produce of our country, but what is useful either for their manufactures at home, or necessary for the support of their *American* plantations abroad.

But then we ought to consider, that it appears from the quantity of our commodities exported to *France*, at a medium yearly for seven years ending 1726, taken from the Custom House books, that the *French* take from us, one year with another, two parts in five of all our tallow, above one-third of all our butter, a fourth part of our raw hides, and above one-third part of all our beef, which last commodity may otherwise lie a drug upon our hands, since no other foreign nation has occasion for the same, either for their own consumption or for the use of their colonies; we should also consider that we have been long used to the drinking of wine, and in all likelihood will not fail to continue the use of it, and that we cannot have wines so cheap from other countries, and that the duty laid thereon is a great support to our establishment; for these reasons we cannot think this trade so very detrimental as some would make it. It could be wished indeed, that proper representations were made to the *French*, to make them sensible that we show more favour to them in the duties on wine than to any other nation, and that in return, we might reasonably expect some favour in our trade with them, with respect to the duties on our commodities, and not to be treated as we are at present, with as great severity as those nations are, who lay very high duties and even prohibitions on their commodities.

3rdly. I shall now consider the great benefits which accrue to *England* by the trade of *Ireland*, and how much it is its interest to encourage it, which I shall endeavour to make appear in the following particulars.

1st. It appears from the Custom House books, that the value of our importations from all countries, at a medium yearly

yearly for the last seven years, amounts to 864,453*l.* 10*s.* 7*d.*, and that the imports from *Great Britain* alone amount to 510,242*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.*, which is near five parts in eight of our whole importations, and they consist chiefly of woollen and silken manufactures, coffee, tea, calicoes, muslins, tobacco, sugar, coals, hops, bark, iron-ware, and glass-ware, &c., all which are commodities worked up to the height; and I believe that upon examination, it will be found that we take off a much greater quantity of the several manufactures of *England*, except their woollen, than any other country in *Europe*.

2ndly. Whereas it is commonly judged, that the importation of foreign goods is a loss to the nation that receives them, since otherwise bullion would be returned in lieu thereof. We shall find on the contrary, that *England* receives a vast benefit by all the goods we send them; for the wool, woollen-yarn, and worsted, which they have from us yearly to the quantity of between 200,000 and 300,000 stones, at 18 pound weight the stone, and for which they pay us about 130,000*l.*, when fully manufactured by the people of *England* will sell for 500,000*l.* at least in foreign markets, which is a benefit that would otherwise accrue to the people of *Ireland*, had not *England* reserved the manufacture and profit thereof to themselves.

In like manner they receive from us yearly, as appears from the entries in our Custom House books, taken at a medium yearly for seven years ending the 24th *March*, 1726, to the value of 92,752*l.* in linen-yarn, which when worked up into tickings, tapes, girths, and many other sorts of manufactures in *England*, become thereby worth 100,000*l.* more than their first cost.

They also take from us great quantities of raw hides, tallow, and linen, which they export to foreign countries, and their plantations to great advantage.

3rdly. It appears from the estimate of the tunnage of shipping, employed yearly in the trade of *Ireland*, before set forth, that whereas the whole tunnage amounts at a medium yearly to 186,909 tuns, the *English* and *Scotch* tunnage so employed comes to 132,376 tuns, which is more than two-

thirds of the whole, and allowing but 9s. gain on each tun at a medium, which is very moderate, there arises a yearly profit of 59,562l. 4s. to the *English* and *Scotch*, on this article of freight only in the *Irish* trade.

4thly. Our exportations, as well as our freight being principally carried on the account of *English* merchants, there arises a very considerable profit to them on this article, which is commonly estimated to be double the freight, to make good expenses, insurance, and merchants' profits; but being willing to be under the real value in these computations, it may be reasonably allowed that a profit of 80,000l. accrues to *England* yearly on this article of the *Irish* trade.

5thly. To all these advantages, we are to add the greatest of all, which arises from our lords and gentlemen of estate and employment living and spending all their incomes abroad, to the value of 500,000l. or 600,000l. yearly, whereof the greatest part is consumed in *England*, and may be reckoned as so much clear gain to it, without the least value returned for the same.

This plainly appears from the list of *Absentees*, hereunto prefixed, wherein the names of the persons, and the yearly value of their estates, employments, and pensions spent abroad, are particularly mentioned; and for this reason, because it would be impossible to convince the world, that so much of our substance is carried off by this channel, by any other method, than by pointing out the persons to whom, and the estates from whence those drains are made; but now every one, on examining the particulars contained in the said list, which have been collected with great pains into one view, may satisfy himself, whether they are truly set forth or not. It is but inquiring whether such and such persons do not generally live abroad, or were out of the kingdom at the time mentioned; and whether they have not estates or employments to the value set forth, and spend the same abroad; and I am confident, that though in some few particulars, I might be misinformed and over-rate some articles, yet it will be found that I have under-rated others much more, having it always in my intention to be rather under than over; and that I have omitted

several, which will occur upon reading, to every one's observation; and that upon the whole, those drains we labour under, are much more than I have estimated them.

Mr. *Davenant*, in his Discourses on the *Plantation Trade*, p. 221, asserts, that the trade of *England* arrived at it greatest height in 1688, at which time he computes the national profit arising from foreign trade and home manufactures to have been two millions yearly; the particulars whereof are as follow:—

	£
Gained by the <i>Plantation Trade</i> , . . .	600,000
By the <i>East India Trade</i> , . . .	500,000
By the <i>European, African, and Levant</i> Trade on the home product, . . .	600,000
By Re-exports of <i>Plantation goods</i> , . . .	120,000
By Re-exports of <i>India goods</i> , . . .	180,000
In all, . . .	£2,000,000

Mr. *Davenant* was suspected to be too partial to the *East India* trade; for which reason many opposed him, and would not allow that *England* gained one million yearly at that time, and some insisted that *England* was then a great loser, by a large balance on the side of the *French* trade; and indeed if the trade of *England* had been in such a flourishing condition as to have gained at last two millions yearly, that must have appeared in a proportionable increase of the current specie, and swelled it up at the Revolution to thirty or forty millions, but upon the re-coinage of their money, it was computed by Mr. *Davenant* and others, that the current specie did not exceed eighteen millions. But whatever gain the nation had formerly, I am afraid it has much less now; for considering the great loss of treasure sent abroad, to support the wars, in the reigns of King *William* and Queen *Anne*, the interruptions and losses by trade in that time, and considering the great load of high duties, taxes, and prohibitions, that lie very heavy on all its foreign and domestic commerce; I believe that the most sanguine will not pretend that *England* gains at present a million by all its traffic; and even half of that sum is

sent off yearly to pay foreigners, the interest of the money, they have in the Public Funds, which is reasonably judged to be no less than ten millions.

If this be the case of *England*, as I am afraid it is, then it clearly follows, that *England* gains by *Ireland* alone, half as much yearly as it does by all the world besides; this channel of wealth has enabled *England* all along to support two most expensive wars abroad, and to lay up treasure at home in time of peace. Whatever the people of *Ireland* get by hard labour, and poor living at home, or by their industry and hazards abroad, all is immediately conveyed to *England* to maintain our gentlemen there.

And notwithstanding, *Ireland* has parted with all its substance, and reduced itself to the greatest poverty, to enrich *England*, yet there are some *Englishmen*, who being ignorant of the case of *Ireland*, and of the advantages it brings to them, upon all occasions represent us as having interests incompatible with theirs, and carrying on trades destructive of the *English* commerce; whereas, it is evident to all considering impartial persons, that there is no country in *Europe*, that brings so much profit to another as *Ireland* does to *England*, and therefore, it is the real interest and policy of *England* to cherish and encourage this her younger sister, all whose acquisitions are sure to flow into her bosom; for though our people were more fully employed, and our exports enlarged, though our gains from other nations by a greater liberty of trade should be much more considerable than they are, yet we should not thereby be one jot the richer, since no part of this wealth would stay with us, but would run off in the great drain of remittances to our *Absentees* to enrich *England*.

The necessary and luxurious importations of *England* are excessive, and fall very little short of its exports in value, each of them being computed at between five and six millions yearly.

If most part of the *bullion*, which *England* gains from *Spain* and *Portugal*, is sent away to the *East Indies*, and to answer the balances that lie against it in the *Northern* trades, and the demands also of foreigners, who have great shares in the Public

Funds, as many imagine to be the case, it will need other resources and means to increase its wealth. These are furnished to it from those countries which depend upon it, namely, the *Plantations* and *Ireland*, the *Plantations* enrich it by their commodities, which are re-exported to other countries, and *Ireland* by its continual remittances in money.

It is certain that the *Plantations* are a great addition of wealth to *England*; the labour of the *Negroes*, about 200,000 in number, costs little, and the profit thereof is great, and centres at last in *England*. No part of the money which the *Planters* get from the *Spaniards* stays with them, but flows to *England* as fast as it enters in; and whenever a *Planter* has made his fortune, he seldom fails to transport all his effects and family to *England*, which he reckons his home. It is therefore, the interest of *England* to promote and encourage the trade of *their Plantations*, and not suffer any obstruction or difficulty to be thrown upon it, (at the instance of private traders and manufacturers who may find their own account in it), to the prejudice of the nation, which will always be enriched by the *Plantations*, in proportion as they grow in wealth, and lose as they grow poor.

Our case is much the same with the *Plantations*, the produce and profit of all our labour issues constantly to the people of *England*, and therefore, it is its interest to give the people of *Ireland* full employment, to encourage their industry in every branch of trade, and not to stop any inlet through which treasure may come into it, since every acquisition and profit that we can make, will at last centre among them; if they would look upon us with the same favour, and in the same light as they ought to do their *Plantations*, they would justly reckon us a main foundation of their wealth, and think it not consistent with their interest to cramp our industry, or render our labour trifling and insignificant.

Upon a candid and fair inquiry and reasoning, it will be found that there is no trade or manufacture that *England* is possessed of, but it is for its advantage to let the people of *Ireland* into the full enjoyment of it; not excepting the woollen

manufacture, the principal foundation of all their trade, and which they are so jealous of, and value at so high a rate.

This assertion may seem a strange paradox to several persons, but I think may be supported with many good reasons, but I shall first take notice of, and examine the grounds of those complaints, which are frequently raised by some in *England*, of the transportation of great quantities of wool and woollen manufacture from *Ireland* to *France*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*, to the great prejudice of their woollen trade, by the sale of *Irish* stuffs, or *French* manufacture made of *Irish* wool; and as a proof of this, it is urged, that the quantity of wool transported from hence to *England* is much diminished of late years, and therefore, they conclude, that all the wool that is wanting to make up the former quantities, is run to *France*.

They say further, that they have discovered a clandestine trade in carrying great quantities of serges and woollen goods to *Lisbon*, and other places, of which they have given us invidious accounts in the public prints.

In answer to this, it must be owned, that there is not so great a quantity of wool exported to *England* of late years, as used to be; but this diminution is easily accounted for, and it is not owing to the running of wool, but arises principally from the following causes:—

1st. That in the *North* of *Ireland* there are hardly any sheep now to be found, since the inhabitants are grown very numerous, and have applied themselves principally to the linen manufactures, and sowing of corn for their subsistence; so that they are forced to supply themselves with wool and mutton from other provinces.

2ndly. In other parts of the kingdom, the farmers finding that wool lay under a great discouragement, and could not afford a profit answerable to the high price of lands, have generally lessened their flocks of sheep, and employed their lands to other uses, which turn to a better account, such as feeding black cattle, keeping dairies, plowing for corn, rape, hemp, and flax, &c., for which they find a ready market abroad; whereas, they are not allowed at all to export their wool manu-

factured; nor even unmanufactured but to a few ports in *England*.

3rdly. We are further to consider that the people of *Ireland* are much increased in numbers, and are fallen into a greater wear and use of their own manufactures, and consequently must consume a greater quantity of their wool.

4thly. The sheep of *Ireland* are subject to the rot, from the wetness of the seasons and the moisture of the climate, and as such seasons are frequent and the destruction of sheep thereby very great; whenever this happens, it requires a good many years to repair the loss.

We see this diminution might have happened though we should not have run one stone of wool, and it is likely this diminution will still increase; for what motive can we have to deal in a commodity which we are not allowed to export or manufacture to advantage, and only to make ourselves shepherds for *England*; this cause of complaint is like to fall soon to the ground, since we find it our interest to lessen our number of sheep, and to keep no more of them than are necessary for our own consumption; and then probably we shall be courted to return to our flocks again.

It cannot be denied that some wool and stuffs are run out of the kingdom, and it is impossible altogether to prevent it, in such a wide extended coast, full of creeks, notwithstanding the vigilance and care of the officers, who are perhaps the strictest in the execution of this part of their office of any in *Europe*; and we see that in *England* all their laws, and endeavours, cannot prevent this mischievous traffic; it is remarkable that one of our merchants having observed many packs of wool landed in the *West of England* from *Ireland*, soon after saw the same packs landed in one of the ports of *France*, where he happened to come, and knew them by their marks; and upon inquiry made in the ports of *France*, it was found that a greater quantity of wool was imported thither from *England* than from *Ireland*.

If any woollen manufacture is clandestinely carried from hence to *Portugal* or *Spain* (for *France* will take nothing but wool), the quantity cannot be great; the hazards on ex-

portation are so many, and forfeiture so great, that it is hardly worth any one's while to venture; and as such exporters are generally poor, they must sell for what they can get, and perhaps their selling their goods at a low rate though in a small quantity, has given the greatest offence; and for that reason the *French* and *Dutch* will be as ready to join in the outcry as the *English*.

We ought to consider that trade has been at a stand, and that there has been little vent for woollen manufactures these two years past, which has been occasioned principally by our difference with *Spain*; in such a crisis the *English* merchants are apt to assign many wrong causes, besides the true ones, for the decay of their trade, and among others are ready to bring in the people of *Ireland* for their share in it; but we are very sensible at home, that our weavers are starving for want of employment, and at the same time import a great deal of woollen manufacture from *England*, which is no sign that we export great quantities thereof abroad; but whatever *Irish* woollen manufacture is sold abroad, all the money got thereby is soon remitted to the people of *England*, who are so far from being losers, that they are great gainers by this traffic which some reckon so pernicious.

If the *French* or any other foreigners should sell all their goods at the same market abroad, that *England* does, and remit all the money arising from thence to *England* to be spent there, will anybody say, that so much is not clear gain to *England*, though some of its merchants may possibly suffer a little thereby in the sale of their goods?

This is the very case of *Ireland* so much complained of, which leads me to make good my assertion, that it is the interest of *England* to leave the woollen trade free and open to the people of *Ireland*.

If *Ireland* was the only country, besides *England*, which produced wool, it would then be in the power of *England*, and its interest by restrictions laid upon us, to reserve the whole trade to themselves; and we should readily acquiesce and submit to those laws, however severe they may otherwise be thought; but the case is much otherwise, *Spain* produces

great quantities of fine wool, and all the other parts of *Europe* raise a great deal of the coarse and a considerable parcel of the fine sort, so that they do not want materials for woollen manufacture; stopping the door upon *Ireland* is only hedging in the cuckow, and has only served to open and enlarge that trade in foreign countries, by driving great numbers of our weavers to *France* and other places, where they have set up the same trade, and thereby have done *England* much more prejudice than if they had staid at home, and were allowed to export their woollen manufactures.

We find by *sad* experience, that since the Revolution the *French*, *Dutch*, and *Germans* have encouraged and cultivated their woollen manufactures to a great height, and still go on in improving the same, and by the cheapness of labour and provisions, are able to undersell the *English* already in their own and foreign markets. The *French* have thereby in a great measure ingrossed the woollen trade in *Turkey* and the *Mediterranean*, which was formerly carried on by the *English*; and many provinces in *Germany* now supply themselves with their own manufactures, which they likewise had formerly from *England*. We find also, that since the ministries of *Alberoni* and *Ripperda*, the *Spaniards* have either out of revenge or policy prosecuted the woollen trade with such vigour, that they now cloath their armies with their own manufactures, and in imitation of the Court, the nobility and better sort are clothed the same way; and that *English* bays, which used to be the common wear of the country, is not now made use of there; if this humour goes on, the *Spaniards* may in time prohibit the exportation of their wool, the principal ingredient of the fine drapery of *England*.

This is a very disagreeable scene of affairs, which should inspire the *English* with resolutions of taking other measures to mend their condition; they see the *French*, *Dutch*, and others have rivalled and even wormed them out of a great part of their woollen trade, and they are in danger of being driven out of the best part of what remains, unless some new course be taken to retrieve their woollen trade, which can be done no other way than by being able to undersell the *French*

and *Dutch* in foreign markets; for it is a maxim, which always holds good, that he commands the market who sells best and cheapest; this is what the *English* cannot do of themselves, considering the high price of labour, taxes, and manner of living in *England*, which lie heavy on their manufactures, and make them come dearer to any foreign market than those of other countries which rival them; but if they should think proper to employ the people of *Ireland*, in making any part of their woollen manufactures, and especially such sorts of them as they are rivalled in by others, they would soon be able to drive the *French* and *Dutch* out of any branch of foreign trade, by selling cheaper and better commodities than they.

And this we have reason to believe would be the case, considering that the price of labour and provisions in *Ireland* is very low, and that the people are industrious and live poor and cheap, and have no taxes on their consumptions; there is no way left for the people of *England* to recover any lost trade, but by the same ways and means whereby others got it from them, which is by selling cheaper than their neighbours; nor is there any course left to bring that about, but by taking in the assistance of the people of *Ireland*, and employing their hands in such manner and such work as they shall find most convenient.

If, for instance, the *Turkey* merchants were allowed to work up in *Ireland*, such sort of goods as the *French* sell in *Turkey*, and to export them directly thither, and could by underselling the *French*, dispose of a much greater quantity of such goods than they do at present, would not this be apparently for the benefit of *England*? The greatest part of the profit would redound to the *English* merchants, and the poor *Irish* manufacturer would be only employed in the most laborious and least gainful part of the work, and thereby get a bare livelihood. It is the *English* merchants who have stocks of money, and could employ the poor people of *Ireland*, that would have the benefit of all their labour, and if the *Irish* should themselves gain a little by this work, and by being instrumental in increasing their wealth, even that little would not stay with

us, but be carried off, as all our wealth is, to maintain our gentlemen in *England*.

If, under the present discouragements, hazards and forfeitures, some of our people will venture to carry some woollen goods to *Portugal* and *Spain*, and be able to undersell all others there, for which no doubt the *French* and *Dutch* are as much set against us on this account as some *English*; this shows to a demonstration, that the *English*, by the help of *Irish* labour and industry, could be able to undersell all others, and drive them out of foreign markets; in obtaining which advantage, and keeping it afterwards, they may have full employment for their own people, as well as the people of *Ireland*; and it is certainly more for the advantage of *England*, that the people of *Ireland* should have a share in this trade, than that foreigners should run away with it, since every addition to our wealth will enlarge our remittances to *England*.

We do not in the least imagine or expect that the people of *England* will come into any indulgence of this kind for our sakes; but if it is apparently for the advantage of *England*, it is to be presumed, they will not be blind to their own interest, or neglect any expedients, or means, for increasing the trade or riches of their kingdom, though they may seemingly interfere with the interest of particular companies or traders; for my own part, as I have some small estate in both countries, I am persuaded as an *Englishman*, that a proper use of the labour and industry of the people of *Ireland* is the best and surest fund to encrease the wealth of *England*.

4thly. I shall now offer some hints and proposals for the improvement and regulation of our trade.

But am forced to premise what I have to say, with this melancholy reflection, that as long as this wasteful export of our treasure continues, and carries off every acquisition we can make, it will be in vain to offer any expedients for increasing our manufactures, lessening our imports, or improving our trade; for every inlet of wealth we can make, will be too little to feed and satisfy this devouring drain, which will ever keep us poor and miserable.

It must very much affect every one who wishes well to this

country, to consider that all our toil and labour can avail us nothing, and will only serve to continue that *evil* upon us, which is the cause of all our poverty; for poor we must *ever* be, so long as all the advantages we can make by our industry and trade, fall so much short of our remittances abroad. If we must be always poor, it is better to enjoy poverty with ease, than to sweat and toil without any hopes of mending our condition, and without any other effect than that of supporting the vanity of our gentlemen abroad, who treat their country with contempt, and ruin it without remorse.

But as I am not without hopes, that some measures will be thought of and soon put into execution, that may in some degree remove our present grievances, and go to the bottom of the evil, I shall on that account humbly offer some hints, which may be improved to good purposes, by others of greater abilities, or may put them on thinking on better ways and means of serving their country.

1st. I shall say nothing of our linen manufacture, which is already brought to a great degree of perfection, and still continues improving under the happy direction, and regulation of the trustees, who have done the greatest good to the nation, by the small fund vested in them for the improvement of the linen and hempen manufacture, perhaps ten times more than the value of that fund amounts unto; and we might promise ourselves much greater advantages from their good management, if their fund was made double or treble what it is at present, by which they might be enabled to set on foot, and cultivate *the making of paper, lace, cambric*, and several other manufactures and trades, which we are well qualified to carry on, and which require instruction in the beginning, and encouragement to overcome the difficulties and losses which always attend the first attempts in every invention and trade.

2nd. There are imported yearly from *Great Britain* in *English* and *Scotch* ships, between sixty and seventy thousand tons of coals, according to the *Custom House Books*, for which we pay in ready money, about £50,000, which sum is immediately carried off in specie, and the ships return home empty; others not without good reason make the quantity of

coals imported to be near a third part more. We are apt to complain of the colliers carrying off so much of our money, which we more sensibly feel in the loss of our silver; and yet it is our own fault that we lose so much by them, since it is in our own power to save near half of the expense by becoming our own carriers, or importing the coals in our own shipping, whereby we might gain the freight and merchants' profit, and pay only 8*s.* *per* ton for all the cost abroad.

We are supplied with coals from *Erwin*, *Sallcoats*, and lately from *Aran* in *Scotland*, from *Whitehaven*, *Workinton*, *Parton*, and *Mosson* in *England*, from *Flint*, *Swansey*, and other places in *Wales*. This conveniency of being supplied from so many places, will prevent or defeat any combinations to our prejudice; and as we may foresee, that an attempt to import these coals ourselves, may probably be opposed by the colliers, masters, and owners of the shipping now employed in that trade, who may be apprehensive that they may lose their bread thereby, it may be adviseable for the people of *Ireland* to buy up several of those ships, and employ the same masters and seamen, who will be as well satisfied, provided they are still employed and well paid.

It would be a great advantage and credit to the city of *Dublin*, if the citizens would, by mortgage of the city revenue, raise £6,000 or £7,000, and therewith purchase yearly at the cheapest time, about ten thousand ton of coals, and lay them up in several parts of the city, for the conveniency of the inhabitants, and oblige themselves to sell them in the winter at 18*s.* *per* ton; for such a stock of coals to be sold at that rate would defeat the designs of ingrossers and colliers, prevent extravagant prices, and relieve the poor, and at the same time would afford a profit, that would much more than answer the interest of the money thus raised.

All attempts for discovering mines of coal, and conveying them by water-carriage to the places of consumption, ought to be encouraged. We hope the design of making a navigable communication between *Dungannon* and *Newry* may succeed, that thereby we may be furnished with coals of our own country for our consumption.

We have of late discovered coal mines in the counties of *Cork* and *Leitrim*, and in *August* last in the county of *Kilkenny*, within two miles of *Leighlin* Bridge and the river *Barrow*, with a descent all the way to it. These last coals may be carried down the *Barrow* in lighters to *Ross* and *Waterford*, and there shipped off to *Dublin*, where, considering the lastingness of the coal (which will make them better for the kitchen), they may be had cheaper than coals from *Whitehaven* or any other place abroad.

A fund of 3,000*l.* or 4,000*l.* would be sufficient to carry on that work, and supply the city of *Dublin* with several thousand tuns of that coal in a year; and it is hoped some persons will be found that will enter into the design.

3*rd.* We import to the value of 48,235*l.* in hops at a medium yearly, for four years ending *March* 24, 1726, which is near as much as we pay for coals. It is surprising that we have so little cultivated this commodity, which is so much in demand, when it is certain that in the *southern* parts of the kingdom we could raise very good hops and sufficient for our own consumption. With some it has succeeded well; but the want of hop-poles is the great discouragement in this country, where there are so few plantations or trees to be met with; and it requires seven years or more from the first planting of oziars, sallies, birch, ash, &c., before they will come to a sufficient growth for poles; but as the first expence of these nurseries is small, and the profit at last very considerable, and the management of hop-yards easily known, it is to be hoped some gentlemen will begin so laudable a work, as well for their own good as that of their country.

4*th.* We pay the *Dutch* 5,285*l.* for madder, at a medium yearly, which we might as well raise and cultivate among ourselves, our land having been found very fit to produce it, and there being little skill wanting for the management of it.

5*th.* It is a great reproach to us that we who are surrounded with a sea abounding in all sorts of fish, and furnished with many harbours for carrying on fisheries to great advantage, should neglect this treasure which nature has brought to our doors; and that, instead of supplying foreign

markets with this commodity, to our great profit, we should even import from other countries to the value of 5,708*l.* yearly, at a medium, in herrings only, for our own consumption.

6*th.* It appears by the *Custom House books* that we paid to other countries, at a medium yearly, for four years ending *March 24, 1726*, for silken manufactures, 42,986*l.*; for woollen manufactures, 24,755*l.*; for undressed hemp, 11,483*l.*; for paper, 10,645*l.*; for ironmonger ware, 10,766*l.*; for Cambrics, 8,406*l.*; for Hollands, 5,636*l.*; for earthenware, 5,552*l.*; and for whalebone, 5,114*l.*; all which, as well as other valuations before set forth, are herein particularly mentioned with this view, that our own people seeing the value of those several commodities which are imported yearly upon us, and which all pay duty, may be thereby tempted to furnish the kingdom from their own industry with the same commodities, which we are well qualified to do, if proper measures were taken, and encouragements given to undertake and prosecute those branches of trade.

7*th.* We have of late been put into a method of tanning hides with the help of tormentil roots instead of bark, and have made some successful experiments therein; and if upon farther and complete trials in all sorts of leather this practice shall be found to succeed, it is hoped it may come into a general use, and thereby save yearly above 16,000*l.*, which we pay for foreign bark, and enable us to export all our hides fully tanned, and thereby enlarge the value of our exports.

8*th.* The inhabitants of *Belfast* have begun a laudable practice of using linen scarfs and crapes at funerals instead of silk modes, which are generally imported clandestinely into the kingdom from *France*, and are of little service for any other purpose, and are pretty much of the same price, whereas linen scarfs may be applied to many other uses, and may be made of all prices, from one shilling to eight shillings a yard, answerable to the quality or fortune of the deceased, which are good arguments for their use, and the more so when we consider that they are the manufacture of our own kingdom.

9th. It may be thought adviseable, also, for the people of *Ireland* to bury their dead in woollen, by which means they will increase the manufacture and consumption of their own wool, which they are not allowed to export abroad, and, at the same time, save more linen for exportation, for which they have full vent in other countries.

10th. I cannot but take notice of the impolitic conduct of our merchants, who, crowding into foreign markets with great quantities of our perishable commodities at once, give foreigners an opportunity of playing them one against another, and sinking the value of their goods very low; whereas, if they would concert their affairs better, and forbear carrying their commodities to such places in greater proportions than they are demanded, they might dispose of them to much greater advantage, and turn the tables on those who cannot do without them.

Having thus, with the greatest candour and impartiality, laid before the reader the yearly value of the remittances in money which we may reasonably be supposed to make to our gentlemen who live abroad; and having also considered what balance in our favour we have by our whole trade to enable us to maintain these remittances; and having likewise taken into consideration several other articles which do either increase or lessen the balance: I leave it to every one to judge whether the inferences and observations drawn from thence are well grounded. It appears, on one hand, that our *absentees* draw out of the kingdom yearly above 600,000*l.*; and, on the other, that the balance in our favour by our trade (which is the fund we have to discharge these draughts upon us with) amounts to no more than 180,000*l.* yearly, according to the public estimates, and by consequence there will be wanting 420,000*l.* to make good these payments.

Now, supposing the said balance of 180,000*l.* not to be lessened by the running of foreign goods into the kingdom; but, on the contrary, by a more advantageous sale of our commodities abroad in a fair trade, and by any other article of profit, to be increased to a further sum of 180,000*l.* (which is much too great to be allowed), yet, even then, we shall

want 240,000*l.* to make up the full sum of our remittances abroad.

How we have been able hitherto to support all this, I leave to others to account for; perhaps, that stock which we have been gathering for many years, may hitherto have enabled us to answer these demands upon us when they were more moderate; but it is impossible for us to subsist much longer under such a wasteful drain; it is evident, by the great scarcity of money in the kingdom, that our stock is draining off to the lees, which is in a good measure owing also to the necessity we were under the last two years of sending out to the value of between 100,000*l.* and 200,000*l.*, to bring in corn for our subsistence.

If this be our case now, and that the present cash of the kingdom is no way sufficient to carry on our domestic or foreign trade, and that there is a great stagnation in our business already for want of money; what must be our case in a little time, when all the rest of our species shall be carried off, as it must certainly be, if our *gentlemen* abroad shall continue to draw it from us in the degree they do at present; the consequence will then be, that we shall not be able to support our establishment and shall cease to be an advantage to *England*, which will ever receive less from us in proportion as we grow poorer. It is to be hoped the people of *England* will not be against our taxing the estates of our *absentees*, since it may enable us to pay the taxes of our country, support our government, and prevent our becoming a burthen to them; and we may presume they may be the rather inclined to approve of such a tax, since it is more than probable that most of our *absentees* will, notwithstanding this, still live among them, and not forego their foreign pleasures on that account.

I have taken particular notice of the benefits which accrue to *England* by its dealings with *Ireland*, and that it is its interest to let the people of *Ireland* into a free enjoyment of every branch of trade, and to give full employment to all their hands, since every profit arising from thence will only serve to enlarge their remittances to that kingdom.

If the people of *England* will still keep us under the same restrictions in trade, let them send us home our *gentlemen*; or if they will have our *gentlemen* live and spend their fortunes among them, it is to be hoped that they will give us a greater liberty of trade to enable us to maintain them there; one or other of these expedients seems to be absolutely necessary at present, for the support of this kingdom.

Having by this time tired the reader as well as myself, I shall only beg leave to take notice, that I hope the general observations I have drawn from a plain representation of matters of fact, and public estimates, will not, as it never was my intention they should, give the least offence to any one. It is of no importance to be informed who the author is: it may suffice to know that he can with the greatest truth and sincerity declare, that he has employed his thoughts, and some leisure hours on this subject, with no other design than to do some service to this country, and that he has no personal views either to hurt any one, or to serve himself; he has no employment nor does he desire any; he is the son of an *Englishman*, and has part of his fortune lying in *England*; he proposes to himself no other satisfaction or reward, than to be so happy as to put others of greater abilities and experience on thoughts and measures of increasing our trade and riches, and avoiding those evils which at present threaten the ruin of the kingdom.

A N

A P P E N D I X .

In this Second Edition I have added some persons to the List of *Absentees* who were omitted in the first, and make no doubt but many more may still be added on a farther inquiry; but as the list here exhibited is abundantly sufficient to support my argument, I shall at present give myself no farther trouble about it.

I am told some are disobliged for my rating their estates too low, but they should consider that I have not taken upon me to give the full value of any gentleman's estate, but only so much of it as he may be supposed to spend abroad; for I am satisfied, that the estates of some gentlemen are much greater than I have made them, a considerable part thereof being applied to several uses at home; and indeed I have taken particular care, in order to prevent objections of this nature, to be below the real value in every article of the list.

Some think the estates of those occasional *absentees*, who stay abroad but a short time should not be rated higher than to answer their expences for the time they are abroad; but it ought to be remembered (as I have already observed), that in these computations we ought to mention those who are at any *one* time absent, for if some come home, others go abroad, so that their number is generally the same; and I have accordingly not taken notice of any one, who has gone out of the kingdom since the time of making the list, which was *May, June, and July* last.

If any one imagines that our profit by trade amounts yearly

to more than I have made it, I will at present suppose it to be 350,000*l.*, or if that be not thought sufficient 400,000*l.*; but even this sum falls 200,000*l.* short of our present remittances abroad, which consequently must reduce our capital stock to nothing in a little time.

But that we should not flatter ourselves with a notion, that we have now a balance of 400,000*l.* in money in our favour by trade, I shall show that very few countries in *Europe* have at present such a balance; and in order to this, I shall consider what money all the countries of *Europe* may be reasonably supposed to gain yearly by their traffic, whereby we may also make some estimate of the share of that gain belonging to *Ireland*. At first sight it may be thought very difficult to come to any certainty in this matter, but I hope to be able to give some satisfaction without running into any length.

The riches of every country is principally estimated by the quantity of its gold and silver; some countries derive this wealth from mines of gold and silver bestowed upon them by nature, all others which are destitute of these subterranean treasures, have no other way of procuring them but by giving their commodities in exchange for them.

Now the *Spaniards* and the *Portuguese* import yearly from *America* into *Europe*, when their trade is free and uninterrupted, near four millions *sterling* in gold and silver, of each of these metals an equal value pretty nearly; the supply of bullion from the other parts of the world is very inconsiderable in comparison of this. If we suppose that three millions of this treasure (which is a large allowance), is distributed yearly among the other countries of *Europe* in exchange for their commodities, and that the remainder only stays in *Spain* and *Portugal*; and if we farther suppose that one million of the three is sent away yearly in silver to the *East Indies*, by the *English*, *Dutch*, *French*, *Danes*, and other nations that trade thither (as we have very good reason to believe), then it will of consequence follow, that all the other countries in *Europe* together cannot gain more money yearly by their trade than two millions; nay, not so much, since the *Turkish*

dominions in *Asia* and the northern parts of *Africa*, have some small part thereof; and this being the case, it is evident that the share of any one country of *Europe*, in this yearly importation of bullion from *America*, cannot be very great, it cannot reasonably be supposed to amount to many 100,000*l.* yearly, since there are so many trading nations, all which have shares therein, some greater others less according to their trade, and therefore so large a sum as 400,000*l.*, which is a fifth part of the whole, cannot well be supposed to be the share of *Ireland*, a country small in its extent and not considerable in its trade.

It is true, one country may by the largeness of its trade get from others yearly, not only their shares of this *American* treasure, but also a part of their capital stock. But this gain can never last long, for no country but such as have constant supplies from their mines, can for any length of time bear a considerable loss of its species, without losing its trade and being undone.

But it has been objected, that if there is a drain of 600,000*l.* yearly out of this kingdom, and if all our yearly profit by trade amounts to no more than 350,000*l.* or 400,000*l.*, we must have been long since exhausted; but this being not so in fact, there must of consequence be a mistake in the calculation.

This being the strongest and the only objection of any weight that has been raised against my paper, I shall beg leave to be a little more particular in my answer to it. When the principles we argue from are undoubted and true in fact, the inferences justly drawn from those principles cannot with any reason be denied. If it be true that we pay yearly 600,000*l.*, and get but 400,000*l.*, it necessarily follows that we lose yearly 200,000*l.* of our capital stock, which must consequently be exhausted in a few years; but then it will be asked, how comes it that we have not been exhausted before now? This I shall endeavour to account for.

We may observe, that 280,000*l.* the *Custom House* balance of trade in our favour, at a medium yearly for seven years ending 1720, was greater than the balance for the seven sub-

sequent years by 100,000*l.*, and that the balance for the four first years of the last seven years, did not fall much short of the precedent years, the great deficiencies having fallen chiefly upon us since the beginning of the year 1726. Now, if to the said balance of 280,000*l.* we add a surplus profit of 100,000*l.*, which we will suppose to have arisen yearly from the sale of our commodities abroad, at a higher price than they were rated at home, then the whole balance in our favour for that time will be 380,000*l.* yearly. This profit in all likelihood, was sufficient to answer all the demands upon us from abroad in that period, which demands were then very moderate in comparison of what they are at present, for I think it may be made to appear by considering the following articles, that our remittances abroad for the last two years have exceeded those of many former years by above 200,000*l.* yearly.

1st. The articles of 30,000*l.* to our regiments at *Gibraltar*, and 30,000*l.* more by our adventurers to *America* (mentioned in the List), have taken place the last two years only.

2nd. Our pensioners, and others on our civil and military establishments, are observed not to live near so much among us of late as they used to do.

3rd. The estates of several gentlemen abroad, which were set some time after the *Revolution* for the term of 31 years, have, upon the expiration of the leases within these few years past, been considerably raised, some to more than double of their former rents.

4th. The humour of going abroad, whether to *Soisson* to see the *Congress*, or to other places for other motives, has remarkably increased among our *gentry* within these few years past.

These articles, and perhaps more, which may occur to others, have swelled the demands upon us from abroad the last two years more, in all probability, by 200,000*l.* yearly than in former years.

Our yearly profit by trade, together with our capital stock (which we have been gathering for many years), may hitherto have enabled us to bear these remittances; but if our drains

should continue upon us a few years more in the same degree they are at present, we must be a poor and miserable people, utterly unable to support our establishment. To see us reduced to these unhappy circumstances must be a concern to all, excepting those who are enemies to the present happy settlement in our ROYAL FAMILY, who would, no doubt, rejoice to see the *Protestants of Ireland*, the most zealous assertors of his Majesty's rights, disabled from maintaining those rights by being thrown into poverty and distress.

Whatever course may be thought fit to be taken with respect to some of our *absentees*, it is not to be supposed that it shall extend to those who are members of either House of *Parliament of Great Britain*. Those honourable persons deserve the highest regards from us, both on account of their signal services in promoting the general security and happiness of all his Majesty's dominions, and also on account of their good offices done to this country in particular.

As to our occasional *absentees*, who generally live at home and seldom go abroad, unless for health or business, they may be made easy on this account, since eight or twelve months may be allowed for any to be abroad, without including them within the penalties of an act for that purpose.

But as to our gentlemen, who live for the most part abroad, and seem neither to have a call there or to be in a way of doing any service to this kingdom, an indulgence to them would but encourage others to forsake their country also. It is highly just and reasonable that they should pay their share of the public charges as well as those who stay at home, and it is to be hoped that nothing shall excuse them from it; nay, if the matter be rightly considered, they ought to pay more than others, for as much as by their extravagant manner of living they really hurt us in making other people believe we are rich, when we are really poor.

Some have started an objection that we might as well tax such of our gentlemen at home who do not live up to their fortunes; but we should consider that, though some may not make their yearly expences equal to their incomes, yet, as they lay the remainder out in purchases or otherwise, and

that little or no money lies dead in their hands, but circulates in the business and consumption of other people, it has the same effect with respect to the kingdom as if they themselves had spent all the rents of their estates among us.

It has been said by some that there accrues no loss, but an advantage to the kingdom by our gentlemen spending their estates abroad, because by that means we consume so much less of foreign commodities at home, and export more of our own to other countries. I wish such persons could prevail on the gentlemen of *England* to come and spend their fortunes in *Ireland*, that their own country may have the same advantage.

But how shall our establishment be supported, if our consumptions, from whence our taxes arise, shall decrease every day; or how can our domestic business be carried on without a sufficient stock of money; or we be able to maintain our gentlemen abroad, of whom they are so tender, if all our gain by trade falls so much short of their demands upon us.

Besides, if the matter be thoroughly considered, we shall find that our exportations can be but little increased by our gentlemen living abroad, since the greatest part of our home consumptions consist of such articles as cannot bear exportation, namely, mutton, veal, fowls, roots, fruits, fresh fish, malt-drink, &c. And though the consumption of our imports should be a little lessened thereby, yet that will by no means make amends for the decrease in our duties, by which our Government is supported, and for the yearly loss of so much money spent by them abroad.

It must be acknowledged that several gentlemen in this kingdom have estates in *England*, and have their rents constantly returned to them hither, and that now and then money is brought over and laid out here at interest or in purchases; and that a good deal of money is detained here to pay the debts of several *absentees*, but I have not been able to form any judgment of the value or quantity thereof.

I shall now beg leave to mention some farther hints concerning our trade and manufactures which were omitted in the first edition, or have occurred to me since.

1st. The scarcity of corn, which we laboured under the last two or three years, should put us in mind of encouraging tillage, by erecting public granaries for keeping and preserving all sorts of corn in our principal seaports, namely, *Dublin, Waterford, Cork, Limerick, Galway, Londonderry, Belfast, Newry, and Drogheda*, or in some of them, which would prevent a famine or scarcity at any time at home, and enable us to export considerable quantities of corn yearly to other countries, where it shall happen to be scarce and dear. For it may be observed that in some parts or other of *Europe*, either *north* or *south*, there is hardly a year but, by the course of rains or other natural causes, the harvest fails in a great measure. The last three years the *southern* parts of *Europe* abounded with great quantities of corn, and the *northern* parts failed, and this present year the *northern* countries have great plenty, and the *southern* are in want; and those nations are always sure to have the advantage of high prices who have a stock laid up at low rates to answer all demands from abroad. It is often our misfortune in *Ireland* to export our corn cheap in the beginning of the year, and to be under the necessity of importing the same back again at a dear rate at the end of it.

Good regulations may be made for securing every one's property in the said granaries, and to keep the corn in good order, such as they have in *Dantzick*; and it may be farther provided, that every one's share in these granaries may be a living stock to him, and not lie dead upon his hands at a time when there shall be no demand from abroad. For it may be so ordered, that any one who shall deposit 1,000 barrels of wheat there, and shall bring a certificate of his stock from the overseer of the granary, may assign over the same to another for two-thirds of the value, paying interest for the sum advanced. By this means the creditor will have sufficient security in his hands for his money, and the farmer or corn merchant be supplied with two-thirds of the value of his corn to answer his present occasions, and not be laid under a necessity of selling, until the markets at home or abroad, give him an opportunity of doing it to advantage, in which case, the

creditor must be first satisfied before the corn can be removed.

2d. It will follow, that we import yearly into the kingdom to the value of 20,000*l.* in *Flanders* and foreign lace, on supposition that only 1,000 ladies in the whole kingdom lay out yearly, one with another, to the value of 20*l.* therein, which supposition is very moderate, both in respect to the value of the lace and number of the ladies. For as long as the *English* and *French* shall continue to wear fine lace, we may be assured that our *Irish* ladies will not fail to imitate them.

It would be of great service to the public, if the trustees of the linen manufacture were enabled to set on foot this manufacture, by which we may supply all our own occasions, and thereby save yearly the afore-mentioned sums, and also furnish other countries with great quantities thereof to our advantage. And we may reasonably promise ourselves success in this manufacture, since our women are come to great perfection in spinning fine thread, and improve every day both in the fineness and whiteness of it; so that we are already in a great measure prepared for this manufacture, and have a great number of idle hands fit to be employed in this work.

3d. We have already begun a manufacture of cambric, and at once are arrived to a considerable fineness therein. This branch of our linen manufacture should meet with all encouragement, since by our own industry we may supply both our own and our neighbours' demands, and thereby not only avoid paying above 8,000*l.* yearly for foreign cambric, but in a great measure supersede any farther occasion for muslin, cambrics being now generally used for the same purposes as muslin, and of double the service, which would be still a greater advantage since we have imported to the value of 17,137*l.* in muslin, at a medium yearly for seven years, ending 24th March, 1726.

4th. We have hitherto made little or no progress in making of paper, which is so nearly allied to the linen manufacture; those countries being observed to make most paper which make most linen. It is to be hoped that our trustees of the linen manufacture will be enabled to set on foot the making

of this commodity, which is so much in demand; we may be furnished in a great measure with the materials of it at home, if our poor people were employed and encouraged to gather rags, which lie neglected every where; in imitation of the *Dutch*, who even send ships abroad yearly to carry home a loading of rags, and make great advantage thereof.

5th. We have imported to the value of 43,933*l.* in deal boards and timber of all sorts, at a medium yearly, for seven years, ending the 24th *March*, 1726. It is a great misfortune that we are under the necessity of sending to distant countries for timber for building our houses, and even for the necessary uses of agriculture; our poor people for want of it can have nothing but miserable cabins to dwell in, and frequently lose their cattle in great numbers for want of houses to shelter them in severe weather. It is to be hoped our legislature will enter into measures to encourage the planting of trees, which may in time answer our occasions, and prevent our sending so much money abroad yearly for the purchase of this commodity.

I cannot but observe, that our law, and the usual clauses in leases, which reserve all trees to the landlord, are in effect, the cause why neither landlord nor tenant have any trees at all. There was good reason for these reservations in former times, when the country was covered with woods, in regard these woods were entirely owing to nature, and not to any industry of the tenant, who paid less rent for lands which were covered with them; therefore, it was fit that the proprietor of the land should have the whole benefit of the trees. But now the case is quite different; for by the landlords' neglecting to preserve the young growth of woods, which are cut down by copping the same, we have now no woods at all; nor have any way left to raise new plantations but by giving encouragement to the persons who occupy the land, and must be at great pains and expense in planting and preserving the same; for it cannot be expected, that a tenant, who perhaps, pays a dear rent for his land, will voluntarily load himself with a farther charge, without some prospect of advantage to himself; and so the landlord, by not allowing the tenant a reasonable profit for his labour

labour and expense, is prevented from having any profit at all himself.

The late Act of *Parliament*, which gives the tenant at the end of his lease, a right to the third part of the trees he shall plant, by giving too little encouragement, has had little or no effect; for what reason can there be to give the landlord, who has already by his rent, the full value of his land, two-thirds of all the trees the tenant shall plant, and to leave only one-third for the tenant, which will not answer his trouble and expense, especially where the term of the lease does not exceed twenty-one years; for trees planted at the beginning of such a lease will be but of little value at the expiration of it.

It may be therefore adviseable to entitle the tenant to two-thirds of the trees he shall plant, and to oblige him to sell them to the landlord for their value in money, if they should not be of fit growth to be cut down at the expiration of his lease. By this means the landlord will have the third part clear gain, (for which he is at no manner of expense), and also the benefit of the future growth of the whole after the end of the term; and the tenant will be encouraged to plant, to the great benefit and ornament of the kingdom.

It may be proper also to give all gentlemen who are tenants for life by their marriage settlements or otherwise, such a power over all trees they shall plant, as that their executors may have a year or two after their deaths, to dispose of them for the benefit of their younger children.

6th. The gentlemen who have set up the making of glass bottles among us, have done real service to their country, and it is hoped that they will be encouraged to proceed to the making all sorts of glass ware. Iron ware may be made with advantage near those places where our coal mines lie, and where firing is consequently cheap. But these and all other improvements require stocks of money, which we are not so happy as to have at present, nor are we in a likely way of getting or keeping any for the future, since the gentlemen of fortune among us, as often as they make up a large sum of money, never lay it out in promoting new manufactures and

improvements that are wanted, which would be doing the greatest good to their country; but constantly dispose of it in the purchase of lands, generally the lands of some *Absentee*, who never fails to carry it all out of the kingdom; so that these gentlemen who do not spend any part of their money abroad, yet by acting in this manner, have all their savings carried off from us. This might in some measure be prevented if on all sales of lands for the future, some part of the purchase-money were by law reserved for the use of the public.

7th. We have been some time since informed of his Majesty's gracious intention of establishing some professorships in the University of *Dublin*, for the advancement of learning, and it were to be wished, that we had also professors of agriculture, trade, and practical arts; since it is to these we owe all the necessaries, conveniences, and ornaments of civil life. At present men of learning have for the most part little or no knowledge in these affairs, and they who are in the profession of them want ability or leisure to give others a just light into them, or to improve them themselves to that degree they are capable of. It has been observed that most of the useful inventions for the good of mankind, have been owing to men of study and observation, who have been of no particular profession, and yet have employed their talents and learning in the improvement of arts for the good of mankind, by proper experiments and observations.

In these last ages, Lord *Bacon*, Mr. *Boyle*, Sir *Isaac Newton*, *Hugenius*, and others, have obliged the world with several inventions and improvements, tending to the advantage of human life, and it is to be hoped that like *geniuses* may arise among ourselves, if right measures be taken to direct our youth in the same pursuits and manner of thinking. Nothing enlarges our knowledge so much, or makes it so useful to the world, as accurate experiments and observations. These will preserve the minds of young gentlemen from the delusions of fancy, will enable them to judge rightly of the nature of things, and make them truly useful to the world.

Finding that the *bookseller* intended to print a second edi-

tion of the List of *Absentees*, I was willing to make some small additions to it; but having not had time to draw them up in any other than a crude and indigested manner, I must beg the reader's pardon for this and other failings, and hope to be excused on account of the sincerity of my endeavours to serve my country.

FINIS.

A
List of the Absentees
OF
IRELAND,
JANUARY, 1769.

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A
LIST OF THE ABSENTEES
OF
I R E L A N D,
AND AN ESTIMATE
OF THE
Yearly Value of their Estates and
Incomes spent Abroad,
As taken in January, 1769.

D U B L I N:

Printed by GEORGE FAULKNER, in PARLIAMENT-STREET. 1769.

A
L I S T
O F
Lords, Gentlemen, and Others,
*Who having ESTATES, EMPLOYMENTS, or PENSIONS in
Ireland, spend the same abroad; together with an
Estimate of the Yearly Value of the same,*
AS TAKEN IN JANUARY, 1769.

FIRST CLASS comprehends those who live constantly abroad,
and are seldom or never seen in *Ireland*.

PENSIONS, CIVIL, MILITARY, and *French*.

Lady Kilmanseg,	£ 750
Lady How,	500
Mrs. West,	400
Executors of the Earl of Harrington,	2,600
Lady Cecilia Finch,	400
Lady Young,	600
Ann Palmer,	900
Earl of Jersey,	1,500
Executor of A. Schutz,	1,200
Christopher Shroder,	1,000
John Cooper,	500
John Roberts,	800
George Hamilton,	400
Earl of Albemarle,	800
Lord Grantham,	2,000
Thomas Bourcheir,	400
Earl of Cholmondeley,	3,700
Baron de Sporke,	1,200
Lord George Beauclerk,	400
5	Lady

310 *A List of the Absentees of Ireland, 1769.*

	£
Lady Waldgrave,	800
Princess of Hesse,	5,000
J. S. Carleton,	500
Duke of Brunswick,	2,000
Sir Edward Hawke,	2,000
Executors of Lady Yarmouth,	4,000
Lord Bathurst,	2,000
Lord Tyrawly,	500
Ann Pitt,	1,000
Gasper Gravenkop,	400
Lady Beauclerk,	400
William Champney,	1,070
Frederick Ernest,	1,000
Princess Amelia,	1,000
Thomas Cumming,	300
Philip Francis,	600
Sir William York,	1,200
Melcher Guy Dickens,	500
George Charles,	1,000
Children of Countess of Upper Ossory,	600
Edward Weston,	500
Duke of Athol,	2,000
Princess Augusta,	5,000
Lady Louisa Lennox,	500
Mrs. K. Bathurst,	400
Mrs. Mordaunt,	450
Capt. Lieut. Nicholas Kelloway,	855
Lieut. Col. Robert Clerk,	600
Duke of Gloucester,	3,000
Duke of Cumberland,	3,000
Above £400 yearly,	Total £64,425
Under £400 yearly,	8,950
Total,	73,375

Note.—All the Pensions, Civil, Military, and *French*, amount to £96,667.

A List of the Absentees of Ireland, 1769. 311

	£
Duke of Devonshire,	12,000
Marquis of Rockingham,	10,000
Marquis of Carnarvan,	2,000
Earl of Cork,	4,000
Earl of Mountrath,	7,000
Earl of Egmont,	6,000
Earl of Hertford,	12,000
Earl of Donegal,	22,000
Earl of Abercorn,	12,000
Earl of Besborough,	10,000
Countess of Blesington,	4,000
Earl of Upper Ossory,	4,000
Earl of Shelburn,	12,000
Earl of Thomond,	8,000
Earl of Ludlow,	4,000
Earl of Stanhope,	1,000
Earl of Portsmouth,	4,000
Earl of Powis,	3,000
Earl of Cartherlough,	2,000
Earl of Darnley,	7,000
Countess Dowager Shelburn,	7,000
Lord Viscount Middleton,	4,000
Lord Viscount Ashbrook,	3,000
Lord Viscount Weymouth,	3,000
Lord Viscount Palmerston,	4,000
Lord Courtney,	10,000
Lord Villars,	8,000
Lord Digby,	3,000
Lord Fortescue,	1,200
Lord Bellew,	4,000
Lord Carysfort,	3,000
Lord Strange,	3,000
Lord Beaulieu,	2,500
Lord Clive,	1,700
Lord Dysert,	2,000
Lord Cahir,	3,000
Lord Bingley,	3,500
7	Lord

312 *A List of the Absentees of Ireland, 1769.*

	£
Lord Dacre,	3,000
Lord Dillon,	6,000
Heirs of Lord Blunden,	3,000
Sir Laurence Dundass,	2,500
Sir William York,	1,700
General Montague,	5,000
James Lennox Dutton, esq.,	10,000
Hon. Thomas Fitzmaurice,	4,000
Heirs of Admiral Warren,	3,000
Hon. John Barry,	3,000
Francis Bernard, esq.,	10,000
Admiral Rowley,	1,200
— Needham, esq.,	5,000
Arthur Annesley, esq.,	4,000
Richard Hull, esq.,	700
Sir George Mc. Cartney,	1,500
— Edwards, esq.,	3,000
James Whitshead, esq.,	2,000
Welbore Ellis,	1,000
Thomas Staunton,	700
William Bernard,	800
Francis Annesley,	2,500
Stephen Ram,	800
Hon. Richard Barry,	700
General Burton,	700
Hon. — Chichester,	1,000
Sir William Penn's heirs,	1,400
George Clive, esq.,	1,500
Arch. Edmondstone, esq.,	800
David Ker, esq.,	1,000
Edmond Bazil, esq.,	3,000
Heirs of Lord Fane,	5,000
Sir George Savill,	2,000
Lady Echlin,	800
Sir William Rowley,	3,000
Colonel Shirley,	2,000
Arthur Barry, esq.,	1,600

A List of the Absentees of Ireland, 1769. 313

	£
John Taaf, esq.,	800
— Murray, of Broughten,	3,000
Colonel Sabine,	600
Mr. Palmer,	600
Heirs of Jolybeart, esq.,	800
Coheiress of Rathcormuck Estate,	1,200
Edward Southwell, esq.,	5,000
Samuel Campbell, esq.,	2,000
Joseph Cain, esq.,	700
— Carr, esq.,	1,000
— Herbert, esq.,	1,500
— Worthington, esq.,	1,200
— Alexander, esq.,	800
— Hamilton, esq., Killeleagh,	800
— Aston, esq.,	600
Colonel Graham,	1,000
— Sloan, esq.,	6,000
— Bridges, esq.,	1,500
— Hamilton, esq.,	800
— Ellis, esq.,	1,200
— Ashroby, esq.,	1,500
Clotworthy Upton, esq.,	1,500
Widow Richardson,	1,500
Robert Adair, esq.,	1,200
Colonel Stephenson,	2,000
— St. John, esq.,	1,800
— Warringford, esq.,	800
Robert Butler, of Ballyragget,	3,000
Henry Obrien, esq.,	2,500
Thomas Taaf, esq.,	1,500
London Society,	8,000
Several Corporations in <i>England</i> ,	3,500
Sir Peter Leicester,	800
Sir Peter Denis's heirs,	1,000
	£371,900

314 *A List of the Absentees of Ireland, 1769.*

SECOND CLASS comprehends those who live generally abroad, and visit IRELAND occasionally, for a very short time

	£
Earl of Clanricarde,	8,000
Earl of Hillsborough,	7,000
Earl of Farnham,	6,000
Earl of Anglesea,	6,000
Earl of Kerry,	4,000
Earl of Clanbrazill,	3,000
Earl of Barrymore,	8,000
Earl of Mazareene,	4,000
Lord Viscount Fitz-William,	4,000
Lord Viscount Cunningham,	4,500
Lord Viscount Clare,	6,000
Lord Viscount Milton,	14,000
Lord Gormanstown,	2,000
Lord Molesworth,	2,500
Lord Southwell,	5,000
Lady St. Leger,	600
Sir William Mayne, bart.,	300
Sir Henry Echlin, bart.,	800
Hon. Richard Ponsonby,	1,200
Pierpoint Burton,	3,000
Alexander Boyde,	1,200
James Adair, esq.,	1,000
Thomas John Medlicot, esq.,	3,500
— Shirley, esq., W. Shire,	5,000
	£117,800

THIRD CLASS comprehends those who live generally in IRELAND, but were occasionally absent in 1769, for health, pleasure, or business.

Note.—Their number is generally the same; for if some come home, others go abroad and supply their places.

£

I have now before me a list of fifty-seven lords and gentlemen comprehended within this class, but I forbear mentioning them as they happened to be abroad accidentally only (I may say) at that time, and they are men that have the interest of *Ireland* as much at heart, and lament the injury and loss it sustains by its absentees, as any men. The annual income of whose estates amounts to upwards of 92,000

PERSONS possessed of EMPLOYMENTS and OFFICES absent in 1769.

Principal Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant,	4,000
Post Office,	1,800
Lord Viscount Clare, Hon. James Grenville, Earl of Cornwallis, Vice-Treasurers of <i>Ireland</i> ,	9,000
Hugh V. Jones and John Milbank, esqrs., Commissioners of the Revenue,	2,000
Richard Rigby, esq., Master of the Rolls, 2,000 a-year, and as much more computed for 8 places in his gift, worth each upwards of 3,000 <i>l.</i> ,	4,000
Wm. Hamilton, esq., Chancellor of the Exchequer,	1,600
Lord Clanbrassill, Chief Remembrancer of the Exchequer,	2,200
General Conway, Clerk of Hannaper,	600
Lord George Sackville, Clerk of the Council,	1,200
Richard Vernon, esq., Clerk of the Quit-Rents,	500
Charles F. Scudamore, esq., Cursitor in Chancery,	300
William Cheshire, Philazer in Common Pleas,	200
Sir William Knatchbull, Exigenter in do.,	300
Hon. William Molesworth, Surveyor-General,	400
Robert Wood, Master of the Revels,	500
Robert Hay, State Musician,	400
Sir Robert Wilmont, Solicitor in <i>England</i> ,	1,200
Lord Harrington, Customer in <i>Dublin</i> ,	500
Henry Tilson, Craner in do.,	400
— — —, Register Prerogative,	600
	Dr.

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	£
Dr. Robinson, Lord Primate,	6,000
Dr. Cox, Archbishop of Cashell,	3,500
Dr. Young, Bishop of Leighlin,	1,600
Dr. Jackson, Bishop of Kildare,	1,700
Dr. Andrews, Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, .	2,000
Dr. Andrews, S.F.T.C.D.,	500
Dr. Lewis, Dean of Ossory,	500
Dr. Fletcher, Dean of Kildare,	600
Dr. Ryder, Dean of Lismore,	600
Dr. Jebb, Dean of Kilmore,	600
Dr. Coote, Dean of Kilfenora,	400
Dr. Pullein, Rector of St. Catherine's, Dublin, &c.,	500
Dr. Stone, Archdeacon of Meath,	1,200
	£72,200

N.B. There is no person (except the three officers in Chancery and Common Pleas) mentioned in the above list, whose income is under 400*l.* yearly in *Ireland*.

	£	s.	d.
Spent abroad yearly by those whose income is under 400 <i>l.</i> a-year, either for the most part abroad, or go there occasionally for pleasure or health,	60,000	0	0

Half of these are supposed to belong to the first class, and the other half equally to the other two.

Travelling expences of merchants, dealers, and traders, who go over yearly in great numbers from <i>Ireland</i> to <i>England</i> to buy or sell commodities,	15,000	0	0
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Spent yearly in the education of children of Protestants and men of fortune, at <i>Oxford</i> and <i>Cambridge</i> , and the schools in <i>England</i> , and of children of Papists in foreign colleges, and travelling charges and expences of young gentlemen and others abroad,	35,000	0	0
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A List of the Absentees of Ireland, 1769. 317

	£	s.	d.
Spent yearly by young students at the several Inns of Court,	9,000	0	0
Spent in law-suits on appeals to the House of Lords, Courts of Delegates, Writs of Error to the Court of King's Bench in <i>England</i> , opinions and advice of council there on several occasions,	15,000	0	0
Spent in attendance and application for employments ecclesiastical, civil, and military, and other occasions,	15,000	0	0
It appears by the establishment given into Parliament, that the establishment for General Officers was 32,232 <i>l.</i> yearly, three-fourths of which are spent abroad, seldom or never more than three out of the twelve General Officers on the staff attending,	24,174	11	0
Troops on this establishment, four regiments of horse, eight of dragoons, and thirty of foot; of which six regiments of foot are constantly abroad, sometimes more. The pay to the commissioned Officers of all said regiments (except the six abroad), amounts to on computation 148,330 <i>l.</i> 12 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> yearly, one-fourth of which, at least, is spent abroad,	37,082	13	0
The whole pay of the six regiments of foot spent abroad, amounts to,	47,121	10	0
The establishment for half pay officers, amounted to 45,012 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> 1 <i>d.</i> ,	15,004	3	4
For officers' widows, 16,754 <i>l.</i> 11 <i>s.</i> 5 <i>d.</i> yearly, one-third spent abroad,	5,584	17	1
Sent to <i>England</i> one year with another, to buy recruit horses for twelve regiments,	3,240	0	0
Spent in <i>England</i> for raising recruits for the foot service,	3,000	0	0
Perquisites on cloathing forty-two regiments at 250 <i>l.</i> each, yearly, comes to 10,500 <i>l.</i> , two-thirds of which spent abroad,	7,000	0	0
		Carried	

	£	s.	d.
Carried off yearly by adventurers to <i>America</i> , who may be reckoned one year with another 6,000 in number, and to carry off each one with another 10 <i>l.</i> ,	60,000	0	0
Remitted yearly on account of insurance of ships, assurance from fire, to religious houses abroad, for coaches, carriages, toys, cloaths, furniture, jewels, haberdasheries, and many such like things,	40,000	0	0
It is admitted on all hands, that a very con- siderable profit arises from the freight and tonnage of shipping employed yearly in the whole trade of <i>Ireland</i> , many compute be- tween 600,000 <i>l.</i> and 800,000 <i>l.</i> yearly, and that not above one-sixth part thereof which belongs to the <i>Irish</i> , the rest to the <i>English</i> and <i>Scotch</i> ; but to be greatly within bounds, suppose we compute we pay for this article only,	100,000	0	0
Total of all the above,	£1,208,982	14	6

ADDITIONAL ARTICLES.

The above lists show us clearly what immense sums are drawn out of this kingdom annually; but there are many other articles to be taken into consideration; whenever we come to make a computation upon this head, they will readily occur to every gentleman, some of which we shall here mention: indeed, though these articles cannot be rated at any certain sum, yet they may well be computed to increase the annual drain of money out of the kingdom not less than 300,000*l.*, many think they may be rated at 400,000*l.*

A General Abstract of the quantity of Money drawn out of the Kingdom.

	£	s.	d.
By the pensioners comprehended in the first class,	73,375	0	0
By the other persons of the first class,	371,900	0	0
14			By

A List of the Absentees of Ireland, 1769. 319

	£	s.	d.
By those of the second class,	108,300	0	0
By those of the third class,	92,000	0	0
By those who have employments or offices in <i>Ireland</i> ,	72,200	0	0
By those whose income is under £400 yearly,	60,000	0	0
Travelling expenses, merchants and traders,	15,000	0	0
Education of youth, &c., and at Inns of Court,	44,000	0	0
Law suits, &c., and attendance for employ- ments, &c.,	30,000	0	0
By the eight articles relative to the military,	142,207	14	6
By adventurers to <i>America</i> ,	60,000	0	0
By insurance of ships, &c.,	40,000	0	0
By freight and tonnage of ships,	100,000	0	0
By the additional articles,	300,000	0	0
	£1,508,982 14 6		

PEERS of IRELAND who are Absentees, and have no Estate in
Ireland.

Earl of Desmond, E. E.	Lord Viscount Fairfax.
Earl of Waterford, E. E.	Lord Viscount Cullen.
Earl of Fitz-Williams, E. E.	Lord Viscount Tracy.
Earl of Athlone.	Lord Viscount Bulkeley.
Earl of Tilney.	Lord Viscount Down.
Earl of Verney.	Lord Viscount Lisburn.
Earl of Panmure.	Lord Viscount Taaffe.
Earl of Fife.	Lord Viscount How.
Earl of Tyrconnell.	Lord Viscount Chetwynd.
Earl of Mexborough.	Lord Viscount Grimston.
Earl of Winterton.	Lord Viscount Barrington.
Lord Viscount Kilmurry.	Lord Viscount Vane.
Lord Viscount Lumley.	Lord Viscount Bateman.
Lord Viscount Wenman.	Lord Viscount Galway.
Lord Viscount Molyneux.	Lord Viscount Gage.
Lord Viscount Cholmondeley.	Lord Viscount Ligonier.

320 *A List of the Absentees of Ireland, 1769.*

Lord Viscount Fortrose.	Lord Fortescue.
Lord Baltimore.	Lord Coleraine.
Lord Sherard.	Lord Oswell.
Lord Maynard.	Lord Waltham.
Lord Hawley.	Lord Pigot.
Lord Tyrawley.	Lord Bateman.
Lord Aylmer.	Lord Mulgrave.

N.B.—All gentlemen's estates are intended to be rated under the real value, and only so much of them as may be supposed to be spent abroad; and though the utmost care and greatest inquiry have been made use of to prevent mistakes in rating the value of estates and employments, and making computations, and finding out who are Absentees, yet no doubt there must, from the nature of a work of this kind, be many errors and mistakes, which, as they are by no means intentional, no one ought to be disobliged at them; and the publisher, upon information to the printer, will be extremely willing to set them right.

AN
E S S A Y
ON THE
T R A D E
AND
I M P R O V E M E N T
OF
I R E L A N D.

AN
E S S A Y
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OF
I R E L A N D .

By ARTHUR DOBBS, Esq.

DÚBLIN:

Printed by A. RHAMES, for J. SMITH and W. BRUCE,
on the *Blind-Key*. M DCC XXIX.

TO HIS GRACE

L I O N E L,

Duke of *Dorset*, &c., Lord Lieutenant-General, and General Governor of *Ireland*, Lord Warden of the *Cinque Ports*, Conftable of *Dover Castle*, one of the Lords of His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, and Knight of the Most Noble Order of the *Garter*.

MY LORD,

Having had an opportunity of looking into the *Custom House* books, and, by that means, of finding how the *Irish* trade stood with relation to the several countries around us, that we have dealings with : I thought it might be some way useful to my country, to publish the view I had taken of it, with some short observations ; and also to add some reflections upon the means of improving our country and trade, so as

to increase our wealth and add considerably to the power of the *British* empire.

To this purpose I have made some inquiry into the numbers and employment of the people; and have proposed some heads, which, if improved and reduced into proper laws by our Legislature, I hope will contribute to make us frugal, employ our poor, improve our country, extend our trade, and consequently increase our numbers and add considerably to his Majesty's revenue.

I am convinced we may do this, and at the same time add to the power, wealth, and trade of *Britain*, by employing our poor in those branches of the several manufactures that it is the interest of *England* we should deal in: whereby we may not only furnish *Britain* and its colonies with the manufactures they now get from foreigners, but also by our cheap labour assist *Britain* in recovering the sale of several of their manufactures, which foreigners have of late been attempting by their cheap labour, to beat them out of abroad. At the same time we might assist them in the fisheries upon their own coasts and *Greenland*; which are so valuable, by employing a considerable number of ships and able seamen, and by giving employment at home to many thousands in fitting out the ships and furnishing them with necessaries. Besides, the surplus of all we gain by the employment of our poor, except what is just necessary to carry on

our trade and improvements, will by various channels be conveyed from us again into *Britain*; which, as it is the seat of empire, will also be that of wealth, and the centre of trade: whereas, whatever they give to employ foreign poor, can by no channels be brought back to *Britain*, but must centre with foreign nations.

Since this is the scope and design of these few sheets; to whom can I so properly dedicate them, as to your GRACE. The just confidence his Majesty has in your integrity and abilities, is the motive of his placing you in the greatest command over us, by which he has given us the greatest token of his paternal care of his loyal subjects of *Ireland*.

Who so proper to preside over his Protestant subjects of *Ireland*, that so early distinguished themselves at the most critical juncture, by their zeal in steadily adhering to the succession in his illustrious house; as the person chosen by the general voice of *Britain*, to attend on his late and their present Majesties, and conduct them to a throne secured to them by the Divine Providence, as a reward for their steady adherence to the Protestant religion: a family bestowed to *Britain* and *Ireland* as the choicest blessing, for the preservation of our civil and religious liberties.

Your GRACE'S so early espousing the cause of liberty, and constant zeal for our present happy establishment under his Majesty; your benevolence to mankind, and

steady endeavours to promote the happiness of his Majesty's government, and the peace and prosperity of *Britain*; as they are all characteristics of a great soul, give us the strongest hopes, I may even say assurance, of our being happy under your GRACE'S administration; and that we may expect every thing reasonable and just, that will promote our welfare and prosperity.

Nor can we expect less from your GRACE'S just representation of the affections and loyalty of the people of *Ireland*, and from your interest in his Majesty (who has been always most gracious to us, and done every thing we could even hope for, to promote our prosperity), than his confirmation of all such laws as may be prepared, consistent with the general good of his subjects, so as to increase our trade and fisheries, improve our country, employ our poor, unite our affections with our brethren in *England*, and make us heartily concur in promoting the power, wealth, and glory of the *British* empire.

This happy union of inclinations between the people of *Britain* and *Ireland*, and hearty concurrence in promoting the welfare of both, is a prospect which I hope will enlarge every day under your GRACE'S administration: of which we have the strongest assurances, from the good laws procured or designed for us in *England* last session; wherein they have, by their wise and just discernment, proposed to unite

our interest with theirs, in such a manner as may convince all who will seriously consider it, that the true interest of either, is the joint interest of both.

This we take as a happy omen in the beginning of your GRACE's government, and as a new testimony of your zeal and activity in serving his Majesty, and the joint interest of *Britain* and *Ireland*, by your increasing the number of our friends on the other side of the water, and convincing them, that in promoting the interest of *Ireland* they contribute to their own happiness and prosperity; for these friendly offices must engage the gentlemen of this kingdom more and more to concur in every thing that will promote the power, wealth, and prosperity of *Britain*.

Permit me then, my Lord, to lay these few sheets before you, together with the first part which I published before, which complete this view of the trade, and finish this essay upon the improvements of *Ireland*, and to beg your GRACE's patronage for them. I would willingly hope that some hints may be found in them, that may tend to the service of my country, and promote a happy union of sentiments in improving the present happy opportunity of firmly uniting our affections with those of our brethren in *Britain*, and concurring in every thing that may promote the mutual happiness of both. This is the true way of increasing the number and adding to the weight of our friends in *England*, and consequently, by this

9

happy

happy union of interests and affections, of adding to the glory of his Majesty's reign, and to the ease, honour, and happiness of your GRACE'S administration.

I am, with the greatest submission and respect,

My LORD,

Your GRACE'S Most Dutiful, and

Most Obedient, Humble Servant,

ARTHUR DOBBS.

AN
ESSAY
UPON THE
TRADE
OF
IRELAND.

TRADE and commerce unites in interest and affection the most distant nations. As the soul, animating the natural body, makes all the members of it useful to each other, in subservience to its maintenance and more comfortable subsistence: so trade, in the body politick, makes the several parts of it contribute to the well-being of the whole, and also to the more comfortable and agreeable living of every member of the community. Every nation, every climate, from the equinox almost to the very poles, may partake of the produce of all the rest, by means of a friendly intercourse and mutual exchange of what each has to spare. Thus every one may enjoy more or less of the productions of different countries, according to the application and industry he uses to obtain them.

Whatever ill and mistaken use may be made of it by many in the world, it seems to be the desire of all men to live in affluence and prosperity, and to have it in their power to do acts of kindness, goodness, and mercy: nor is it prohibited by any precept of true religion either natural or revealed. A desire to gratify our several appetites and inclinations, when

we may do it without harm to ourselves or others, to enjoy our friends with pleasure in this life, and to leave those of our children and friends who survive us, in a capacity of doing the same after us, is inherent in our natures, and perfectly agreeable to the ends we were made for by our good and wise Creator.

From the pleasure we take in our neighbour's prosperity, when we are not blinded by prejudice or mistaken views of interest; we are led to relieve them from the inconveniencies and apprehensions of want, and to desire the increase of their happiness. This ought to extend to all mankind: but more immediately, by reason of the divisions, animosities, and distractions which are now in the world, to such as are more closely linked to us for our mutual advantage; to those who unite with us and assist us in the support of our interest, in the defence of our lives and properties, by forming a society under an established government and laws.

It is then every man's duty, more immediately to promote the happiness of the nation wherein he lives, and by such means as are honest and lawful to increase its power and wealth, that it may be the better able to defend its people from violence, to redress injuries, to punish crimes, to protect the oppressed, and relieve such as are in want and distress. This cannot be done without industry, and the produce of such industry will be but poor and mean, and its usefulness of very narrow extent, if it be not improved by the well ordered assistance of many heads and hands in contriving and executing; and if these fruits of human labour and industry be not dispersed over the world by the means of traffic and commerce. It ought, therefore, more or less to be the care of every man, according to the station he is placed in, to promote so general a good to his country as the trade and commerce of it. A flourishing trade gives encouragement to the industrious, employs the poor, increases the wealth and power of the nation; puts it in the power of every prudent and industrious man in it, to enjoy more of the innocent pleasures of life than he otherwise would, and in greater perfection; and enables him to do more actions of kindness and charity

both in his own and foreign nations; and by these means, greatly promotes the general happiness of mankind.

Islands, upon a double account, are obliged to be careful of their commerce and navigation. Without navigation they are cut off from the rest of the world: and ships, and sailors to navigate them, cannot be maintained without trade to employ them. Without a superior fleet to repel their enemies, they are also liable to be attacked by their more powerful neighbours, and are continually exposed to the ravages and depredations of their fleets.

As this is the case of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, whose interests are inseparable: it is to be hoped, that whoever endeavours to promote the trade of any part of them, or makes any observations upon it, that may occasion its being more closely and usefully examined by others, will be favourably received by the public.

I have seen but little as yet written upon the trade and improvements of *Ireland*, by which the public may come to know how our trade stands with *Great Britain* and the plantations, as also with the several foreign countries with which we trade: and thinking it might be of some advantage to my country, I have attempted to state our trade with particularity and exactness, and to make some observations upon it as it now stands; that I might afterwards upon that foundation propose what occurs to me, as of advantage to *Ireland*, and that may contribute to restore the balance which is now visibly against us.

With this view, whilst in the Committee of Trade, I carefully looked over the ledgers in the Custom House, and took extracts from them for seven or eight years, of the most material imports, and all the exports; in order to form proper calculations upon them, and to set our trade in a full and fair light; that the public may not be imposed upon, but that every person may use his own understanding in observing the state of the kingdom, and contributing to its welfare and prosperity.

To give a more general view of our trade, I shall first lay down some general abstracts of our exports and imports, and

show how the balance has stood for several years past; I will afterwards consider them particularly, according to their most material articles, and state them separately; as also according to the several countries we trade to, as they are distinguished in the Custom House books; and as I proceed make some observations on each of them.

ABSTRACTS OF EXPORTS, IMPORTS, and BALANCE for several Years, each ending at *Christmas*.

Years.	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.	Contra Balance.
	£	£	£	£
1681, .	582,814	433,040	149,774	-
1695, .	295,592	391,524	-	95,932
1696, .	398,237	334,963	63,274	-
1697, .	525,004	423,182	101,822	-
1698, .	996,305	576,863	419,442	-

It is probable that our exports, from the *Restoration* of King *Charles II.* to 1688, did not exceed 600,000*l. per ann.*, which upon the prohibition then laid upon our exporting cattle and sheep alive into *England*, chiefly consisted of wool, and the produce of our cattle. From that time to the year 1695, three years after the reduction of *Ireland*, we could have little or no trade until the country began to be at peace, and our stock of cattle and sheep, which had been neglected and destroyed in those confusions, were again increased upon the waste lands. Hence, it was that our imports that year exceeded our exports 95,932*l.*, which seems to have been a considerable drain upon us, and much increased by our imports in the time of the reduction of *Ireland*. But if it be considered that the army employed here, in our favour, was paid by *England*, and the *Irish* army by *France*, it may be easily conceived that there was a constant influx of money without trade, until the armies were withdrawn and the establishment was paid by the revenue of the kingdom; it was that alone could pay the balance of our imports and other draughts upon us in 1695.

It may be observed, that our exports increased in 1696, 1697, and 1698; but our imports did not rise in proportion, which occasioned the balance in our favour in 1698 (being greater than ever it was in *Ireland*, except in 1715). This annual increase was occasioned by our falling into the woollen manufacture; the *French refugees* who settled with us, at the same time laying the foundation of the linen manufacture; and it being also the succeeding year to the peace of *Reswyck*, *Europe* began to breathe after a heavy war, and trade to revive, which occasioned a brisker demand for *Irish* provisions. But upon checking the export of our woollen manufacture to foreign kingdoms, and by laying on heavy duties upon its being exported to *England*, in 1699 and 1700, equivalent to a prohibition; most of those who were embarked in it, were laid under a necessity of removing elsewhere; and being piqued at the difficulties they were laid under, many of the Protestants removed into *Germany* and settled in the Protestant States there, who received them with open arms. Several Papists at the same time removed into the northern parts of *Spain*, where they laid the foundation of a manufacture highly prejudicial to *England*. Many also of the Protestants who were embarked with Papists in the woollen manufacture, removed into *France*, and settled in *Roan* and other parts. Notwithstanding *Lewis XIV.* had repealed the edict of *Nantz*, and forced abroad the *French* Protestants into different parts of *Europe*, yet these were kindly received by him, had great encouragement given to them, and were protected in their religion. From these beginnings they have in many branches so much improved the woollen manufactures of *France*, as not only to supply themselves, but even to vie with the *English* in foreign markets; and by their correspondence, they have laid the foundation for the running of wool thither both from *England* and *Ireland*, highly to the prejudice of *Britain*; which pernicious practice is still carried on, in spite of all the care and precautions made use of to discountenance and prevent it. Thus a check is put to the sale of our woollen manufactures abroad, which would have given full employment to all the industrious poor both of *Britain* and *Ireland*, had

not our manufacturers been forced away into *France, Spain, and Germany*, where they are now so improved, as in great measure to supply themselves with many sorts they formerly had from *England*. The *French* particularly are supplanting *Britain* in many of the markets abroad; and upon the whole, those nations may be justly said to have deprived *Britain* of millions since that time, instead of the thousands *Ireland* might possibly have made; which gain, whatever it had been, must necessarily have centred in *England* at last. For had they then allowed us to manufacture our wools, and confined us to the *English* markets, it is not to be imagined we could have undersold the manufacturers there, by having provisions cheaper, considering carriage, commission, freight, &c., since it is observable in our great towns, where those manufactures must have been carried on, our provisions for several years have been dearer than in the manufacturing towns and counties in *England*.

ABSTRACTS continued from 1710 to 1727, ending *Lady Day*.

Years.	Exports.			Imports.			Balance.			Contra Balance.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1710, . . .	712,497	2	6½	554,247	12	4	158,249	10	2½	—	—	—
1711, . . .	878,237	4	10½	670,948	13	8½	207,288	11	2½	—	—	—
1712, . . .	889,339	7	0½	774,420	12	6½	114,918	14	6½	—	—	—
1713, . . .	890,437	5	3½	659,665	0	10½	230,772	4	5	—	—	—
1714, . . .	1,422,227	7	5	1,016,122	13	7	406,104	13	10	—	—	—
1715, . . .	1,529,765	14	1½	972,688	9	11½	557,077	4	2½	—	—	—
1716, . . .	1,255,083	7	10	875,565	19	11½	379,517	7	10½	—	—	—
1717, . . .	1,180,012	10	4	907,160	10	10½	272,851	19	5½	—	—	—
1718, . . .	1,115,304	6	11½	887,758	16	6½	227,545	10	4½	—	—	—
1719, . . .	1,038,381	7	1½	891,678	5	6½	146,703	1	7	—	—	—
1720, . . .	859,581	5	1½	683,364	1	6½	176,217	3	7	—	—	—
1721, . . .	986,346	14	2	730,558	10	9½	255,788	3	4½	—	—	—
1722, . . .	1,074,269	12	2½	829,367	17	2½	244,901	15	0	—	—	—
1723, . . .	1,090,675	13	5½	920,802	11	6	169,873	1	11½	—	—	—
1724, . . .	1,053,782	13	11½	819,761	13	3½	234,021	0	8½	—	—	—
1725, . . .	1,026,857	6	4	889,832	18	5½	136,704	7	10½	—	—	—
1726, . . .	1,017,872	15	4½	1,030,059	16	4½	—	—	—	12,187	1	0½
Total, . . .	18,020,351	14	2	14,114,004	5	1	3,906,347	9	1	12,187	1	0½
Medium for 17 years, . . .	1060,020	13	7½	830,235	10	10½	229,785	2	10½	—	—	—
Total for the last 7 years, . . .	7,109,066	0	7½	5,903,747	9	2½	1,205,318	11	5½	—	—	—
Medium for the last 7 years, . . .	1,015,580	17	2½	843,392	9	10½	172,188	7	4½	—	—	—

By these abstracts may be observed the gradual rise of our exports from 1710 to 1716, from which time they gradually fell to 1721; then rose again to 1724, and have since abated to 1727.

Our imports gradually rose from 1710 to 1713; then abated a little but were very high the year following, then gradually abated to 1717, when they rose a little, then fell until 1720; thence they increased to 1723, fell in 1724, and have risen considerably since, though the exports abated; and in 1726 they were higher than they ever were before in *Ireland*. The balance being the difference between the exports and imports, must necessarily attend their uncertain and irregular rising and falling.

The causes of these irregular startings and flutterings in our trade, I take to be these. The linen manufacture has been generally speaking an increasing export; and though some years it abated a little, upon account of bad markets abroad, or by the failing of our seed at home, and bad seed imported from abroad, yet generally in the succeeding years it increased with double force; it is owing to that solely, that our exports have diminished so little in bad seasons, and have been generally much at a stand; though from bad crops and late harvests, we have made considerable demands abroad for grain to supply our markets.

It was the peace established throughout *Europe* after a long and expensive war, that made the markets quick and high every where in 1714 and 1715. There seemed to be a new force given to the circulation of trade, after so long a stagnation. This occasioned a great demand for our provisions, raised our markets, and made our exports so large. This rise and demand made us over-slaughter our cattle, and consequently diminish our stock; which with the fall of markets, by being glutted abroad, lessened our exports the following years. At the same time the goods we imported were raised abroad; wine being raised in *France* from 20*l.* to 36*l.* *per tun*, and other goods in proportion; this increased the value of our imports those years. The succeeding disturbances by the rebellion in *Great Britain*, the confusions in

France upon calling in and new coining their money, and raising their coin; the *Mississippi* bubble in *France*, and *South Sea* in *England*, were plainly the reasons of the considerable fall in our exports to 1722, by the breaking of merchants and fall of markets every where upon it. Our exports rose gradually again to 1724, which was occasioned by two good harvests, but especially that of 1723. Since that time by bad harvests and increasing luxury, our exports have diminished a little every year, and our imports have increased to that degree, as to have a contra-balance in 1726 of 12,187*l.* 1*s.* 0*¼d.*; but I must observe, that part of this increase was occasioned by our merchants having stock upon hand of *French* wines in the *Isle of Man*, which upon suppressing their clandestine trade, they were obliged to import in greater quantities than formerly.

Thus stands our general balance in the Custom House books. But before I give this as a just estimate of our balance upon the produce of the kingdom, and our demand for foreign goods—for I can by no means allow it to be the exact balance or return of wealth to the kingdom—I shall remark how it is entered in the Custom House ledgers; and here I must do that justice to the Examinators, Mr. *Foulks* and Mr. *Lill*, to say, they are kept with the greatest care and regularity possible. They have made it perfectly easy to any one who looks into them to see how our trade is carried on, either in general, or with the several nations with whom we trade; and every branch may be examined with the greatest ease and dispatch.

In striking this balance, they have considered the price of our exports and imports without any regard to freight, or the merchant's loss or profit upon them, but have valued our goods at the exactest medium they could by their strictest inquiry find out, for the year's export, as they are sold here in our markets. They likewise endeavour to find out by merchants and the best informations they can get from other hands, what is the *medium* value of the different kinds of foreign goods, as they are sold in the several ports and countries we have them from; and vary the price according as

they find them to rise or fall abroad, which is the utmost can be expected. They have also regular entries of the number of ships and quantity of tunnage, employed in annually carrying on our trade, specifying from what ports in *Ireland*, and how much tunnage belongs to each nation: an abstract of this for two or three years I give afterwards. But it is impracticable for them to give an account of the freight gained by each nation's ships that trade here, the ports they sailed to, and the goods they carried to each place; no more than what is already mentioned, can be reasonably expected from them. Though this will effectually let us into the increase and decrease of our exports and imports in the several commodities sent abroad, which are entered at each port, and in such as we have from abroad which pay duty, and are not imported by stealth—yet that is all; and we may be pretty well assured, that our imports exceed what are entered in their books; we may even give a tolerable guess of what kind of goods the returns are exact, and what not, by the height of the duty and conveniency of stealing them in, according to their bulk and value. As for instance, in bone-lace, cambricks, silks, calicoes, and Hollands, the value and small bulk contribute to their being easily imported by stealth; as also tobacco and brandy, though bulky, yet the high duty and their not being in danger of being spoiled by the carriage, will occasion their being run in upon us, notwithstanding that bribes, seizures, and cheap sale, generally eat away the whole profit, and scarce one in an age is known to have died rich of those who have followed so pernicious a trade.

Upon the whole, we must balance goods imported by stealth, with such as are so exported; for where prohibitions, difficulties, or high duties are laid upon goods exported, there are also people who will export by stealth, that would not import in that manner; contenting themselves with this *salvo*, that the crime is less in this case than that of importation, since it seems to be an advantage to the kingdom to export as much as possible, which, except in exporting the *primums* of manufactures, will employ more hands at home; whereas

a too great consumption of foreign goods and manufactures is a certain prejudice to the kingdom; in this, therefore, we can be at no certainty, but must balance the one with the other.

The next thing to be considered in striking the balance, is the profit or loss merchants have by our goods exported; whether they are exported in foreign or our own ships; whether upon commission or at risk of our merchants. As to the first, we are sure of the imports, but not of the exports; losses at sea are not allowed for. If either the exports or imports which are lost belong to our merchants, it is a national loss; if carried on by commission or shipped by foreigners, then *Ireland* is not concerned in the loss. If they get safe to port, and meet with a bad market, our *Irish* trade will seldom afford sending them to another port to try to better the sale, but there they sell either for profit or loss as it happens; and then the merchant makes up his loss by the sale of what he imports in return, and the consumer at home must pay his loss; sometimes correspondents abroad break; ships are arrested, seized, or confiscated; these are heavy charges upon trade, yet we may reasonably hope that the freight at least is saved, otherwise merchants would deal with ready money, and send over bills, as is too often done with our trade with *France*.

Thus in striking our balance as done in the Custom House, we are sure if we err it is on the right side, and in regulating our trade, by putting difficulties upon the consumption of wasting and luxurious imports, and giving proper encouragement to increase our exports, and to plant and manufacture at home, that we may lessen our imports from abroad, we will find it reasonable not to depend too much upon any farther profit made upon our exports, but rather upon our freight. If we consider this only in proportion to the tunnage of our own shipping employed, which is at the medium of 37,453 tuns in 181,901, not much exceeding $\frac{1}{3}$ of our exports, we will not find a great sum to be added to the profit as returned by the balance in the Custom House Books.

I will here give an abstract of the number of ships em-

ployed for some years to export and import the goods and commodities we deal in, with their tunnage, *viz.* :—

Years commencing <i>Lady Day.</i>	Ships, No.	Tuns.	Tunnage of Ships, at a Medium.
1714, . . .	3,081	161,115	52·27
1719, . . .	3,341	135,887	40·67
1720, . . .	3,167	187,041	59·09
1721, . . .	3,334	158,414	47·51
1722, . . .	3,657	286,594	78·36
1723, . . .	4,012	173,986	43·36
1724, . . .	3,829	170,273	44·46
Total, . . .	24,421	1,273,310	—
Medium, . . .	3,488·7	181,901	52·14

I must here observe, that in the year 1721, *Waterford* was not returned; but taking the tunnage that year of 7,400, as the medium of the other years, the amount is as above. The ships and tunnage 1724 is also imperfect, *Dingle, Donaghadee, Drogheda,* and *Killibeggs* not being returned. But allowing them at the returns appearing in other years, their number and tunnage are as above, of which the *English* tunnage amounts to 96,924, *Scotch* 17,951, and *Irish* 38,513.

NOTE.—These are all decimal fractions beyond the point, those who do not understand them may safely omit them, they being only $\frac{1}{10}$, $\frac{1}{100}$, or $\frac{1}{1000}$ of an unit.

The Tunnage of different nations in 1722 and 1723 was as follows:—

	In 1722.	In 1723.
	Tuns.	Tuns.
English, . . .	218,299	96,440
Scotch, . . .	18,355	19,247
Irish, . . .	33,312	42,136
Danish, . . .	11,201	9,292
Dutch, . . .	2,444	3,915
French, . . .	2,868	2,751
Spanish, . . .	115	205
Total, . . .	286,594	173,986

By these may be seen the proportion the several nations around us bear to ours in the carriage and freight of our goods and imports; by which we may observe a great part of the profit of our trade goes away in foreign and British freight; and, it is a strong presumption, much also by commission.

I thought it would not be unacceptable also to annex the proportion of ships and tunnage in the several discharging ports in *Ireland*; by which means an observation may be made how our trade at home stands among ourselves, and what proportion our trading towns severally have in our exports and imports, which, for the year 1723, stood thus:—

	Ships, No.	Tuns.		Ships, No.	Tuns.
Baltimore, .	38	1,193	Limerick, .	71	3,443
Belfast, .	370	9,180	Londonderry,	58	2,281
Coleraine, .	34	796	Ross, . . .	27	1,591
Cork, . . .	690	36,576	Sligo, . . .	18	880
Dingle, . .	6	288	Strangford, .	31	1,112
Donaghadee,	53	876	Waterford, .	176	7,554
Dublin, . .	1,834	90,758	Wicklow, . .	21	799
Drogheda, .	185	4,715	Wexford, . .	21	640
Dundalk, . .	232	4,302	Youghal, . .	51	2,153
Galway, . .	46	2,280			
Killibeggs, .	6	355	Total, . . .	4,012	173,986
Kinsale, . .	44	2,214			

Having thus given a short view of the shipping and tunnage employed in our trade, I shall next subdivide our exports, and range them under their several heads, viz., the produce of cattle and sheep, of grain, fish, linen, rape; others not reduceable to these heads, as iron, wood, &c., and goods re-exported. Of each of these in their order. First I will give an abstract of our produce from our grazing, making a distinction betwixt sheep and other cattle, for eight years ending *Lady-Day*, 1727, and strike mediums as I go along.

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An Abstract of the Value of the Produce of Cattle and Sheep Exported:—

Years.	Produce of Cattle.	Produce of Sheep.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1719, .	530,830 16 7	109,942 8 1
1720, .	445,946 10 3	89,401 11 0
1721, .	485,699 13 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	135,196 11 1 $\frac{1}{2}$
1722, .	506,337 6 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	162,476 3 4 $\frac{1}{2}$
1723, .	502,962 14 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	187,284 3 4
1724, .	524,710 11 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	132,148 19 11 $\frac{1}{2}$
1725, .	505,769 0 5 $\frac{3}{4}$	95,730 13 1 $\frac{3}{4}$
1726, .	473,937 19 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	101,942 7 9
Total, .	3,976,194 13 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,014,122 12 11 $\frac{1}{2}$
Medium, .	497,024 6 8	126,765 7 1 $\frac{3}{8}$
Medium of Cattle and Sheep,	£623,789 13 9 $\frac{3}{8}$	

The Produce of the Exports of Grain and Fish:—

Years.	Grain.	Fish.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1719, .	56,145 0 11	15,169 16 6
1720, .	44,253 2 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	13,669 10 9
1721, .	38,208 15 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	12,055 10 2 $\frac{3}{4}$
1722, .	17,664 12 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	16,246 17 5
1723, .	42,154 3 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	11,313 12 10
1724, .	47,410 4 1	15,713 9 7
1725, .	18,515 3 9	17,544 10 0
1726, .	27,005 2 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	15,911 16 6
Total, .	291,356 5 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	117,625 3 9 $\frac{3}{4}$
Medium, .	36,419 10 8 $\frac{3}{4}$	14,703 2 11

The Produce of the Exports of Linen and Rape:—

Years.	Linen.			Rape.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1719, .	268,021	13	0	—	—	—
1720, .	214,217	13	6	7,383	8	4
1721, .	259,519	8	0	2,234	0	0
1722, .	312,964	12	0	621	10	0
1723, .	281,549	13	6	450	0	0
1724, .	275,573	9	10	1,464	0	0
1725, .	323,628	16	0	10,849	0	0
1726, .	342,295	0	9	2,205	13	2
Total, .	2,277,170	6	7	25,207	11	6
Medium, .	284,721	5	9½	3,601	1	7½

The Produce of the Exports of Iron, Wood, &c.:—

Years.	Not reduceable to the former heads.			The Produce of Goods Re-exported.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1719, .	16,073	1	5	42,198	10	7½
1720, .	27,217	14	10½	34,762	8	9½
1721, .	17,904	6	2½	35,528	9	4½
1722, .	21,381	9	11½	36,506	19	8½
1723, .	22,277	1	8½	42,684	3	5½
1724, .	24,872	9	11	31,889	10	2½
1725, .	21,659	2	7	32,840	9	4½
1726, .	14,905	14	3½	39,669	0	9½
Total, .	166,291	1	0	296,079	12	4½
Medium, .	20,786	7	7½	37,009	19	0½

Thus may be seen the annual profit arising to the nation at a medium of eight years of our several exports, viz., from cattle and sheep, which includes our grazing; from agriculture, fish, linen manufacture, other goods not reduceable to these heads, as iron, wood, &c., and from goods re-exported.

Here also follows for the satisfaction of those who would more nicely observe the profit upon our grazing farms, an account of the most material articles under that head, at the medium of their quantities and values, viz. :—

	No. at a Medium.	£	s.	d.
Beef, <i>Barrels,</i>	135,270	120,771	16	4
Butter, <i>Cwts.,</i>	161,123	161,182	4	5
Hides, { <i>Raw,</i>	78,193 $\frac{7}{8}$	44,848	6	10
{ <i>Tanned,</i>	66,685 $\frac{7}{8}$	51,678	12	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Tallow, <i>Cwts.,</i>	51,274	64,254	2	4
Calve skins, <i>Dozens,</i>	11,603 $\frac{3}{4}$	13,924	13	6 $\frac{3}{4}$
Barrels of pork,	10,322 $\frac{1}{2}$	16,000	0	0
Bacon and lard,	—	995	10	8
Candles,	—	6,286	19	11
Soap,	—	600	0	0
Cheese,	—	3,480	9	0
Goats and kid skins,	—	1,100	0	0
Horses,	—	3,806	0	0
Rabbit skins,	—	4,100	0	0
Wool reduced to the stone of 16 lbs.,	123,590	40,861	16	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
Woollen yarn at ditto,	27,240	14,269	8	5
Worsted yarn at ditto,	76,219	62,423	10	7 $\frac{3}{4}$
Sheep and lamb skins,	—	6,844	16	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Manufacture from sheep, viz. :— Frize, flannel, glew, gloves, and hats,	—	2,353	5	0

There are some other trifling articles not worth mentioning, such as horse and cow's hair, ox bones, greaves, &c.

Having given the clearest view I could of the produce of our grass, I shall next give the proportions of our produce upon grass, agriculture, &c., to the whole, and consequently to each other.

	£	s.	d.
The medium of our whole exports for seven years as before, being	1,015,580	17	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
The produce of cattle is to the whole, as	489		
The produce of sheep to the whole, as	124		
The produce of cattle and sheep joined, as	613		
The produce of grain, as	35		
The produce of fish, as	14		
Of linen the last year's produce may be taken at the medium, it being a rising export, as	337		
Of other articles as iron, wood, &c., as	20		
Of goods re-exported, as	36		
		To 1,000	

The produce of grain if none had been imported stands as above. But as more has been imported of late years than exported, it stands for nothing; there having been before *Lady Day* 1727, at a medium of six years, imported upon four articles, viz., wheat, flour, malt, and barley to the value of 39,063*l.*, whereas in the exports here, all things produced from grain are included, viz., beer, ale, aquavitæ, bread, oat-meal, hair-powder, starch, with the several kinds of grain besides.

I must observe here, that as linen pays no duty outwards the merchants may impose upon the officers in their entry, and put more in their permits than the quantity exported; and that for these reasons, by these means several merchants may make use of the same permit to save fees, so a merchant enters as much more than he has to export, as he imagines he may expect from other merchants to be shipped off by that permit, which if he procures it is well, if not, he pays nothing on account of it, but informs his correspondent of the quantity shipped and exported. Another reason is, that merchants love to persuade the world they have great business, so they enter above the truth when it costs them nothing, and appear to deal in greater quantities, or at least to have greater commissions than they actually have.

This by order of the Commissioners of the Revenue is better regulated than formerly, and some difficulties put upon them if they make false entries, by obliging them to take out new permits, in case it exceeds the quantity exported. So for the future we may expect more exact entries, there being less exported in the year ending *Lady Day* 1728, than the foregoing year; it is believed to be more owing to the rectifying that abuse than to any decline of the manufacture. Upon the whole we may depend upon being rather within the value of our linens and yarn exported than otherwise, since at a medium the cloth is valued at 12*d.* per yard, and the yarn at the same price per pound; which if the yarn at a medium be three dozen in the pound, is but 4*d.* per dozen; a low price, and rather below the common medium of the markets.

I shall next consider the nature and differences of the profits

profits and benefits arising to the kingdom from the several before mentioned heads of export, viz., pasture, agriculture, fisheries, manufactures, and re-exports, in which I shall begin with grazing, the least beneficial of our exports, though it makes up the greatest article in our present trade.

In considering this, I shall first divide the profit arising from grazing into its two chief articles, viz., our exports upon the produce of cattle and sheep, treating of each separately, and afterwards of all pasture together.

The medium of our whole exports upon cattle being 497,024*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, the produce of black cattle or kine, when horses, swine, goats, and rabbits are deducted, amounts to 471,023*l.* 16*s.*, whilst the only goods of their produce, exported manufactured, are tanned hides, value 64,254*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.*, candles 6,286*l.* 19*s.* 11*d.*, and soap about 600*l.*, of which the profit upon tanning as computed in the Custom House books being 3*s.* *per* hide, is 10,335*l.* 14*s.* 6½*d.*, and the profit upon the other articles inconsiderable.

Since then there are 135,270 barrels of beef exported; if we suppose the oxen to weigh 4 cwt. one with another, one ox will fill two barrels, and consequently there are 67,635 slaughtered for export. As they ought to be five year old when sold for export, I suppose every ox will take eight acres of grass and hay, blending our rich and poor lands together to feed him till he is of age ready for slaughter, and his dam whilst he is a calf.

The number of acres then employed in feeding so many would amount to 541,080. Supposing from each cow at a medium 1 cwt. of butter may be made annually, there being 161,123 cwt. of butter at a medium exported, there will be the same number of cows to furnish it, which at an acre and a half *per* cow to maintain them, will amount to 241,684 acres, employed that way; so that without considering how many cows will be requisite to rear the number of calves that must from time to time supply this number of milch cows, there will be 782,764 acres employed in grazing, to export the value of 471,023*l.* 16*s.*, which will not fully amount to 12*s.* 0¼*d.* *per* acre, plantation measure, of 7 yards to the rod;

there is also 4,971 cwt. of cheese exported, which at 2 cwt. *per cow*, will reduce the above value to 12*s.* *per acre*. But even this is not neat profit to the nation, for salt and cask must be deducted. The value of the wood, each cask at 1*s.*, the cooperage being no loss, would amount to 14,819*l.* 13*s.*, salt (half a bushel, value 6*d.* *per cask*) 7,409*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.* These two articles being subtracted from the above sum, the neat profit upon cattle will amount to no more than 448,794*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.*, which will reduce the profit *per acre* to 11*s.* 4½*d.*

If we should compute the number of bullocks by the number of hides exported, they would amount to 144,879, and the acres employed would be above 1,350,000; but I suppose we do not make use of half the hides at home of such as we kill to supply our markets, which makes up the number of hides exported. Also from the profit allowed by tanning, should be taken a proportion of the value of bark imported, the value of what is imported annually at a medium, amounting to 16,116*l.* 10*s.* 3*d.*, which will still more abate the profit *per acre*.

I shall next consider the profit to the nation arising from sheep, which at a medium amounts to 126,765*l.* 7*s.* 1¾*d.*, of which the wool being 123,590 stone, at 16 pound to the stone, amounts to 40,861*l.* 16*s.* 9½*d.*, the medium price being about 6*s.* 7¼*d.* *per stone*. The woollen yarn 27,240 stone, at value 14,269*l.* 8*s.* 5*d.*, is nearly 10*s.* 5¼*d.* *per stone*; the worsted yarn 76,219 stone, at value 62,423*l.* 10*s.* 7¼*d.*, is nearly 16*s.* 4½*d.* *per stone*; the value of the sheep and lamb skins, is computed at a medium at 6,844*l.* 16*s.* 2¾*d.*; and all the manufacture made of sheep, that we are allowed to export by reason of high duties, *viz.*, frize, flannel, gloves, glew, and hats, at a medium, amounts to about 2,353*l.* 5*s.*

The wool, worsted, and woollen yarn exported amounting at a medium to 227,049 stone; if three sheep at a medium be allowed to produce a stone of wool—whereas in some sheep countries they allow four—there would be 681,147 sheep fed to produce that quantity of wool. If four sheep at a medium in such sheep-walks are allowed to the acre, it would take 170,286¾ acres to maintain them, which producing 117,554*l.*

15s. 10½*d.*, is nearly 13s. 9½*d.* *per* acre, annual profit to the kingdom. The value to the farmer, is so much more as what he sells them for to supply the market, which may be supposed at four years old, so that once in four years he may sell his stock from 6*s.* to 12*s.* each, which at 9*s.* the medium, would come to 2*s.* 3*d.* more *per* acre, so the profit of the farmer may be computed about 16*s.* *per* acre, excepting accidents by death, &c. The lambs by their wool fully pay their grass, and make no deduction.

Supposing 25,805 hogs to fill 10,322 barrels, the number of barrels of pork exported, about 80 lbs. each hog, which at six to the acre, considering how they are generally fed upon trash, and grounds otherwise of no great use, we may suppose 4,300½ acres employed by them annually, the profit from them arising, being at a medium computed at 16,000*l.*, and they being supposed 2½ years old when killed, there would then be 10,752¾ acres to maintain them till ready to be fatted, which would come nearly to 1*l.* 9*s.* 7½*d.* *per* acre, out of which is to be deducted the grain used in fattening them.

The horses sent abroad, at a medium, 475 *per ann.*, at 10 acres *per* horse to maintain him and his dam when he is young, and to feed him till old enough for sale, would come to 4,750 acres, which, at 8*l.* for each horse when sold, would produce 16*s.* annual profit *per* acre.

Thus the whole neat produce upon cattle or grazing in general, after deducting 23,003*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* for the salt and casks made use of for the beef, butter, and pork, without subtracting anything upon account of bark used in tanning, will amount to 600,773*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.*, and the acres employed in producing it, 968,552¾, without allowing any to rabbits or goats, which comes nearly to 12*s.* 5*d.* *per* acre.

The next thing I proposed to consider was the profit arising from agriculture, and to show the difference between the profit to the public of lands employed that way and that of grazing or pasture. Our exports upon that branch are shamefully small, and our imports as large. Our exports, rape included, not exceeding at a medium 40,020*l.* 12*s.* 4½*d.*, and our imports upon four articles, wheat, barley, malt, and

flour, as I observed before, were 39,063*l.*, and that before the years 1727 and 1728, when our imports grew considerably higher upon account of the scarcity in the *North*. Foreigners well may believe we are either not thoroughly peopled, our lands and climate not fit for agriculture, or that no profit can be made by tillage equivalent to that of pasture.

To make this more obvious I shall subdivide the head of agriculture, and consider the subdivisions separately. To begin, then, with the profit upon an acre of wheat, plantation measure, which I always follow, it being our statute acre. This acre has 7 yards to the rod, as the *English* has $5\frac{1}{2}$, the proportion betwixt them, therefore, is as 49 to $30\frac{1}{4}$, or eight to five nearly. I will first compute it according to our common way of tillage, and then according to the way proposed by Mr. *Pearson*, by the *English* wheel-ploughs; and will estimate the charge upon it nearly as he has put it in his little tract of "Tillage."

An acre of wheat, then, yielding seven barrels *Bristol* measure, computed at 12*s.* per barrel for exportation, would amount to 4*l.* 4*s.* By fallowing, a year's crop being lost, the one-half is the value of the acre per ann., amounting only to 2*l.* 2*s.* Now, it is plain that, except seed and repairs, all the rest is clear gain to the nation, for the maintenance of so many hands and cattle is part of the benefit and profit of the public. So the seed and repairs (not exceeding 20*s.* for two years), that is 10*s.* per ann., being deducted, there will be a national profit of 1*l.* 12*s.* per ann. but to the farmer above his labour, computed, when sown, at 1*l.* 3*s.* 2*d.*, to which add his seed, rent, tithe, weeding, reaping, threshing, and sending to market, at 2*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.*, the gain is but 17*s.* 4*d.*, which is 8*s.* 8*d.* per ann. over and above all his rent, tithe, labour, &c. If wheat sold for 15*s.* per barrel, he would then gain 17*s.* 8*d.* per ann.; thus, by the worst way of tillage, when the markets are at the lowest, including tithe and rent at 9*s.* per acre, there is 17*s.* 8*d.* annual profit over and above the people maintained, who are necessary to till and manure it.

But if we take tillage in a proper light, and consider it as ploughed after the *English* and best method, then the expence

of ploughing, seed, rent, tithe, and all charges, till sent to the market, will not exceed 2*l.* 16*s.* 5½*d.*, and the produce upon an acre may reasonably be computed at twelve barrels *per* acre, which would amount to 7*l.* 4*s.*, so the neat profit would be 4*l.* 7*s.* 6½*d.*, and the annual profit, 2*l.* 3*s.* 9½*d.* to the farmer, to the public all the remainder as before, except seed and repairs, which would be above 3*l.* 5*s.* *per ann.* national profit. An acre of rye in coarser and higher grounds may reasonably be computed at two-thirds of the wheat, though some account it as good, having generally more barrels upon the acre.

The expence of an acre of white peas, in ploughing, rent, tithe, &c., until fit for the market, is about 1*l.* 14*s.*; and at eight barrels *per* acre, and 12*s.* *per* barrel, there would be, neat profit, 3*l.* 2*s.* *per ann.*; beans above 2*l.*; gray peas the same; barley, at 6*s.* *per* barrel, about 2*l.* 10*s.*; and oats about 1*l.* 10*s.*

By these computations may be seen how much more profitable tillage is to the kingdom than pasture. The profit upon pasture at a medium does not exceed 12*s.* 5*d.* *per* acre, whereas the lowest upon agriculture is 1*l.* 10*s.* neat profit to the farmer; the highest, 3*l.*, when the markets are at the lowest, over and above all charges, rent, tithe, &c., the expence of furniture and repairs to be deducted. The national profit and power is also vastly increased by employing so many more hands in the management of it, and in making the utensils belonging to it. It is reasonable to believe that ten acres in tillage will give one family full employment, whereas (except where dairies are kept) in pasture 200 would not. Consequently 200,000 acres under stock would not afford employment for above 1,000 families, and so much in tillage would employ 20,000. I may also venture to affirm that by proper management in sowing grass seeds, &c., if a due proportion of land be industriously tilled, suppose one-third, the two-thirds remaining in grass will breed and maintain as many cattle as the whole would do without proper tillage.

Since gardening and planting is of the same nature with

agriculture, but in a higher degree useful, being more profitable, and employing more hands, the orchards in fruit to make cider and other home-made wines, that may prevent imports of wine and brandy; and the kitchen-gardens, in supplying us with roots and greens, which saves so much more grain for export; as also plantations of other kinds, such as woad, weld, saffron, liquorice, madder, hops, teasills, &c., each of which will yield at the lowest from 5*l.* or 6*l.* per acre to near 60*l.* clear profit—there can be no occasion to make estimates of them here.

Plantations of barren timber being so necessary an article, the want of which is at least 40,000*l.* per ann. expence to us in our imports, by employing grounds not so proper for other things that way we would, at least, have the rent of the land at compound interest, if they thrive, and great part of the time there is no loss of the pasture. Considering the improvement it gives other grounds also by shelter, it is surprising it is not much more taken notice of and fallen into. But I shall afterwards give some reasons for our failing herein, and propose a remedy which would effectually answer, though I am afraid we will not be so kind to our country and posterity as to follow it.

The next thing I proposed to consider was our exports upon fish, and the benefit arising to a nation from fisheries, particularly to islands, which, I may say, by Providence are designed to have that advantage from their situation, for their better support and the increase of their wealth and power. But it is with concern I must say it, that our exports upon this article are small to a shameful degree, to the lasting reproach of the nation, all owing to our indolence and supine negligence, in not attempting and prosecuting so beneficial a branch of trade, which would vastly increase our commerce, we being as happily situated for it as any country in the world, *Britain* excepted, and perhaps, I may say, nearly equal to it. The whole produce of the fisheries would be an addition of wealth to this kingdom, deducting salt and cask, and by planting the latter might in part be supplied at home.

Our exports upon this head do not exceed 14,703*l.* 2*s.* 11*d.*

at a medium of eight years; whereof our salmon alone amounts to from 8,000*l.* to 10,000*l.*; herrings from 3,000*l.* to 4,000*l.*; hake about 2,000*l.*; ling, 400*l.*; and barrelled cod, 100*l.*—though we might with reason expect 100 times as much of every kind but salmon. If we consider the number of hands and ships employed in providing every thing necessary for a fishery, where it succeeds, as salt, casks, materials for nets, lines, &c., and ships to export the fish, we will find it is the best article in trade for increasing our sailors and navigation, and it yields a very great national profit, when an inconsiderable gain is acquired by private persons. But designing to treat of it more at large, separately and afterwards, in another Tract, I will turn to another article, which at present is very deservedly our darling. It is the only one we are unconfined in, and it saves us from being bankrupts, which otherwise our extravagance and the demands and draughts upon us would have long ago brought about. It is our hempen and linen manufactures, but particularly our linen, our exports upon which, at a medium of the last eight years, amounts to 284,721*l.* 5*s.* 9½*d.*; but as it is an improving manufacture, we may take the last year's export as the lowest medium, I hope, for any succeeding years, along with these foregoing, viz., 342,295*l.* 0*s.* 9*d.*

In order to make the growth of this manufacture and the profit thence arising more visibly appear, I will consider how this branch stood in 1701, at which time there was exported—

	£	s.	d.
Linen cloth, 188,000 yards—value,	14,112	0	0
Linen yarn, 7,821 cwt. 1 qr. 16 lbs.—value,	39,106	18	4
Total,	53,218	18	4
This hath gradually risen to <i>Lady-Day</i> , 1727,			
when the yards of linen cloth exported in			
1726 were 4,768,889½—value,	238,444	9	9
Linen yarn that year, 17,287 cwt. 3 qrs. 4 lbs.—			
value,	103,726	11	0
Stockings, 124 dozen,		124	0
Total,	342,295	0	9
z	33		So

	£	s.	d.
So our manufactures since 1701 have increased	289,076	2	8
The manufacture of linen and stockings is increased	224,456	9	9
Notwithstanding which our exports upon yarn has increased	64,619	12	8

This manufacture, except about 24,400*l.* paid abroad for flax, flax-seed, potash, and soap, is all clear gain to the nation, so we have, at least, 317,900*l.* neat profit by it.

I observed before that the gross export of linen was above one-third of all our exports, it being as 337 to 1,000; to our exports upon cattle, without including sheep, as 337 to 489, or as 668 to 1,000 nearly; to our exports upon pasture in general, including sheep (wherein our little manufactures of tanned leather, spinning of wool, and other small manufactures of sheep, as glue, gloves, hats, freize, and flannel, are included), as 337 to 613, or 548 to 1,000 nearly, which is above one-half. But this is not all: let us consider how much is saved to the nation in lessening the quantity of holland and linens imported from abroad, and of calicoes, by the home consumption of our stamped and striped linens. I believe I shall be within bounds if I compute them, before the rise of these manufactures among us, at 50,000*l.* more than are now imported; and as our numbers since the reduction of *Ireland* in 1691 are increased about one-third in the manner we are supplied with linens, 80,000*l.* would not now be sufficient for us. I shall only beg leave, by a computation in one instance, to make it highly probable I speak modestly of what we save in this article of importation, and that by showing how much is spent among us of our own manufacture of this sort in the article of shifting. In this instance, to make my computation appear far within the truth, I shall but allow one shift *per ann.* to each person in the kingdom, whereas I am informed by labouring persons that two will scarce suffice, and most of them take three. The linen made use of in shifting the lowest rank of men (who, being the bulk of the kingdom, all computations of this kind are safest and nearest the truth

when the rich, who are the fewest in number, are lumped with them in the calculation) is cloth of three-fourths or seven-eighths broad, which is generally sold from 15*s.* to 17*s.* 6*d.* per score, or from 9*d.* to 10½*d.* per yard; here I shall compute it at 10*d.* per yard—three yards goes to a woman's shift, and three and-a-half to a man's; but as the number of persons under sixteen are nearly equal to those above it, and much less being used in children's shifts than in those of persons grown up, I shall take a medium of two yards to each person's shift (it being, as I think, still less than the truth), which is 1*s.* 8*d.* for a shift to each person in *Ireland*. By the extract of the houses and hearths which I took out of the Custom-house books, abstracts of which I give afterwards in a second part, it appears that in 1725 there were, at least, 382,785 houses inhabited in *Ireland*, without including barracks, colleges, or hospitals; and by returns that I have from several country parishes, of the souls in each family, I have found, at a medium, 4·36, or a little more than 4½ to each family; the families being larger in towns this also is rather within the truth; there would then be, at least, 1,668,942 souls in *Ireland*, which, at 1*s.* 8*d.* per shift, the sum would amount to 139,078*l.* 10*s.* Now, if two shifts be supposed a reasonable allowance, considering I was within bounds in the quantity made use of in a shift, even the youngest children included, and considering how many have more than two of greater breadth and fineness, then the value of shifting alone in *Ireland* would be 278,157*l.*, which is near four-fifths of all the exports of linen. If to this be added the sheeting and table-linen, ticking and other things necessary in women's and children's wear, such as frocks, aprons, caps, &c., it may be computed to amount to as much more. Over and above all this there are stamped linens, striped, mixed with cotton, silk, and woollen; buckrams, canvas, thread, incles, tapes, &c., so that should I say our linen manufacture, by our exports and home consumption, amounts to 1,000,000*l.* sterling, I believe I should not far exceed the truth.

I shall next consider how little of the kingdom is taken up with this manufacture. When I say there are not above five

counties employed and fully embarked in making linens, viz., *Antrim, Down, Armagh, Tyrone, and Derry*, I am, I believe, near the truth. Part of these, which are only spinning counties, will be more than equivalent to the parts of other counties wherein this manufacture has made any progress. There are not above five more employed in spinning, viz., *Donegal, Monaghan, Cavan*, and as many spinners dispersed among the other counties in *Ireland* as may make up five spinning counties in all, so there are not above ten counties in thirty-two any way embarked in the linen manufacture. If it be considered, also, how little ground is employed in raising the flax for this manufacture, it will still appear in a better light, and the advantage more surprising. 3,000 hogsheads of foreign flax-seed is somewhat above the medium imported yearly; but for the sake of a round number, being near it, I will choose it. If we suppose the increase of this *communibus annis* to be two hogsheads for each that is sown, which, I am afraid, is still above the truth, considering that many pull their flax without saving the seed, and that wet seasons prevent others that would, all the seed saved, together with the import of the following year, will be but 9,000 hogsheads. Let us suppose that quantity to be sowed the second year, and the same increase in proportion, this would amount to 18,000, to which add the 3,000 imported next season, and there would be 21,000 hogsheads sown annually, for as yet they seldom save it longer, but depend upon foreign seed. I suppose what the native *Irish* save and sow of *Irish* seed to be adulterated and impoverished by mismanagement, and from thence commonly called short flax-seed, will make up what in the rest is wanting of the computed increase of the seed, viz., two for one sown. This deficiency is occasioned by bad seasons and not saving the seed, and by pulling it too green, in order, as they pretend, to make the flax finer. Hence it is probable 21,000 hogsheads is the greatest quantity sowed annually in *Ireland*. A plantation acre and rod being allowed to every hogshead sown, there would be 26,250 acres under flax. And there being 11,042,642 computed acres in the kingdom, there would not be a 368th part of the kingdom

employed in producing the third part of the exports of the nation; and most part of that of the lighter and less profitable lands in the kingdom for grain or pasture. The great outcry there was upon the foreign seeds being damaged one year, and the great expence the nation was at in importing foreign flax to employ our spinners and poor, make it still more probable that I am not much out in this computation.

As I have made it highly probable that the value of our flax, when spun and manufactured, is, by home consumption and export, worth a million to the nation; if there be, in round numbers, 30,000 acres employed under flax, each acre is worth to the nation 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* *per ann.* According to the mean and poor living of the labourers in *Ireland*, 10*l.* *per ann.* would be more than sufficient to maintain a family; so that an acre of flax would be sufficient to maintain 14·5188 souls; consequently 30,000 acres under flax would employ and maintain 435,564 souls, besides the husbandmen and tradesmen necessary to supply this number with provisions and other necessaries, whereas so much in grazing would employ but 665 souls; and at 12*s.* *per acre* the value of the grazing would maintain but 1,800 families at 10*l.* *per family*, or 7,848 souls, which bears the proportion to these the flax upon the same ground would maintain as 1 to 55·5.

By this may be seen the vast disproportion there is between the profit arising to a nation from lands employed under materials for manufactures and what arises from grazing alone, as to numbers employed necessarily in each, viz., about 664 to 1. As a further confirmation of this I will propose another way of computation, which is not liable to so many objections as that already used. By this the disproportion appears to be nearly as great as in the former computation. In this last way we compute the quantity of flax raised upon an acre of ground at a medium, and then what quantity of cloth (such as is the general manufacture of the country) is usually made out of it. An acre of flax may be computed to have at least thirty stone of flax fit for the heckle, each stone of which, by proper management, may be spun into twenty-two dozen of yarn, of four dozen in the pound, the rest being

tow-yarn is only fit for sacking and of little value. This yarn, when wrought into cloth, yard-wide, of 1,400 threads on each side the woof, commonly called fourteen hundred cloth, will, out of thirty-five dozen, make twenty yards. Such cloth is sold, when whitened, at about 30*s.* per score. Thus twenty-two dozen will make 12½ yards, or a little more, and in value is about 18*s.* 9½*d.*, which being multiplied by 30, the number of stones of flax growing on an acre, amounts to 28*l.* 4*s.* 10½*d.*, consequently an acre would maintain 12·3 souls, and 30,000 acres, 369,000. So that this way the proportion betwixt the linen manufacture and grazing, as to numbers employed in each, would be about 563 to 1.

The value of our exports upon other small articles, such as metals, wood, &c., at a medium, not exceeding 20,786*l.* 7*s.* 7½*d.*, there is very little occasion to animadvert upon it, though it may be hoped that by proper application such improvements may be made in manufacturing some of them, particularly iron, as may increase our exports in some of these articles.

Our re-exports is the only article by which we gain upon foreign importations. By it we become the carriers and brokers for other nations; and may make a considerable gain for warehouse room, and lying out of our money for freight, and by the rise of markets abroad, notwithstanding the waste upon several species of goods. It is also a great means of increasing our ships and navigation. This article doth not at present exceed 37,009*l.* 19*s.* 0½*d.*, about half of which goes to *Britain*, the greatest part in wine and brandy; about one-sixth to *Spain, Portugal*, and the *Straits*; one-sixth to the *West Indies*; and near one-seventh to the East Country, which comprehends all countries north of *Holland*; very little to *France, Holland*, or *Flanders*. The chief articles re-exported are these following, viz. :—

	£
Brandy, value,	9,500
Wine, French,	8,300
Drapery,	900
Wine, Spanish,	800
Lead,	2,200
38	Herrings,

	£
Herrings, value,	1,000
Brown Sugar,	1,800
Iron,	750
Salt,	1,000
Train Oil,	400
Canes and Reeds,	90
	26,740
Total,	26,740

The remaining 10,269*l.* 19*s.* 0*d.* is made up of many small articles not worth mentioning here.

Having thus made the observations I proposed upon our several exports, and shown the proportion of our trade in each branch, and the proportional benefit thence arising to the kingdom by the increase of our numbers and employment of our poor, I shall now state the value of our imports, and give the medium of the most considerable of them for several years, and make some observations upon them as I proceed.

Our imports at a medium of seven years, ending *Lady-Day*, 1727, amounted to 843,392*l.* 9*s.* 10*d.*, and the values of the several goods here mentioned at the medium of the several years annexed to each species, are the proportion of the parts which contribute to make up that total, viz. :—

The Number of Years upon which each Medium is struck.

Years.	£	s.	d.
9 French wine, valued at 20 <i>l.</i> per tun,	83,156	5	10½
4 Of ditto, at ditto,	91,658	14	6
9 Spanish wine, at 30 <i>l.</i> per tun,	15,704	13	7½
9 Port wine, at 30 <i>l.</i> per tun,	3,169	11	9
6 Rhenish, at 36 <i>l.</i> per tun,	1,704	19	8½
	Taking the French at the four years medium. Total,		
6 Brandy, at 1 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> per gallon,	112,237	19	6½
	23,446	18	6
	Total of wine and brandy,		
	135,684	18	0½
	Wines imported in 1726,		
Brandies for said year,	142,586	8	5½
	30,871	13	9
	Total,		
	173,458	2	2½

This was a vast year's import, but partly occasioned by the

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stop put to the trade commonly carried on by the *Isle of Man*; however, the wines and brandies being lodged there from *France* in former years, would have increased the medium, had they been annually added to the importation equally as now.

Total, . . .	£	s.	d.
	135,684	18	0½

Years. Medium of the Imports continued.

6	Paper at 8s. per ream. Value, . . .	8,624	0	2½			
6	Wood, cent. { Balks, at 42l., . . . } { Deals, at 3l., . . . }	40,666	13	4			
6	Whalebone, at 17l. per cent., . . .	5,503	13	5¾			
6	Tobacco, at 4d. per lib., . . .	59,529	7	2			
6	Tea, at 5s. per lib., . . .	12,263	15	0			
6	Silk manufacture, at 3l. 10s. per lib., . . .	37,955	12	1½			
6	Raw silk, at 18s. per do., . . .	21,084	5	9½			
6	Silk thrown undyed, at 11s. per do., . . .	17,613	8	4			
6	Salt, foreign, at 12d. per bushel, . . .	9,132	10	8			
6	White salt, at 8d. per do., . . .	8,921	8	4½			
6	Salt rock, at 12s. per tun, . . .	1,425	12	10			
6	Flour, at 1l. 10s. per barrel, . . .	4,083	10	11			
6	Hulled barley, at 1l. 5s. per cent., . . .	677	4	2			
6	Wheat, at 1l. 8s. per quarter, . . .	27,048	4	6			
5	Barley and malt, at 12s. per do., . . .	7,255	2	10¾			
6	Muslin, at 2s. 6d. per yard, . . .	18,197	17	11			
6	Holland, at 5s. per ell, . . .	5,806	17	10¾			
6	Cambricks, at 7s. per do., . . .	7,394	18	7¾			
3	Bone-Lace, at 16s. per yard, . . .	6,016	10	11			
6	Hops, at 3l. per cent., . . .	40,681	18	5½			
6	Hemp, at 1l. 12s. per do., . . .	10,480	4	6			
6	Incle, { unwrought, at 5s. per lib., . . . } { wrought, at 7s. per do., . . . }	3,044	5	2½			
					754	5	7
6	Sugar candy, at 6l. per cent., . . .	943	4	3			
6	Loaf sugar, at 5l. per do., . . .	7,910	8	6½			
6	Muscovado sugar, at 2l. per do., . . .	52,940	7	9			
6	Powder sugar, at 3l. per cent., . . .	3,329	11	1½			
4	Gloves, at 4s. per pair, . . .	679	10	0			
5	Glass, { Cases, at 1l. 10s. per do., . . . } { Drinking, at 2d. per piece, . . . } { Ware, . . . }	1,932	18	6			
					1,108	16	3
					2,251	9	8½
6	Fustians, at 18s. per end, . . .	4,080	15	0			
4	Flax, at 1l. 6s. per cent., . . .	13,888	13	3			
6	Herrings, at 14s. per barrel, . . .	4,407	5	8			
5	Earthen ware, . . .	5,242	15	2¾			
6	Madder, at 2l. per cent., . . .	5,128	8	0			
6	Coffee, at 16l. per do., . . .	6,176	3	0			

40 6 Coals,

Years.		£	s.	d.					
6	Coals, at 14s. per tun,	42,059	0	8					
6	Glass bottles, at 1s. 3d. per dozen,	3,419	7	6 $\frac{1}{2}$					
6	Bark, at 6s. per barrel,	16,116	10	3					
6	Grogram yarn, at 4s. per lib.,	6,022	17	4					
5	Cotton wool, at 5l. per cent.,	1,560	18	3 $\frac{1}{2}$					
6	Salt petre, at 4l. 4s. per do.,	2,206	8	3					
5	Potash, at 1l. 5s. per do.,	2,091	9	10					
5	Lintseed, at 2l. 16s. per hogshead,	8,156	8	6 $\frac{1}{4}$					
5	Gunpowder, at 3l. 5s. per cent.,	1,854	13	1 $\frac{1}{2}$					
4	Liquorice, at 1l. per do.,	207	6	11					
4	Succus liquor, at 8d. per lib.,	779	2	5 $\frac{1}{2}$					
2	Scythes, at 16s. per dozen,	2,072	9	8					
2	Knives, at 2d. each,	2,651	4	9					
3	Drapery, { Old, at 15s. per yard, New, at 2s. per do., Prunella, at 3s. 6d. per do., Shag, at 4s. 6d. per do.,	23,679	2	0					
					3	Iron, at 14s. per cent.,	29,678	16	7
					2	Thread, gold, and silver, at 3s. per lib.,	5,351	2	6
					3	{ Sisters, at 12s. per lib., Whited brown, at 2s. 6d. per do.,	1,185	8	0
				7					
3	Needles, at 5l. per dozen thousand,	337	3	6					
3	Pins, at 14s. per do.,	61	9	2					
3	Thimbles, at 2l. 10s. per thousand,	266	0	6					
3	Hats, at 15s. each,	723	0	0					
3	Sevill oil, at 3s. 6d. per gallon,	4,533	11	4 $\frac{1}{2}$					
3	Linseed oil, at 2s. 6d. per do.,	1,507	0	11 $\frac{1}{2}$					
2	Train oil, at 1s. 6d. per do.,	1,873	11	3 $\frac{1}{4}$					
	Books, value,	7,800	0	0					
	Candle wick, at 3l. per cent.,	640	0	0					
	Wool cards, at 12s. per dozen,	800	0	0					
	Drugs, value,	5,470	0	0					
	Allum, at 15s. per cent.,	1,200	0	0					
	Cochineel, at 18s. per lib.,	2,800	0	0					
	Indigo, at 3s. 6d. per do.,	4,200	0	0					
	Logwood, at 18s. per cent.,	2,200	0	0					
	Red wood, at 2l. per do.,	4,880	0	0					
	Steel, at 1l. 10s. per do.,	1,500	0	0					
	Lead, at 12s. per do.,	6,600	0	0					
	Lawns, at 6s. per ell,	1,000	0	0					
	Millinery ware,	2,000	0	0					
	Slates, at 8s. per thousand,	700	0	0					
	Snuff, at 2s. per lib.,	2,300	0	0					
	Stockings, { Silk, at 15s., Worsted, at 6s.,	500	0	0					
	Pitch, at 15s. per barrel,	1,330	0	0					
	Tar, at 12s. per do.,	1,600	0	0					
	Rosin, at 18s. per cent.,	1,150	0	0					

	£	s.	d.
Cider, at 8 <i>l.</i> per tun,	2,500	0	0
Toys, at	1,800	0	0
Pewter and Tin,	2,700	0	0
Cork, at 3 <i>s.</i> per cent,	3,300	0	0
Oranges and lemons,	3,000	0	0
Walnuts, at 2 <i>l.</i> per barrel,	2,000	0	0
Vinegar, at 10 <i>l.</i> per tun,	2,500	0	0
Prunes, at 15 <i>s.</i> per cent,	1,500	0	0
Groceries of spice and fruit,	20,600	0	0
Wire, { Iron, at 2 <i>l.</i> 4 <i>s.</i> per cent.,	3,300	0	0
{ Steel, at 12 <i>l.</i> ,			
{ Latin, at 7 <i>l.</i> ,			
{ Brass, at 7 <i>l.</i> ,			
Spanish wool, at 2 <i>l.</i> 15 <i>s.</i> per cent,	368	0	0
Copper plates, at 6 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> per cent,	3,725	0	0
Battery and brass shruff, at 5 <i>l.</i> and 8 <i>l.</i> per cent,	1,600	0	0
Painting stuff,	270	0	0
Tin plates, at 3 <i>l.</i> per barrel,	1,000	0	0
Garden seeds, at 2 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> per lib.,	1,450	0	0
Lattin, at 7 <i>l.</i> per cent,	240	0	0
Lamp black, at 4 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> per lib.,	740	0	0
Iron ore, at 10 <i>s.</i> per tun,	990	0	0
Goat's hair, at 4 <i>s.</i> per lib.,	800	0	0
Fans, at 1 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> each,	860	0	0
Apples, at 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> per bushel,	360	0	0
Total,	862,786	17	2½
The imports at a medium of seven years as before, being,	843,392	9	10½
This exceeds that medium,	19,394	7	3½

Since besides these mediums of our imports that I have here given, there are several small parcels and articles I have not mentioned, as being no way material in trade, which if added would have increased this excess of the medium ten or twelve thousand pounds more; I will obviate what may be said against it, and give the reason why it can by no means tally with the medium of seven years.

I thought it would have been endless to take extracts of all the particulars of our imports from the ledgers of the Custom House, for each year's abstracts I took; I therefore singled out the full extracts for the year ending *Lady-Day*, 1726, in all the species of goods exported and imported; then I took out all the exports for eight years, and struck my

medium upon them, and took only the imports which appeared largest, and affected our trade most; those I took carefully for six years as noted here to each; others which I thought not quite so material, I took for five, four, or three years; and these which I have here inserted without naming any years to them, were taken from the extracts I took for 1725. This is the reason why they can by no means tally, as having been taken at a medium of years, some more, some less, and also the fewer years in the medium as our imports increased, so consequently must the medium. As for instance the medium of our imports taken for six years amounts to 870,063*l.* 17*s.* 11*d.*, this exceeds the medium of the several species I have set down here 7,277*l.* 0*s.* 9*d.*, which would be nearly equivalent to the small parcels omitted by me, as no way material in trade. So likewise the medium of our imports for the last four years, ending *Lady-Day*, 1727, amounts to 915,114*l.* 4*s.* 10*d.*, which exceeds the medium given here 52,000 nearly. Thus, notwithstanding, I could not make them tally, I thought by inserting them I would give the public a pretty just view of the nature and quantity of our imports. I have here fairly laid down the true reason why they can not justly tally, notwithstanding the extracts are true. It was for the same reason, where I did not take mediums for several years, as those I have last laid down here, that I would not add the fractions as not being material.

I have here for the satisfaction of the curious, taken such of those imports as I could properly range under the following heads, and divided them so as to give the values of those tending to promote our luxury, separately from what are necessary or convenient, viz.:—

	£	s.	d.
Our imports for drink and materials for drinking amount to	208,134	12	0
For meat and medicine,	136,416	14	9
For apparel and furniture manufactured,	157,282	2	0
Unwrought manufactures or primums, barks included,	134,964	17	8
In metals and their appurtenances and manufactures,	62,317	16	7
In wood and the appurtenances,	44,486	0	0
43			In

	£	s.	d.
In tobacco and snuff,	61,929	7	2
In firing,	42,059	0	8
In books, toys, and other articles not easily re- duceable to these forementioned,	15,196	6	4½
Total,	862,786	17	2½

Thus may be seen in what species of goods our imports consist, in what kinds we are most extravagant, what we must have from abroad, and with what we may be supplied at home. That from hence we may be prompted to discourage as much as possible what only feeds our luxury, and which we cannot have but from abroad, and to encourage those we must have, to be brought to us from such countries as have the balance most in our favour.

It will be proper here to take notice how some of the most material articles of our imports may be abated by being supplied at home; first by planting orchards in such countries and lands as may be properest for them. These would not only afford cider sufficient to prevent an importation upon us amounting to 2,500*l.*, but also in some measure check the importation of wine and brandy; for brandy may very well be extracted from such cider as upon trial is found not proper for drinking, or from what is made by the second pressing, or from the cores, when fermented with water, a very good spirit might be extracted not inferior to brandy. Encouragement should also be given to distil spirits from molossus and coarse sugar, by which means a great part of our expence upon spirits may be saved, exceeding now 23,000*l.* By having, also, good cider and ale, with home-made wines from honey and sugar, half the expence of wines may be saved, and the middle and lower ranks of men may very well be contented with them. By this means 40,000*l.* or 50,000*l.* may be saved in the article of wine.

Hops by being planted in our rich and warm counties of *Limerick* and *Tipperary*, and other southern parts, may save the kingdom the expence of that article; or, in case our demands increase by having more ale, it may prevent the

increase of the importation, or the extravagant price they are held at sometimes in bad seasons. The medium now is 40,000*l*.

It is shameful our exports upon grain should be so far exceeded by our imports, which, notwithstanding the wetness of our climate, is in great measure owing to bad husbandry and want of granaries. We might not only save that article, which, before the year 1727, was at least 10,000*l*. annual expence to us, and hath much increased since that time; but we might reasonably expect to export to the value of 40,000*l*. had we many gentlemen of so great public spirit as the late Mr. *Edwards*, that would be at the expence to bring over and settle upon good farms *English* farmers to instruct us and improve the tillage of *Ireland*. The importation of glass, glass-ware, and bottles may be lessened; but this will be chiefly owing to our getting coals in sufficient quantity in the kingdom, upon which also our manufacture of salt depends. In our firing we might save somewhat, could we get coals near the shore in plenty, or within a reasonable distance for water carriage. But if our numbers and trade increase, and our bogs be drained or run out, as they are doing in many places, since our plantations go on very slowly, though we use all our own, we shall import near as much coals as we do now from *Britain*. Most of what we would save by it would be in our articles of salt and glass.

The most effectual way to do this at present, until proper laws be made for encouragement to search for mines to advantage, would be to promote the navigation from *Ballycastle*, and to undertake the *Newry* navigation from *Lough Neagh*, the coals in *Tyrone* being daily found better and in greater quantities near that lough. To encourage us in the latter the ground through which the canal of communication may be made is as easy to be dug as any in *Ireland*, and the river of *Tonragee*, as also the upper *Bann* if necessary, as well as the water of *Lough Brickland*, may be brought to *Lough Shark*, near *Acton* (which is the greatest height from whence the several locks are to be supplied at a moderate expence.) These are such encouragements as will make it

highly reasonable to be undertaken either by the public or by private persons.

Tobacco and snuff is a debauch I am afraid we shall not easily get rid of—it is a heavy article upon us; the importation of the one at 4*d.*, the other at 2*s.* *per* pound, exceeding 61,000*l.* *per ann.*, besides what is imported by stealth, which is unavoidable where the duty is so high. Whalebone, fish, and fish-oil we might have of our own, and also enough to export in great quantity, of which I will treat when I touch upon the improvement of our fisheries.

Our silk manufacture will, I hope, in some time, improve so much as to take off our expence upon that article, except a few of the choicest of the *British* silks for birth-days and wedding suits. I am persuaded our *Irish* ladies would appear with more lustre in their native charms, when clad in *Irish* silks, in the eyes of their admirers, than in the richest brocades of foreign nations. The employment of our own poor by the encouragement given to our manufactures would be more highly meritorious in them, since it would, at the same time, put a check to the vanity of their admirers, who are solely directed by them in the choice of their dress, and would entirely submit to their taste, admiring them then more for their prudence than formerly for any ornaments prejudicial to their country.

We might save, also, in our importation of gold and silver lace, twist and thread, lawns, fustians, and millinery-ware amounting at present to 12,000*l.* at least, part of which is run in upon us, as of all our fine goods which pay a high duty. This would be, in a great measure, prevented by cheapness of sale, which would make the temptation so much less. The importation of muslins, cambrics, lace, and hollands, amounting to 37,000*l.*, will, I hope, in some time, sink by the disuse of lace and muslins, and improvement of the others at home, as well in bleaching as otherwise; and this saving to the nation, as well as in silks, is entirely in the power of the ladies, by their approbation and example either to promote or discourage the wear of them. They are the spring that sets the whole machine of dress in motion, and to

them the praise or blame must be owing according to the example they give.

Hemp and flax, with their seeds and incle (of which we import to the value of 35,000*l.*), will, I am confident, by the vigilance and happy direction of the trustees of the linen manufacture, be lessened to a trifle. If we consider by their care to what a pitch it is brought in twenty-six years, that we now export above the value of 289,000*l.* more than in 1700, besides what we consume at home, it will appear truly surprising. It is entirely owing to that honourable Board that the credit of our linens is supported, without which *Ireland* must have sunk, considering the drains and draughts that are constantly upon it. For this they merit the sincere acknowledgments of the public, and may justly be esteemed true patriots of their country.

Notwithstanding the universal practice in other countries of saving their seed not only for their own use, but for foreign sale and to make oil of, and that their flax is valued and much sought after, which seems to be a convincing argument that it is good and fine; yet the spinners here will not allow that it is a benefit to prevent the importation of foreign flax seed by saving all at home, affirming that flax pulled before it is fully ripe, consequently before the seed is fit to be saved, is much finer and better; that it breaks into finer and smaller parts, and splits better upon heckling; that it gives more flax to be spun into fine yarn, and better coloured. They say this appears from daily experience; and those who deal in buying yarn give them a higher price when it is spun from flax not fully ripe. They farther urge and insist upon it, that because the frost and blasts sometimes happen to the flax, and often wet seasons, it is more convenient to save only so much as to prevent the loss occasioned by depending too much upon the foreign seed, which sometimes proves bad, and has more than once been highly prejudicial to us. To clear up these difficulties, repeated experiments should be made upon parcels of flax growing in the same ground, taking part green, watering it, and trying the quantity, colour, and goodness of it, and stacking the remainder when

ripe, and afterwards carefully watering, breaking, and heckling; we should see the proportionable goodness and quantity of each. This would effectually put a stop to the practice, if it be only humour, or confirm it if true.

We might also improve our earthenware at home and lessen the importation, which now amounts to above 5,000*l.* Madder amounting to an equal sum may also be raised in the rich grounds of *Limerick* and *Tipperary*, not only to serve ourselves, but also *England*, which takes from *Flanders* annually to the value of 17,000*l.* or 18,000*l.* The iron manufacture, amounting to 15,000*l.* at least, may be lessened by improvements at home, viz., knives, razors, pots, scissors, scythes, carpenters' tools, needles, pins, thimbles, and other species innumerable, as well in brass and copper as in iron. Our exportation of these not being prohibited, we might perhaps improve them so as to export them to advantage. Bark, if tanning by the root will answer in part, as suggested, amounting now to 16,000*l.*, would in some measure be saved, and our hides be sent out tanned instead of raw, which would make the advantage double. Paper, amounting to 8,600*l.*, might also be saved; as our linens improve, implements, that is rags, for the mills increase; nor do I think it amiss since the *Dutch* import rags for their mills, that *Ireland* should follow their example.

As for our importation of wood, I am afraid we shall not in a long time, if ever, save in that article, even should we plant, to which we seem generally to have so great a disinclination; for as we increase and improve our demands for it will still be increasing, and when *Norway* and the *Baltic* fail, we must look out for another market to buy at a greater expence. It would be endless to mention all the articles, such as gunpowder, fans, toys, garden seeds, &c., we might save in.

Upon the whole, by proper and prudent management we might save of our imports at least 250,000*l.*, and export in some of these very articles at least 100,000*l.* This would make a very considerable alteration in our commerce to the benefit of the kingdom. Having now laid open to the view

of the public the several branches of our trade both in our exports and imports, and considered the balance as arising from our estimates in the Custom House books, I will consider it a little further, and propose what in my opinion may be reasonably presumed a balance upon the whole demand upon us, so as the kingdom may not diminish in wealth.

The balance at a medium as before mentioned was computed at 172,188*l.* 7*s.* 4½*d.*, if the freight of the tunnage of *Irish* shipping, amounting at a medium to 37,453 tuns, which computed at 40*s.* *per* tun (and this I am afraid is considerably above the medium of freight upon our shipping), amounts to 74,906*l.* If this, I say, be added to the balance, it will make it 247,094*l.* 7*s.* 4½*d.* Upon this it might be reasonably imagined that *Ireland* should improve, grow rich, and increase in trade, but by experience we find the contrary Within these three or four years our stock and money has lessened, notwithstanding the markets at home are at an excessive price for things consumed at home; this has in a great measure been owing to bad seasons, which have taken off our exports upon grain, and occasioned our imports upon that article to be dearer by the rise of markets abroad. But that is not all, our luxury daily increases, insomuch that our imports for the year 1726 exceeded the medium of last seven years, by the sum of 186,667*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.*, wherein the last year's import is included. But exclusive of that, taking the medium at six years before, viz., 812,281*l.* 5*s.* 5½*d.*, the increase of our imports in 1726 amounts to 217,778*l.* 10*s.* 11*d.*, whereof *French* wine amounts to 26,000*l.* more than formerly.

	£		£
Port and Spanish wine to,	12,500	Silk manufacture,	12,000
Brandy to,	7,400	Cambricks,	4,000
Tobacco,	12,500	Muslin,	1,500
Bone-lace,	2,000	Paper,	2,500
Wood,	9,000	Salt,	3,000
Coals,	5,900	Silk, { Raw,	9,000
Hops,	21,000	{ Thrown undyed,	4,000
Iron,	5,000		
Calicoes,	1,500	Total of the Excess,	138,800

The other articles are not so material, so I need not recapitulate

tulate them here. This only shows that our importations that year were not totally owing to the difficulties put upon the trade of the *Isle of Man*, but in a great measure to our increasing luxury.

Upon the whole, if our exports, by the profit of the merchants upon freight and foreign sale, and the prices of our goods at market here, do not over-balance our imports according to valuation, at least 400,000*l.*, I do not think *Ireland* can have any balance in its favour; for if we consider the rents returned into *England*, of noblemen and gentlemen residing there, those who have civil employments and keep deputies, general officers and other military persons absent, pensioners and half-pay officers, post office, gentlemen who go there for education, young heirs who go there to spend and ruin their fortunes, all put together can not be less than what I have mentioned.

If a calculation I have seen of a person lately of eminent distinction and learning, was taken with accuracy, it exceeds it considerably, and amounts to 456,000*l. per ann.* It is computed thus:—

	£
Rents to noblemen and gentlemen residing in England,	300,000
Those who have civil employments and keep deputies,	20,000
Military officers absent,	50,000
Gentlemen who go for education, and to spend their fortunes,	60,000
Pensioners and half-pay officers,	20,000
Post office,	6,000
	456,000
If to this be added the absent troops we pay in Gibraltar, at least,	30,000
	486,000
The total amounts to,	486,000

To this should be added the interest of money paid in *England*, the interest of money here being higher than there; as also exchange, which partly affects us, and by reason of these strong draughts upon us, is generally two-thirds of the year from two to four *per cent.* above *par.*

Thus may be seen how our trade stands in relation to our general balance, and how careful we ought to be to retrench in time ere we too fatally find the effects of our increasing luxury, before idleness and debauchery prevail too far among the middle and lower ranks of men; these readily follow the examples of those of higher station, especially in what they ought not; they think at present to glide easily with the stream, without reflecting upon the almost insuperable difficulty of afterwards stemming the current to prevent sinking.

I shall next make particular estimates of our exports and imports to and from the several nations with whom we trade, as they are distinguished in the Custom House books, and observe where the balance lies with each of them. As I proceed I shall also remark what advantages or disadvantages we have (that occur to me) in our trade with each respectively. In this *England* has and ought to have the preference, as well upon account of our being embarked upon the same bottom, as that our trade is but a branch of their extended commerce (the balance of which I shall demonstrate we pour in upon them, in return for the protection they have from time to time afforded us), as also upon account of the greatness of our exports to, and imports from them and their plantations, which exceed considerably the trade we have with all other nations joined together.

An Abstract of the Exports, Imports, and Balance with
England for eight years, from *Lady-Day* 1719, to *Lady-Day* 1727.

Years.	Exports.			Imports.			Balance.			Contra Balance.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1719, .	447,659	2	11½	476,187	14	1½	—	—	—	28,528	11	1½
1720, .	363,529	10	5	375,803	8	8½	—	—	—	12,273	18	3½
1721, .	440,946	17	6¾	409,605	6	6½	31,341	11	0½	—	—	—
1722, .	544,002	7	8½	507,757	10	5½	36,264	17	4¾	—	—	—
1723, .	554,431	1	5½	519,362	5	1	35,068	16	4½	—	—	—
1724, .	476,632	14	10½	441,799	3	6½	34,833	11	4	—	—	—
1725, .	467,949	2	7	501,649	6	3½	—	—	—	33,700	3	8½
1726, .	495,497	13	3½	558,261	10	3½	—	—	—	62,763	17	0
Total,	3,790,648	10	9½	3,790,406	4	9½	137,508	16	1½	137,266	10	1½
Medium,	473,831	1	4¾	473,800	15	8¾	30	5	7¾	—	—	—

	£	s.	d.
The medium of our exports thither, consisting			
of linen and linen yarn, about,	267,000	0	0
By wool, woollen and worsted yarn,	117,554	15	10½
	384,554 15 10½		
Copper ore, about,	1,900		
Feathers,	1,880		
Hair,	2,000		
Raw hides,	2,900		
Kelp,	1,000		
Calve skins,	13,924		
Goat and kid skins,	1,100		
Sheep and lamb skins,	6,844		
Rabbit skins,	4,100		
Tallow,	19,760		
	55,408 0 0		
	439,962 15 10½		
Total of all,	439,962	15	10½

The other articles, which make up the remainder of our exports, amounting to about 33,900*l.*, are—goods re-exported about 15,000*l.*, chiefly wine and brandy; beef, butter, candles, fish, flannel, frieze, small horses, hogs-lard, pork, rape-seed, and other small parcels, which are generally the provisions and little necessaries colliers and other seamen carry with them in their portage on their return home.

By this it appears plainly, that we export to *England* the first principles of their manufactures of several kinds, viz., wool, oar, skins, hair, feathers, hides, and tallow, about 172,900*l.*, in linen yarn about 90,000*l.*, so there is above 262,900*l.* exported to them of such things as are absolutely necessary for carrying on and increasing their commerce, and for employing their people, the linen yarn being particularly useful in carrying on their *Northern* manufactures of linen and mixtures of linen with wool and cotton. And our linens amounting to about 177,000*l.*, is made a manufacture there by being stamped or stained, and saves a great deal of their rich manufactures in wool, &c., for exportation; which is so much saved from foreigners in our hands for their use, being afterwards spent in *Britain*, where all our redundant cash goes. So that of all our exports to *England*, there is not 34,000*l.* luxuriously spent in it, consequently they must be a great benefit to their trade and commerce.

The Imports from *England* at a Medium, are nearly 473,800*l.* per ann., and chiefly consist of the following Articles of value annexed, viz. :—

	<i>£</i>		<i>£</i>
Bark,	12,500	Groceries of fruits and	
Books,	7,800	spice,	10,700
Bottles,	3,400	Small parcels,	4,400
Candle wick,	640	Battery and brass shruff,	330
Wool-cards,	800	Cheese,	560
Coals,	30,000	Camblets,	140
Coffee,	6,176	Copper plates,	500
Wheat and barley,	30,000	Red wood,	4,880
Drapery,	23,679	Earthenware,	4,400
Drugs,	3,000	Herrings,	3,600
Allum,	1,200	Fustians,	4,080
Cochineel,	2,800	Glass and ware,	5,000
Indigo,	4,200	Sugars,	47,000
Logwood,	2,200	Gold and silver thread	
Iron and ware,	9,000	and lace,	5,350
Steel,	1,000	Hops,	40,680
Lead,	6,600	Slates,	700
Cambrics,	3,000	Snuff,	2,300
Hollands,	2,000	Stockings,	500
Lawns,	1,000	Pitch and tar,	2,000
Muslins,	18,197	Cider,	2,500
Flower,	4,000	Tea,	12,260
Millinery ware,	2,000	Tobacco,	59,529
Calicoes,	1,000	Toys,	1,800
Salt and rock,	10,000	Fanns,	860
{ Manufacture,	23,000	Gloves,	670
{ Raw,	18,000	Paper,	1,000
{ Thrown undyed,	12,900	Hats,	600
Pewter and tin,	2,700	Garden seeds,	800
Whalebone,	2,100	Hemp,	3,000
Wood and ware,	3,500	Apples,	150
Cotton and yarn,	800		—————
Grogram yarn,	1,900	Total of imports from	
Saltpetre,	2,000	<i>England</i> ,	473,375

These with some other small articles and the fractions of these make up the medium as above; of which there is of their own produce and manufactures 248,439*l.*; from the *American Colonies* and by the *East India Company*, 167,536*l.*; and by the *Dutch, Flemish, Baltic, and Mediterranean* trades, 57,400*l.*; there is about 7,800*l.* value of tobacco imported by

way of *Scotland*; but being all from the *English* plantations I have placed the whole here.

Thus stands the trade between *England* and *Ireland*, by which it plainly appears that all to a trifle which we export to them are either of the greatest use, and an immense gain to them by increasing their trade and commerce abroad, and employing a great number of industrious poor at home; or saved from foreigners by whom they must otherwise necessarily be supplied; consequently this is an addition of power and wealth to the *British* dominions. The goods we import from thence are either a redundancy of their produce and manufactures, which employs and maintains a great number of industrious farmers and manufacturers, or such *Colony* and *East India* goods as employ a great number of their largest and best ships, which consequently promotes navigation and seamen, and employs a great many hands in their colonies, who in return take off great quantities of their richest and best manufactures.

I shall next consider the state of our trade with *Scotland* and *Isle of Man*, and annex an Abstract of our Exports, Imports, and Balance with that part of *Britain* for the like term of Eight Years, viz. :—

Years.	Exports.			Imports.			Contra-balance.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1719,	13,690	19	0	37,868	19	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	24,178	0	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
1720,	10,352	4	4	27,706	18	4 $\frac{1}{4}$	17,354	14	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
1721,	11,256	15	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	29,151	10	11 $\frac{1}{4}$	17,894	15	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
1722,	14,398	2	9 $\frac{1}{4}$	27,468	14	10 $\frac{1}{4}$	13,070	12	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
1723,	23,578	5	8	33,497	2	4 $\frac{1}{4}$	9,918	16	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
1724,	21,250	0	3	31,003	0	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	9,752	19	10 $\frac{1}{4}$
1725,	10,023	12	4	38,938	0	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	28,914	7	11 $\frac{1}{4}$
1726,	9,384	2	0 $\frac{1}{4}$	29,762	13	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	20,378	11	2
Total,	113,934	1	7 $\frac{3}{4}$	255,396	19	6	141,462	17	10 $\frac{1}{4}$
Medium,	14,241	15	2 $\frac{3}{8}$	31,924	12	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	17,682	17	2 $\frac{3}{8}$

Our Exports to *Scotland* and *Isle of Man* consist of—

	£
Oatmeal, about	6,000
Other grain,	600
Beef and kine,	1,000
Horses,	1,800
Hides,	500
Butter, cheese, soap, linen, and mutton,	800
Small parcels,	1,200
	<hr/>
Total,	11,900

Some other small articles, with wine and brandy, make up the medium.

Our Imports from thence consist of—

	£
Coals, about	11,900
Tobacco,	7,800
Bark,	1,400
Brandy,	840
Barley and malt,	880
Groceries,	1,000
Linen and kenting,	3,600
Wine,	1,400
Timber,	2,400
Linen yarn,	150
Small parcels,	290
Herrings,	140
	<hr/>
Total,	31,700

Some other trifling articles make up the medium.

The importations from *North Britain* and *Isle of Man* vary but little, consisting chiefly of coals and tobacco, for which our demands are pretty constant and nearly equal. Our export being chiefly of oatmeal, rises or falls as our harvests are plentiful or otherwise. Upon this trade there is occasion for very little animadversion, it being very small and to be understood at first view. By deducting our small balance with *England* from our contra-balance with *Scotland*, we lose by *Britain*, not including their colonies, 17,652*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.* I am obliged to state our trade with the *British Colonies* in

America, as an appendage of *Britain*, our imports from thence being all accounted for in our importations from *Britain*, where they must all be first entered before they can be admitted into *Ireland*, except lumber and grain, not being bond goods, which, I presume, might be allowed to be landed here.

Here follows an Abstract of our *American* Exports for the same Years with those of the last Abstract, viz. :—

	£	s.	d.
1719,	77,190	8	8½
1720,	88,980	18	9
1721,	68,404	3	2½
1722,	74,344	9	6½
1723,	82,806	6	9½
1724,	96,825	8	10
1725,	103,998	2	4½
1726,	110,313	19	7½
Total,	702,863	17	9½

The medium of which is our annual balance, viz., 87,857*l.* 19*s.* 8½*d.*

Our Exports to *America* consist of—

	£
Beef, about	61,500
Butter,	10,000
Pork,	8,600
Linen,	3,500
Fish,	8,890
Bread,	1,300
Cheese and candles,	1,000
Total,	86,790

Which, with some other small articles, make up the medium.

Our imports from *America* being already accounted for, the contra-balance from *Britain* alone must be deducted from the *American*. The balance from *Britain* in our favour, including the Colonies, will then amount to 70,205*l.* 8*s.* 1½*d.*

Thus stands our trade at present with *Great Britain* and their Colonies; and without farther animadversion it might be imagined that they were losers by their trade and inter-

course with us. But when this balance comes to be subtracted from the draughts upon us by those who have estates, employments, or pensions, and reside in *Britain*; by others who go there to spend, or for education; and by the troops we pay abroad, which, as computed before, amounted to 486,000*l.*; then *Britain* will be a gainer by *Ireland* 415,794*l.* 11*s.* 10½*d.* If to this be added the monopoly of wool, woollen and worsted yarn, of which we send annually to *England* 227,049 stone, at sixteen pound to the stone (the computed price, at a medium, of wool and yarn is 10*s.* 4*d.* per stone, and the least profit upon that when manufactured is computed at 2*l.* 19*s.* 8*d.*; for a stone of wool manufactured, without dyeing, is at least worth 3*l.* 10*s.*, especially what we send over, that being the choicest and best we have), then they will gain by our wool 678,573*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.* This is the lowest computation can be made upon their profit by our wool; for, as it is computed by others, it rises considerably higher, as thus: a pound of wool in *England* is valued at 12*d.*, and our wool and yarn, being of the best sort, may be worth 14*d.* *Irish* at least. Now, Mr. *King's* computation is, that the wool is the fourth of the value of it when manufactured; if so, a stone of wool manufactured is worth 3*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.*, and the profit from *Ireland* to *England* would then amount to 730,340*l.* 19*s.* Another ingenious gentleman, who wrote upon the trade of *Ireland* in 1687, says, 3*l.* worth of wool and oil, when manufactured into white cloths, is worth 13*l.* At this rate the gain to *Britain* upon our wool, computing such as we send worth 14*d.* *Irish* there, would be 916,710*l.* 6*s.* 9*d.* This computation being made of white cloths as sold in *England*, before they are dyed and exported, the profit upon exportation after dyeing is to be added, which if I should say, amounts to one-half more, I believe I should be within the truth, so that the computation I have given is very much within bounds.

I cannot but observe here how apt people are to err in calculations, when they have not facts to build upon. The author of the *Atlas Maritimus et Commercialis* affirms that 40,000 packs of woollen yarn are sent from hence to *England* in a season. This he computes at 240 lbs. per pack, or fifteen

stone to the pack, which would thus amount to 600,000 stone of woollen yarn sent to them annually, besides the wool; whereas what we send is but 103,459 stone—not much above one-sixth part. This we are sure is fact, since it cannot be supposed we run in any to *England*, whatever is done elsewhere. But he, like others, at random runs away with the mistaken notion that the *Irish* trade is prejudicial to *England*, and gives this vast importation of woollen yarn as an instance to show how much is taken away from the spinners there, which, by a wrong calculation of just one-half, he says, at 3*d.* per pound, spinning amounts to 240,000*l.*, being, as he says, at 6*l.* per pack, which, upon 40,000 packs, is the above sum; whereas, at 240 lbs. per pack, which he lays down as the weight, and at 3*d.* per pound spinning, it is but 3*l.* per pack, and, consequently, but 120,000*l.* gain to us by his account. But there being really no more than 103,459 stone exported, at 3*d.* per pound, the profit to *Ireland* amounts to no more than 20,691*l.* 16*s.*—a small sum to grudge to the poor of *Ireland*, when such an immense gain is made by our wool and yarn. In another book lately published, entitled, “A Plan of the *English* Commerce,” and probably wrote by the same person, since his calculations are equally wide—in our linens he computes we send to *England* 2,000,000 of yards, whereas we sent there, in 1726, 3,265,480 yards. In wool and yarn he computes we send 100,000 packs, which, at fifteen stone to the pack, would amount to 1,500,000, instead of 227,049, the true number sent from hence, which does not much exceed one-seventh of his computation. But enough of this digression.

The profit *England* gains upon other articles being no monopoly, I make no observations upon it but this—that the linen and linen-yarn, as it is improved there by working and stamping, since we cannot export it striped or stained with colours, or with any other mixture, is so far a monopoly; and since they would otherwise take it from foreigners, it is so much saved as I said before, and contributes to the power and wealth of *Britain* by enabling us to take so many more of their rich manufactures.

To the two articles already mentioned may be added the freight and employment given to *British* shipping, the tunnage of which, at a medium of three years, amounts to 155,738, which, at 1*l.* 10*s.* *per* tun freight, is 233,608*l.* This, considering how many are employed in the *American* trade, I cannot think without bounds. For the tunnage in the coal trade does not much exceed one-third, being at a medium 61,081 tuns, about one-sixth of which may be computed to be *Irish*; so the *British* tunnage employed will not exceed 50,901, there would then be about 104,700 tun of their shipping employed upon other freights; and the colliers being supposed, at least, to make 10*s.* *per* tun freight, this would raise the freight upon others to about 1*l.* 19*s.* 8*d.* *per* tun, which I suppose not much to exceed the truth. Since, also, a great quantity of our goods is sent abroad by commission from *England*, they have the benefit of the sale of these goods in foreign markets.

The benefit, then, accruing to *Britain* from *Ireland* will appear thus:—

	£	s.	d.
Money spent in <i>England</i> over and above the balance subtracted as before, and by payments of troops abroad,	415,794	11	10½
By the monopoly of <i>Irish</i> wool and yarn,	678,573	15	6
By freight of <i>British</i> shipping,	233,608	0	0
Total <i>Irish</i> money,	1,327,976	7	4½
Which amounts to, in <i>English</i> money, about	1,225,730	0	0

But least it might be thought that 30*s.* *per* tun is more than the *English* gain by the freight of shipping, I shall deduct 10*s.* *per* tun from the freight, which comes to 77,869*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, and then they will be gainers by the trade and rents of *Ireland* 1,250,107*l.* 0*s.* 8*d.* *Irish* money.

To this may be added the profit they make upon the *Irish* linens that they stamp or stain, which, at 12*d.* *per* yard exported, amounts at a medium to the value of 177,000*l.*; upon this they make 10*d.* *per* yard, at least, profit, when stained or stamped; their gain upon it, then, is 147,500*l.*

The linen yarn, at a medium, exported at 12*d.* per pound, amounts to about 90,000*l.*, and the profit upon it manufactured being, at least, 150 per cent., when sold in the *English* market, without computing the profit when exported from thence, comes to 135,000*l.*

Their profit upon skins, ore, tallow, kelp, &c., when manufactured, may be reasonably supposed double of the value when exported from *Ireland*, which, being above 55,000*l.*, their profit may be computed the same, viz., 55,000*l.*

As all this is neat gain above the value of the goods we export to *Britain* (and the profitable goods we send to them, upon which the above profit is made, amount to 440,000*l.*), with which we pay for the *British* commodities imported to us, we may add, at least, so much more to the gain *Britain* makes of *Ireland*, since, if there was no such kingdom, they would want a vent for so many of their profitable exports, no other kingdom having a demand for them. By this their profit is from *Ireland* at least 440,000*l.*

This being added to the foregoing sum of 1,250,107*l.* 0*s.* 8*d.*, then the total benefit *Britain* reaps from the neighbourhood, trade, and commerce of *Ireland* (in which is not included the profit made upon our goods when exported by *Britain* to foreign countries), amounts to 2,027,607*l.* 0*s.* 8*d.*

To this also may be added the great advantage arising to *Britain*, in their transactions with foreign princes and states, by having 12,000 *veteran* troops maintained in *Ireland*, without any expence or trouble, ready to assist them upon any emergency, either at home or abroad, the pay of which amounts to 362,668*l.* 11*s.* 3½*d.*; as also the benefit they have in providing for many of their cadets, or younger children, by the beneficial livings and employments here. If such and so many are the advantages which *Britain* reaps from the neighbourhood of *Ireland*, by their rents, wool, and trade, how grossly ignorant must those be who maintain it would be better for *Britain* that *Ireland* was sunk, or not to have had it in their neighbourhood. This set of people are filled with a notion that it has been a perpetual charge and expence to *England*, and a drain of their men and money, by the frequent rebellions

rebellions of the *Irish*; whereas it is manifest, except the conquest by *Henry II.*, and the armies brought over by King *John* and *Richard II.*, *Ireland* was no expence to them from the first landing of the *English* under *Strongbow*, until the latter end of Queen *Elizabeth's* reign, but was serviceable in several of their wars with *France* and *Scotland*; and during that whole time they gained by the rents and trade of *Ireland*. And though the Crown of *England*, in the latter end of Queen *Elizabeth's* reign, by her parsimony, and after the *Irish* Rebellion in 1641, was at a considerable expence, yet the body of the people of *England* gained vastly more by the *Irish* rents and trade than the money expended and sent over to pay the troops that reduced the rebels here. As to the late reduction of *Ireland* after 1688, though for three campaigns it was very expensive to *England*, yet, from the year 1660 to that time, they reaped by the rents, &c., of *Ireland* three times the sum which was expended by them upon the last reduction; and since that time until now they may justly acknowledge they have gained a million and a-half annually by *Ireland*, in all about 39,000,000*l. sterling*. All which would have been lost to them had there been no such country, or had it been in the hands of foreigners.

It is plain, then, that *Ireland*, instead of being a charge to *Britain*, is of the greatest benefit, and may be termed the choicest jewel and acquisition of the Crown and people of *England*; a country whilst in the hands of Protestants of *British* extraction, protected and looked upon with a favourable eye by them, in the possession of their properties, rights, and privileges, consistent with the good of its mother country, that will be of the greatest moment to them in contributing to support the honour and dignity of the Crown, and the power, wealth, and naval strength of *Britain*. We will always, when well treated, with cheerful and willing hearts, spend among them the surplusage of our rents and balance gained by trade, as a tribute due to our protector and elder brother. We will by our industry and labours provide them with many necessaries to carry on their trade and for their home consumption, which they must now necessarily have

from foreigners. By this means we would have returns to give them for the many and choice commodities we take from them. In this commerce they are liable to no interruption from the chicane of foreign princes and states; and what the poor industrious inhabitants of *Ireland* gain that way is certainly by other channels poured back into *Britain*, as has been shown already; whereas whatever is taken from foreigners which *Ireland* can supply them with, of equal goodness and cheapness, is plainly encreasing and employing the people of a foreign prince, instead of those under the *British* Government; and whatever they gain by that trade centres with themselves, and has no other channels by which it returns to *Britain*.

By this we may see the falsity of Dr. *Davenant's* argument, when we were deprived of the benefit of the woollen manufacture here, he reasons against setting up the linen and hempen manufactures in *Ireland*, alleging, if we supplied *England* with linens, the *Hamburgh* trade would be lost in great measure by their having no sufficient returns to make to them for the goods they took from *England*, their linens being the only returns they could make. Now, it is plain from this way of reasoning that he must mean that either that trade must always be against *Britain* upon the balance, or that they could not expect to trade with them if they received a balance from *Hamburgh*, and, consequently, that trade, as then carried on, was of no benefit to *Britain*; for, if *England* consumed at home as many *Hamburgh* linens or more than the value of the goods carried there, then we were either barely savers or lost by that trade, and *Hamburgh* must have a balance in return from *England*, which would not be poured back again any other way as it would from *Ireland*; thus the benefit would redound to *Hamburgh* instead of *England*, and the foreign poor be employed instead of those under our Government; whereas, by the established maxims of trade, a wise and prudent nation should endeavour to procure fewer importations than exportations, that a balance in cash might be brought into it. But though this lessening of the vent of *Hamburgh* linens was of consequence when in

distinction with setting up the linen manufacture in *Ireland*, yet it was not once mentioned when in competition with the *East India* calicoes and muslins, which, he owns, lessened as well as lowered the *Hamburgh* linens; but the common prevailing opinion of *Ireland's* being a dangerous rival to *England* in trade, and a perpetual expence, made all objections against it go down easily, which at other times would not have been advanced.

Thus having plainly shown of what consequence *Ireland* is to *Britain*, whilst increasing in wealth and numbers, and protected in the enjoyment of our religious and civil liberties, I shall here, more fully to convince those in *Britain* who have run away with a contrary notion, show the danger they must be in from *Ireland*, and the expence they must necessarily be at, in case at any time hereafter such dangerous politics should prevail there as to foment jealousies and misunderstandings between us, or oppress us in our taxes and trade to make us poor and dispirited. By such methods our numerous poor must increase, for want of money and trade to employ them, and become a burthen to the remainder; the value and rents of lands must fall, and the whole community be turbulent and uneasy, wishing for any change to alter their condition; the returns to *Britain* would annually lessen, as also our demand for their goods, by having no sufficient returns to make them; by our indolence and dispiritedness our revenue would decrease, and yet the taxes seem more burthensome by the people's becoming poorer and the numbers less; we would not then be able to keep up the establishment, and yet a greater force would be requisite to keep us in subjection. Thus we should become a perpetual charge to *England*, or otherwise be oppressed with greater taxes than our circumstances could bear, and be so weak and dispirited as not to be either capable or willing to defend ourselves against a foreign enemy were we invaded, or so turbulent as to be apt to join with any who should invade us; or in case any future prince should ever incline to be arbitrary in *Britain*, the army which would be deemed necessary to keep *Ireland* in subjection, would be the means made use of to bring it about. These would be

the necessary consequences upon following such unhappy maxims in politics. How far different from the present harmony! which, I hope, by the disposition of those in power, will daily increase; and all the favours they show us in concurring with and assisting us in the improvement of *Ireland*, and enabling us to become more wealthy and easy, we will gratefully repay by the millions we will throw in upon them from the surplusage of our industry at home and commerce abroad. This, I am confident, in time will increase the naval power and wealth of *Britain* to that degree, by the increase of its colonies and trade abroad, and by the protection of its fleets, that they will think it convenient to enlarge the bottom at home and incorporate us with them, there being trade and commerce abroad sufficient to employ and maintain all the hands in *Britain* and *Ireland* were they double what they are. As *London* is now opulent and rich by being the seat of empire and residence of the Court, where all the men of fortune and greatest expence do generally reside, so, upon such an union, *Britain*, as being the seat of empire, would still almost engross all the wealth perpetually flowing from the distant members and colonies, as from the distant counties now into *London*. This is demonstrably certain, that upon an union with *England* and enlargement of the trade of *Ireland*, all the acquired wealth that *Ireland* would have from a constant and regular employment of their industrious poor would be poured into *England* by the rich, and *Ireland* could never be richer or have more money than what would be sufficient to employ the poor and circulate their trade. For, as the blood in the natural body circulates through the heart in greater quantity and with greater velocity than through the extremes, so all the wealth of a nation through the capital and centre of empire and trade.

Thus should *Ireland* increase upon an union in their numbers and industry, and acquire two millions from abroad more than was sufficient for their home consumption; at least four-fifths of this would be carried into *Britain* by various and many channels. It can then only proceed from a narrow and selfish way of thinking, that *Ireland* can ever be supposed

to rival *England* in trade, whilst a member of their empire. Were it in the hands of a foreign nation, or had it extent and numbers sufficient to be a state of itself, it would then be a dangerous rival; but the last of these is impossible from its situation and little extent; and the first can never happen whilst the *British* Protestant interest prevails in *Ireland*, and we are protected and regarded as their brethren and friends. Nothing but violence and oppression can ever give *Ireland* the least tendency that way, which I have shown can never happen while reason prevails in the *British* Government. What reason can then be given for not admitting *Ireland* into a stricter union and greater privileges in trade, but would have equally held against the admitting of *Scotland* and *Wales*; and yet we find that *London*, in being the metropolis, reaps all the benefit and acquired wealth of those distant members, as it did before of the *northern* and *western* counties of *England*. It would be accounted a very narrow and limited way of thinking, and highly prejudicial to the wealth and power of the public, to allow that a few merchants should monopolize a trade and deprive others of it, who, being admitted, would add vastly to the wealth and power of the whole community; or should the city of *London* say, by depriving the outports of trade, the city would grow immensely rich and all their poor be employed, and they would gain more than now, when trade is dispersed in so many parts of the kingdom, would that be esteemed good reasoning? when the outports could show, that by their being admitted greater numbers would be maintained and employed, and a greater wealth acquired annually to the public, though it would be dispersed among more hands, and some particular persons would not reap so great a benefit as when confined to themselves. Yet is it not from a parallel way of reasoning that *Ireland* is deprived of an union with *Britain*, and of having several privileges of trade allowed them, which they could show would add vastly to the power and wealth of the *British* empire in general? Were we admitted into the same privileges of trade and incorporated with them, would we not be liable to the same taxes with *England*? which we could

bear in proportion as the distant counties in *England* do, and the enlargement of our trade would procure us a fund to bear it. Would not that ease the public in *England* and make us more formidable abroad? Would not the increase of our riches and numbers upon it procure us greater privileges in our foreign traffic, and enlarge our commerce as we enlarged our foundation at home, so that we should have full employment? Are we not of the same religion and lineage, and entitled to have these privileges, since by them we would increase the riches, power, and security of *Britain*? No unprejudiced man who has the real security and strength of the *British* empire at heart but must own that the encouraging *Ireland* in all the improvements it is capable of, by adding to its trade and wealth, and uniting its affections to *Britain*, is doing the greatest service to the public; and the closer such union is made, and the more powerful we grow in *Ireland*, just so much the more is added to the security, wealth, power, and fame of *Britain*.

I hope it will not be judged improper here a little to observe the proportion our trade bears to the extended commerce of *Britain*, which will also show how much we contribute to them upon their general balance, and the proportion of their shipping we employ in our trade.

The exports of *England* upon their whole trade in 1710 amounted to 6,690,828*l.* 15*s.* 2½*d.*; their balance then was 2,389,872*l.* 9*s.* 9¼*d.*; in 1715 their exports were 7,379,409*l.* 3*s.*; and balance, 2,256,253*l.* 18*s.* 8½*d.* If we suppose they have increased since to 8,000,000*l.*, and the balance to 2,500,000*l.*, which would be a considerable addition to the trade and wealth of *Britain*, near two-thirds as much, if not four-fifths, is gained by the rents, trade, wool, and freights of *Ireland*.

The tunnage of shipping employed in *England*, at a medium of six years ending *Christmas*, 1727, amounts to 859,305; the tunnage of the trade of *Ireland* to 181,901; which is to the *English* as about 1 to 4·7; the *British* tunnage employed in *Ireland* is 155,378½; so the proportion we employ of *British* shipping is to their whole tunnage as 1 to 5·4. It may also

be observed that the total of our exports is to theirs as 1 to 7·3, and our imports as 1 to 6; but their balance exceeds ours as 14 to 1, without taking notice of the draughts upon us otherwise.

Thus stands at present our trade with *Britain* and their colonies. It is highly necessary for us to consider how we may increase our exports and lessen our imports, that we may not sink through the vast draughts upon us from thence. It is plain, since the Court must be there, all the savings we can have in our trade with them, and superlucration by the trade with our foreign neighbours, will be spent there. The great, the rich, the gay, and young, who are easy in their circumstances, will always crowd to the circle of pleasure. However, that those who have a prudent regard for the welfare of their country may know in what imports we may save to best advantage, I shall insert some of the most material, viz. :—

	£		£
Bottles, . . .	3,400	Hollands, . . .	2,000
Grain, . . .	30,000	Lawns, . . .	1,000
Drapery, . . .	23,679	Muslins, . . .	18,197
Earthenware, . . .	4,400	Calicoes, . . .	1,000
Herrings, . . .	3,600	Flower, . . .	4,000
Fustians, . . .	4,080	Millinery ware, . . .	2,000
Glass ware, . . .	5,000	Silk manufacture, . . .	23,600
Gold and silver thread and lace, . . .	5,350	Whalebone, . . .	2,100
Hops, . . .	40,680	Cider, . . .	2,500
Iron ware, . . .	9,000		
Cambrics, . . .	3,000	Total, . . .	188,586

In some of these articles we might save all, but, upon the whole, we might reasonably save two-thirds, amounting to 125,724*l.*

The monopoly of wool and woollen yarn has been the greatest occasion of complaint in *Ireland*, of hardship laid upon it by *England's* engrossing so valuable a branch of trade to itself. This the *English* claim as due to them, upon account of the charges from time to time they have been at in reducing the natives of *Ireland*, as also in protecting and restoring the *British* interest when routed or disturbed by

the frequent rebellions of the *Irish*. On the other side we reply that the hardship is laid equally upon the conquerors and conquered, without regard to their own offspring, and of those that bore the brunt of the war. Also by being confined to one market, the profit made by our sheep is too small, we being only allowed to spin it at the lowest wages possible; for, by computing the proportion of wool and yarn exported, the whole does not exceed, at a medium, 10*s.* 4*d.* *per* stone, which certainly must destroy our sheep-walks, and put us upon other ways of employing and improving our lands. This difficulty I would willingly consider as a friend to the *British* commerce, without any view of its being a hardship to *Ireland*, since, in my opinion, they have given us a full equivalent for it in the manufacture of linen and hemp, in which they have so much encouraged us, that I hope they will in a little time be fully supplied from us, together with what they make in *Britain*, and by that means save from foreigners 800,000*l.* at least, if not a million, in linens they formerly had from them before the rise of our manufacture. I believe in this computation I am within bounds, for Dr. *Davenant* allows that, in 1703, the *Dutch* imported linens into *England* to the value of 213,701*l.* 19*s.* 11*d.*, and says that by the report made to the late King *William* in 1697, the *French* imported linens to the value of 500,700*l.* By a computation made in *France* in 1676, and laid before the King of *France*, they computed 400,000*l.* gained by linens sent by them annually into *England*; if to this be added the great quantity of *Hamburgh* linens imported, which is the bulk of the linens sold in *England*, the whole cannot be less than 1,000,000*l.* *sterling*. Whilst they continue, then, to encourage us so far as to supply them, and preserve so much money in the dominions of *Britain* by giving us the preference to foreigners, we ought willingly to acquiesce in the monopoly of wool. However, as the *Irish* wool is now disposed of, I shall consider whether it is so beneficial an article to *Britain* as it might be.

By their own observations in trade they know that where high duties or prohibitions are laid upon any species of goods,

either exported or imported, there a smuggling and running trade will be carried on; whilst there are men in the world who will risk anything for profit it is unavoidable. They must hence conclude, that in *Ireland* such persons finding a better price in *France* and *Holland* for their wool than in *England*, do carry on such a stolen trade in spite of all the care taken to prevent it. If this is fact, it ought to be carefully weighed whether the giving so material an article as *Irish* wool to foreigners in their manufactures, and that in considerable quantities, be not more prejudicial to the sale of *English* woollen manufactures abroad than prohibiting *Ireland* from sending over to *Britain* any of our wool manufactured, permitting only our wool and woollen yarn, can at present be of benefit to them.

As the case now stands the consequence will unavoidably be this, either this smuggling prejudicial trade will be carried on to the sole advantage of foreigners, and lessening the sale and consumption of our *British* manufacture abroad, or, in case a stop could be put to it, the sheep-walks and flocks of sheep in *Ireland* would be lessened, and in a little time no more would be kept than were sufficient to supply the markets with flesh, and what wool would be wanting to make up cloths for our home consumption. This last, I am apt to believe, will soon be the case, since our exports of wool and yarn to *England* are considerably lessened. By looking back some time ago, I find in 1687 our export of wool to *Britain* amounted to 285,125 small stones; in 1698 to 377,520 $\frac{1}{2}$; and at a medium of last eight years to *Lady-Day*, 1728, it was only 227,049, which is above 58,000 stone less than in 1687, and 148,000 nearly less than in 1698, though our woollen manufacture was not prohibited until the year following. Would it not, then, be highly proper for the Legislature in *Britain* to consider, as the case now stands, whether it is better to be in this dilemma or to remove it quite?—that is, whether we should, by carrying on the smuggling trade or lessening our sheep-walks, give them no more wool on the one hand, or, on the other, be put upon such a footing as to work our wool to advantage and employ our poor in *Ireland*,

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whilst,

whilst, at the same time, *England* should reap the same advantage by our manufactures as *France* now does by our wool. On either side of the dilemma *England* is a great loser. For, suppose 100,000 stone of wool is conveyed from *Ireland* to *France* or *Holland* annually, it is plain that (in such foreign markets as they supply by it), at 4*l.* per stone manufactured, which is now considerably within the profit they make, *England* loses 400,000*l.*, which they might have saved had they got the wool. If that were stopped, and our sheep-walks reduced by reason of the small profit we could honestly make by our sheep, then the profit *England* now makes by manufacturing our wool would be lost, which I have already shewn amounts to £678,573*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.* If *England*, either by our giving it too much wool, or by our supplying foreigners, has more manufactures upon hand than it can get vent for abroad, it is undoubtedly its interest that our flocks of sheep should be lessened, and our lands be put to a better use. But if this be not the case, and the *English* have a sufficient vent, and want wool to supply the world with their manufactures, which, considering the increase of our own and the *Portuguese* colonies, as well as of other nations, by a probability of a lasting peace, and by the concurring evidence of those who write upon the *English* commerce, seems to be evident; for it is affirmed there is no wool left upon the farmers' hands in *England*, and the exports of the *English* woollen manufactures, at a medium of last four years, exceeded their exportations, about sixteen or eighteen years ago, about 200,000*l.* per ann. If these be facts, the principal thing to be considered is, whether a way may not be found for *Britain* to gain as much as what it now does by *Irish* wool, and perhaps considerably more, by increasing our sheep-walks, at the same time that *Ireland* may gain that proportion for its poor which is now given to foreigners by running of wool abroad. This I think not difficult to accomplish. It would at once ease us in *Ireland* of the seeming hardship put upon us by the monopoly of our wool and want of employment for our poor here; and all the wealth accruing to *Ireland* by it would be saved from foreigners and greatly

for the benefit of *Britain*, enabling us to take off more of their valuable manufactures, and by increasing the number of such as would go over to reside and spend their fortunes in *England*, where all our superlucration by trade will certainly centre.

Let the actual prohibition of *Ireland's* exporting any woollen manufactures to foreign markets remain as now. The prohibition of sending it to *England* being only by laying on high duties equal to or exceeding the value of the manufactures in most kinds, with a drawback of part of the value upon re-exportation, which is so small that more remains than any possible profit that can be made by the merchant exporting them, so that nothing will bear exportation but flannel and friezes.

Now, should the *British* Legislature think it proper to make the drawback effectual, or to lessen the duties upon such sorts as the *French* and *Dutch* export, in which they undersell the *English* abroad, or of such coarse cloths as do not interfere with their foreign markets, by which means their poor might be supplied with coarse cloths at home at the cheapest rate, and their manufacturers be employed more in making the richer and finer sort for foreign sale. Or should they think it proper to allow us to export to *Britain* white cloths duty free, so that the profit made by dressing, and dyeing, and exportation would be entirely *English*, and the benefit of the weaving would be added to our spinning here, and, of course, more of our poor be employed. Such numbers in *Ireland* would exert themselves against the smugglers, upon obtaining so considerable a favour, as must entirely put an end to this clandestine trade of running our wool, so prejudicial to *Britain* and so much to the advantage of foreign princes and states. Thus as more hands would be employed, and the sale of our wool become regular and profitable, our sheep-walks would not be lessened, as now they must be by the little benefit arising from them. But, as I observed before, this being chiefly designed for the benefit of *Britain*, the Parliament and merchants there are the best judges whether it be for their interest or not.

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The next particular trade I am to consider, as distinguished in the Custom-house books, is the *Eastland*, which comprehends all the countries *northward of Holland*, upon the continent from *Emden to Archangel*, the *Sound and Baltic* consequently included, an abstract of which, for eight years ending *Lady-Day, 1727*, is here given, viz. :—

Years.	Exports.			Imports.			Balance.			Contra Balance.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1719, . . .	81,514	9	1½	70,395	16	10½	11,118	12	2½	—	—	—
1720, . . .	100,337	0	3½	61,011	8	8½	39,325	11	7	—	—	—
1721, . . .	80,700	1	4½	49,742	7	8½	30,957	13	7½	—	—	—
1722, . . .	46,531	4	8½	54,292	0	11½	—	—	—	7,760	16	3
1723, . . .	44,951	1	9½	67,000	9	9½	—	—	—	22,049	7	11½
1724, . . .	42,049	10	3½	74,300	8	11	—	—	—	32,250	18	7½
1725, . . .	39,574	17	5½	59,400	3	11½	—	—	—	19,825	6	6½
1726, . . .	53,211	9	9½	67,193	7	6½	—	—	—	13,981	17	9
Total, . . .	488,869	14	9½	503,336	4	5½	81,401	17	5½	95,868	7	1½
Medium of 8 } years, . . .	61,108	14	4½	62,917	0	6½	—	—	—	1,808	6	2½
Medium of 5 } years, . . .	45,263	12	9½	64,437	6	3½	—	—	—	19,173	13	6½

Our Exports are made up of:—

	£
Beef, about	2,800
Butter,	17,000
Grain,	1,300
Hides, { Tanned,	1,480
{ Raw,	3,277
Oatmeal,	3,800
Calf-skins,	1,800
Tallow,	1,100
Re-exports,	5,000
Total,	37,557

The remainder is made up of several small articles, not material in trade. Our Imports from thence consist of:—

	£		£
Copper plates, about	2,000	Train oil,	700
Flax and seed,	6,000	Tin plates,	760
Sugar,	1,600	Tar,	800
Hemp,	3,800	Wood,	35,000
Iron,	7,000		
Lamp black,	600	Total,	58,260

The remainder is made up of linen-yarn, potash, latten wire, and other small articles.

In considering our trade to these countries, it may be observed, what a great disproportion there is between the balances taken at the medium of eight years, and of the last five; during which last the balance was constantly against us, as it was for us the first three of the eight: the latter balance exceeding the former 17,365*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.*, our exports thither have diminished above the value of 16,000*l.*, and our imports, increased about 1,500*l.* Our exports increasing at the same time to *France*, as may be seen afterwards, shows that either our trade to *Hamburgh* and *Bremen* increased for the first three years (occasioned by the *French* breaking their credit with us upon the alteration of their coin, and loss of trade by the *Mississippi* bubble), or the last four years' trade took a different channel, and removed to *France*; not I am afraid, from our having better markets there for our goods, but our demands for *French* wines increasing, required greater exports there to balance them.

As this trade is divided among a great many different kingdoms and cities, which in the Custom House ledgers are all entered under one head, I cannot pretend to state the balance with each nation in the east country, we trade to separately; but it may appear upon the view of the particulars of our gross exports, that little or nothing except grain and oatmeal, goes to *Norway*; though the tar, timber, and deals imported from thence, and a very little from *Gottenburgh* and the *Baltic*, amount to 35,000*l.* value.

It may be taken for granted, that the beef, butter, hides, tallow, and calf skins we export, go generally to *Hamburgh* and *Bremen*, very little to *Sweden* or the *Baltic*, and nothing to *Denmark*; our imports from thence are copper plates and iron, part of which we take from *Sweden* immediately ourselves, tin plates, train oil, flax, and hemp—the two last articles we import in part from *Livonia* and *Conningsburgh*; our *Russian* trade for hemp to *Archangel*, having taken a different channel by *Petersburgh*, upon the late *Czar's* acquisition of that port and *Livonia*.

Hence we may conclude that our trade to *Hamburgh* and *Bremen* is most advantageous to us, from whence we have our returns chiefly by bills, and our goods are carried there in our own or *British* shipping; whereas our trade to *Norway* is mostly carried on by *Danish* or *Norwegian* ships, with returns in our ready money, which they can do to a greater profit, by reason of the largeness of their ships, and cheapness of building and sailing them. This trade though highly necessary to us for want of timber at home, is a great drain upon us, and we brought it upon ourselves by the vast destruction and havock we made of our woods, of which we thought we could never see an end, till all were cut down. Yet notwithstanding this demand, and the annual expence we are at, few there are who consider the good of our posterity or country in helping it, because they do not immediately reap the full benefit themselves.

Thus stands at present our trade with those countries. Whilst our demands upon them are so great, we can never expect a balance from thence, unless we are able to carry on a herring fishery to advantage: but in time somewhat may be done by planting at home, or by being rendered capable to furnish ourselves with timber and other naval stores from *America*; yet the distance of *America* is so great, I am afraid it will never answer the expence of freight, whilst the woods in *Norway* last; unless our linens come to have such a vent there, that upon the profit of them we could purchase ships from thence, and bring back cargoes of timber; but instead of that, our exports thither at present, are Protestants, the manufacturers of our linen; and our imports from thence, grain, both to our eternal reproach.

The next particular trade to be considered, going *Southwardly*, is *Holland* and *Flanders*, an abstract of which for eight years I shall here subjoin, ending *Lady-Day, 1727*; with the medium of the balance taken for those eight years, as also for the last four years, when, as in the trade to the *Eastland*, it here also seemed to take a different channel.

ABSTRACT OF OUR TRADE with HOLLAND and FLANDERS for eight years.

Years.	Exports.			Imports.			Balance.			Contra Balance.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1719, . . .	140,726	11	0½	87,957	19	10½	52,768	11	2½	—	—	—
1720, . . .	113,107	3	9½	71,162	14	7½	41,944	9	2	—	—	—
1721, . . .	87,032	19	11	51,187	3	4½	35,845	16	3½	—	—	—
1722, . . .	89,327	4	1	65,624	16	9½	23,702	7	3½	—	—	—
1723, . . .	60,866	7	7	82,224	17	2½	—	—	—	21,358	9	7½
1724, . . .	52,618	1	1½	70,048	14	3½	—	—	—	17,430	13	2½
1725, . . .	63,922	15	3½	69,206	2	2½	—	—	—	5,283	6	11
1726, . . .	93,713	15	6½	84,048	6	2½	9,665	9	3½	—	—	—
Total, . . .	701,314	18	4	581,460	14	7½	163,926	13	5½	44,072	9	9
Medium of 8 } years, . . .	87,664	7	3½	72,682	11	9½	14,981	15	5½	—	—	—
Medium of 4 } years, . . .	67,780	4	10½	76,381	19	11½	—	—	—	8,601	15	1½

Our Exports thither chiefly consist of:—

Beef, value about, . . .	£ 5,300	Pork,	£ 700
Butter,	18,400	Rape seed,	900
Feathers,	700	Tallow,	4,000
Salmon,	340		
Raw hides,	20,000	Total,	50,340

With several others not material.

This falls short of the medium of last four years, which is occasioned by my having taken the exports from 1724, that year's exports being about 15,000*l.* below the medium here taken. Our imports from thence consist of:—

Bark, value about . . .	£ 2,000	Hollands,	£ 3,200
Battery,	700	Flax-seed,	8,000
Brass shruff,	530	Linseed oil,	1,200
Books unbound,	330	Paper,	1,800
Drugs,	1,250	Potash,	1,300
Madder,	5,128	Garden seeds,	600
Other dyeing stuffs,	580	Silk manufacture,	4,000
Earthen-ware,	1,150	Steel,	400
Flax,	3,000	Whalebone,	3,100
Groceries,	4,600	Rhenish wine,	1,700
Gunpowder,	1,080	Wood and ware,	2,400
Inkles,	4,500	Wire, { Iron, } { Lattin, } { Steel, }	1,800
Thread,	1,000		
Hemp,	2,700	Total,	66,248
Iron,	2,500		
Bone-lace,	4,200		
Cambrics,	1,500		

This with other small parcels make up the medium.

By comparing these abstracts with the next I give from *France*, may be found the reason why the balance changes in the different years of this abstract; for as our exports to *France* increased, those to *Holland* and *Flanders* decreased in proportion. We may observe that our demands from *Holland* and *Flanders* being generally the same, our imports from thence do not vary so much as our exports, they never falling so low as 50,000*l.* or rising so high as 90,000*l.*, which with the great decrease of our exports, was the reason of the balances being against us at a medium of the last four years, though upon the whole it was in our favour.

It may also be observed that our exports are made up entirely of the produce of our lands without tillage, except in the two small articles of rape-seed and salmon; in all the other articles nothing valuable is taken from us, that either sea or land yields to us by the labour and industry of the inhabitants.

The goods we import from thence are either such as are raised and manufactured among themselves, or returns made by their trade of the growth of other countries, which they can afford as cheap, or cheaper than we could import them from the countries whence they had them; this is owing entirely to the lowness of interest, cheapness of freight, and the easy duties upon the export and import of their goods, by which means that country becomes the general magazine of all commodities beneficial in trade, and they have such a variety, that they can at once sort out a cargo advantageous to any country; also their plenty of money enables them to lay in stores and preserve them at small expence, when by their general correspondence they learn that markets are low and glutted abroad, and to make their profit when markets rise again; nay, often they sell them back again to that very nation from whence they had them, thus quick returns and light gain make a heavy purse.

We might save of our imports from thence by proper industry at home; madder, above 5,000*l.* to supply ourselves, and also to supply *England*, which takes from them to the value of 20,000*l.*, annually; earthen-ware, flax, gun-powder, inkles, thread, hemp, lace, cambric, *Holland*, wrought silks, paper, whalebone, and garden-seeds, which amount to 35,930*l.*

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The next particular trade that falls regularly in my way to be observed, is that with *France*; abstracts of this I here give, with a small balance seemingly in our favour, yet when carefully inquired into it appears to be much otherwise.

Years.	Exports.			Imports.			Balance.			Contra Balance.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1719, . . .	165,859	16	11½	179,597	12	1¾	—	—	—	13,737	15	2½
1720, . . .	58,012	12	11	111,000	15	3½	—	—	—	52,988	2	4½
1721, . . .	121,237	10	9½	132,908	2	3½	—	—	—	11,670	11	6½
1722, . . .	122,426	10	5	117,881	13	5	4,544	17	2	—	—	—
1723, . . .	176,777	8	2¾	150,563	18	3	26,213	9	11½	—	—	—
1724, . . .	214,422	17	6½	141,650	9	5¾	72,772	8	0¾	—	—	—
1725, . . .	205,317	7	7	159,055	5	2½	46,262	2	4¾	—	—	—
1726, . . .	137,702	10	7½	193,954	12	6¼	—	—	—	56,252	1	11½
Total, . . .	1,201,756	15	0¾	1,186,612	8	5½	149,792	17	7¾	134,648	11	0
Medium of 8 } years, . . .	150,219	11	10¾	148,326	11	0¾	1,893	0	9¾	—	—	—
Medium of 4 } years, . . .	183,555	0	11¾	161,306	1	4¾	22,248	19	7¾	—	—	—

Our exports for 1724, which were by much the greatest in this abstract, consisted of:—

	£
Beef, about,	50,000
Butter,	80,000
Raw hides,	10,000
Tallow,	40,000
Total,	180,000

The other articles of small value in trade are not worth inserting.

Our imports from thence—

	£	s.	d.
Wine at a medium of nine years,	83,156	5	10¾
At a medium of four years,	91,658	14	6
Brandy at a medium of six years,	23,446	18	6

The rest taken in the year 1724, viz.:—

Playing cards, about,	100	0	0
Cork,	1,400	0	0
Flints,	50	0	0
Pruins,	1,500	0	0
Succus liquor,	1,500	0	0
Sugar,	10,000	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Iron and iron-ware,	600	0	0
Cambrics,	2,000	0	0
Train oil,	500	0	0
Paper,	3,500	0	0
Bosin,	1,150	0	0
Salt,	2,650	0	0
Silk manufacture,	6,500	0	0
Vinegar,	2,500	0	0
Other groceries,	500	0	0
Wood and ware,	2,500	0	0

Total including the Wine at four years
medium and Brandy at six, 150,705 13 0

The other articles are not material.

The import of wine, 1726,	109,417	17	1½
Brandy for the said year,	30,871	13	9
Total,	140,289	10	10½

Here you see the balance at a medium of eight and of four years, as also the increase of our exports thither from 1720, at which time they had not overcome their difficulties occasioned by the raising their coin and their *Mississippi* bubble. We may also observe that our imports from thence have risen from that time, and how the importation of *French* wine has increased upon us; the medium of last four years exceeding that of the last eight 8,502*l.* 8*s.* 7½*d.*

Our whole exports for the year ending *Lady-Day*, 1727, were 137,702*l.* 10*s.* 7½*d.*, and the wine and brandy imported that year amounted to 140,289*l.* 10*s.* 10½*d.*, so in those two articles we exceeded the year's exports 2,587*l.* 0*s.* 3*d.* Thus we find our madness increasing in drinking *French* wines; for though part of this was lodged in the *Isle of Man* for some time, yet it was all imported from *France* in less than a year before. Of the wine as computed at 20*l.* *per* tun, there were 5,470½ tuns, and 1,929⅙ tuns of brandy; in all above 7,400 tuns of wine and brandy imported that year. As the value of wine and brandy re-exported does not exceed 20,700*l.*, wine computed when exported at 40*l.* *per* tun, and brandy at 2*s.* 4*d.* *per* gallon (near double the price as when imported, being then valued at 1*s.* 3*d.*), we spent at home for wine and

brandy that year near to the value of 130,000*l.*, amounting to 6,800 tuns. These are the observations we may make from the returns in the Custom House books; but I am afraid we can not depend upon our exports to *France* from these returns; for it is plain, where no bonds are given by the merchants upon their entries, they may make them for one kingdom when they go for another, of which the Custom House can take no notice; and this is frequently the case in our exports to *France*, for which kingdom the merchants make their entries when they design for *Hamburgh*, *Bremen*, or *Holland*, and that for this reason, there are several light-houses in their way to *Holland*, *Hamburgh*, &c., in the *British* channel, &c., towards the maintenance of which all shipping pay in the first port they put in at, and are charged with so many as they have benefit in their voyage; now if it appear by their cocket that they are bound for these ports through the channel, they pay towards the maintenance of them all; if for *France*, and they are supposed to be blown there out of their way, they pay for no more than they are presumed to receive benefit by: thus the merchants finding so many charges upon trade, and little and uncertain profit, are tempted to make use of any shift to save their money; and by this means we must be imposed upon in our accounts from the Custom House, without there being any otherwise capable of setting us right, than by showing what may be computed from the reason of the thing, founded upon some certainty of facts. The next thing to be observed is, that the price at which we buy our wines in *France*, computed at the medium of 20*l.* *per* tun, is too low; if the quantity of white wines bore any proportion to the claret, their observation might be just, but as they do not, I can not think but 24*l.* *per* tun is nearer the truth, and still a little within it, the duty and prisage not exceeding 13*l.* 5*s.* *per* tun, and the freight within 3*l.* (the freight home not being 40*s.* or much above 1*l.* 10*s.* *per* tun), so that wine landed in *Ireland*, allowing all charges upon it, does not at the 20*l.* value exceed 35*l.* *per* tun, even allowing leakage not above 36*l.*, which does not exceed 9*l.* *per* hogshead; now as the wine merchants sell

these again from 14 to 20 pistoles *per* hogshead, they would have from 50 to *cent. per cent.* profit upon their wines, for lying out of their money two or three years, cooperage and cellarage—an immense profit! To avoid the censure of imposing upon us, they pretend our demand has increased the price in *France*; if so, we may reasonably allow 4*l.* more *per* tun, so they would import them still under 10*l.* *per* hogshead landed here, and the merchants have still 50 or 60 *per cent.* profit, over and above the interest of their money, &c. This would add to our imports from *France* 20,000*l.* upon the article of wine alone.

The great profit given to the wine merchants by the increase of our luxury, has tempted many more to follow that trade; this has also increased the importation of wine, which to get rid of, they are obliged to force a trade with taverns and inn-keepers, and to give them presents for their custom. Thus every country town and village is crowded with retailers of wine and brandy, to the ruin of the middle and lower ranks of men who frequent them. The merchants dispose of their wines ready to perish, at all risks, to the country inn-keepers upon trust; they for the like reason to get them off their hands, sell the same way to such as frequent their houses, who being generally of the extravagant part of the kingdom, and such as being in low circumstances resort thither to drown their cares, make not very prompt payment; these break the taverns, and the taverns would do the same to the merchants, if they did not make up their loss by selling to the men of condition and fortune at double price; the same wines coopered up by different mixtures to nice palates, under mock names of this or the other vintage, *Hermitage*, *Pontack*, *Chateau Margoux*, *Haut-Brian*, &c., all made out of *Vin de Grave*; some cooked up in the cellars of *Bourdeaux*, the rest here, according to palates in vogue; the merchant importing a chance hogshead at 600, 800, or 1,000 livres *per* tun, that they may have it to say their wines cost them to such a price, and cover their extravagant profit the more neatly. It may be considered, whether to prevent our destruction by luxury, idleness, and debaucheries daily increasing among
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the

the middle and lower ranks of men; public houses which sell wine and brandy should not be limited and lessened in number, and instructions given to the officers of the Excise to require greater sums for license; this would prevent a great many smuggling houses, and oblige those who took out license to sell their wines at a dearer rate. Thus would several house-keepers be employed in more useful employments to the public, and those who took out license be more fully employed. This would also abate the extravagance of those who ought to be industrious and better employed, and would raise our excise upon our home produce and encourage tillage.

In considering our balance with *France* we may allow full as much brandy to be stolen into the country, or more than all our re-exports amount to, beside linens, silks, and cambrics from *France*, which will balance everything we run in our exports to them. If we consider how much is run into this kingdom of *French* lute-strings we will find it very considerable; those only used for scarfs at funerals will rise to a considerable sum, which I shall here make a computation of, considerably below the truth, and yet it will appear no trifling article. I will suppose only two persons to die annually in each parish, and that ten scarfs are used at the funeral; the whole number of funerals would then be 4,590, and the scarfs used 45,900, which, if computed but at 5*s.* per scarf, or 2*s.* per yard, would amount to 11,475*l.* per ann. in *French* lute-strings for the article of scarfs at funerals. If we consider how many funerals there are at which many more are given, the computation will not appear too large. If we consider how many other ways *French* lute-strings are worn we may modestly suppose above 20,000*l.* value of these only come into *Ireland* annually, which are all imported by stealth, besides many more of different kinds. In this very article we might save considerably, if either a disuse was brought about of these at funerals, or if a custom should take place that was lately proposed and begun at *Belfast* by the *Cambric* Company upon the motion of a worthy gentleman there, Mr. *Smith*, which is to bury with *Holland* scarfs or fine linen, according as they would have them more or less expensive.

This would put a considerable damp upon the importation of *French* lute-strings, and by making the *Holland* scarfs of such a breadth as to be useful, they would not be lost to the public, and would be a considerable encouragement to the linen manufacture; but this, I hope, is now sufficiently established by being used at the funeral of a late great man of the first distinction. It may be said now, without suspicion of flattery, that it was well judged to bury him in character, as a friend to his country and a benefactor to multitudes.

The bringing sugars from thence to about 10,000*l.* value is a considerable advantage to their colonies and a prejudice to our own. This is entirely owing to the discouragement we lie under in our plantation trade, by being obliged to give bonds to enter our ships in *Britain*. But as the remedying this inconveniency is only in the power of the *British* Legislature, I shall take some further notice of it in another place, and show that *Britain* and its colonies equally suffer with *Ireland* in the rigorous interpretation of that Act of Parliament, contrary to the original intention of the law-makers.

After these allowances let us fix the balance, and we shall find the reason for sending money and bills to *France*, and for exchange being generally against us. Upon the whole I cannot see, notwithstanding the appearing balance in our favour, upon raising, after a reasonable manner, the prime cost of our wine and brandy, and giving reasonable allowances for our exports thither upon account of false entries, and running in of brandy, silks, &c., but we must be losers by our present trade with *France* from 30,000*l.* to 40,000*l.* *per ann.* at least.

Let us next consider the articles of our exports to *France*, which consist but of four any way material, viz., beef, butter, tallow, and hides. Exports, it is true, under our circumstances, highly necessary, being all perishable except tallow, but, as I have already shown, the very worst for profit, there being no labour but the butchers and dairy-maids in them, and few people maintained in proportion to what agriculture, gardening, or manufactures would do. On the other hand, to that country where imported they are of the greatest benefit,

benefit, for there it must be to feed and give other necessaries to a number of people employed in manufactures, or in such produce of land as is much more valuable than breeding and grazing of cattle. And this is plainly the case, where we import them to *France, Holland, Hamburgh, or America*, and everywhere, except what is sent to the indolent *Spaniard*, which is only so much as is spent in *Sevil and Cales*, or in victualling out their galleons; and even there the only industry of *Spain* is carried on in wines, oil, and silk.

Could the *French* supply themselves or their colonies any other way so cheap, without employing their lands to a worse use than at present, we should have no vent there for our provisions. But it is plainly the increase of their numbers in *Martinico, Guadaloupe, and Petit Guaves in St. Domingo*, where, since the peace of *Utrecht*, they have vastly increased their plantations and number of negroes employed in their sugar works, indigo, cotton, anetto, cacao, and tobacco, that prevents their being supplied from the islands with as many provisions as formerly. *Canada* cannot supply them with anything considerable; *Mississippi* is yet in its infancy and in a latitude too warm for salting; our *American* colonies have a sufficient demand to furnish our own islands; and the *French*, having no trade with them, would lose in going thither the benefit of their freight outwards, and consequently their ships go for the most part empty to their islands.

Pere Labat says, a breast of *Irish* beef is the greatest regale in their islands; this and the increase of their numbers in *Nantes, St. Martins, Rochel, and Bourdeaux*, by that and their wine trade, is the occasion of the rise of their demands upon us.

Thus our exports to them, though perishable, are still more necessary for them than for us. We had *Holland, Hamburgh, and America* to go to when they had not much above one-half what we now export to them, which we might have again, or employ our lands at home to a better use. But should we prohibit our exports to *France* their islands would be distressed, or their lands put to a worse use. Nay, were we to import nothing from *France*, but have the balance of our

exports in specie, it would still be beneficial to them to have our provisions, for they make three times more profit of their lands in *France* and in their islands than they would do were they to raise provisions among themselves equivalent to the quantity we send them.

Thus, if we were prudent, or by having sumptuary laws, and being less luxurious in our wines, we might make considerably by the *French* trade, and have a great balance in our favour; *Louis d'ors* would then come here as fast as now our guineas and bills go there. We might save also in other articles, viz., silks, cambrics, hollands, paper, train-oil, &c., a considerable sum by proper application at home. Thus stands our trade at present in a destructive way with *France*, when it is capable of being made highly beneficial to us.

The last in order, and, I may say, greatest branch of our trade with foreigners, since by it we have the greatest balance in our favour, is with *Spain, Portugal, and the Streights*, which take off the greatest part of any manufactured commodities we export, except linen. An abstract of this for eight years I here give, as it stands in the Custom House Books, to *Lady-Day, 1727*, with the medium of exports, imports, and balance, by which may be seen how much we ought to countenance this trade:—

Years.	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1719, . . .	111,739 19 4½	39,670 3 3½	72,069 16 0¾
1720, . . .	125,261 14 7½	36,678 15 10	88,582 18 9¾
1721, . . .	176,768 6 1½	57,963 19 11½	118,804 6 2
1722, . . .	183,239 13 0½	56,363 1 0½	126,876 11 11½
1723, . . .	147,265 1 11½	68,153 18 9¾	79,111 3 1¾
1724, . . .	149,984 1 0½	60,959 16 11	89,024 4 1½
1725, . . .	135,751 8 8½	61,584 0 6½	74,167 8 2
1726, . . .	118,049 4 5¾	96,839 6 6½	21,209 17 11½
Total, . . .	1,148,059 9 2½	478,213 2 11½	669,846 6 3½
Medium of eight } years, . . . }	143,507 8 7¼	59,776 12 10½	83,730 15 9¾

By the balance struck here we find we have received more from those countries than from *France, Holland, and Flanders* together by 534,847l. 15s. 11½d.; we have a balance

from no other countries except *America*; *Britain* and *America* are so blended together by their importations, that we cannot justly distinguish the balance. We find our imports from *Spain*, &c., last year so much increased that our balance from thence in 1726 was inconsiderable, very little exceeding the fourth-part of the medium.

Our exports thither are:—

	£		£
Beef, about,	10,000	Hides, { Raw,	4,000
Butter,	35,600	{ Tanned,	50,000
Candles,	3,000	Linen,	1,300
Cheese,	1,600	Pork,	2,000
Barley,	9,000	Calf-skins,	3,000
Wheat,	3,000	Starch,	400
Hake,	2,500	Tallow,	2,500
Herrings,	800	Goods re-exported,	6,000
Salmon,	8,000		
Hair,	400	Total,	143,100

Our importations from thence are, viz.:—

	£		£
Capers, about,	170	Thrown silk undyed,	670
Cork,	1,860	Succus liquor,	629
Dyeing stuffs,	4,000	Walnuts,	2,000
Sugar and Fruit,	6,000	Port wine,	3,169
Oranges and Lemons,	3,000	Spanish wine,	15,704
Iron,	9,400	Hoops, cane, reeds, and	
Oil,	3,600	plank,	700
Salt,	4,600	Wool,	368
Silk manufacture,	3,000		
Raw silk,	430	Total,	59,300

Here we may observe that they take from us (over and above those articles which arise from grazing) grain and fish, and would take them in greater quantities if we had them to spare; as also tanned hides, linen, &c., except some silk manufactured from the Streights, and fruit, wine, and oil, in moderate quantities; our imports from thence are highly useful to us in working at home, as iron, raw and thrown silks, and wool, as also salt, for our home consumption and fisheries, if we are so prudent as to undertake them, and a great balance in specie.

There is this also to be considered, that great part of this

trade is carried on by our own merchants in *Irish* ships, and not by commission, by which means our balance and the profit of the merchant upon our exports, will be much more considerable.

It is highly prudent then in us to encourage and enlarge this trade as much as possible, instead of that other at present pernicious trade to *France*. By turning the stream of our trade a little from the *French* channel, we should also have a better price for our provisions; for since their numbers at home and in their colonies, want our provisions, by feeding them sparingly they would give us a better price, whereas now we glut their market. We ought also to encourage the *Spanish* and *Portuguese* trades, in order to their taking off greater quantities of such goods and manufactures as we are allowed to deal in, as—shoes, linen, stockings, hats, and iron-ware; but fish above all, which we lie so conveniently for, and is so certain a benefit, if we can propose to take, cure, and carry them as well and with as little expence as our neighbours. Would it not also be highly prudent in our Legislature, to consider whether the putting the *Spanish* and *Port* wines upon the same level with the *French* in the duties upon them, would not be a suitable encouragement for that trade, and acting justly both to ourselves and the *Spaniards*, since their trade is so beneficial to us. The duties upon their wines are now about 4*l.* per tun higher than that upon the *French*, for what reason I could never learn, were it not that the *French* wine being weaker people might drink a greater quantity, and cheaper than the other, and so have a longer time to sit to get their dose, and consequently lose more of their time in sipping to the prejudice of both their private fortunes and the public. If we would put them upon the same level in the customs, notwithstanding the prime cost is something dearer, yet a bottle of the one would go as far as two of the other; and those at least of the middle and lower ranks of men who must be finished completely once a day, might do it in less time and at less expence, and by having more time to rest, if they are any way capable of doing themselves or their country any service, the next day they would

be fitter for it than at present, when they turn the night into day. Neither do I think the sinking the additional duties upon *Spanish* and *Port* wines would be any lessening of the revenue, or at least so inconsiderable as might be easily made up another way. The quantity imported at a medium being valued at 30*l.* per tun, amounts to 629 $\frac{1}{2}$ tuns; the additional duty of which at 4*l.* per tun, amounts to 2,516 $\frac{1}{2}$, out of which sum is to be deducted 10 per cent. for leakage, and 10 per cent. prompt payment, which would be balanced by putting 10*s.* more duty upon the *French* wines per tun; this would be an inconsiderable difference in the price of *French* wine, so that nicer palates might still drink it near as cheap as now, for the less demand we had for them the cheaper would the *French* afford them.

A N
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T R A D E O F I R E L A N D.

P A R T I I.

HAVING in the first part already published, given a short view of the present trade of *Ireland*, with such remarks upon it as occurred to me in its several parts. Before I proceed to make any observations upon the oversights we may have hitherto committed with regard to the trade or inland improvements of *Ireland*, I shall first give the number of inhabitants with the proportion they bear to the quantity of land, not only in this kingdom in general but also in the several provinces and counties, by which we may find how we have increased since the late happy revolution and reduction of *Ireland*, the establishment of our civil and religious liberties and security of our properties.

It will also be an assistance to future observations of our increase or decrease in general, as well as in particular counties and towns, by which we may find out the reasons why particular counties or towns increase, as by their improvements in manufactures, tillage, &c., and how others decrease by contrary management or other defaults.

For this purpose I have extracted from the books returned by the collectors of the hearth-money, the number of houses in the several provinces and counties in *Ireland*, for the years 1712, 1718, 1725, and 1726, an abstract of which I give here in the following table, with the number of computed plantation-acres (being seven yards to the perch) in each county, and at a medium to each house in each county for the year 1725, as also the number of houses in the most considerable

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cities and trading towns with their precincts, and the number of parishes in each county.

Counties and Provinces.	No. of Houses.				Acres computed.	Acres, at a medium, to each House.	No. of Parishes.
	1712.	1718.	1725.	1726.			
ULSTER :							
1. Antrim, .	19,268	19,572	19,669	18,916	383,020	19-47	56
2. Down, .	18,058	19,147	18,980	18,916	344,658	18-16	72
3. Armagh, .	9,003	9,586	10,589	10,531	170,620	16-18	49
4. Tyrone, .	11,502	11,924	12,178	12,097	387,175	31-79	30
5. Londonderry, .	11,592	12,154	12,680	12,713	251,510	19-9	38
6. Donegal, .	12,685	10,405	10,436	10,542	690,157	60-38	40
7. Fermanagh, .	5,208	5,353	5,563	5,412	224,807	40-4	19
8. Monaghan, .	7,395	7,443	8,018	7,866	170,090	21-18	24
9. Cavan, .	7,914	7,959	7,909	7,852	274,800	34-75	37
Total,	102,625	103,543	105,972	104,845	2,836,837	26-76	365
LEINSTER :							
1. Louth, .	6,947	7,485	7,534	7,692	111,180	14-76	50
2. Meath, .	13,741	14,186	14,635	14,521	326,480	22-	139
3. Westmeath, .	7,677	7,695	8,899	8,310	249,943	28-	62
4. Dublin, .	16,453	17,387	18,684	17,609	123,784	6-62	87
5. King's, .	6,645	6,844	7,725	7,515	257,510	33-3	56
6. Queen's, .	7,183	7,551	9,046	8,885	238,590	27-48	39
7. Kildare, .	7,415	7,554	8,316	8,293	228,590	27-48	100
8. Wicklow, .	6,999	7,490	7,385	7,620	252,410	34-1	54
9. Carlow, .	3,463	3,870	5,681	4,873	116,900	20-57	42
10. Wexford, .	10,045	10,558	13,165	13,002	315,396	23-93	109
11. Kilkenny, .	8,830	9,373	10,779	10,624	287,650	26-67	96
12. Longford, .	5,129	5,035	4,302	4,166	134,700	31-3	24
Total,	100,527	105,028	116,351	113,110	2,642,958	22-71	860
CONNAUGHT :							
1. Leitrim, .	4,552	4,929	4,716	4,652	206,830	43-85	21
2. Sligo, .	6,837	6,624	6,893	6,927	241,550	35-	41
3. Mayo, .	9,397	9,967	12,615	12,742	724,640	57-4	73
4. Galway, .	15,739	15,403	16,679	17,953	775,525	46-49	136
5. Roscommon, .	8,440	8,566	7,776	7,957	324,370	41-7	59
Total,	44,965	44,989	48,679	50,231	2,272,915	46-69	330
MUNSTER :							
1. Cork, .	39,094	48,692	47,741	48,666	991,010	20-75	232
2. Kerry, .	10,166	11,796	12,917	13,072	636,905	49-3	84
3. Limerick, .	17,418	15,322	16,754	16,901	375,320	22-4	130
4. Waterford, .	9,858	10,032	10,959	11,323	259,010	23-68	71
5. Tipperary, .	17,599	17,357	16,840	16,979	599,500	35-	147
6. Clare, .	8,602	9,749	10,016	9,726	428,187	42-75	76
Total,	102,732	107,948	115,227	116,665	3,289,932	28-55	740
Total, Ireland,	349,849	361,508	386,229	384,851	11,042,642	28-59	2,295
					No. Hearths, 1725.		
Dublin, City, .	9,176	9,505	11,466	11,525	58,507	-	17

	No. of Houses, 1725.	No. of Parishes.
Cork, city and liberties, . . .	7,536	12
Limerick, city and liberties, . . .	3,169	19
Waterford, city and liberties, . . .	2,044	-
Kilkenny and liberties, . . .	2,138	-
Galway and liberties, . . .	1,567	-
Drogheda and liberties, . . .	1,212	-
Belfast and parish, . . .	2,093	-
Lisburn and parish, . . .	787	-
Newry and parish, . . .	1,013	-
Dundalk, . . .	407	-
Carrickfergus and liberties, . . .	546	-
Coleraine and liberties, . . .	721	-

In looking over this abstract a considerable difference will be found in the last two years, too considerable to proceed from any real decrease in the number of the houses. For this reason and the great increase since Sir *William Petty's* time, in 1672, when they were computed at 200,000, it will be proper to make some observations upon it.

The difference between the returns in 1725 and 1726, as I apprehend, is occasioned by the collectors not making a regular return of the houses of the poor, who are certified to live upon alms and do not pay the tax; some in their abstracts returning them, some in part, and some not at all; and the collectors being frequently removed from one district to another, occasions the poor in some years to be returned, in others not, according to the care or negligence of the several collectors.

Another reason I apprehend to be from gentlemen's receiving or dismissing whole villages of native *Irish* at once; their houses or cabins being generally made of earth or dry stone, there is little difference in the expence or time employed in erecting or demolishing of them; and this is done just as gentlemen incline to break up their lands and improve them by tillage, or as they lay them down under grass and enlarge their sheep-walks and grazing farms; and by this means the poor, who remove with little trouble, are turned adrift and must remove to some other place where they can get employment.

In order to compute the number of inhabitants from the
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 foregoing

foregoing table I shall make an estimate of the inhabited houses for the year 1725.

The waste hearths are returned by the collectors in arrear, and if there be no distress found the second year, they are struck out of the list. In the year 1725 there were 9,885 hearths returned in arrear, exclusive of *Dublin*. I took the number of hearths that year, which were 493,801; and the houses that year amounting to 386,229, the hearths, at a medium to each house, were 1·278; the houses of *Dublin* that year being 11,466, and the hearths, 58,507; there were in *Dublin* 5·25 hearths, at a medium, to each house; and in the kingdom, exclusive of the houses and hearths of *Dublin*, the hearths were 1·14 to each house. By the same way of proceeding there should be 8,520 waste houses in the kingdom, exclusive of *Dublin*; and there being 1,993 hearths returned in arrear in *Dublin*, there would be 380 waste houses in *Dublin*. I am informed by the collectors that generally half of the arrear is received in the following year, and consequently not 200 waste in the city. But having taken in *Donnybrook* parish into the city, of which *Ringsend* is a part, and may now be said to be annexed to the city, I will allow those houses in lieu of those which are dispersed in the country part of that parish, so there will still be 11,086 inhabited houses in *Dublin*.

If we suppose the whole 380 waste, the number waste in the kingdom will amount to 8,900, which being deducted from the number returned, there will remain 377,339 inhabited houses in the kingdom. But this falls somewhat short of the truth, for I find in that year there were at the rate of 13·3 counties for which no return was made of the poor-houses not liable to pay hearth-money; and for the rest of the kingdom there were 7,881 poor-houses returned; in proportion to which there must have been 5,607 poor-houses not returned, which, being added to 377,339, makes, in the whole, the number of inhabited houses 382,946. I have reason to believe this computation is within the truth, for I have often known hearth-money collectors fall short, but never any who have given too large returns of the poor-houses. Neither in the

city of *Dublin*, nor anywhere through the kingdom, are included in this number the Castle, custom-houses, barracks, colleges, workhouses, charity schools, watch-houses, or light-houses. Kilns and smith's shops are always annexed to dwelling-houses, unless the smiths who work in them be inmates in other houses, and those are very few in number.

From several returns made to me of the number of persons in each family, in a great many contiguous parishes in the county of *Antrim*, I find the medium to be 4.36 to a family; according to which the number of inhabitants in *Ireland* would amount to 1,669,644. But I do not insist upon this as a just computation; I am apt to believe it is rather within the truth. In order to have the computation correct, it would be necessary to have a great many more returns from different parts of the kingdom; for, from a different way of living in the several provinces and in cities and great towns, there may be more in a family in some parts of the kingdom than in the county from whence I took my estimate.

Should we proceed the common way, without having proper returns by which to fix a medium, there would be no certainty in the calculation of our numbers. For instance, let us take the city of *Dublin*, and propose to find out the numbers in it, as usually done, by the Bills of Mortality. The births, or, more justly, the baptized by our Established clergy, for the year ending *Lady-Day*, 1728, amount to 1,672. In this number no Dissenters of any kind are included, Protestant or Papist. So that were there a just account taken, the Dissenters of all kinds equalling, if not much exceeding, those of the Established Church, the births would be at least double, and consequently above 3,300. This would exceed the burials, which that year amounted to 2,946, and exceeded the burials of the preceding year 183; so that they may be computed under 3,000 annually in *Dublin*. In this number are not included those who die in town and are carried to the country, nor Quakers who bury in their own yards. However, suppose the burials in round numbers to amount to 3,000, one in thirty dying annually, as computed by the ingenious Doctor *Halley*, the number of persons in *Dublin* would amount to

90,000; but if the returns made to Doctor *Tisdal* were carefully taken of the numbers in each house in two parishes within the city and two in the suburbs, from which he computed, at a medium, $12\frac{1}{4}$ in each house, the number of souls in *Dublin* would amount to 133,955, there being 11,086 inhabited houses in the city. Or if ten be allowed to each house, which, most think, is a low enough computation, considering how many live together in a house in the trading part of the city (where seventy persons have been known to live in a house, there being a family sometimes in each room, oftentimes in each floor, and in the cellars), the number then would amount to 110,860. By this last computation the burials would not amount to one in thirty-six; by the other not above one in forty-four. Hence I conclude, either the registries in *Dublin* or in *Breslaw* are not exact, or *Dublin* is more healthy than the other.

After the same manner, should we endeavour to find out the numbers in the kingdom, by fixing a determined era as in 1672 (when Sir *William Petty*, by the returns, found there were 200,000 houses in the kingdom; and from thence, allowing $5\frac{1}{4}$ to a family, computed the number then in *Ireland* to be 1,100,000), and supposing an increase by natural generation, we must be under great uncertainty; for if Sir *William's* computation be wrong, the foundation is destroyed. Besides the climate, constitution, manner of living, government, trade, and accidents of war, famine, plague, persecution, &c., make so great a difference that some countries, when tolerably peopled, may never double; and other countries, thinly peopled, by good government, liberty of conscience, trade, and accession of inhabitants, may double in a very short time, even by natural generation in less than fifty years. But on such computations, the incidental causes being so various and uncertain, there can be no dependence without facts to build upon.

Thus, for instance, suppose a million of inhabitants in *Ireland* in 1691, when the war ended (by Mr. South's computation from the pole tax, there were 40,000 more in 1695); we may reasonably suppose 500,000 of these females, the war

having destroyed fewer of these than of the other sex; 240,000 of these above 14 and under 46, of an age capable to bear children. Suppose 40,000 of these barren, there would then have been 200,000 breeding women in the kingdom, each of these might have a child once in two years, so the births each year might be 100,000; I will add this to the first number, because many die in the first year of their age, which would make the number 1,100,000; and suppose 1 in 30 to die, then the burials would amount to 36,666, which being subtracted from the births, there would remain 63,334 for the net increase each year. By this computation the nation might double in sixteen years, though there were no accession of inhabitants from abroad, for the number of breeding women who are daily coming of age capable to bear children, would add to the births still more in proportion than the increasing numbers to the burials. After the same manner, supposing 1 in 5 only to bear once in two years, the numbers might be doubled in 42 years.

This, though it shows the possibility of doubling in a short time, yet we find is very different from the manner of increasing in this age. Mr. King's tables are laid down with a great deal of judgment, yet it is highly probable he was wrong in his computation of the time of *England's* doubling their numbers since the *Norman* conquest. His supposition of their having doubled in 435 years preceding 1690, I am persuaded is too long a term; for it is highly probable, from the breaking the power of the barons in king *Henry VII.'s* reign, the *era* of the commencement of our present happy constitution, the numbers in *England* are doubled in about 240 years; and yet it is probable they had not doubled from the *Norman* conquest until that time, which was above 400 years. The great increase of their numbers since proceeds from the establishment of their liberties civil and religious, and the increase of their trade and commerce upon it. This drew in numbers from many parts of Europe; and their increase at home proceeded from the peace, plenty, and satisfaction which since that time has happened to most ranks and degrees of men.

The quicker increase before countries are thoroughly inhabited, is occasioned by the ease they find in maintaining a family where provisions and other necessaries are cheap. As numbers increase, the difficulty in providing for a family increases in proportion, so that people grow cautious in marrying, until they have provided somewhat to maintain a family with tolerable satisfaction.

Thus the great increase of the number of houses in *Ireland* may be accounted for, and yet the numbers in each family not be much lessened, as some imagine they are by a subdivision of families, so that the medium of persons in a family may be nearly the same; for great part of *Ireland* lying waste in 1691, the inhabitants for the reasons before mentioned, increased faster than afterwards. There was also an accession of inhabitants from *Britain*, and a considerable encouragement given to foreign Protestants to promote their residence amongst us. The Papists also make it a principle of conscience to increase their numbers, for the good of the Catholic religion, as they call it; and, for want of nunneries and monasteries, breed faster here than in countries where their religion is established; and fornication being accounted but a venial sin with them, their girls are easily persuaded to have children very early, and take great care of them when they have them. What has of late occasioned a check to our increase, was the scarcity of provisions we had for two or three years by reason of bad seasons and want of granaries; this, with our extravagant consumption of foreign luxuries, turned the balance of trade against us, and influenced a great many of our Protestant poor for want of employment to go to *America*, where they heard provisions were plenty and cheap, and many Papists went to fill up the *Irish* regiments in the service of *France* and *Spain*.

From the foregoing table we may observe, that those countries where trade and commerce flourishes, and particularly where the linen manufacture is established, are by far the most populous, though some of them are the least fertile. The counties of *Antrim*, *Down*, *Armagh*, and *Derry*, the chief linen counties, have not twenty Irish acres to a family; and

yet if we cast our eyes upon the most fertile parts of *Munster*, the rich lands of *Limerick* and *Tipperary*, we will find that the one has twenty-two acres and the other thirty-five to each family. Even *Cork*, whose metropolis is a place of great trade, and whose coast is filled with many populous towns, has near twenty-one acres to a family. The province of *Connaught*, which in most places is very fertile, has above forty-six; and even *Leinster*, the centre of our trade, has near twenty-three, the counties of *Dublin* and *Louth* being excluded. As for *Tyrone* and *Donegal*, though they may be reckoned among the linen counties, yet they appear but thinly inhabited, from their large tracts of desert mountains that are invincible and not to be reclaimed.

By these observations, we may not only see that there is a benefit arising to the nation in general from manufactures, but landlords may perceive an immediate advantage accruing to themselves in particular. They will see how vastly manufactures increase our numbers; and as to the effect which that must necessarily have upon the value of lands, by raising the demand for its produce, it is too plain to be insisted upon.

Perhaps it will not be amiss here to take notice of the proportion *Ireland* bears to *England*, with regard to the number of inhabitants.

By the returns of the collectors of the fire-hearths in *England*, for the year 1690, as published by Doctor Davenant, there were then 1,319,215 houses in *England*, of which in *Middlesex*, were 111,215; in *Surry* including *Southwark*, 40,610; in *Wales*, 77,921, and in *Yorkshire*, 121,052. I will suppose *England* has increased in proportion to its numbers, twice as much in the last thirty-five years from 1690, as *Ireland* has done in the last thirteen years from 1712 to 1725; though they may be presumed to have increased considerably more, it being within four years of thrice the time. Since *Ireland* in that time has increased 36,380, above one-tenth of the whole in 1712, then adding one-fifth or twice as much for the increase of *England* in thirty-five years, it would have increased 263,842 since 1690, so that the number of houses in *England* in 1725 would be 1,583,057. But since

it may be reasonably presumed they have increased by their union with *Scotland*, and the many advantages they have over *Ireland* by trade, &c., fully as much in proportion as we have done since 1712; I may venture to add near 17,000 more, and yet still be within bounds when I compute the houses in *England* in 1725 at 1,600,000. And considering their greater wealth, and number of rich and populous cities, five may be allowed to a family, so that the number of their inhabitants without including *North-Britain*, would be 8,000,000. Then the numbers in *England* to those in *Ireland*, would be nearly as five to one; and if *Scotland* be as populous as *Ireland*, the numbers in *Britain* to those in this kingdom would be about six to one.

It is reasonable to believe that in 1690, there were in *London* within the bills of mortality 111,000 houses, the number then computed in *Middlesex*; for the houses in *Southwark* and *Surry*, within the bills of mortality, are a greater number than those of *Middlesex*, exclusive of the city. And from the vast increase of *London* since, I shall be within the truth in supposing the number at present to be 125,000, which is about 9,000 more than in *Munster* or *Leinster*, the most populous provinces in *Ireland*; *London* would then be to *Dublin* as eleven to one. It may also be observed that *Yorkshire* then had about 5,000 more than are now in *Munster* or *Leinster*, and the number in *Wales* then, to either of them now, is nearly as two to three.

I shall now proceed to make some observations upon the trade and inland improvements of *Ireland*, and consider what may be of advantage to us in our present situation, and may enable us to live with satisfaction under the protection of *Britain*, in the enjoyment of our religious and civil liberties and property. To discover all our errors, and propose the best methods of amendment, would require a person of the greatest genius and most extensive knowledge; but since such a genius is not to be expected, every one should contribute according to his ability, that something may arise from the whole, of use in the improvement of our country. In hopes then of a favourable construction of what I propose, I

will endeavour with the greatest impartiality and care to lay open all the difficulties upon trade which I can think of, and propose whatever I imagine may be of benefit to it; and instead of being splenetic or grumbling at any restrictions put upon us by our ancestors, let us endeavour to promote the enjoyment of what we have with pleasure and satisfaction, that we may all in our several spheres cheerfully contribute to support the power, wealth, fame, and commerce of the *British* empire, of which *Ireland* is no inconsiderable member.

I will proceed with this view, without considering any restraints put upon us by *Britain*, where they imagine we interfere in their trade, unless it be in such instances wherein I think it would be a benefit to them to give us greater liberty in trade; for since we must allow that private interest does sometimes prevail in public assemblies as well as among private persons—all assemblies being composed of private persons—we can not expect an enlargement of trade (however rational it may appear where nothing but public spirit prevails), unless we can make it appear that what we desire is not only beneficial to that whole of which we are a part, but also not detrimental to those who have a power to obstruct it. Nothing will more readily gain us greater concessions than heartily and sincerely showing our inclinations to support their welfare and glory, and to promote our joint happiness. This is the most prudent method to convince them that whatever they give, that may enable us to concur in supporting their power and empire against all foreign princes and states, is given to themselves, so that they ought to enlarge and strengthen their foundation to support so extended a fabric, since there is ground enough for all to build upon.

The great advantage of trade and commerce to a nation arises from the variety of employments given to the several members of it, by enabling them not only to supply the necessities and conveniencies of each other with what their own country affords, but also to supply the wants of people in the most distant regions and climates with their produce and labour, and in return to receive from them all that is necessary, convenient, or pleasant in life, which any part of

the earth can produce, or whatever may be improved by the labour and ingenuity of men in any climate. This makes, in effect, every nation that is possessed of an extended commerce, enjoy the benefit of the best soils and climates, though, perhaps, from their situation, they might otherwise be in the worst. Trade makes the people of the whole earth as one great family supplying each other's wants. Whatever nation can by their prudence outdo others in trade, so as to increase their exports and lessen perishable imports, and so increase their stock by the return of a considerable balance, must not only be a magazine of all commodities necessary in life, but also abound in gold and silver, and thus prodigiously increase their power, so that in case of war they are enabled, by their amassed wealth, not only to defend themselves, but to fit out ships to protect their trade, and provide all necessaries for carrying on an advantageous war against kingdoms of much greater extent and numbers, where, for want of wealth and magazines, they can make no use of their numbers, for such nations, if they cannot conquer at the first attempt, are not capable of continuing a war, but must sink under it.

Since these are the advantages of trade and commerce, and merchants are absolutely necessary to carry it on, is it not the public interest to encourage them as much as possible? For, since the profit gained by the public arises from the particular gains of private persons embarked in trade and manufactures, no person or merchant will be concerned in it if he does not find it beneficial to him.

It is undoubtedly, then, the nation's interest to enable the merchant to improve his fortune by trade, for it is he that sets all the wheels in motion. By his correspondence he finds out markets for goods; he advances the money and runs all risks; whatever sums of money he lays out unnecessarily are so many clogs upon trade; it is his money is the spring of action and keeps the whole machine in motion. If his returns are quick, he will deal for less profit, and consequently give higher prices for goods at home and be able to afford them cheaper abroad; by which means he encourages the industrious at home by keeping up our markets, and

always keeps a market open abroad by being able to sell, at least at *par*, with foreign merchants.

If this be allowed to be rational and true, it will necessarily follow that all nations who propose to advance their trade and commerce should prevent, as much as possible, merchants from misapplying their time and money to other purposes, and make their coming at money as easy as possible, that they may be contented with a small profit by its circulating faster. In laying this foundation right does the whole benefit by trade consist, and in this, with proper economy by sumptuary laws and employment of the people of a nation, lies the whole mystery of trade. To these three points I shall endeavour to apply myself, and, as far as I am capable, propose what may be advantageous in each, and afterwards consider several particular improvements which may contribute to employ us, increase our exports, lessen our imports, and make us an easy and happy people.

The principal discouragements and difficulties the merchants of this kingdom lie under are owing to the height of interest of money, the duties upon exports and imports, and the delay and expence that attends the methods in this country of coming at their debts.

The benefit accruing to a nation from the lowness of interest is so fully treated of by Sir *Josias Child* that it will be very hard to add anything upon that subject; but it is so warmly opposed by those who make an immediate gain by the height of interest, and they make so considerable a body, both by their numbers and wealth, that I think it necessary to say something upon that subject; and the rather because it is of the utmost consequence in trade, and therefore a matter of the greatest importance to the riches and happiness of every country.

Where interest of money is *high*, land, provisions, and all the commodities of the country must necessarily be cheap. As, for instance, when money was at 10 *per cent.*, and consequently land at ten or twelve years' purchase, would any person improve his lands by building, planting, draining, fencing, or soiling, and perhaps not make 5 or 6 *per cent.* for his

his money, when he could purchase land so cheap, or have such high interest? Or would a merchant give any tolerable price for the commodities of the country when he could not trade abroad to advantage without making 15 or 16 *per cent.* profit, considering his risk and the high interest he paid? For the same reason he could not sell at *par* abroad with foreign merchants upon account of the excessive freight occasioned by high interest, the foreign merchants being content with less profit by procuring money at low interest and carrying their goods at an easy freight.

Provisions and all commodities at home being cheap, the farmers and labourers, by employing a small part of their time, procured all the necessaries they required and would not work the remainder of their time. Thus all industry was at a stand, and indolence and idleness overspread the country. This we had experience of when interest was so high in this kingdom; then most men were fond of purchasing or laying out their money at interest; few were inclined to trade; those that did were fond of quitting a way of life that lay under so many difficulties and discouragements. The young merchant that had but a small stock to begin with found it more for his advantage to act by commission for foreigners than pay such high interest as trade could not bear; and foreigners were tempted to lay out their money at interest here, and not only took away our merchants' profit, but also the very vitals from the kingdom.

These are the consequences of high interest; but let us turn the scale and see what are the effects of low interest. Where interest is at 3 or 4 *per cent.*, the money-lender cannot double his principal at simple interest in less than 25 or 33½ years, and at compound interest not under 20 or 26. If he lays out his money in land he has less, land being better than mortgages or common security by 1, or, at least, ½ *per cent.* Thus, when he finds he cannot live upon the interest of his money without great economy, nor purchase lands without greater expence, he will employ his time in some business or employment profitable to the public, and apply himself early to business, and employ his money in trade, whereby he has

a prospect of so much greater gain; and, if he has not been bred to that business, he will lay out his money in the funds and joint-stocks for trade. Thus, where interest is low, those who have money must be equally industrious with those that have none, or must live in a low station and appear to have little or none.

Those who are already possessed of lands will find the value of them to rise so high, that instead of attempting to purchase the lands of another at a high price, they will incline to employ the industrious poor in purchasing upon their own by enriching and improving them, which they can do at less expence. Thus, as lands rise in value, they will be improved in goodness, and may, by proper industry, be raised in many places from four or five to twenty or thirty shillings *per acre*. This would be an immense profit to a nation, and would be, in effect, adding so much more land to it, for the lands of each kingdom may be said to bear such proportion to each other as the produce and numbers they can maintain.

Thus, the same lands improved will yield many more provisions and rich commodities to employ and maintain a much greater number of people, and yet provisions be kept at a reasonable price; by which means labour will not rise, but tradesmen and manufacturers will be employed to advantage.

Thus trade and navigation would be improved by the increase of our exports and employment of our people, which is the genuine source of a beneficial trade. Young merchants of a good character and capacity might then have money so cheap that they could afford to trade for 5 or 6 *per cent.* profit, and associate with others in trade, and, at the same time, repay the principal and grow rich. Building and fitting out of ships and freight would be cheaper than when interest was high, by labour's being kept low from the plenty of provisions, and because many of the materials would be furnished cheaper by the merchant who could deal for less profit.

By lowness of interest the merchant could not only afford to sell what he imported cheaper, but also could give greater prices for our exports, and yet undersell merchants abroad

who had not the same advantage. Thus industry would be promoted, trade would circulate briskly, the value of land would rise immensely, and merchants, when they had made considerable gain by trade, finding no great advantage to be made by purchasing lands at a high value, would continue their stock and breed up their children in trade, and consequently would not check the current, but rather find out new channels and look into all the sources of trade.

Trade has also this peculiar advantage that it is not easily overstocked; for, as merchants increase in numbers, they naturally enlarge the field of trade and make business for one another. Thus encouragement is given for new improvements, inventions, and discoveries beneficial in trade. Fisheries and other projects, where a great national gain may be made, though small to each particular person, would be brought to perfection; and the carrying trade, which is so very beneficial, must certainly centre with that nation that has money at lowest interest, which, by that means, is able to deal for least profit. This is also an encouragement to build granaries and other warehouses to lodge grain, &c., in, when cheap, and to make benefit of the rise of markets abroad. It will also promote the economy and frugality of a nation in spite of all prejudices to the contrary. I shall only mention these further advantages arising from the lowness of interest: it compels younger children of small fortunes, who cannot maintain themselves handsomely by the interest of their money, to employ it in trade or manufactures; it also increases the number of merchants and industrious persons who employ the poor; and it lessens the number of poor gentlemen with their genuine offspring—rakes, sharpers, gamesters, &c. There are many other advantages to be had from the lowness of interest, but my intention is only to point out some of the chief.

The next thing to be considered is, whether the benefits arising from low interest are to be procured in this kingdom by laws forbidding high interest under severe penalties, or whether the having plenty of money is the only way of reducing it. Since people are divided in opinion upon this

question, I will consider what may be said on either side, and endeavour to find out which is the best and most expeditious way of obtaining an end so much to be desired.

On the one side of the question it is urged, that the plenty or scarcity of money must necessarily lower or raise the interest of it, in proportion to the sums wanted and numbers demanding, and the sums to be lent and number of people who have it to lend. This at first view seems to be highly rational, for the scarcity of any commodity wanted and the number wanting must raise the price in proportion as the possession of it is necessary, and the reverse will happen when it is plenty, provided the commodity be perishable; for he who has it and has no use for it, wants to get rid of it least it should perish in his hands, though he should be a loser in parting with it, for it would be better to lose part than all; but money so far differs from many other commodities, that when it is scarce, it is not absolutely necessary but convenient, and when plenty, it is only so far to be accounted perishable as the gain that might have been made of it (had it been put out to interest) is lost, but is not intrinsically so in itself. We frequently see usurers and money-lenders keep it by them a considerable time, in hopes of having higher interest or better security, even until they lose as much as they can propose to gain in a considerable time by the high interest they expect. So it is not absolutely the plenty or scarcity of money which raises and lowers the interest, but the circumstances and character of the persons wanting, or the security offered being good or not; this, where there is no law, will alter the height of interest 2 or 3 *per cent.*; and in countries where there is a law penal to those that exceed a limited interest, a man of good character in business or giving good security will abate the legal interest 1 or 2 *per cent.*

It is plain in kingdoms where there is no law to limit or reduce the interest of money, if money be scarce though good security be offered, yet usurers will exact a very high interest; and if they think the security insufficient, they will exceed all bounds; and if money be plenty, they will beat down the interest upon one another to get the best security. But in

countries where penal laws are in force to limit the interest, the case is very different, for then, though money be scarce, they must give it at legal interest or otherwise attempt to evade the law by inserting more money in the security than was really lent, under pretended sales of goods not easily to be valued, or by extorting unlawful interest by threatening to call in the principal. As the lender in both these cases, would be liable to a forfeiture of the money lent or some other very severe penalty in case of a discovery; and as a discovery would be very much for the interest of the borrower, and no person would borrow on such terms, but one in desperate or very distressed circumstances; all those things considered, it is scarce to be imagined that any man in his wits would run the risk of so great a loss, as that of losing his whole principal money either by the penalty of the law or the poverty of the borrower, for the prospect of so small a gain, when he might at the same time by employing his money in trade, make a gain both greater and more secure, whilst the only difficulty the borrower would be put to, would be to have no credit to borrow money at illegal interest, which would be an advantage to him, and perhaps put him upon living frugally before he were quite ruined and reduced to starve in a gaol.

The consequence then of reducing interest by law would be, that any person of a sober character in profitable business, or who could give good security, might borrow money with a view of improvement at or under the legal interest; and those who would borrow with a view to defraud their creditors, would find a difficulty to procure it, which would equally be of benefit to the public.

Thus laws made to reduce interest must take effect where money is scarce, for those who have money must lend it at the legal interest, or run a risk that no wise man would venture, or must employ their money more to the public advantage in trade or improvements; and the extravagant, having few to support them, would be obliged to live within bounds and retrench; this consequently would make money less wanted, and would assist in lowering the interest and procuring money by industry.

It is then highly necessary to make laws, to prevent exorbitant interest in all states. It is also prudent, from time to time, to abate it by new laws, though money be not plenty until it is at *par* with other trading nations; since it is plain no nation can trade upon an equal footing with other nations, unless the merchant's gain be equal in proportion to the risk, and he can afford to sell at *par* with foreign merchants abroad. Since it is also obvious that the lowness of interest promotes frugality and industry, which consequently increases money, I think it is highly rational to begin at the right end, and abate interest by law, this we are sure will have the effect; whereas, if we wait till money grows plenty, or the frugal exceed the extravagant, without making laws to promote frugality which will in part execute themselves and oblige us to be good economists; perhaps a plenty of money may never happen, and interest consequently never be lowered or the nation improved.

There are some that allow all that has been said for low interest, and yet insist that we ought always to follow *Britain* in lowering it, and have it here 1 or 2 *per cent.* above the legal interest there—what are the reasons that sway them to that opinion I cannot easily find out. After being convinced that the lower interest is, the more frugal and industrious we must be, that trade must be carried on to greater national and private profit; that freight must be cheaper, and that we should effectually share with other nations the carrying trade, as also in fisheries and other improvements; yet afterwards to say, it is our interest that *Britain* should have 1 or 2 *per cent.* the advantage of us, though they exceed us vastly in all other improvements and conveniencies for trade, seems to me to be so inconsistent, I could wish to know the true reasons they found their judgments upon.

If the legal interest here being at *par* with that of *Britain*, were an occasion of draining our money from us, or obstructing our trade, they would have reason for their opinion; but since it is evident it would have the contrary effect, and even were it lower, would rather increase than diminish our money and trade, for we should be the lenders rather than the borrowers

from thence, which must be allowed is always advantageous by a constant return of the interest, this rather makes against them than otherwise. The only possible reason I can give for their opinion is, that those who have money unemployed in trade, would lend their money in *Britain*, and go and reside with their debtors where their mortgages and other securities lay. If this were a sufficient inducement, why do not the *English* who lend money in *Ireland* and in the plantations at high interest, go and reside with their debtors; or the *Dutch*, when they lend their money in *England*, go and reside in *Britain*? But the reason is plain from what I have already said, when the interest is reduced very low, there is no encouragement to live upon the interest alone; people must then be industrious as well as frugal, and employ themselves in some business profitable to them and the commonwealth.

Thus those who make money by industry, would be embarked in trade or other business, and would not leave it to go to *England* and live upon the interest of their money, where living is more expensive; but if they gained more than was sufficient to carry on their trade, they would transmit and lend the overplus if they could find no way of laying it out to advantage here, and reside here at a distance from *London*, where they could live cheaper and at less expence, and follow the business they were embarked in. It would also oblige them to breed up their children to their own business or some other equally beneficial, which would induce them to reside in the kingdom.

But perhaps it may be said, that *England* being the centre of trade and wealth, those who had money would rather go there to trade and employ it; this reason equally holds good for the rest of *England* against *London*, which in great measure runs away with the trade, profit, and cash of the kingdom; but it would be no advantage to the country, to have interest 1 or 2 *per cent.* higher than in *London*, to prevent their lending money in *London*, and going afterwards upon that to reside there. As there are several trading towns in *Britain* very rich besides *London*, as *Bristol*, *Newcastle*,

Liverpool, Glasgow, Norwich, and other manufacturing towns, notwithstanding interest is the same through *Britain*; so I cannot see why *Ireland* might not have a share in the trade of the world, though never to come into competition with *England*, sufficient to employ those who have money and would be industrious, without going to *England* to live upon the interest of their patrimony, or what they had acquired. The improvements made in *Ireland* by reducing of interest, would be also some inducement to take up with a retreat here if they quit business.

In our trade, though we are deprived of the most beneficial part of the woollen manufacture, yet we have many ways left open to employ money to advantage. We have all the improvements to be made of land by fencing, draining, planting, and tillage; we have the linen and hempen manufactures in all their branches, a very extensive trade; we may export metals manufactured to any part of *Europe* and most parts of *Africa*; we may undertake the fisheries, either herring, white fish, or the whale fishery; we may improve our silks and manufactures of cotton for our home consumption, and afterwards by proper application may get them, at least in mixtures with linen, made a branch of our foreign trade; we may erect magazines and granaries, and be a sharer in the carrying trade of the world, so that to the industrious a large scope is allowed to employ all the money and stock it is probable *Ireland* will ever be master of, without going to reside in *England*. It will only be the indolent and lazy, and not the industrious, that will be inclined to leave us; and such noble families and men of fortune, as will always attend the Court and circle of pleasure. These we find even now do go, and it will always be so, whether the generality of the people be rich or not; since the Court is there, all our redundant cash not employed in trade will be spent there, but that is no reason why we should not be in a capacity and state of gaining more.

If this reasoning be just, and there be not more weighty objections than do occur to me, I think no time ought to be lost in reducing interest; and though it may not be proper to

lower it at once to a *par* with *Britain*, yet we ought not to be easy until it be so, but lower it with the greatest dispatch that may in prudence be thought requisite to gain the end desired.

The next clog upon trade I shall take notice of is the high duties that are paid upon most of our exports and imports. Though this would be less burthensome to the merchant, if the interest of money were reduced, and is not so prejudicial as high interest, which accompanies a merchant through his whole trade, this affecting him only at the time of payment, yet it is a very great prejudice to the public and discouragement to the merchant. Money in the merchant's hand never lies idle: the moment he receives it he considers how he may lay it out with profit, either at home or abroad, in buying up our goods to answer foreign markets, or in taking the advantage of cheap markets abroad for what we want to consume at home, and also to carry to other places where they may be wanted and they find the markets are higher; either way it is a gain to the merchant and kingdom. Everything, therefore, that draws money from the merchant prevents just so much trade. It may be objected that the merchant does not suffer by these duties, because he puts a suitable price upon his goods. To this I answer, the price of the goods may possibly make up the private loss of the merchant; but it never can make a recompence to the public for that profit which the nation would have had, by the briskness of trade, in the meantime between the merchant's advancing money for the duty and his being paid for the goods.

Duties upon such exports as are to be encouraged are extremely improper and highly prejudicial to trade, for these further reasons. They fall upon the husbandman or artificer who raises or manufactures goods for export, and discourage industry and labour, for they either lower our markets at home or raise the price of our commodities abroad, and so prevent a ready market and quick return.

It would, therefore, be advantageous to all nations who have the power to do it to take off the duties upon exported com-

modities, except the premiums of manufactures, which can be wrought up at home and give employment to the poor, for which they have a foreign vent. And also all high duties inwards, which affect the merchant and encourage running of goods; even the duties upon such things as are prejudicial when consumed at home, provided they may again be re-exported to advantage; for everything added to the merchant's charge upon goods, in waste and warehouse room, &c., is a clog to the carrying trade, a trade highly beneficial to all who deal in it. It is plain no drawback will answer the end when a high duty is upon goods inwards; for the interest of the money the merchant paid in duties upon importation, until the time the goods are re-exported, is just so much loss to him, and in so far prevents trade.

Since all duties inwards, besides being disadvantageous to trade, are found to lie at last upon the consumer, and the landed interest, the rich and luxurious pay the greatest part, the prudentest and best method of raising taxes, and least expensive in trading countries that have many ports to guard, and of securing the payment of the duties, and preventing the frauds in running them clandestinely, would be to take off all port duties, and place the taxes upon land, moveables, and inland excises.

The excises should be so proportioned as to be laid partly upon necessaries, but only in such a manner as would promote industry and labour, in which the poor would pay their reasonable proportion, and the remainder and greatest part be laid upon luxurious eating, drink, dress, furniture, equipage, gaming, &c.

Where the intention is to discourage the importation of foreign goods prejudicial to the public, there to put high licences and excises upon them in the retailers' or consumers' hands; and if they are entirely prohibited, then to lay the penalty upon the consumer or wherever found. Whatever proportion should be thought proper to be laid upon land would have this conveniency, that those who have fortunes and do not reside in their country would bear a proportion of the taxes, which is not done when all taxes are raised upon

the consumer by duties and excises. This method of taxing would effectually promote economy and frugality in the rich and industry in the poor; when they found the taxes only laid upon such necessaries as would oblige the poor to apply their time to labour, and the remainder to lie upon the expensive and idle consumers of their wealth and time.

A regulation of this kind will, no doubt, be extremely hard, if not impracticable, to be procured in a country where most of the duties are of the King's hereditary revenue, even though an equivalent should be given to the Crown for them. However, I thought it would not be improper to give the following abstract of our revenue at a medium of six years ending *Lady-Day*, 1729, that I may show how much of it falls upon trade:—

	£	s.	d.
The total revenue, at a medium of six years ending <i>Lady-Day</i> , 1729, amounts to, . . .	540,562	18	3
	£	s.	d.
Charge of collection, lighthouses, casualties, premiums, &c., . . .	68,655	13	5
Drawbacks and portage bills to masters of ships, . . .	9,498	7	1½
Drawbacks upon the additional revenue, . . .	4,793	13	10½
	<hr/>		
Total charge, . . .	82,947	14	5
	<hr/>		
Total of the neat produce of the revenue at said medium, . . .	457,615	3	10
	<hr/>		

Of which general sum paid by merchants in part of the hereditary revenue on:—

	£	s.	d.
Customs inwards, . . .	89,164	16	4
Customs outwards, . . .	33,325	5	9½
Imported excise, . . .	76,790	11	9½
Prizage, . . .	5,131	8	4½
Lighthouse duties, fines, seizures, and casualties, . . .	4,010	14	9½
	<hr/>		
Total by merchants towards the hereditary revenue, . . .	208,422	17	1
	112		Brought

Brought forward,	£ s. d. 208,422 17 1
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Paid by merchants in part of the additional revenue on:—

	£ s. d.
Tobacco,	41,600 1 10
Wine,	16,302 8 6
Spirits,	12,106 4 10½
Muslin, <i>East India</i> goods, molasses, linen and yarn, calico, tea, coffee, cocoa-nuts, twine and cordage,	8,615 19 4½

Total paid by merchants towards the additional revenue,	78,624 14 7
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Total upon trade,	287,047 11 8
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The hereditary revenue raised upon land, inland excise, and hearth-money, at a medium as above, by:—

Inland excise,	75,554 0 6
Ale licences,	8,955 3 2
Wine and strong water licences,	3,772 1 6½
Quit-rents,	63,552 19 11½
Hearth-money,	41,947 9 6½

Total by hereditary revenue,	193,781 14 9
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Total by trade,	287,047 11 8
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	£ s. d.
Total by hereditary revenue,	193,781 14 9
By additional excise,	59,733 11 10

Total by land, excise, and hearth-money,	253,515 6 7
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Total of the revenue as above,	540,562 18 3
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Thus we see the duties upon trade exceed those upon land, hearth-money, and inland excise by the sum of 33,532*l.* 5*s.* 1*d.*, and that the duties upon trade in the whole amount to 287,047*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.*, the greatest part of which is ready money

out of the merchant's pocket, that is seldom repaid him by those he deals with till a considerable time after; and though by the advanced price upon his goods he is paid a large interest for his money, yet (as I have already observed) the nation loses the benefit he would have made in the meantime by the quick circulation of his money, and the employment he would have given to the industrious poor.

It may be said that the detriment is not so great to trade, since in the additional and great part of the hereditary revenue it is laid upon commodities the consumption of which ought to be discountenanced, as wines, brandies, tobacco, *East India* goods, silks, and other foreign goods and manufactures, with which, or as good, we might be furnished at home. I allow this to be true; but may not the payment of the duties be contrived so as to ease the merchant importer by taking from the retailer or consumer, the high duties of such goods as are most liable to be run, much after the manner as now used by an imported account, when the merchants do not make prompt payment, for which they are allowed an abatement. By this method the merchants would have more money circulating through their hands; it would also in some measure lessen the temptation of running of goods when the merchants did not pay ready money at importation, and they could then better afford giving them storehouse room, and make a gain upon re-exportation, when they did not advance the duty. For their further encouragement I could wish that no duty remained upon goods re-exported, for this would by no means lessen the duty upon goods consumed at home, but rather increase it, by employing a greater number of men and ships, when we could furnish our neighbours by our navigation; and no vessel should be allowed to export them but of such a burthen as might trade with advantage to some country beyond the *British* isles; and also give bond, though they entered for a foreign port, to return sufficient vouchers, the dangers of the seas excepted, that the goods were landed at such or some other foreign port, which would prevent their re-landing them upon our own or *British* coasts.

The merchants thus, not paying duty upon importation, ought to be accountable to the officers of the revenue for it, upon selling any of their goods to the retailer or consumer, that the duty might not be lost. They that are allowed this privilege ought to be resident and of an established character, or be obliged to give resident merchants' sureties for the payment of the duties. And they might either take the duty from the buyer upon sale, if he were not well known, or their books might be vouchers against the persons to whom sold, and they should still be liable to the duty if it could not be come at in the retailers' or consumers' hands.

This would be some encouragement to the honest merchant, the consumer would pay no more than at present for what he takes, and the revenue would rather increase upon it than sink. The only present disadvantage to the revenue, would be the postponing the duties two or three months; but the briskness of trade, and the prevention of the clandestine running of goods, would more than make amends for it. Tobacco, brandies, and wines, ought to have the duties lowered, and the retailers and consumers of wines and brandies ought to be put under high licenses, especially public taverns or others retailing them, and also all private houses that take from a wholesale merchant, but not those who take from taverns or shops that pay high license. Every person also retailing tobacco ought to pay a high license to make up the duty taken off, and no person using tobacco or snuff should be allowed to buy from any wholesale merchant, but only from those who take out such licenses; and if any wholesale merchant should sell to any person not certified to be under license, let him be liable to a *premunire* or some other severe penalty. Foreign manufactures, and all other goods liable to be run by reason of high duties, ought to be treated after the same manner, in order to discourage their consumption, and thus the legal duties would be regularly paid.

I must own our present inland excise upon malt liquors is liable to great frauds, and attended with great expence; but if excises were made more general, the expence would be less in proportion, and the method here proposed of levying the duties

upon trade, might also be used in the excise upon malt liquors, with great benefit to the public. For if the excise were laid upon malt, to be paid by those that bought from the maltsters, according to the proportion of drink a barrel of malt would make, and that barrel was determined and sold by weight, the maltster's books being vouchers of the sale, and the malt viewed in his hands, a considerable expence in the salaries of officers would be saved, and the frauds now committed by the retailers of malt liquors would be avoided. To make the tax payable by the maltster would be attended with this inconvenience, the tax would not fall so much upon the consumer as upon the farmer, and would therefore in effect be a tax upon land, because the maltster would in a good measure deduct it from the price he now gives for corn.

If such a method be thought feasible, there need be no alteration in the taxes; and if new taxes were at any time necessary, they might be laid upon luxury, dress, equipage, and gaming; to be levied by way of excise upon the consumer or gamester. Thus by lowering of interest, easing the merchant, and by that means preventing a fraudulent trade, I would not doubt to see our commerce and industry increase, and our present revenue, without ever loading us with new taxes, not only pay our establishment, but afford a sufficient redundancy to his Majesty to bestow upon merit and services performed to the Crown and kingdom.

It will not be improper here to consider the proportion our taxes bear to those of *Britain*, with respect to our wealth and numbers. The funds appropriated to pay the debts in *Britain*, together with the civil and military list, fleet, &c., amount at present to about six millions, and may be presumed to continue so in time of peace, to reduce the debts the quicker by a larger sinking fund; and when the debts in *Britain* are entirely paid, the taxes may be lessened to 2,500,000*l.*

The taxes raised in *Ireland* amount to 540,000*l.*, and the taxes appropriated to pay our debt may amount to 20,000*l.* more, in all 560,000*l.* annually.

The number of people in *England* in 1690, was computed by the ingenious Mr. King at 5,500,520, being supposed at

4 $\frac{1}{6}$ to a family, which he computed gained by their industry annually at a medium 7*l.* 18*s.* per head, so that the yearly income of *England* then was about 43,500,000*l.* I have already observed, that since that time the number of houses in *England* may be presumed to increase to 1,600,000; and since in *Ireland* there are computed at least 4 \cdot 36 at a medium to each family, it may be reasonably supposed, by the greater wealth and riches in *England*, that there are five at a medium to each family there, thus the numbers in *England* would be eight millions. And *Scotland* being added since 1707, we may add 1,500,000 more, so that there will be 9,500,000 persons in *Britain*. But since the wealth of *North Britain* is not proportional to the wealth of *England*, instead of allowing the yearly income of *Britain* to be 7*l.* 18*s.* per head, I will even lessen Mr. King's computation and allow 7*l.* per head in *England*, and 4*l.* per head in *Scotland*; so that the annual income of *England* will be fifty-six millions, of *Scotland* six millions, and of both sixty-two millions. And the taxes at present raised, not exceeding six millions, do not amount to the one-tenth of their annual income; so that if their debts were paid, and their taxes lowered but to three millions, they would then pay less than one twentieth of their annual income.

After the same manner, supposing the numbers in *Ireland* to be 1,670,000, and 4*l.* per annum per head, to be the income of each at a medium, as I have allowed in *North Britain*, which is sufficient, considering the low way of living of the greatest number of the people; then the annual income of *Ireland* will be 6,680,000*l.*, and the general income of *Britain* and *Ireland* 68,680,000*l.*, and the taxes of *Ireland* being 560,000*l.*, *Ireland* at present pays more than one-twelfth of its annual income, which is very near as much in proportion as *Britain* pays, notwithstanding its great debts: and since about 360,000*l.* more is drained out of the kingdom by non-residents, which is worse than so much paid in taxes that would circulate among us, then *Ireland* pays almost one-seventh of its annual income.

Doctor *Davenant* computed from the best accounts he had,

that the annual income of *France* before 1690, was about 84,000,000*l.* It may be supposed, by the wars they had from that time to the peace of *Utrecht*, they could not increase in wealth and numbers, on account of their constant drain of men and money, and loss of territory.

Should we allow that their trade and peace since that time has added to their wealth and numbers, and so increased their annual income as much as that of *England* has been since Mr. *King's* estimate, as I have computed it above, that is twelve millions (which, considering the difference of government, is fully as much as can be supposed). Then their annual income now would be ninety-six millions, and the power and wealth of *Britain*, including *Ireland*, would be above seven-tenths of the power and wealth of *France*; and by a due encouragement of our trade, and giving proper checks to that of *France*, might in time be brought to equal it.

From these observations *Britain* may see that we cannot reasonably be higher taxed, unless we are encouraged by trade to increase our numbers and give them full employment. Some are of opinion that the way to make us most effectually add to the power of *Britain*, would be by an equitable union with them; that would soon increase our numbers to two millions, and our income *per head* to 6*l.*, somewhat short of the income in *England per head*, being at a distance from the capital. Then our annual income would be twelve millions, at which time we could as easily bear a million to be raised upon us in taxes, as we now can 560,000*l.*, the half of which would be enough for our establishment; and then *Britain* might have from us 500,000*l.* to be employed in defence of them, their colonies, and trade, and might lessen in proportion many of their taxes in time of peace, which would be an immense benefit to them.

Another clog upon trade is the tediousness and expence of law-suits; this is indeed a general grievance, and I am afraid increasing every day, which, with the intricacy and querks made use of in proceedings at law, and the voluminousness of our laws, make them a grievance to the subject, though we enjoy the happiest constitution upon earth. Our laws,

framed by our own consent for the preservation of our rights and properties, and designed that every subject should obtain speedy and effectual justice, are by our inadvertency and want of care so perverted, that a stranger would think they were calculated to aggrandize the professors and officers of the law, at the expence of those who demand justice and the preservation or recovery of their rights and properties.

That lawyer is accounted the greatest man, who, if he happens to be employed in a wrong cause can skreen his client by concealing the weakness of his cause, and making it appear before the Judge in such a light, that error and injustice may have the appearance of truth and justice.

As I never was a proficient in the law, it cannot be expected that I should be able to apply the most proper remedies to so great an evil; but were I to propose any, it would be to shorten the process of our Courts of Equity, and forbid the affected delays of Masters and Remembrancers in those courts, under severe penalties, to be recovered by the person injured, by an action of debt. And if any lawyer or attorney should support or defend his client in a manifestly wrong or weak cause, the adverse party should recover damages from him, and he ought to be deprived of the benefit of his profession and rendered incapable of acting in any court of law or equity. But as this is in some measure foreign to my purpose, I shall only consider this evil as it more immediately concerns trade.

The time and money which the merchant employs in law is just so much lost to trade. How careful, then, ought we to be to make law as cheap and short as possible to men whose time and money is so precious to the public? For this purpose I will only mention what Sir *Josias Child* has already proposed, that is, a Court-merchant, which he would have to consist of twelve judges, to be chosen by the merchants of the capital city out of their body, part to be chosen annually; and that this Court should have a power of determining, in a summary way, all differences concerning trade; seven to be a quorum, and their determination to be final. It might be proper to have one of the Judges or Recorder to sit with these

merchants, and to allow of a re-hearing in case it be required. But for a fuller account of this I must refer to that author's treatise upon trade, where his reasons will fully convince every one of the benefit of it.

The next thing I shall mention highly prejudicial to trade is, our luxury and extravagance in food, dress, furniture, and equipage. This is one of the principal sources of all our national evils. What is spent in luxury is just so much lost to the nation in the way of trade; for if it be in foreign commodities it increases our imports; and if in the things of our own country, which we have the liberty to send abroad, it lessens our exports; if it be in things we are forbid to export it is so much labour lost that might have been usefully employed. This extravagance is the root that ought to be struck at before the nation be ruined by its too exuberant growth. How can trade flourish or the nation grow rich when the number of the extravagant exceeds the frugal! From hence proceed all the hardships upon trade—bad payment, desperate debts, litigious and dilatory law-suits. Each person, from the highest to the lowest, is tainted with this pernicious vice. How many great and noble families have been reduced and laid under the greatest difficulties by their extravagance! And from their example how do we see it at present prevail among persons of all lower and intermediate ranks? Even now traders and artificers think it no disgrace to run in debt and break by living at a higher rate than they can afford. Many now take up goods from merchants and other industrious traders without any view or design of payment, but only to have a show of business, that they may with more ease gain credit and impose upon others, in order to blaze a little with a borrowed light; and thus they ruin the poor industrious inhabitants as well as themselves. How careful, then, ought the public to be to think of methods to put a stop to the disease before it turns epidemical, and by proper sumptuary laws lay the extravagant under some difficulties that may oblige them to be frugal! How meritorious would it be in persons of rank and wealth to set examples of frugality and temperance to their inferiors! Would they retrench their
superfluous

superfluous number of dishes and quantity of wine; their number of servants and horses; their variety of dress and furniture but a sixth part, and employ that money to the improvement of the kingdom, to encourage the industrious and employ the poor; how advantageous that would be to the public—how much it would contribute to their own health and satisfaction—what a real pleasure it would be to see the kingdom and their own fortunes improved to the benefit of their posterity—to see the industrious poor employed and above the misery of want, none can describe but those who have contributed to it. How far different from this is the contrary way of living of the luxurious and indolent, who bring upon themselves want and diseases, repentance and remorse; either seeing their families reduced, or themselves, by being tenants for life, rendered incapable of paying their debts, and so making other families miserable! How shocking this must be to all who believe immortality and a future state only those can know who too late reflect upon it.

To cure this evil entirely is not to be expected. All trading nations ever have been and will be in some measure infected with it. But, though it is impracticable perfectly to heal it, it is in our power in a good measure to check and reform it. Two things very necessary for that purpose I have already mentioned: the lowering of interest and raising our taxes by inland excises. Both these would promote economy and sobriety. Low interest would lessen the income of the idle; and if our taxes were levied by inland excises, they would fall more upon the consumer, and would thereby make luxury more expensive. But the most effectual method of suppressing luxury would be to regulate the expences of living according to the different degrees and ranks of men. Such a law, however useful, would, I am afraid, be extremely difficult to be obtained, and more so to be put in execution. But, be this as it will, a tax might be laid in general upon expensive dress, especially such as is of foreign manufacture; and also upon equipage, rich household furniture, and several other things not necessary to be particularly mentioned.

There is another prevailing vice among us that is of
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exceeding bad consequence to the public, and the most enormous in its consequences that any nation can be guilty of; I mean gaming. Let us consider the nature and tendency of it, of how many other crimes it is the parent—murders, robberies, and thefts, crimes of the first magnitude are its genuine offspring. It is also an occasion of a complication of passions of quite different natures. We find gamesters by habit turn choleric or peevish, remorseless, and without compassion. The height of their joy and pleasure is to see others ruined, and in the utmost anxiety and concern. How lost and mispent is their time! Night turned into day; and the frame of nature in a manner unhinged! This is but a sample of the many inconveniencies arising from gaming. For these reasons I think the public ought to take great care to prevent the excess of it, and even to tax it when used only for recreation. This last we wisely did last session; but this was done mostly with a view of raising a fund, and not of banishing the vice I do, therefore, think it would be convenient that no games, absolutely of chance, should be allowed, under a severe penalty, but in the presence of the groom-porter, and that never later than 12 at night, under the forfeiture of his employment. That every public-house, where any other kind of gaming is allowed, be obliged to take out licence and enter into recognizance not to transgress the law by allowing any to play later, at the other games allowed, than 12 at night. And since the only way to prevent the meaner sort of people's inclining that way is to make it as expensive as possible, I am persuaded a smart tax, by way of licence to game in private families, would be the most effectual method, could such a thing be obtained.

These and such like laws would make us more frugal; and those who would not be so would pay something towards the improvement of their country. For we have reason to believe his Majesty would approve of appropriating such taxes for the improvement of the trade and fisheries of *Ireland*, from the late instance of his goodness in allowing us taxes of the same kind for the encouragement of the tillage and inland navigation of this kingdom, upon our supporting his establishment

with other taxes. This would lead us in time into other beneficial regulations for the good of our country and posterity.

Another evil very necessary to be remedied is the idleness of our poor. The hurt this kingdom suffers from the number of idle and sturdy vagrants is greater than is commonly imagined. It is not easy to give a detail of the several arts and stratagems they use to induce the opulent and industrious to be charitable to them. They are an oppression to the truly industrious poor, who endeavour to maintain their families and support the public; from whom they extort something out of compassion, and frequently, where they find women alone, by force. They appear in various forms, mostly affected or brought upon them by particular management, as blind, lame, dumb, distorted, with running sores, pretended fits, and other disorders. They frequently pretend loss by fire, or to have numerous families lying sick. They exercise the greatest barbarities upon children, either their own or those they pick up, by blinding them or breaking and dis-jointing their limbs when they are young to make them objects of compassion and charity. Not to mention their debauching the girls when grown up, who go about big-bellied, pretending their husbands are dead or sick, and they have them to maintain. Nor the robberies and thefts they commit, and the lewdness, debauchery, and drunkenness that is to be found among them in their merry-meetings. And, to sum up all, imagine the most complicated scene of wickedness in low life and it will be found among them.

But this is not all: the hardships they put upon those who are real objects of compassion almost equal their other crimes; for, by the behaviour and tricks of these vagrants, the relief and charity due to the industrious poor is so cooled by not knowing where to dispose of it properly, that the real objects are often left without relief. With many it is a moot point, whether it be not a greater duty to the public, and charity to the industrious poor, not to give to strolling beggars than to give, though there are objects of compassion among them, for these could not fail of relief if they staid where they were known; but, because they stroll about with others, where it

cannot be known who are the real objects of compassion, they ought to be deemed equally cheats with the others, this giving encouragement to other idle and dissolute persons to join them, and propagate a race of thieves and robbers, and they and their ill-educated progeny diffusing the contagion of idleness and sloth over all the country.

It is not only the money, provisions, and clothing they get from the rich and industrious, and the many irregularities they commit, that is destructive to the nation, but the want of their labour is a very considerable loss to the public, of which I will here make a gross estimate. There are 2,295 parishes in the kingdom; I think I am within bounds when I suppose ten vagrants begging in each parish, at a medium, the whole year round, and above thirty for three or four months in summer, when many more come abroad, for many parishes are so large as to take them three or four days to beg through the parish, and yet few house-keepers have less than that number at their doors; according to the time of year, unless in very plentiful seasons; so that we may compute the medium in each parish for the whole year at fifteen, and, consequently, there are 34,425 strolling beggars in the kingdom, of which there are not one in ten real objects, for the greatest number of these stay in their parishes. So that we may suppose 30,000 of them able to work; and computing their labour at 4*d.* per day, and allowing 284 working days in the year, each might gain by their work 4*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.* per ann.; this upon the whole number would amount to 142,000*l.* annually, which is just so much money lost to the kingdom in the way of trade.

To make this article somewhat clearer I will show how the above increase of beggars happens in the summer season. It is very well known that great numbers of the native *Irish* in the mountainous parts of the kingdom that have houses and small farms, by which they might very well maintain themselves when they have sown their corn, planted their potatoes, and cut their turf for firing, do either hire out their cows or send them to the mountains, then shut up their doors and go a begging the whole summer until harvest, with their

wives and children, in the most tattered and moving condition they can appear in, and disperse themselves over all the richest parts of the kingdom. This practice has been so much encouraged of late by the success these strollers have met with, that in several places many who pay at least *4l. per ann.* rent, hire three or four servants and give to each of them *3l.* for their chance of the summer's begging. These have their fixed stations, from time to time, where to beg and where to rendezvous to divide their booty, having houses appointed where they pay for their lodging, and give a gratuity for being assisted in disposing of the meal or any thing else they get by begging or stealing. These servants are accountable to their masters out of their wages if they are found out to embezzle or drink any where at their expence. Thus they pick up enough to pay their rent, and by the help of their cattle, corn, and potatoes live idle the whole winter. These are facts undeniable, some having been caught who have confessed this whole matter.

Since this trade of begging has become so general, and proves so easy and beneficial to them, it has been known that servants have quit their service and have gone a strolling with them, and day-labourers have quit their labour and refused to be employed, giving it for a reason that they get more by begging than they get by working. And the children of many small farmers, though they are settled in farms where they may live comfortably, have frequently so little conscience as to allow their parents, when grown old, to go about as vagrants, without giving them any more relief than they would give to common beggars. Sure these are abuses not to be suffered in a civilized country. Our laws, though good, are disused and neglected for want of sufficient penalties. Should any particular Justice of the Peace exert himself now in executing the laws against them, by having them whipped out of the parish he resides in, it would be of no benefit, since others will not do the same; he would only lose the good will of the country by it, and be called cruel and severe. If he inclined to send them to the House of Correction, I may say that through disuse there is no such

house now to be found. It seems at this time to be looked upon only as a favour, granted by the county, to some person who has sufficient interest to have his family maintained and his house repaired at the public expence, for vagabonds are no sooner sent in but they are allowed to run away again, in case they have any bribe to give, or, if not, it is too much trouble to the master to oblige them to work, so he connives at their escape, and makes interest enough not to be called to account at the next Quarter Sessions. Thus our laws are at present evaded and their execution slubbered over.

I think I need not give many reasons here why we ought effectually to supply the necessities of the aged and others who are not capable of maintaining themselves, provided they are willing, to the utmost of their strength and ability, to contribute to their own support. This is self-evident: riches and abundance, though they are natural consequences of industry and frugality, yet they are the gift of God Almighty, which, notwithstanding our prudence and care, or want of either, are frequently increased or diminished unaccountably to us. As these are fleeting and transient, we know not when we ourselves or families may be reduced to want by losses and infirmities; and according to the golden rule of doing as we would be done to, we are, out of our abundance, to contribute to the wants of others, when it is consistent with the good of the public; that is, to those who are willing to do their utmost for their own support, and not to those who can, in great measure, support themselves, but will not, choosing rather to live upon the industrious.

Since, then, we are highly obliged to provide a remedy for these evils, both by our duty to God Almighty in relieving the necessitous poor, and to our country in effectually suppressing the evil practices of the idle, lazy vagrants, and others who are guilty of the greatest crimes, as also to enable and oblige them (to the utmost of their power) to contribute to their own support; I shall, with great submission, offer here what I think may contribute effectually to suppress the idleness of the one, by giving them employment, and relieve the other. That is, to pass a law to enable the inhabitants of

cities and great towns with a considerable district round them, who are willing, and also in the country, as many parishes as will voluntarily join together, to associate and incorporate themselves, and choose trustees annually to oversee, relieve, and employ the poor, and to prevent any strolling vagrants from begging within their bounds; giving the people in each of those districts who voluntarily join together a power to raise money by taxing themselves, and receiving from persons charitably disposed sums of money to erect a workhouse for employing and relieving the poor. This ought to be built in the most convenient place, to have Divine Service near them, and other conveniencies, such as fire and diet at reasonable rates, and also where materials to employ them may be had most conveniently. They should have power also to raise money in their district to pay a steward to oversee and take care of the poor in the workhouse, and give them proper food in proportion as the overseers of the poor shall direct. A bill of fare should be settled of the quantity and quality of the meat allowed to the poor, by which means no surcharge of meat could be fixed upon the district. They should also have power to tax themselves with a limited sum annually, in proportion to the value of their lands or substance, to maintain the poor in the workhouse, and furnish them with materials to work upon. Every person in the house should have their working hours assigned them by the overseers, and the quantity of work expected from them daily, according to their age and strength, and the kind of work in which they are to be employed should be entered regularly in a book kept by the overseers. The steward should be accountable for the performance of these tasks to the overseers at their quarterly or monthly meetings. And if any failed of their tasks, unless occasioned by sickness, he ought to deduct in proportion from their bill of fare at their meals. There ought to be a vault in each workhouse for the punishment of such as are guilty of crimes, and the confinement of the strolling poor found begging in their district, who may be obliged to work all day at some laborious work and have no more food than what they can gain by their labour. There

may also be a pump-house, or something equivalent, in each, to punish those who are wilfully idle, where, being chained by the foot, they must either pump or be drowned.

To each of these workhouses a plot of ground ought to be annexed for gardening, and to promote some little improvements in husbandry and tillage, where some of the old men might employ part of their time in digging, weeding, and planting, and to employ and train up children and helpless orphans belonging to or found in the district. A power may be also given to tenants for life, in whose estate, perhaps, the workhouse may be erected most conveniently; to give in fee-farm as much ground as may be thought necessary upon reasonable terms; or to make a gift of it to the poor upon their assigning to the persons in remainder or in trust for them an equivalent in land or money. The weekly collections for the poor of all denominations of Christians in the several parishes in the district ought to be locked up in close boxes with several locks, whereof the overseers are to have the keys, to be sent monthly or quarterly according to the meeting of the trustees at the workhouse, to be distributed for the use of the poor there. In each workhouse they ought also to have a box fixed up, in which such as come to visit the poor might put what they thought proper without having their charity known.

A method used in *Holland* might also be put in practice, which is, instead of giving vales to servants, to have a box fixed up in every house, in which those that come in a visit show their respect for the family by putting in something as their charity prompts them for the use of the poor. At the end of the year the box is carried to the magistrate and opened in his presence, and the money given to the poor. This would testify the regard and respect showed to the family by their friends and neighbours better than by giving vales to servants, who generally quarrel about it, and squander lightly what they get that way, and get a habit of drinking and profuseness destructive to themselves and others. It would also be better for all masters to add something to their servants' wages, which they would reap more benefit from and apply to a better use than the other.

The Justices of the Peace and clergy in each district, or those in the neighbourhood, may have an equal or superior power to the overseers of the poor where any workhouse is erected, to enquire and look into their accounts, and to see that the poor are employed and duly supplied, so that no hardships be put upon them. This they may do at the quarterly meetings, and should, under a penalty, be obliged to do it at least twice a year. In case any of the overseers neglect attending on the days fixed by law, either monthly or quarterly, unless in case of sickness or unavoidable necessity, they ought to be fined by the justices and clergy present in a limited sum to the use of the poor. If the tax (allowed to be levied from the district by law), with the voluntary and charitable collections and contributions and the work of the poor, be more than sufficient to maintain them and keep the house in repair, at the end of the year, then the tax may be lessened. If it is not sufficient then the overseers ought to lay the accounts and deficiency in a proper manner before the assemblies of Christians of all denominations at their highest festivals, when it may be supposed they will more readily contribute to the relief of the poor, and make up the deficiency, when the district is overcharged, without adding to the tax. But in case all they can procure is not sufficient, then they ought to allow some of them to beg through the district and have lodging in the workhouse.

It would be of great benefit, and have a very good effect, if the Legislature should direct that the Judges at the assizes and Justices at the sessions should regulate and limit all forfeited recognizances, according to the circumstances of the persons and nature of the crimes, either of the parties and their securities prosecuting, or of those defending; and order out warrants immediately to levy the respective forfeitures from the parties, and give them to the overseers of the poor in those workhouses that were found to be overcharged upon the examining the accounts before the Grand Jury. And whatever sum the Barons of the Exchequer could make appear came to the Crown at a medium of several years may be given to his Majesty by another tax, which, I imagine,

would be very small. For, since lighthouse duties, fines, seizures, and casualties come, at a medium of six years, but to 4,010*l.* 14*s.* 9½*d.*, I am apt to believe the money coming to his Majesty by forfeited recognizances will not come up to one-tenth part of that sum, which would be but a small loss considering the benefit to be reaped from it by relieving the poor, and having all trials better attended; and that many would be relieved from the hardships they now lie under, who are in the green-wax process or upon the *capias*, perhaps their whole lives in fee with bailiffs; and if any are taken, upon giving the value of the recognizance to attornies and the officers of the Court of Exchequer, the King's fine is reduced to a trifle, whilst the person apprehended, at the same time, has been worried to death by a pack of bailiffs and country attornies.

The trustees of the linen manufacture might also contribute to the support of the several workhouses, by procuring them hemp and flax and their seeds at reasonable prices; for now, when flax-seed is imported at 2*l.* 4*s.* *per* hogshead, by the time it comes to be sold to the poor, it frequently costs them from 3*l.* 10*s.* to 4*l.* 18*s.* They might also oblige those who take a quantity of seed from them to give the several workhouses hemp or flax at a reasonable price after it is pulled or watered. Since the Legislature thought it proper some time ago to limit the tithe of hemp and flax, I do not think it would be any hardship to give a proportion of the tithe of hemp and flax to each workhouse in kind; for, since the Mosaical Law, upon which our law for tithe is founded, ordered the whole tithe of each third year to be divided among the Levites, the strangers, fatherless, and widows, I do not think the clergy would at all complain if only a part of that branch were given to the poor instead of the tithe-farmers.

The public might also reap a further benefit from the several workhouses by having charity schools annexed to them, where, by voluntary subscriptions, a master might attend to teach the children or orphans in the district maintained by the subscribers, as well as those in the poorhouse, to read and write,

and instruct them in the principles of the Christian religion. Two or three hours every day would be sufficient for their instruction, and they might be employed the remaining part of the day in learning to work whatever was proper; the girls in sowing, spinning, knitting, or cleaning the house; and the boys in spinning, net-making, gardening, planting, or any other improvement in husbandry their little farm could afford. This would employ the time of many children profitably to the public who are now bred up to idleness or attending of cattle. This would also give them a taste and inclination for improvements, and to be industrious; for, whatever they gained by their labour should be their own. This would make them early qualified for service and preserve their morals, or put them into a method of maintaining themselves when grown up with comfort and satisfaction.

Since the law, I here propose, is no way compulsory, but only impowers such parishes, as are willing to associate and incorporate, in order to supply their poor and prevent strolling beggars; until such time as they are willing to put this in execution, I do think that several overseers should be chosen annually in each parish, according to the extent of the several parishes, living at proper distances in each of them; these to be elected by the majority of each parish at their Easter vestry, under the penalty of a fine upon every parish neglecting to elect them, or upon those who refuse to serve, being elected; to be levied by the warrant of two neighbouring Justices of the Peace, and applied to the use of the poor. The overseers, immediately upon entering into their office, ought to make out lists of their resident poor, who have been three years in the parish, and give them badges, and allow them to beg through the parish. In case some of them be able to maintain themselves in part, then by their badges to show on what days of the week they are allowed to beg, obliging them to work the remainder. The several overseers may have a power to correct their poor, who will not comply with the regulations laid down, by neglecting to wear their badge or begging on days designed for work, without any application to a Justice of the Peace. And if the next overseer neglects

or refuses to punish upon complaint of any parishioner, such overseer ought to be fined by the next Justice, upon due proof, for the use of the poor.

The first three Sundays which shall happen after the general election of the overseers through the kingdom, they should be obliged to have a proclamation made in every place of Divine Service of whatever denomination within each parish, and in all markets and fairs which may happen in these three weeks, within their several parishes; that upon a certain day (to be fixed by the law) a diligent search is to be made for all vagrant persons or strolling beggars, who have not been three years resident in any parish; and if any be found, not being mad, idiots, or children, or by unavoidable lameness incapable of removing themselves, and do not in the prefixed time remove themselves to the parish where they were last resident, or in which they were born, if never resident any where, that such persons are to be whipt (according to their several ages or infirmities as they are able to bear it) towards the parish they have declared themselves to have severally been born or resident in; and in case they have neither been resident in the kingdom, nor natives, then to the next sea port, to be shipped off to their native kingdom, with a ticket along with them setting forth what parish or kingdom they declared they belonged to. In case any person should conceal any stranger, vagrant, or strolling beggar, at that time, or upon discovery afterwards of any beggar, should not immediately inform the next overseer, in order to his being punished, such person ought to be fined by the next Justice in a sum limited by the law, according to the circumstances of the person; or in case any overseer at any time afterwards should neglect to whip them to the next parish, he ought to be fined in like manner, for the use of the poor.

Those beggars who cannot remove themselves, may be conveyed from overseer to overseer, towards their place of birth or last abode; in case afterwards any housekeeper relieves any strolling beggar, and do not inform the next overseer, upon due proof thereof, such housekeeper should be fined.

In case of shipwreck, the overseers, at the cost of each parish, may be obliged to convey such sailors or passengers as are saved, to the next parish leading to such port or place they would go to, in case they are natives, or if not, then to the next port they can procure passage at; and to deliver along with them from overseer to overseer, an authentic paper setting forth the shipwreck, when and where it happened, and where the persons desire to go.

If any strolling beggars happen to have children begging with them, under the age of sixteen, or any children be found begging by themselves, the next overseer may be obliged to carry them to a Justice of the Peace, who may bind them apprentices to any Protestant housekeeper that can and will employ them, until they attain the age of twenty-five years, to be computed from the apparent age of the child when taken up, when the age is not known; and some collar or badge should be worn by such children, not easy to be defaced or removed, until their masters think there is no danger of their running away; by this they may be known and secured, sent back and punished, in case they run away.

It would also be expedient that all private housekeepers in the country should be answerable for any lodgers or inmates who are strangers, and do not follow some constant business, or keep regular company and hours; in case they are in such circumstances, or of such a character as to occasion a suspicion in the neighbourhood, of which at their peril they ought to acquaint the overseers, or be obliged to make good the thefts and robberies committed in the neighbourhood; in case they did not, the overseer upon any suspicion should apprehend them, and carry them before the next Justice; and if any person be found not to follow some lawful calling, that could maintain them and fully employ their time, such persons should be committed if they did not find sufficient sureties of their good behaviour, and afterwards be transported, and the housekeepers where they lodged should be fined.

Public houses in the country for entertainment of passengers, should not, under a penalty, entertain any strangers who may occasion suspicion, above forty-eight hours (unless

travellers upon a journey, who by sickness or some accident of their horses, are detained, or except in time of public fairs and markets) without giving an account of them to the overseers; and if there be any reasonable cause of suspicion, the overseers are to inform the next Justice, who in case they cannot give a good account of themselves, may bind them over to their good behaviour, or commit them, until they produce some evidence of their good character.

Since a great encouragement is given to the practice of stealing horses, by allowing of private bargains, sales or handycaps made clandestinely by persons in their cups, by which means the property is easily and quickly transferred through many hands, and the horses are carried from one part of the kingdom to another; and since it is also an encouragement to cheating, lying, squandering, and misspending their time, it being too commonly accounted a piece of merit, and a mark of superior understanding, to cheat and impose upon the weaker and honest part of mankind in their liquor, who believe the lies and falsities then affirmed to them; I think it would be of public service to make a law, that no bargain at such a time and place should be binding; but that either party upon trial, should have liberty to recant in forty-eight hours, or that no bargain for horses should be valid, but where the sale is booked and the horses vouched. And if any person at any time sold a horse, upholding him for a sound horse, knowing him to be unsound, in either of these cases, the next Justice, or two Justices might in a summary way hear and determine the affair, and oblige the guilty person to refund the money or horse got in exchange for the other, or otherwise commit him.

I think also, no person being a stranger, ought to sell a horse but in open market—this may be prevented by putting a fine both upon buyer and seller. If a stranger be found sculking with horses in the country, the overseers of the poor may apprehend him, and carry him before the next Justice; who, upon reasonable cause of suspicion, may have the horses secured for some days and the marks taken, that the person may be apprehended in case a felony has been committed.

If any horse be carried to any port to be exported, no master of a vessel under the forfeiture of such vessel or boat, should take any on board, until they have been at least four days publicly at such port, that time may be allowed for a pursuit in case of a felony, unless it be a gentleman for his own and servants' horses, at the usual ports of passage.

I could wish, that our punishments for common felonies of theft and petty larceny were altered, and that the guilty were confined to such workhouses as I have proposed, for a determined time according to their crimes, with collars and iron cuffs upon their necks and arms, or otherwise chained, if they were dangerous offenders; where they should be employed and tasked in the hardest labour, such as rasping of wood, beating of hemp and flax, &c., and whatever they gained more than sufficient for a bare maintenance, might go to the use of the other poor.

This would be a greater terror to them than death, and more thieves would be convicted, and the public would receive the benefit of their labour; and when they had wrought out their time, they could not again stroll upon being let out, but would be fixed in some parish where they would be known and well looked after, for they could not get away without being secured by the overseers of the poor in the neighbouring parishes, who would again lay them up in a workhouse. This would also be more honourable for the nation, since we are reproached abroad with frequently letting those guilty of blood escape, when at the same time we punish capitally those who are guilty of common theft.

By such a law further improved and duly executed, all our poor may be maintained without the apprehension of an unreasonable poor tax; being not compulsory, but in the power of each united district to limit, as they think proper, but never to exceed. Thus may the poor be kept employed, idiots and lunatics be taken care of, the aged and infirm have their due and regular hours for devotion, food, labour, and rest, a great encouragement be given to others to be industrious, by having no further drain upon them by the useless members of the commonwealth, and in case of misfortunes,

having reason to expect a calm retreat in their old age. By such a law would also many thefts and robberies be prevented, suspicious persons would be put upon some way of employing their time or be punished; strollers and all vagrant beggars would be confined, and obliged to work as they were capable, and many other considerable advantages would be gained by the public.

I have thus gone through the three articles I proposed, of easing the merchant as much as possible, promoting economy and frugality by sumptuary laws, and proposing methods to employ the poor; each of which, I think, very necessary to our improvements at home, as well as of our trade abroad, because they lessen our demand for foreign commodities, and afford us more exports to answer our foreign demands. Since it is impossible to pretend to trade with any nation without taking their goods in return for ours, the only thing to be aimed at by foreign trade is, upon the exchange of our own for theirs, to preserve a reasonable balance in our favour, and if possible to supply other nations, who may not have a demand for our goods with those of other countries, and so gain by the exchange and carriage.

It is a very usual way both in *Britain* and in this kingdom, to promote trade, and encourage merchants to export some of our perishable commodities, and to import such as are beneficial to the kingdom in our manufactures and navigation, by giving premiums, particularly in exporting grain, and importing pitch, tar, flax-seed, &c. I shall therefore beg leave to make some observations upon the nature and use of premiums in trade.

A premium, is a sum of money given to the merchant, upon exporting or importing a determined kind of goods, in proportion to the quantity exported or imported, payable out of the public taxes, or any particular branch of them, at the pleasure of the Legislature. The use and design of it is, to enable and encourage merchants to export particular species of goods, of the produce, growth, or manufacture of the kingdom, which will not otherwise sell abroad, by reason that the price abroad is so little different from the price at home, that

it would not bear the expense of freight; or to import some goods wanted in the kingdom, which are necessary for the safety of it, or useful to their manufactures or shipping.

This premium, if paid out of the public taxes, is in effect no more than part payment of the wages of the manufacturer, artizan, or farmer, made by others not concerned in their labour, in such proportion as they pay towards the tax given for such premium; which, if given upon the *primums* of manufactures imported, to enable the merchant to afford them cheaper, then more can be allowed to the manufacturer for his labour; or if given upon goods exported, to keep up the market at home, it will equally afford more wages to the labourer, or persons employed in raising or manufacturing them. If a premium is paid out of a particular tax, then it is paid at the expense of that particular branch or species of goods, upon which the tax is laid.

Having thus far stated the nature and use of premiums, I will consider how far they may be beneficial or detrimental to the trade and wealth of the kingdom. First, as to exports, though the quantity of goods exported, and price abroad, are both necessary to return a balance in favour of the nation, yet we ought to distinguish and make a difference. The difference of the price abroad above the price at home, is the merchant exporter's immediate profit as well as the nation's; the quantity exported, at the price in the market at home, is the national profit divided among the several persons raising or manufacturing the goods sent abroad. Then, though the great price going abroad, by supplying foreign markets sparingly upon exporting fewer goods, be a national benefit and great advantage to the merchant; yet a much greater quantity of goods sold abroad, though at a lower price and less profit to the merchant, as long as he has profit enough to carry on the trade, is undoubtedly of greater benefit to the nation, particularly of manufactures, they being the occasion of maintaining and employing so many more hands at home with profit, which is the real strength and riches of a state. The merchants are also more capable of underselling other nations
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abroad,

abroad, and consequently will have a market open for a greater quantity of goods.

Premiums then given upon exporting manufactures, which employ most hands, and by being improved may contribute to a more extended commerce, are highly beneficial to a kingdom in the infancy of a manufacture, to encourage the manufacturers to exert themselves in the improvement of it. In such a case, the premium, though laid upon the public is beneficial to the State, since all ought to contribute to improve a branch of trade, which would be of general benefit to a nation; such are manufactures of silk, woollen, linen, iron, brass, &c.

Premiums given as an encouragement for such goods as are of the growth of the kingdom, which require few hands to raise them, and no great labour after being raised before they are exported, may be detrimental but seldom beneficial. If they are given upon the public taxes, the manufacturers, who are or ought to be the greatest number, pay their proportion of them which consequently obliges them to work for less wages, or to raise their price; if the first, it discourages manufacturing at home, if otherwise, it prejudices their sale abroad. If they should be given by a particular tax laid upon goods imported, which are in themselves detrimental to the kingdom, and only serve to increase luxury and prodigality, the detriment is less; but these taxes might be better employed in more useful premiums, or in lessening other taxes which bear hard upon trade.

Premiums given upon exporting the produce of the kingdom by grazing, such as beef, butter, hides, tallow, wool, flax, &c., would be the most prejudicial and greatest detriment possible; an inconsiderable number, in a manner without employment, reaping the benefit, and all the industrious in the community paying for it.

The reverse of this ought to be practiced in imports; premiums upon any kind of manufactures would be madness in the highest degree, and none pardonable except premiums for the *primums* of manufactures, which otherwise could not

be carried on with advantage, or for those things wanted for the safety or shipping of a nation.

Premiums of all kinds ought to be carefully inquired into before they are granted by the public; when they are given, care ought to be taken that the labourer and manufacturer have the benefit of the premium, and that the luxurious and rich pay the tax; this is the way to keep the poor employed, and to prevent the rich from growing extravagant.

Whilst I am upon the nature of premiums, I hope it will not be improper to offer my thoughts of those given for exporting of grain when under a middle price, as is now practiced in *Britain* and *Ireland*. This I take to be very prejudicial upon many accounts, either in those countries which have a redundancy, or in those which may sometimes want, though at other times they abound. It is certain, no nation who have as much of their own as they can consume, will take grain from us upon any premium that can be given, to enable the exporter to afford it cheap abroad, unless they expect a scarcity among themselves or neighbours, whom they hope to supply at an advanced price with the grain imported to them.

In those countries which are populous and have manufactures, such as *Holland*, by affording them grain as cheap imported to them as it is sold for at home, we enable them to work so much cheaper, to victual and sail their ships for a less price, and consequently for less freight; and by this means they undersell us, or at least sell their manufactures at *par* with us abroad. This also encourages them to make granaries, and to undersell us with our own grain whenever markets rise abroad; as well as to be earlier at market, having cargoes ready at an hour's warning, and they often by their granaries supply those kingdoms from which they had their grain, at a high price when a scarcity happens, of which we have a very late instance.

The grain sown and reaped in our kingdom and the several countries we trade to, is either sufficient for the consumption of the whole annually at a medium, or more than sufficient; for if it be less, there is no occasion to give a premium, the

wants abroad or at home would effectually keep up the price. If there is only a sufficient quantity raised at a medium, then to build granaries at home, is the only prudent method can be taken for the encouragement of the farmer; by which means we can supply ourselves when it is wanted at home, and foreign markets to advantage, when wanted abroad. If more is produced than sufficient at a medium, to supply our own and foreign demands, premiums to export it will not do; for who will take it though ever so cheap, unless they want it, or have a view to gain by the sale of it, which then could not be expected. In such a case land would be ill employed under tillage, and less ought to be sown; other encouragements ought to be given to increase our numbers to consume it, or we ought to employ our lands to other purposes, such as gardening, planting, or other improvements (which land is capable of) as well as grain; if it should so abound, that would effectually keep up the market, and nothing else would.

Upon the whole, premiums are only to be given to encourage manufactures or other improvements in their infancy, to usher them into the world, and to give an encouragement to begin a commerce abroad; and if after their improvement they cannot push their own way, by being wrought so cheap as to sell at *par* with others of the same kind, it is in vain to force it. In order to this, advantages may be given to manufacturers at home, equivalent to premiums upon the export, by easing them of several troublesome employments, making necessaries cheap to them, providing them the primums of manufactures cheap, preserving the possession of their properties, and enabling them to recover them with little loss of time or expense. These and such like are the most effectual, the justest and safest methods, and the public would soon reap the benefit of it.

Since I have already proposed erecting and maintaining granaries, as the only proper and effectual encouragement to tillage, and since they are at the same time equally advantageous to the industrious manufacturer and labourer, by preventing the unreasonable price of provisions, this will be a proper place to enlarge upon that subject. The nation that

erects and possesses these granaries, may in plentiful seasons either lay up their own grain, and preserve it safe from vermin until a scarcity happens, or lay in grain bought abroad, wherever they find there have been plentiful crops and cheap markets.

It is a great happiness and blessing to any people to live in a climate where by the temperature of the air, and goodness of the soil, they have plenty of provisions. At the same time it is their interest, that the price should not be so low as to discourage the farmer to till and improve his grounds; nor a temptation to others by the plenty and cheapness of provisions, to live idly and misspend their time, to the public loss of the kingdom.

There is an equitable price that provisions should be kept as near as possible, to encourage both the farmer and manufacturer, that the one may improve his land and the other sell his manufacture to advantage, and live comfortably by his labour, and by that means may afford to sell at *par* with other nations abroad. This good end may be obtained by having granaries, and laws to regulate the price at the buying in and selling out of them again; for by them they can not only preserve their grain safe from vermin, but sound and sweet for many years with very little cost, and always have the best price for their corn when markets rise abroad. And those countries which have them (where, by their situation or number of inhabitants, they cannot be supplied at home) by their buying cheap from those countries who want granaries, and for that reason are obliged to sell their grain, will scarce ever want, when even those very nations which supply them, by wanting granaries, in bad seasons may be liable to famine and great distress.

Nations that want granaries must only sow as much grain as will be sufficient to supply them a year, or be obliged to let their corn perish, or sell it so cheap that the merchant may have profit in sending it abroad. Very often plentiful crops happen to be general over a whole continent, as it is frequently in *Europe*, there would then be a necessity of selling it cheap or letting it perish. I have already endeavoured

to show that it is imprudent to give premiums to export grain, in order to keep up the market, by which means foreigners, who have granaries, reap the benefit, furnish their manufacturers and tradesmen cheaper than we can do, and often send it back again and sell it at an advanced price to their great advantage. On the contrary should we build granaries, we need not be afraid of improving our land and raising great quantities of grain, for then by having it in our power to keep it sound, sweet, and safe from vermin many years, we might always have the best price going abroad; and in case of bad crops, might be under no apprehension of want at home, or be forced to give a great price for it abroad in our necessity. The abatement of interest would also enable us to lodge it for a considerable time with little loss, by which means the profit would be the greater upon the rise of the market, we would then have an opportunity of exporting it upon the first notice of a demand from abroad, whereas it frequently has happened, that though we had plentiful harvests when there was a demand abroad, and merchants offered a considerable price, the farmers could not furnish a cargo in time; but those countries which had granaries, though at a greater distance, answered the demand sooner and prevented the sale of ours. At other times the farmers expecting a greater price would not sell, and thus the kingdom lost the benefit of the market.

This being sufficient in general to show the advantage of granaries, I shall not launch out further lest I seem tedious. But I hope I shall not be accounted so, in giving a short sketch of granaries, according to the plan used in some places abroad, with the expense of building, and taking care of the grain in them, to show what advantage may be made by them in case private persons or merchants would join in the design.

Granaries abroad, when built to the best advantage, are generally 300 feet long, and 18 feet wide within, and seven stories high, for the greater conveniency of airing and fanning the corn from loft to loft. Each story is seven feet high, the walls ought to be of good brick, not plaistered within, which

is freer from moisture and vermin than other buildings. The corn is not laid within three feet of the wall, a path being left round it of that breadth, and one of six feet wide in the middle across the length of the room, to turn the grain in when necessary. Each floor has trap doors in several places to take up grain, and to screen and air it from loft to loft, as it falls through infundibulums or hoppers from the upper stories, and for the conveniency of craning up the grain; to which purpose they place their windows opposite to each other to air the grain as it falls, and at other times to let in drying winds to sweeten and preserve the grain. There ought also to be a hopper or infundibulum ten feet square at top, which may at pleasure be fixed on the outside of the wall in the lower stories, by which they may by spouts from the higher stories, placed at near thirty feet distance from the hoppers, let the grain fall into it through the air in dry weather; from the bottom of which it is again conveyed to the lower floor within, by proper funnels or pipes, after being thus aired and fanned, and is again craned up into some of the upper stories. Stoves are also to be made in the middle and each end, to be made use of upon the going off of frosts.

When the corn is first lodged it is laid six inches thick, turned twice a week, and screened once; this for the first two months. Then it is laid a foot thick for two months more, turned once a week, and screened once a fortnight. Afterwards it is laid one foot thick, turned once a fortnight, and screened once a month. After lying a year they lay it two and a-half or three feet thick, turn it once a month, and screen it once in two months. After lying two years they turn it once in two months and screen it once a quarter; then it will be perfectly dry, and may be kept sound and good seventy years by turning and screening it once a quarter.

A granary of these dimensions will contain 14,000 barrels; and if the walls be strong enough, at two and a-half brick thick the two first stories, two brick the three next, and one and a-half brick the two upper stories, which, according to a plan I have seen, was judged sufficient, considering how the building is bound by the lowness of the stories, then it will

take 600,000 bricks to build it. If it be thought proper to add one-half brick more to the thickness throughout, then it will take 750,000; and the whole expense of building it, when all things are provided at the least price, would not exceed 1,200*l.*

If we suppose 4*d.* annually taken for each barrel lodged, the rent of the granary when filled would amount to 233*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; deduct the charge of attending the granary, viz., a clerk at 40*l.* per ann., and six others at 8*l.* or 10*l.* each, in the whole 88*l.* or 100*l.*, then there would remain 133*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, or 145*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* for the interest of 1,200*l.* laid out in the building, which would be above 11 or 12 per cent. for their money, though they lodged no grain. Suppose the granary should cost 1,500*l.*, they would have 8*l.* 16*s.* or 9*l.* 13*s.* per cent. for the money expended in the building.

Any who lodged grain at 4*d.* per barrel rent, suppose the first-cost was 10*s.*, if they sold it again at the end of four years at 16*s.*, and suppose it in that time to dry in one-twentieth, would make very near 10*l.* per cent. of their money, viz., 38*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* upon 100*l.* in four years.

This I should think would be encouragement enough, even for private persons, to build granaries or lodge grain, since I take this to be the very lowest computation of the grain to be made by them; for they may have an opportunity of buying grain cheaper than I here suppose it, or selling it dearer, and even in less time than four years, which would any way make the gain greater.

But, though this would be a great advantage, yet it would still be a greater benefit to the public, if built at the public expense, or by corporations. For, by regulating them when filled, and by taking in none but sound, dry grain, and that by weight, and allowing a reasonable deduction for drying in, many hundreds might lodge their grain *in cumulo* without inconveniency. And by obliging the overseers and clerks of the granaries to give a proper security for their care and trust, and allowing of proper assignments and transfers, each granary might become a bank or fund of credit, and might be said to add to our running cash, since it would be a real

security to any persons who would lend money to those who had corn in the granary by assigning them their grain, though redeemable as in mortgages; and no sale, whether clandestine or public, should be allowed until it was registered in the books of the granary. By this security servants and others who could save as much money as would buy ten barrels of wheat, instead of squandering or drinking it, would buy grain and lodge it in the granary, or buy it up from others who had already lodged it, which they could afterwards dispose of at pleasure. Farmers could lodge their grain and take up money upon it to pay their rent. Tradesmen and manufacturers could lay in their grain and take it out again as they wanted it. These and many other conveniences would be found to arise from it not necessary here to mention.

For these reasons it would be of great service if the Legislature would think of a fund to build granaries at the public expense, and have them put under a proper direction for the good of the kingdom. But until this be thought expedient I shall propose a way how some of them may be built at several ports proper for export without any expense to the public; and even the money employed in building them may be in a great measure an acquisition to the kingdom.

There are a great many considerable corporations in *Ireland* upon the sea coast to whom the Crown has given lands, tolls, and customs of a considerable value to support the dignity of the magistracy, and to be employed for the good of the several corporations. Many of these lands lie in common to those towns, and being waste become common nuisances, being generally a nest for thieves and beggars. These by being improved might be made of 4*s.* or 5*s.*, and in some places of 10*s.* or 12*s.* *per* acre value, which are now scarce worth anything, but overrun with all kinds of weeds, and of no benefit to the industrious inhabitants. The rents of the other lands, tolls, and customs, over and above what is sufficient to support the magistracy with decency, are now squandered away in rioting and excess in entertainments, to the lasting reproach of many corporations, when they ought to be employed for the benefit of the public, and particularly of the corporations

they belong to. Now, would it not be just and equitable in our Legislature to oblige the several towns corporate to set their several lands at the best improved rent, and limit them according to their different situations and revenue, to a sum sufficient to support their magistracy and officers, and oblige them to lay out the remainder of their rents, tolls, and customs in public works for the benefit of their several corporations; as in erecting granaries, enlarging and improving their ports and harbours, building workhouses to employ their poor, and in giving encouragement to our fisheries, with many other improvements too many to enumerate? In the first place granaries should be erected and filled under such regulations as I have already mentioned, or may be found proper upon further consideration; and for their encouragement the magistrates might have a power given them of supplying their markets out of the public granary, whenever corn exceeded a determined price to be fixed by the law, suppose 20*s.* per barrel. Would not this be a benefit to the public, and particularly tend to the increase of those corporations by encouraging tradesmen, &c., to reside with them, when they would know that the markets would be always supplied at a reasonable price? Would not the revenues of those towns be more usefully expended when employed so than in luxurious eating and drinking, promoting the consumption of foreign wines, spices, and other groceries, by which means they mispend their time, give themselves a vicious habit not easily shaken off, and become an ill-example to the industrious in the several stations below them?

By having these granaries the Government could easily judge, from the annual crops and quantity lodged in them, when it would be proper to check the exportation from time to time; as when high prices from abroad would encourage us to empty our granaries too much, least by that means we might be obliged to buy back again corn at a more advanced price than we got for our own.

Thus the public granaries should be under their power, and those which were erected by merchants or private societies might have a liberty of being filled from abroad,

or emptied whenever their owners found their advantage in it.

Lesser granaries might also be built by county taxes in some of the inland counties, where it should be thought convenient; and a method, used abroad in some inland countries in *Europe*, might be introduced, if at any time a scarcity at home were apprehended; which is, in the beginning of winter, to have an estimate made of the quantity of corn that every farmer has in his yard or barn, and by a law to oblige the farmers, whenever the Government apprehended a scarcity, to lodge one-third part of their grain, when threshed, in these granaries, to supply the markets at home, in case the demand from abroad were so great as to encourage such an exportation as would leave us too small a quantity to supply our wants at home afterwards. The money got for the grain sold out of those granaries should be paid to the farmers in proportion to the quantity each of them lodged. These granaries only to be filled under these regulations when a scarcity was apprehended at home, and when the other seaport granaries were exhausted; but these are chiefly of use in inland countries where there is little water-carriage, and grain cannot be brought from distant parts without great expence.

I would willingly hope that, some way or other, a beginning may be given to granaries; and when their conveniency, and the profit to be made by them is better known, other regulations may be fixed upon to make them more beneficial; for the whole community would soon find the difference between a regular and constant market and the present uncertain startings occasioned by the rising and falling of them, upon account of a glut or a scarcity.

If we ever propose to have an extended trade and ready market for our linen and hempen manufactures, and to bring them to perfection, we ought with the greatest care to keep the price of provisions at a reasonable medium; for these manufactures are not like the woollen, which few nations can excel in, either for want of good wool or some other conveniences; by which means the manufacturers of wool have fewer rivals, and can afford giving higher wages to the persons

employed, and, therefore, they can live tolerably well, though provisions should rise higher than a reasonable medium; but, since most nations manufacture linen and hemp more or less, or cotton, which in many places is of the same use, these are manufactures which have many rivals; consequently that nation which is most industrious, and has a constant and regular market for provisions at a reasonable price, must have a great advantage over others whose provisions are higher or fluctuate more; for by having a regular market for provisions they can sell their manufactures at a more certain and reasonable price, by knowing for what wages they can constantly work; and merchants abroad will always give that country the preference where they can be furnished with equally good manufactures at a certain price they can depend upon, because a certain reasonable profit is always preferable to an uncertain one, though sometimes it may be greater than the other.

Since I have here mentioned our linen manufacture, I could wish a proper method were fallen upon to proportion the wages and gain of the several persons concerned in its several branches, that is, that the flax-dresser, spinner, weaver, bleacher, &c., should each have a reasonable share of the gain, in proportion to the time and difficulty of their several parts; for if any of them have too great a share, it is a great discouragement to the rest.

I am of opinion, that at present the weavers and country merchants, who buy the linens either green or bleached, run away with too much of the profit from the spinners, so that when provisions rise but a little above a reasonable price, the spinner has too little wages.

I am also convinced, that as many of our weavers are now situated, they can neither work so well nor so cheap, as they might if properly disposed of and employed. They are now generally dispersed through the country, and have each a little farm from five or six to eight or ten, or more acres of land. By thus being divided between their farm and weaving, they are good at neither, nor can they be so expeditious or capable of weaving well, as if they were constantly em-

ployed in it. This also obliges them to take higher prices for their weaving, since they only have work as they can procure it from the country housewives in their neighbourhood, for they require higher wages to maintain their families because they live part of the year idle.

For these reasons, I think it would be of great service, if all weavers and spinners who have no other way of living, were obliged to live in towns and villages. This would encourage those who buy yarn and employ weavers, to live in or resort to those villages, and employ the weavers; and the farmers in the neighbourhood would have a market for their provisions, which would be more beneficial to both, than when each of them endeavoured to provide all things necessary within themselves for their subsistence, and in time of harvest those villagers would be ready hands to assist the farmers. It would also be very convenient, that all who were bound apprentices to weavers, should first learn to spin; that in case they were at any time not employed in weaving, they might by spinning help to maintain their families.

I cannot but think it would be a great advantage to our linen manufactures if there was encouragement given to carry them on by companies, or voluntary societies, in the several towns or villages, for they would have vastly the advantage of private or single persons, by overseeing and regulating the markets in buying of yarn; regularly employing the weavers whom they would hire by the year, and in sorting the yarn, and taking care that every thing be put to the best use without waste or loss; nor would they be so liable to be imposed upon by either spinners or weavers, and consequently the markets would not fluctuate so much as they now generally do to the disadvantage of trade. Such societies would also vie with each other in the goodness of their cloths, and keep up their credit with their correspondents abroad; and by a more general correspondence, better know what reasonable price to keep the markets at, so as to sell at *par* with foreigners. But this being under the direction of those generous and diligent patriots, the trustees of our *linen* and *hempen manufactures*, it will be needless to enlarge further upon it.

By promoting these and other rational projects, we might improve our country considerably; but if we would still more effectually promote trade and industry, improve the country to the utmost, and make ourselves truly patriots by fixing our liberties on a solid foundation, it would be by establishing a yeomanry in *Ireland*. This, in my opinion, is the true source of all industry, the chief bulwark and support of the liberties of the nation that is so happy as to have it. It was the keeping up the farm houses and the tenures of the yeomanry of *England*, that was the foundation of their improvements and industry, and of the liberties they enjoy under their present happy constitution.

The want of this yeomanry is the principal evil to be removed in *Ireland*, from whence most of our inconveniencies flow; it is greatly the cause of our indolence and inactivity, and a spur to our extravagance. Could I ever hope to see all our nobility and gentry so generous to their country, to their posterity, and I may say to themselves, as to fix the tenures and possessions of their tenants upon a lasting and certain foundation, by leases of lives renewable, or fee-farms, I would not doubt to find our people soon become industrious and frugal to the utmost. This would occasion the improvement of our lands and give full employment to our people, so as to give us our full weight in *England*; and they would then find it their interest to enlarge their foundation, as they have already done with *Scotland*, and to incorporate us with themselves by an equitable union.

I am sensible this proposal will be liable to many difficulties, and many objections may be started against it by the nobility and gentry of this kingdom, and must own myself very unequal to the task, of setting in a full light the disadvantages we at present lie under for want of a yeomanry, and the many and great advantages arising from the fixing one, and ascertaining their tenures and possessions; yet I shall mention some of them, and endeavour to answer the most material objections that I can think of against it.

The discouragement to improvements arising from our present method of letting our lands by short leases of twenty-

one years, is obvious to all. Places where the numbers of Papists are great, it is plain, will never be improved; on the contrary, they will rather endeavour to waste and impoverish the land though bound up by the strictest ties. This is occasioned by the shortness of their leases. We find very little improvement made upon leases of thirty-one or forty-one years. Let us cast our eyes upon church lands throughout the kingdom, and we will not find one place in a hundred where there is any tolerable improvement made upon them. The bishops (who have only their lands for life, which afterwards go to their successors) by their frequent translations, can scarce expect to be so long fixed in any diocess as to leave their lands to any of their family, and for that reason take fines from three to three years, or from seven to seven years; when they cannot by such tenures prevail with their tenants to improve, how can lay-landlords, whose estates descend to their children, expect their tenants should improve upon leases determinable upon thirty-one or forty-one years, or even three lives? Have not tenants daily instances before them of landlords squandering away their time and money, and living above their fortunes, upon the prospect they have of retrieving their affairs at the expiration of such leases, by raising extraordinary fines or setting their lands to those who offer most for them? Upon renewal, the improving tenant must pay for the landlord's extravagance a sum of money equivalent to the improvement he has made, and the utmost value of the land, in case he has been so provident as to have acquired any money, which seldom happens upon such tenures; or he must give a nominal great rent for the future, if he renews his lease, otherwise the next person who offers a trifle more, gets his lands and he is turned adrift, to serve in like manner the next whose lease is expired. Thus, where the landlord proves extravagant, he scarcely ever distinguishes between an improving and a non-improving tenant.

Agents, particularly of those noblemen or gentlemen who reside in *England*, or at a distance from their estates, who have been empowered to treat with tenants and give leases, to ingratiate themselves with their employers (that thus by

their skilful management they might procure more agencies from others) have in some places taken proposals sealed up, under a promise to divulge none of the names but that of the person who offered most, whose proposal was to be accepted of. Thus, the lease was given to the highest bidder, so that the present possessor had no chance for a renewal, unless he offered above the value; for doubtless, among so many proposers, there were some who offered at random without knowing the value of land; and if any tenant had been a greater improver than his neighbour, or had his houses and lands in better order, he was sure to be the sufferer. These have been the methods used by some agents, to the ruin of the nation, by which means they gave landlords a nominal rent-roll, and very often paid part of their rents with a mouthful of moonshine, by reason of tenants breaking and running off in arrear, whilst they themselves, by ways and means, got estates sometimes equal to those of their employers.

How then can a tenant improve his land, when he is convinced that after all his care and toil, his improvements will be overated and he be obliged to shift for himself? Let us place ourselves in his situation, and see if we should think it reasonable to improve for another, when these improvements would be the very cause of our being removed from the enjoyment of them—I believe we should not. Industry and improvements go very heavily on, when we think we are not to have the property in either. What can be expected then from covenants to improve and plant, when the person to do it knows he is to have no property in them? There will be no concern or care taken to preserve them, and they will run to ruin as fast as made or planted. What was it induced so many of the commonalty lately to go to *America*, but high rents, bad seasons, and want of good tenures or a permanent property in their lands? This kept them poor and low, that they scarce had sufficient credit to procure necessaries to subsist or till their ground. They never had any thing in store, all was from hand to mouth, so one or two bad crops broke them. Others found their stock dwindling and decaying visibly, and so removed before all was gone, whilst they

*his Emigration was chiefly from
want of Education*

had as much left as would pay their passage, and had little more than would carry them to the *American* shore.

This, it may be allowed, was the occasion of the poor farmers going who had their rents lately raised; but it may be objected, that was not the reason why rich farmers went, and those who had several years in beneficial leases yet unexpired, who sold those bargains and removed with their effects; but it is plain they all went for the same reason, for these last, from daily examples before them, saw the present occupiers dispossessed of their lands at the expiration of their leases, and no preference given to them, so they expected it would soon be their own case; to avoid which, and make the most of the years yet unexpired, they sold, and carried their effects with them to procure a settlement in a country, where they had reason to expect a permanent property.

Thus we see what this country at present suffers from the commonalty's having no fixed property in their lands, the want of which deprives them of a sufficient encouragement for improvements and industry. The present short tenures serve only as a snare to induce the nobility and gentry to be extravagant, arbitrary, and sometimes tyrannical, and the commonalty to be dejected, dispirited, and, in a manner, slaves in some places. But let us turn the tables and see the kingdom in a contrary light, with an established yeomanry, a fixed and permanent property in farms by leases of lives renewable, or fee-farms. In which case it would be very convenient, that upon the first settlement of these tenures, no farms should contain less than forty acres *Irish* measure, except adjoining to towns and villages, where smaller parcels might be allotted for their conveniency for orchards, gardens, and other improvements which could employ a family; and that these freeholds should not afterwards be allowed to be split or subdivided among the children, but should all go to one at the election of the parent, and the other children should be bred to some trade or business, by which means the manufacturers would be increased in the several towns and villages. Nor ought any of these freeholds to exceed 160 acres, except where there are bogs or mountains; and

I think as Mr. Hales was a Southern the meaning of the passage is that there were two classes of the old freehold tenures, the one the old freehold tenures by the whole of the soil, & a small tract more of common waste, &c. &c. 1688

those might afterwards be subdivided to forty acres at the pleasure of the possessor of the farm.

Each of these should have a sufficient farm-house upon it, kept in repair. What an improvement such tenures would procure to the kingdom every one at first view may observe. Here would be a fixed property in a farm sufficient to find employment for a large family in improving it to the utmost. Then all lands capable of improvement would be enclosed, fenced, drained, manured, tilled, or planted with every thing to the best advantage. The tradesman's and artificer's time would be employed wholly at their trade, which would enable them to work better and cheaper than when they are distracted with several employments and good at none. The whole country would appear like a regular plantation or garden by the industry and frugality of the people; and nature would seem always to smile. Landlords would have a certain and well paid rent, and would know exactly what they could depend upon. This would make them less lavish and extravagant than they are at present, to the ruin of their families and fortunes: which proceeds from imaginary rents, and is the cause of their grinding the face of the poor.

Instead of a tyrannical or arbitrary sway, which is frequently now the case, they would have all the deference and respect paid to them that is due from a free, generous, and brave yeomanry. If this would be the consequence how worthy of praise and how justly would those noblemen and gentlemen be esteemed patriots who would concur in promoting it? This would be a perpetual memorial of their wisdom and generosity, that for the good of their country and posterity, they had voluntarily given up a tyrannical sway and arbitrary power over the industrious poor of their country, and given them a permanent property in their lands and possessions, having only reserved for themselves and posterity that due deference, respect, and weight which ought to be allowed where merit and superior property are joined together.

It may be objected by the men of fortune, shall we dispose of our lands out of lease, or under leases near expiring, in leases of lives renewable, or in fee-farms, and so divest our-

I think in the present (book)

selves of all the profit hereafter to be made of them, either from their improvement or rise of markets, which, in either case, is giving so much away from our families and posterity?

To this I answer, we ought to have a great regard to the good of our posterity; but it is not only in leaving them a great fortune or riches that we act for their good, but in leaving it to them in a well regulated, free government, flourishing by trade and industry, where they may have a power of doing good, and a prospect of being long possessed of their liberties and possessions. By leaving them under so happy a government and constitution in a country improved by industry and arts, they may pass their time in affluence, ease, and satisfaction; where, by a virtuous, frugal, and yet generous, open education, they will have power and wealth sufficient to do acts of beneficence to mankind, promote industry, employ and relieve the poor, and reward merit. By leaving them in the enjoyment of these powers and rights we do vastly more for them than by leaving them an overgrown fortune with a dejected, indolent commonalty, in a country very little improved by arts and industry, their liberties being by that means more precarious, and the whole community less capable of repelling foreign insults.

I have already shown how little prospect there is of raising our rents by improvements during the uncertain tenures the commonalty have now; and also how we may contribute to the improvement of our country by fixing a lasting property in the yeomanry. What we give in this for the welfare, safety, and improvement of the kingdom is given in an eminent manner to our posterity. It is highly reasonable, at the same time, that out of these tenures a large demesne should be reserved in every gentleman's possession, according to his fortune, that he may at his leisure improve; as also woods, bogs, parks, &c. As to the profit to be made of lands by the rise of markets that is not to be expected or desired; but methods are to be taken to prevent their being higher. There is a reasonable medium, for the benefit of the public, which we generally exceed; consequently it is the interest of the public, as well as of private persons, that lands should increase

in value only by their improvement in being made capable of producing greater quantities of provisions and commodities necessary in trade: to do which effectually, the true way, as I have already shown, is by ascertaining the tenures and possessions of the yeomanry.

Another objection against the having a yeomanry is this, that if a perpetual property were given to them in their lands by these freeholds, then the interest and sway of gentlemen of fortune over their tenants in election of members of Parliament would be so much lessened that the vote of each freeholder in the smallest freehold would be as much regarded as a gentleman's of the greatest fortune; and lords, who have no vote, would, in great measure, lose their interest in elections for the shires.

This objection will have great weight with many in both Houses of Parliament, without whose concurrence no law can be obtained; and, therefore, it requires a deliberate and full answer.

In order to this I must observe, that the design and intention of Parliaments is to preserve the liberty and property of the subject, and to procure those laws that may be thought beneficial, and repeal others which may be found pernicious to the commonwealth. The less the expence is to the elected, and the securer the property and freedom is in the electors, the greater will the weight of the Parliament be, and the more capable of preserving our liberties and procuring us proper laws.

This answers the most material part of the objection, but not the particular reason of those who have large possessions and great interest by the present smaller determinable freeholds under them, who, to strengthen the objection, alledge that the freeholders, whom our present laws allow to vote, being of a low station and having but little knowledge in affairs of government, are not qualified to judge of the capacity and qualifications of the candidates, if they be not under the direction of gentlemen of more extensive knowledge and greater discernment, but are frequently biased by the seeming generosity or extravagance of the candidates, which too much

influences the lower rank of men. This must be allowed to be fact among several of the less judicious of them; but there are such close ties between landlord and tenant, especially in tenures of leases of lives renewable, that it is frequently in the landlord's power to do them many actions of kindness which others cannot; as also to lay them under some difficulties if they oppose them out of a spirit of perverseness, when the gentlemen they recommend are of fair characters in their country. So that the few to be prevailed upon to act against their interest will be inconsiderable, unless a landlord should propose a person to them of a notorious ill-character, who might join in with others that would form designs to unhinge our happy government and constitution. If ever such a time should happen, it will be allowed by all that they ought to break through all such ties, and choose gentlemen who would exert themselves in the defence of their country, the government, and constitution. Their opposition to their landlords at such a time would be a convincing proof that the perpetual tenures of the yeomanry would be of singular advantage to our country; and would show that our constitution was fixed upon a foundation not easily to be moved. But since those noblemen and gentlemen, that have the greatest stakes and interest in their country, are under the strongest ties to preserve our constitution and liberties, this is a case which, it is presumed, will never happen. It is only those of desperate fortunes that would desire convulsions in the State, in hopes to fish in troubled waters; who, having little or nothing to lose, might hope to be gainers in the scuffle upon a new division of properties. So that the force of this objection must be lost, and landlord and tenant, like patron and client, would have so great dependence upon each other that they would still act in concert, to the disappointment of those who would endeavour the contrary from selfish views, without intending either to serve the freeholders or the public.

Besides, the returns of the boroughs would still be in the recommendation of the nobility and gentlemen of fortune; and, perhaps, it would be proper to have the value of the freeholds of those allowed to vote for knights of the shire

fixed at 10*l.* *per annum*, by which means they would be less liable to be biased, and elections would become less expensive.

Another objection to the establishing a yeomanry is this, some may say they willingly would do it; but if they should, whilst others could not, who are minors, or, being bound up by settlement, are tenants for life; then these last, who are now upon a level with them, and their posterity after them would have greater influence, increase their rents, and be above the *par* with them and their children, which otherwise they would not.

This seems to have some weight at first view; but I will endeavour to show there is little or nothing in it, or that it may be avoided. I have already shown there is no great prospect of the rise of lands without further improvements, which is not to be hoped for from our present tenures. Besides, those who do expect it generally live above their fortunes; so when they have raised their rents they spend their fortunes by living up to a nominal rent-roll, which is frequently the reason we see so many families ruined and often extinct. On the contrary, those families that would give the before-mentioned tenures to the yeomanry, by knowing what they would have to depend upon, and living within bounds, might live easy and improve their fortunes; Whilst the others, by putting an imaginary value on their lands, live above them, and often sell to those very families in their neighbourhood who live frugally and improve what is in their possession, and by that means are more likely to make their fortunes better, and with more profit to the commonwealth. But in order to make it more equitable, and have a speedier good effect, a law might be procured to enable tenants for life and guardians to make leases of lives, or for terms of years renewable, at the best improved rent, without fine, reserving at each death, or term of years inserted upon renewals, a proportional fine, or a proportional part of the improved rent, as may be thought reasonable to be fixed by law.

Nor do I think it would be prejudicial to the public if such a method as this were introduced, viz., to give leases of lives
 158 renewable,

renewable, or fee-farms, at a reasonable price, as lands are generally set in the country, and the landlord afterwards always, from seven to seven years, or from ten to ten years, to have it in his choice to take the first rent it was fixed at in money, or the third part of the produce of the farm annually in kind after the tithe is deducted; so that he might have it in his power to agree with his tenant, for seven or ten years certain, for a sum of money to be paid annually for such third, or otherwise to take it in kind.

By this means the landlord would have a certainty for the rent the lands were first set at, and also the proportional part of the increase made by the tenant upon the improvement of his farm, either in gardening, orcharding, tillage, or pasture, according to agreement. Thus, for instance, suppose a farm of 60 acres, plantation measure, set at 5*s.* per acre, that is, for the whole, 15*l.* per ann. Suppose, by the tenant's industry, 8 of these were in fallow, 8 under barley or wheat, and 16 under beans, peas, and oats; 8 in gardening and meadow, and 20 in grass. Suppose the produce of wheat to be 8 barrels per acre, or of barley, 14; peas or beans, 10; and oats, 12. The crop in tillage, by the improvement of the farmer, would stand thus: 64 barrels of wheat, or 112 of barley; 4 acres of beans or peas, 40 barrels; and 144 barrels of oats upon 12 acres. After deducting the tithe, the landlord's third would be above 19 barrels of wheat, or 33.6 of barley; 12 of beans or peas; and 43 of oats:—

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Wheat, 12 <i>s.</i> per barrel, .	11	8	0	or	10	1	7
Beans or peas, 8 <i>s.</i> , .	4	16	0	.	4	16	0
Oats, 4 <i>s.</i> per barrel, .	8	12	0	.	8	12	0

So that the landlord by
the crop would have 24 16 0 or 23 9 7

There would also be 8 acres in gardening or meadow, value 8*l.*, when tithe is deducted, 7*l.* 4*s.*; the landlord's third would then be 2*l.* 8*s.* By sowing grass-seeds, 20 acres of grass would at least be worth 10*s.* per acre, 10*l.*; the landlord's third, tithe deducted, 3*l.* Total of gardening, meadow,

This is an old English proportion

and grass, 5*l.* 8*s.* So the improved rent to the landlord might be from 28*l.* 17*s.* 7*d.* to 30*l.* 4*s.*, when markets were at a reasonable price; if he abated the tenant one-tenth of this for his trouble, he would have about 27*l.* *per ann.* for his rent, which would be an addition of about 12*l.* *per ann.* to his original rent, all owing to the tenant's improvement, upon his having a good tenure; and the tenant would have, at a medium, about 60*l.* *per ann.* to live upon, and to pay his servants' wages, seed, and repairs. Or suppose one-fourth would be thought a reasonable proportion to take from the tenant, then the landlord would have about 22*l.* at a medium; and allowing the tenant one-tenth of that for his trouble in turning it into money for him, the landlord would have about 20*l.* *per ann.* rent, or 5*l.* more than the first rent, all owing to the tenant's improvement.

Thus might he agree with the tenant for seven or ten years as he thought proper, and still be secure of the third or fourth of the increase made by the improving tenant. If markets at any time became dearer he would reap the benefit of them; and even where the tenant was a sluggard, or the lands not easily improved, he would still be sure of the original rent they were set at. He might also secure, where wood was planted, a proportion of it at each fall of the wood, for which he might at his pleasure come to an agreement with the tenant.

Such a tenure, I am convinced, would answer all the ends desired by the public as well as by the landlord and tenant. The public would reap all the benefit of the improvements made in the value of lands through the kingdom. The landlord would have a reasonable share of the improvement of his land and gradual rise of markets; and the tenant would have a permanent property in his farm, and a comfortable additional subsistence to his family by his improvement, care, and frugality; and a necessary and suitable dependance and friendship would be preserved between landlord and tenant in all elections, and a perfect harmony be always maintained. It would be the landlord's interest and honour to preserve his tenant from all hardships and inconveniencies from others in

the country, and the tenant's to support his landlord's interest and weight with others of equal rank in the kingdom, which would enable the landlord the more effectually to protect and defend the tenant from any oppressions in the neighbourhood. Then the *jus patronatus* would be in some measure renewed, and landlord and tenant would be synonymous terms with patron and client. Thus would our liberties be better secured, and trade and industry be promoted.

It may be further objected that in several parts of the kingdom, particularly in the *North*, they have subdivided their farms into small holdings, and the present possessors being poor they have not stock enough to take and improve 60 or 100 acres; and in some other provinces, where are vast tracts of grazing ground, and few residing upon them but gentlemen and labourers, there would not be enough of the middle rank to take such freeholds, or capable to improve them.

To this I answer, that giving those who have an inclination to improve a perpetual property in the lands, though, according to the plan I proposed, they are not allowed to subdivide their freeholds, and are not able at present to occupy and improve the whole freehold they would take, they might, however, set off a part of it for a term of years, until their stock should increase and the land in their own possession be improved, and afterwards they might take in the remainder, and be able to manage the whole to advantage.

I must further observe, that should this method of letting lands ever take place, those who come earliest into the project would have the choice of all the improving tenants to take their lands; and all the poor, refuse, dispirited tenants, having no genius for improvement, would be left with those who would not concur in giving those tenures, or were latest in coming into this method.

Though the giving these freeholds to Protestants only would have a good effect in strengthening the Protestant interest in this kingdom, by increasing their numbers and keeping the power and property of lands in their hands; yet I could wish, for the good of religion and our public benefit,

that so wide a breach were not kept up between us and the Papists, for I am fully convinced nothing retains them more obstinately in their persuasion than an impression that they are suffering for religion. Were there a free intercourse between us, and no stain fixed upon Protestants, who, through curiosity, sometimes might be present at their sermons or celebration of their Mass, we might more easily expose their errors and superstition to the vulgar, who are kept in ignorance, than now we can. The chief reason we can have to discourage Popery by penal laws (for I do not consider the Papists here as the old native proprietors, who always pretend a claim to their ancient properties) arise from the three following tenets or doctrines they hold, viz.: a foreign jurisdiction in the Pope over kings to dethrone and murder them; their keeping no faith with heretics; and their maintaining an inquisition over conscience. Their other errors and absurdities, for the most part, regard only themselves, but do not affect the public. Many of the *Gallican* Church and *Jansenists* deny these. Now, should any part of the Popish secular clergy be brought to abjure these, and to expose these tenets to their hearers, and endeavour to discover and suppress those who taught them, and, at the same time, take the Oath of Allegiance to his Majesty, I would freely give my vote for a toleration of them and their religion; and distinguish the laity who adhered to this less erroneous part of the Church of *Rome* by giving them tenures and an interest in their country sufficient to promote their being industrious and assisting to increase the wealth of the kingdom.

The present method of setting, levying, or recovering of tithes in this kingdom is frequently the ground of complaint, and an occasion of differences and coldness between the clergy and laity in many places, which obstructs the clergy's being useful as spiritual guides, and has lately been made an handle to induce thousands of the Protestant Dissenters to go to *America*; for, by the present method of setting them to tithe-farmers from year to year, they not only come to know the full value of their tithe, and take the utmost farthing from the tithe-farmers, by giving them to those who offer most,

but these again screw up the tithe upon the possessors of the land, even beyond the value, by the folly of the occupiers of the land, who value their grain, &c., higher, and their own labour less than the tithe-farmer could sell the grain or get it cleaned for, in case he drew the tithe and made the most of it; and if the tithe-farmer continues above two or three years in possession, and any of the people fall in arrear, they are so much under his distress by the expense he can put them to in the Ecclesiastical Courts, that they dare not oblige him to draw their tithe, but, in hopes of forbearance, will rather take it above the value. I cannot but think, therefore, it would be for the public good that a power should be given by law to the present incumbents in every parish, and for the time to come to their successors, to set leases of their tithes at the improved value, without taking fines, for a term not exceeding twenty-one, sixteen, or eleven years, as thought most reasonable by the Legislature, which should bind their successors during that term; and, to prevent frauds, no lease should be valid that was made within a year of the incumbent's death or removal; and, as a further encouragement and inducement, to set the tithes only to the lessees or occupiers of the land, or to the immediate landlord of the occupiers of it, who could applot and levy it with the rent during the term for which it was granted; a power may be given to the clergy in such cases to levy and distrain from the ter-tenant, or occupier of the land, as lay-landlords do now.

By making such a law, I can foresee no disadvantage to the clergy, but the contrary, and a considerable benefit to the laity and the public; a perfect harmony would be restored in many places between them. The clergy would have the certainty of a reasonable value of their tithes, and an easy way of recovering them without any discontent; and at the expiration of each lease, in case lands improved or markets became gradually dearer, they could improve their tithes as well as now; and in the mean time the occupiers of the land would be encouraged to break up and improve their lands by tillage, and to propagate several other things that are attended with great expense, as hops, &c., which now they cannot so

well undertake, considering how heavy the tithe would be when added to the other expense. The heavy tithe is a reason often given for their indolence and non-improvement.

I cannot see that any person would suffer by giving these leases, and the allowance of distraining for the tithes, but the officers of the Ecclesiastical Courts; which might be easily remedied by giving to the several Chancellors an annual salary, to be levied in the several diocesses as county-taxes are, in lieu of their fees upon all occasions, as well upon licences and probates as upon suits depending in their courts; and then we should get rid of many useless officers, such as country proctors, apparators, &c., who are generally as useless and prejudicial to the commonalty as country attornies.

But perhaps it may be objected, that since the law has given the tenth to the clergy, and that to be paid in kind out of the labour of the laity; why should not they have the utmost of their due without clamour? Which they cannot have during the continuance of the lease, though the lands improve and the markets rise; besides, this is doing a great prejudice to the successors of the present incumbents who grant the leases.

To this I answer, that if the tithes were given to the clergy, solely with an intention to make them rich and opulent, and to aggrandize and raise their families, and that they were to consider nothing but their own private benefit, the objection is strong, and they ought to make the most of them; but if they are only given as a comfortable subsistence for their families, and to take off their thoughts from worldly affairs, that they may have time to employ themselves in reading, improving their knowledge, and teaching the laity; who by reason of their many other avocations, have not leisure generally to employ a competent part of their time, to discover without assistance, and to fix the impressions of their duty to God Almighty and each other, and for that reason stand in need of their examples and exhortations; and since the principal reward of the clergy's labours is reserved to be given in another world, I cannot see why they should desire to take the utmost of the labour of the laity due by law, and so give

the people an impression of their too much valuing this world, which gives their exhortations less weight, and frequently breaks the harmony which ought to subsist between them; or how can they justly complain of lay-landlords, who rack and squeeze the most they can from their tenants, since by law they are as much entitled to what they can get for their land, as the clergy to their tithes. If landlords then quit a share of their right to the improvement of the land and the future rise of markets, and for the good of the public divest their successors of it, who are their children, by giving the yeomanry a fixed property in their freeholds; ought not the clergy, for example's sake, and to show they are no more attached to this world than the laity, to allow their parishioners to have a small property in their tithes for a few years, at a somewhat less value than the law entitles them to take? and this, I think, they may do with a good conscience, without being justly blamed by their successors; nay, even in case a small fine were taken, which I propose here should not be allowed, or otherwise the bishops have all along been in an error, in renewing for a fine to their tenants, and have done injustice to their successors.

As a further encouragement to industry, we ought to execute the laws more rigorously against Papists who refuse to work upon their holidays which are not allowed by our laws; for these they spend in idleness, to the loss of the public and their own detriment, half starving their families by not working a competent part of their time. Nor would it be a detriment if we lessened the number of our legal holidays, and had more working days; for since the original intention of them is not complied with, to frequent the church for instruction and prayers, the public ought not to suffer the loss, by their making it a cloak for idleness and debauchery. Some of them also happen in those seasons when labour is very necessary to the public. The obliging, therefore, all those to work who either had not public prayers in their parish, or would not attend them if there were any, I hope, would not be deemed a robbing God Almighty of his due; for certainly a laudable industry on such days, is more pleasing to him, than an indolent inactivity and non-attendance upon his service.

I shall here beg leave to make a gross computation of the loss the nation sustains by the great number of our holidays ill-employed, and by the *still* greater number of the Popish holidays.

There are twenty-six Popish holidays kept in *England*, more than the thirty-two kept by our law, but by our *Irish* calendar, I apprehend there are many more; for in an almanack I have seen some time ago, in which the Popish holidays were distinguished, I have observed at least forty-nine more than our law allows; considering also that the common *Irish* Papists keep *St. Patrick's* day, his wife's, and wife's mother's, with many others equally ridiculous; I believe that number is of the least. However, as in all my computations I have endeavoured to be within the truth, I shall here only suppose them twenty-six as in *England*, and form a calculation from that number. I observed before, there were at least 1,669,644 persons in *Ireland*; I suppose of this number 1,200,000 are Papists of all ages, and 600,000 of these capable of gaining 5*d.* per day one day with another, by service, labour, manufacture, or spinning (which, I cannot think is too great wages to be allowed to them; considering by *Mr. King's* accurate tables, that the one-half of the people in every country, are probably between the ages of fifteen and sixty years, and that many above sixty and under fifteen are capable of maintaining themselves by their labour), there being then twenty-six Popish holidays, each person loses 10*s.* 10*d.*, which multiplied by the number of labouring persons, amounts annually to 325,000*l.* loss to the kingdom by the Popish holidays alone. There are, besides these, thirty-two kept by Act of Parliament. Suppose only sixteen of these should be kept, *viz.*, from *Christmas* to *Epiphany*, being an high festival, and in the dead time of the year, six; *Ash-Wednesday*, *Good-Friday*, two in *Easter* week, two in *Whitsun* week, the 30th of *January*, 29th of *May*, 23rd of *October*, and 5th of *November*, being all our high festivals, and the other sixteen should be allowed to be working days; there being at least 800,000 persons capable of labour in the kingdom of all denominations, each of these at 5*d.* per day, at present loses 6*s.* 8*d.*, which is annually to the whole number 266,666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, which

which added to the former loss, the whole amounts to 591,666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, which might annually be gained by the public, and part of it being added to our exports, would so far contribute to the balance of our trade. These days are now generally spent in debauchery and rioting by those who ought to labour, whilst perhaps their children are half-starved at home, or turn idle and beg or steal to support themselves.

Would it not then be more reasonable to lessen the number of our legal holidays, even further than I have mentioned, by taking away such other days as keep up the spirit of division and parties among us, than to connive at the idling away of those not allowed by law, which the Papists do at present to the great prejudice of the kingdom.

If we could by these encouragements raise a spirit of improvement among our yeomanry, and by making and enforcing proper laws oblige all people to work a reasonable part of their time, the thing which would then be most wanted would be the establishment of a board or trust, that would act with the same generosity and care as the Trustees of the Linen Manufacture have done; who should have a considerable sum appropriated to be applied by them as premiums upon any new improvement or useful invention in husbandry, gardening, trade, navigation, or fisheries, as also to encourage the people from abroad (famous in their several trades and employments) to come and reside with us, and put us upon such improvements as we are at present unacquainted with, or do not sufficiently understand. The fund for this use may be raised upon some of the articles of luxury, dress, equipage, and gaming, as I before proposed, which I believe none will think a hardship, since it is in every one's power to pay as much or as little of it as he thinks proper. This board we have given a happy beginning to last session, by the Bill for Encouragement of Tillage, Draining of Bogs, and Inland Navigation, which I hope in time may be enlarged, so as to comprehend the other improvements I have mentioned, and have a suitable fund appropriated to it.

This general board fixed in *Dublin*, ought to have corresponding

ponding members in each county, by way of clubs, to consider their wants, and what improvements are proper for the several counties. And these county clubs may again be subdivided and have monthly meetings among themselves, to put every farmer they can influence, upon the most advantageous improvements his land is capable of, whether by tillage, grass-seeds, gardening, draining, fencing, making meadow, &c. These would be as so many sub-committees upon our land improvements, that would impart their several experiments and the success attending them, to the grand board in *Dublin*, from whence they might again be communicated to other parts of the kingdom. After the same manner should clubs of merchants, artificers, manufacturers, and fishers meet in the several sea-port and trading towns, to concert and propose further improvements in trade, navigation, manufactures, and fisheries, which they might communicate to the grand board. I should think, subscriptions among the gentlemen meeting at these clubs, to be given once a year as premiums among those farmers and manufacturers, &c., who showed anything remarkable in their way, as the best bred horse for carriage, war, or the saddle; the finest or largest cow or bullock, the best sheep; and so in respect to gardening, tillage, manufactures, or fisheries, would be of great service to the public, and more beneficial than subscriptions for plates to encourage race-horses, which are of very little advantage to the public and frequently a loss to the possessor.

Among the many improvements our lands are capable of, I cannot omit the article of hops, which is so heavy a charge upon us in our importations, amounting at a medium annually to 40,000*l.*; also the culture of *madder* may be very beneficial to us, by saving us at least 5,000*l.* annually, which we import, and by supplying *England* with at least 17,000*l.* or 18,000*l.* value, which they now have from *Flanders*. Both are very profitable to the planter, and employ many of the poor great part of the year, particularly hops. Since they are both agreeable to the soil and climate of *Ireland*, especially to the warmer and more *southerly* parts, such as the rich grounds

of *Tipperary* and *Limerick*; and since they have been tried in several of the more *northern* counties with tolerable success, I hope it will not be amiss to be a little more particular in recommending and showing the benefit to be made by them.

The benefit arising from hops, to those in *England* employed in raising and vending them is manifest, by their keeping up and increasing their hop-yards. Though a bad crop is expected generally once in four years, yet it is computed they make 30*l.* net profit *per acre annually*, which is equivalent to 49*l.* for the *Irish* plantation acre; and at the same time they give wages and employment to many of the industrious poor, at least half the year, by reason of the necessary attendance upon soiling, digging, planting, hoeing, poling, tying, and picking, so that the national benefit is superior to that of the farmer. The merchants afterwards and retailers have their benefit, and may be computed to make at least 20*l. per cent.* profit upon them. If the nation finds it proper to discourage our present extravagance in *French* wines and brandy, it will put us upon proper methods of improving and meliorating our home liquors, particularly beer and ale, of which also we would expend greater quantities, which would not only increase our tillage, and improvements in gardening and orchards, but also our demand for hops. If we do not in time consider this, and plant grounds with ash and hopsally for poles, and plant hop-yards, both the price and quantity of hops from *England*, will be increased by our greater demand for them here.

I am surprised, those gentlemen of *Tipperary* and *Limerick* who boast that their soil is so rich and deep, that they throw away their dung least they should make their lands too rank and full of weeds, do not fall about so beneficial an improvement. I would not doubt of their making vast tracts of their land, in ten or twelve years, worth 3*l.* or 4*l. per acre*, and those who occupy the lands, would at the same time make fortunes under them; would they but choose proper situations for villages, inclose and fence in proper grounds for hop-yards, and shelter them with trees of quick growth, plant little copses for hop-poles; and being at the expense of bringing

over some families from *England* conversant in that way, give them hop-yards for some years gratis, and afterwards in freehold at a reasonable rent; they might lay a foundation for the getting 2,000*l.* or 3,000*l.* per annum, rent, out of 1,000 acres, and at the same time make thriving towns, lay out all their grounds like gardens, and employ all the poor in their neighbourhood, who (finding the difference between living well by their constant employment and labour, and the miserable way they now live in, when idle and poor) would at the other seasons of the year, when not employed in the hop-yards, make some progress in our manufactures by spinning, &c., and thus contribute to the increase of our linen or hempen manufactures in those parts. How much more profitable would such improvements be, than the wilds at present under sheep-walks and grazing farms? How much more populous and safe would the country be, by having rich and populous villages? How much better for the public to give employment to, and increase the number of the industrious? and how much more honourable to the gentlemen, who promote this improvement and employ the poor, than to discard them, and turn all their lands into grazing farms, and by that means force them to be poor and miserable for want of employment? Those who seriously consider the matter, will be sensible of the truth of this.

In like manner might *madder* be cultivated in those rich lands to vast profit, being generally sold from 2*l.* or 3*l.*, to 7*l.* or 8*l.* per cwt.; so that an *English* acre has been known to yield 200*l.* or 300*l.*, the crop being taken once in three years, which would be an immense gain. But if only 150*l.* was made once in three years upon an *Irish* acre, it would be highly worth improvement; and there being vent for near the value of 24,000*l.* yearly in *England*, and here, there might be 480 acres employed in it to advantage. I need not run out at length upon the advantage to be made in planting woad, weld, saffron, liquorice and other things more immediately in the way of gardening; but I do think a small sum of money, to be given as a premium to persons who perfectly understood the culture of each of these, and a proper plot of ground, to be given to them in consideration of their taking

taking a number of sharp boys apprentices, to learn them how to raise and cure each of these, would be exceedingly well bestowed, and a public benefit. These, when out of their time, might be taken by gentlemen in different provinces, who were willing to improve the kingdom and try them upon their several grounds; and if they were attended with success, then lands might be given them at a reasonable rent, for the propagation of those useful plants. By these and the like methods, might every corner of our country be improved.

Among the many improvements of which *Ireland* is capable, and to which we ought to give all proper encouragement, is the discovery of mines and minerals. The out-works of our mines and subterraneous treasures, have been attempted in some places with success, and some progress made in several places, where by the discovery of smaller veins, greater and more beneficial mines may be hoped for. *Ireland* has in many places such towering mountains and rocks, as gives the strongest presumption of their having considerable mines in them. But it is our misfortune, that either by the ignorance of the possessors, want of capacity in the undertakers, and negligence or rather roguery of the miners and others employed in sinking, boring, or driving, many attempts have proved unsuccessful, to the great discouragement of all future attempts.

I am therefore fully convinced, we shall never make any considerable benefit of our mines, without altering our laws which relate to them, and making them more extensive and beneficial to the undertakers; for since in most places, lands are in possession of tenants for life or minors, who, by our laws cannot grant leases of mines above thirty-one years; and those gentlemen, whose lands are not settled, very seldom grant a longer term, and sometimes are unwilling upon reasonable terms to give even so long a time; I can by no means think that encouragement adequate to the risk they run, nor will any persons of knowledge, experience, or fortune come into this kingdom to search for mines upon such limited leases as our laws allow; and perhaps if they should come over,

either upon account of disputed titles, or the extravagance of the demands of those who have the title, or by unnecessary delays, even such leases cannot be easily procured upon reasonable terms.

I have, therefore, to show how the defect of our mine laws may be supplied, made some inquiry into the laws in force in mine countries, particularly *Germany, Hungary, and Poland*. And there, I find they are vastly different from ours, and calculated entirely with a view of giving encouragement to those who will adventure and discover mines and minerals. The laws in *Derbyshire* are also upon a different foot from ours, but not quite so beneficial to the discoverer, as those abroad. In these countries there is no want of a lease, when any persons set about the finding of mines, they only pay the damage done to the soil in the attempt; and if a mine is discovered, a court is called, and the finder makes a legal proof of his being the discoverer, and the mine (as long as he continues working that vein) is assured to him in property, giving a fixed proportion to the lord of the soil as their law directs. This must certainly be allowed to be much more beneficial to the public and to the undertaker than our limited leases, and would be a sufficient encouragement, either to bring over persons of experience and judgment to search for mines in this kingdom, or might put some of our own gentlemen upon travelling into the several mine countries abroad, with a view of improving themselves in the knowledge of mines, having a prospect of making their fortunes by it upon their return home.

For these reasons I would humbly propose, that our laws in relation to mines and minerals might be repealed, and a general law made conformable to the laws in force abroad in the mine countries; that any person paying a reasonable sum for the damage and trespass done to the soil, to be determined by a jury, should have free liberty to bore, dig, sink, or otherwise search, for any mine, mineral, or other treasure, paying a proportion limited by law, suppose one-tenth, to the lord of the soil. That before he began to search, if the lord of the soil were known, and there was no disputed title to the

royalties, he should be obliged to make an offer to him, of going one-fourth or any less share with him in the expense and profit, besides the one-tenth reserved as a rent to the lord of the soil by law; which share, if he agreed to, and without delaying the undertaker, immediately entered into articles to fulfil such agreement, should be allowed to him; if he did not, the whole mine or vein discovered should be the undertaker's, paying the above mentioned proportion to the lord of the soil, until the vein run out, or he discontinued the work six months; nor should he have any title to sink in or damage any house, yard, garden, or orchard. A proper law, framed upon such a foundation, would I hope give this kingdom much greater benefit of its mines in a few years.

Since it cannot be expected I should mention all the minute improvements *Ireland* is capable of, nor enter into a detail of the several advantages we should reap by them, I shall only take notice of a very great and beneficial branch of trade that is left open to us, which I reserved to the last, namely, our fisheries. This in great measure depends upon the increase of our people, employment of our poor, and the lowering of interest, which, of consequence, makes freight easy, and by that means enables fisheries to be carried on to the advantage of the private undertakers as well as the public.

When the private fisher can afford to sell his fish so cheap that the merchant may have a reasonable profit by exporting them to foreign countries, the national advantage thence arising is so great and manifest that I need not enlarge upon that head, all being clear gain except cask and salt. If we consider the vast number of hands employed both by sea and land to advantage, with the number of ships, busses, and boats; the increase of our hempen manufacture by furnishing sail-cloth, cordage, nets, and lines; the number of trades supported by furnishing and fitting out the ships employed in the fishery, in bringing in salt and cask and exporting the fish; as also by supplying the sailors and fishers with provision, apparel, and other necessaries, we must be convinced of the many and great advantages of fisheries, when well managed.

If we consider that *Ireland*, next to *Britain*, is situated the most conveniently of any nation in *Europe*, either for cod, ling, hake, herrings, or pilchards, which abound upon our coast or that of *Britain* adjoining to us; as also for the banks of *Newfoundland*, or the whale fishery on the coast of *Greenland*, *Spitzbergen*, or *Davy's Streights*. If we consider the fishery further as a branch of trade *England* has left open for us to increase our shipping and navigation, and to assist them in recovering so beneficial a trade from foreigners, since we lie more conveniently for it than foreigners do, all these things should oblige us to attempt an undertaking which would be so beneficial to us.

We find, by the constant and diligent application of the *Dutch* and other nations, that it must be a very considerable and advantageous trade to them. This the *Dutch* frequently call their gold mine, and remember constantly in their prayers; and it is generally believed to be more considerable than the *East India* and most other branches of their trade joined together. It is from hence plain that it is practicable; and if we can once come, by lowering of interest and cheapness of freight, to be upon a *par* with them, we will exceed them by our situation in all other advantages. The only thing necessary to attempt the herring fishery with success would be such a knowledge in the manner of taking them as to have them in as great quantity as the *Dutch*; and in the method of curing them, so as to save them as well, and to bring them as early to market. None of these are impracticable. It will be allowed that we lie as conveniently to have salt from *St. Ubes*, *France*, or *Britain* as they do. Cask may be procured at reasonable rates. To all parts of *Europe* we have a shorter run, except the *Baltic*, *Germany*, and *Flunders*; and even in the *Baltic* we might be as near the market as they, if we fitted our busses to fish in the *northern* isles of *Scotland* and *Shetland* as early in summer as they do; for we would have all the *Scotch* ports open to us which they want. As for cod, ling, and hake, we might with proper care outdo all but *Britain*, with whom we might share upon their and our own coasts. And for the whale fishery, we are nearer than either

the *Dutch* or *Hamburghers*, had we once embarked in it, and got expert harpooners. Of these fisheries I will treat severally.

First I will give an account of the herring fishery; the way the fish take in their progress from place to place; how the *Dutch* proceed in taking them; and what method we ought to take to procure the greatest number in the best season to answer foreign markets; which I will do from the best authority I could procure, and from my own reasonings and observations, as well as those of others with whom I have conversed upon it.

We find that all fish in stormy weather do leave the lee shore upon which the storms beat and retire into deeper water not so much disturbed. Since gregarious fish, such as herrings, which swim in shoals, are more liable to be disturbed by a working sea than other fish, it is highly rational from hence to conclude that they generally retire into the deeps of the ocean during the winter, where they are free from the disturbance of the winter storms. This is confirmed by experience, by the many observations of their constant regular retreat from the shores of *Britain* and *Ireland* after spawning, and the regular annual return of the immense shoal of herrings to the *north-western* isles of *Scotland*, and the isles of *Faro* and *Shetland*, where the *Dutch* attend their motion in the month of *June*.

We find from the observations of fishers that *salmon* constantly attempt to spawn in the rivers in which they were bred; and fishers along our *northern* coast, upon taking them at sea, can distinguish the different *salmon* belonging to the several rivers they spawn in by their different shape or marks, such as those of the rivers *Bush*, *Bann*, &c. It is from hence highly probable that herrings endeavour to spawn upon such banks as they have been formerly bred in, unless driven thence by storms, frights, or other disgusts, as some allege (how well grounded I will not pretend to dispute, nor can I readily believe), such as firing of guns upon engagements at sea, which might occasion a tremulation in the water disagreeable to them; but why thunder should not equally affect them I cannot

cannot pretend to tell, for the effect to them in the water is the same.

That they do spawn in places where bred I conclude also for this reason: that when any remarkable fishery of herrings has been in any particular river or place of spawning, in loughs or bays where there are proper banks for them, for several years afterwards no great fishery has been known at that place; the mother fish having been in great measure destroyed, it requires some years in such place for the spawn or fry to increase to a sufficient number to make a profitable fishery.

I have an account also from persons of honour and integrity, who may be depended upon for the truth of the fact, that in *Clyde*, where had been the best fishery in the west of *Scotland*, about forty years ago, they made a wire in it with hurdles where it was narrow, by which means they contracted the passage so much that at full sea they stretched a net from side to side in the height of the fishing season. The herrings, in a manner the whole shoal, had got within the net before they fixed it, and, endeavouring to get out upon the return of the tide, being stopped by it, were all destroyed, having stifled one another with their pressure, and so were thrown upon the shore several feet thick, where, having neither salt nor cask to cure and pack them in, they rotted, and they carried them out and soiled their ground with them. From that time, for many years, they had no fishery there; and even now it no way equals what it formerly was. The inhabitants there said it was a judgment upon them for the destruction they made; but it is highly agreeable to nature if we suppose that fish spawn where bred, most of the mother fish being then destroyed.

Since then there is the greatest probability of meeting with the herrings upon the banks, and in the bays and rivers where they annually spawn; and since the most rational method of catching a great quantity is by discovering their several haunts, and by following them whilst they swim in shoals to those banks and spawning places, before their shoals are subdivided, when they are with more difficulty met with, I will

endeavour to show the course they generally take, from their first setting out in the beginning of summer until they return to the *north-western* deeps in winter, from whence again they annually set out upon their migration.

The *Dutch*, by an experience of a long series of years, have found they are to be met with near *Brassa Sound* in *Shetland*, in the beginning of *June*. There all their busses assemble by the 22nd, and on the 24th, *N. S.*, which is the first day they are allowed to fish, for before that time they find by experience the herrings are not in their prime. They from thence scatter over the face of the ocean, until they meet with the grand shoal, which they afterwards seldom part with while their fishery lasts. The shoal at the *north* of *Scotland* divides, one part going along the *east* coast, and the other along the *west*. That on the *east* has been generally accounted the largest shoal, from the numerous banks in the *German Sea* and on the coast of *England* and *Holland*. These, by the time they reach *Yarmouth*, begin to spawn, and are past the season for prime white herrings, being there chiefly used in making red herring by being dried and smoaked. When they have got the length of the *Thames* they are still more wasted, and only fit for the present consumption in the *London* market. They are yet worse by the time they reach *Calais* and *Dieppe*, being in *November* and *December*, from whence they go, if the winds blow *easterly*, through the *Channel* and so through *St. George's Channel*, or round *Ireland* to the *north-western* deeps, to lie there during the stormy season; whilst those which spawn sooner on the sands near *Yarmouth* and *Lincoln*, &c., retire *northwards* before the *easterly* storms begin, and so regain the *northern* deeps before they are disturbed by the then angry element.

At the same time that the *eastern* shoal goes into the *German Sea*, the *western* shoal coasts along the *west* side and *western* isles of *Scotland* or the *Hebrides*, and fills all the loughs, bays, and creeks there with an innumerable quantity of fish. From thence they proceed more *southerly*, and at the *north* of *Ireland* again subdivide, a very large shoal going *easterly* betwixt *Cantyre* and *Fairhead* in *Ireland*, whilst a

smaller shoal goes *westward* to *Loughswilly*, *Killibegs*, and *Sligo*. The greater shoal, at the entrance of the *Irish Sea*, subdivides as it goes *southerly*, a great many going up *Clyde*. If the *easterly* winds prevail sometimes the whole shoal coasts it up as high as *Ayr*, where at such a time they might take an immense quantity, as well as in other parts of *Clyde*. They thence proceed *southerly* to the several places of spawning on each side of the *Irish Channel*, still subdividing and wasting the more *southerly* they go, being generally all spent before they reach *Waterford* on the one side, or *Devonshire* and *Cornwall* on the other side of the *Channel*. And this is the reason of the difference of the size and price of the *Scotch* and *Waterford* herrings; the one being taken in high season, and the other when too late. By the time they have reached so far *southward*, and have spawned, part of the *eastern* shoal arrives from the *English Channel* and joins them; and as the wind favours them they either go round *Ireland* or through the *Irish Channel* to the *northern* deeps. About *Christmas*, 1728, above 1,000 of them were taken by a draught of a seine at *Isle Magee*, in the *north* of *Ireland*, on their return, being lank and spent; the others which spawned earlier had before that time regained the *Lewes Isles*, and recovered so much as in *December* to be in tolerable season. Thus, when the stormy season begins, they retreat to the deeps, and are ready in *April* and *May* to begin their annual tour from the isles of *Faro*, *Shetland*, and the *Northern Hebrides*.

Notwithstanding the general opinion of the greatness of the *eastern* shoal, it is a dubious point with me whether the *western* does not exceed, or at least equal, the *eastern*; and that for these reasons. Since the presumption is that the numbers, upon their division at the *north* of *Scotland*, which go to each coast are in proportion to their spawning places on each side of *Britain*, which are the several sands, bays, and inlets on the coasts of *Britain* and *Ireland*, where the storms least prevail, I am of opinion the *western* shoal at least equals the *eastern*. For, though the coasts of *Holland* and *Germany* abound with banks, and, therefore, might be presumed to have more spawning places than the *Irish Channel*, yet they

have not such great numbers of herrings as the sands near *Yarmouth* and the *east* coast of *Britain*; because the *west* winds blow longer and fiercer than the *eastern*. It is plain there are but few banks or inlets on the *eastern* coast of *Britain* northwards of *Flamborough Head* or *Sunderland*; for, except the river of *Tay* and *Frith of Forth*, there are none considerable. The banks to the *southward* of *Sunderland* are those of the river *Humber*, those by *Lincolnshire*, and so on by *Yarmouth* to the river *Thames* and *Dover*, with the several deeper banks on the coast of *Holland* and *Flanders*; for the storms on the shallow banks would disturb the spawn, and consequently are not proper for them. There are, besides these, a few in the *English Channel*, from *Calais* to the mouth of the *Seine*, and from *Dungeness* towards the *Isle of Wight*. It is probable the sands near the mouths of the *Elbe* and *Weser* are not so proper for their spawn as those of *Holland*; because the breadth of the *German Sea* there may make the sea too turbulent. Now, unless we suppose the *Doggerbank*, *Whitewater*, *Deepwater*, and *Wellbank*, which are situated in the middle of the *German Sea*, to be all spawning places for herrings alone (which is no way probable, since it is there the *Dutch* fish for cod), it is certain the *western* shoal exceeds the *eastern*. Or if only those places on the banks where the water is less than twenty fathoms be proper for spawning on, then they may be computed to be equal to each other; for I presume that there is a proper depth at which different kinds of fish choose to lay their spawn to be protected from the turbulency of the waves in a storm, and to enjoy the warmth of the sun in the spring, which assists in hatching them. This we constantly observe in pond fish, and we have the same reason to conclude it of sea fish. I will now consider the proper places for spawning on the *west* coast of *Britain*, and set them in opposition to those on the *eastern* coast.

The herrings, desiring to keep in the quietest waters in their passage to the *Irish Channel*, crowd in between the *Lewes*, with the rest of that chain of islands, and the coast of *Scotland*; and finding many noble inlets and bays from *Sternoway* southwards upon the *east* side of these islands, and

all round the *Isle of Skye*, make a considerable halt there. In the beginning of the summer the greatest part of the shoal is to force its way on both sides of the *Isle of Skye*, where undoubtedly, by a right disposition of busses and boats, a great number might be taken in their prime season, and might be as early at market as those the *Dutch* take near *Brassa Sound*, which they carry home to re-pack. When the herrings have once pushed their way to the southwards of the *Ouist Islands* they make a shorter stay at *Mull, Isla, Jura*, and *Argyleshire*, because more open to the western ocean, especially if the western winds prevail, though they generally look into each of the bays there as they go along. They from thence soon push their way through the narrowest passage between *Scotland* and *Ireland*, lying between the *Mull of Cantyre* and *Fairforeland* or *Torr Head* in *Ireland*; and being then arrived in a quieter sea, leisurely subdivide, and go in their proper season to their several spawning places on each side of the *Channel*, which I shall briefly mention, and so form an idea of the proportion of the two shoals.

In the *Fryth of Clyde* are the large sands and noble inlets of *Loughfine, Loughlung*, and the extended sands for many leagues from *Newport-Glasgow* along the *Largs*, by *Saltcoats, Irwin*, and *Ayr*, as far almost as *Girvan*, some leagues from shore. There are also considerable sands and inlets on the south coast of *Scotland*, by *Kirkcudbright* and *Dumfries*, up the *Solway Frith*; the sands to the north-east of *Isle of Man*, and so on to *Peel of Foudray*; those of *Lancaster, Preston, Liverpool*, and *Chester*; the sands and inlet at *Conway* and *Beaumaris*; the coast of *Carnarvon* and harbour of *Milford*; and the *Severn Sea* as far as *Lands-end*. This is a vast extent on the west side of *Britain*.

On the *Irish* side are *Larne, Carrickfergus, Strangford, Carlingford*, the sands by *Dundalk* and *Drogheda*, the *Bay of Dublin*, all the grounds and sands from thence by *Wicklow* and *Wexford*, the river of *Waterford*, and so on to *Youghal* and *Cork*; for so far are herrings taken. Besides these there is a shoal which goes down the west side of *Ireland* by *Loughswilly*, and so by *Killibegs* to *Stigo* and *Galway*, where they

find better shelter in the several creeks and inlets than on the *east* side of the *German Sea*. Now, if the many convenient sands and inlets on this side of *Britain* be considered, and the few mother fish destroyed here be compared with the numbers taken on the *east* coast of *Britain*, it is highly probable the *western* shoal is at least as great as the *eastern*.

These, according to the best accounts I have been able to procure, are the annual migrations of the several shoals of herrings; and their proportions do probably correspond to the size of the banks they spawn upon. It is upon this general plan that the *Dutch* have formed so wonderful and beneficial a fishery, whereby they have a magazine sufficient to supply all *Europe*. They do not, as we do, sit lazily down and wait their coming to their doors, by which time they are generally spent and too late for the market, and the shoal so subdivided that it is difficult to find them, for our fishers seldom go in quest of them, until they hear they are arrived at some bay or creek; and often by the time the boats get to it they have left that place and are gone forward on their course. For this reason our boats seldom find the shoal, and, being small, dare not venture into the *Channel* after them, but wait until they are again got into some other bay, by which time the season is lost; and if at any time they are so lucky as to fall in with them, they have neither salt nor cask sufficient to cure and pack them.

The *Dutch*, on the contrary, having fitted out large busses, from about forty to seventy tuns burthen, fit to traverse the seas, well manned with at least twenty hands, provided with salt and cask sufficient for a cargo, and having ships daily arriving with more to carry off and re-pack their herrings, lose no time in sending them early to market. They assemble 1,000, or sometimes near 2,000 busses, under the conduct of an admiral-fisher, who from long experience knows the way the fish take according as the winds and other accidents influence them; and on the 24th of *June, N. S.*, from *Brassa Sound* in *Shetland*, disperse their fleet, like a pack of hounds in quest of a hare, over the face of the deep, and by that means quickly fall in with the shoal, which they seldom or

never forsake; but, shooting their nets at different depths and upon different points, according to his directions, which are guided by the winds and currents, seldom fail of making thrice their loading of fish in a season. This is the reason of the immense benefit they make by their herring fishery. They are always employed for at least four months in the year; take great numbers in the prime season; cure them carefully and effectually; and are the first at the market. They begin on *St. John's Day*, and from that time to *St. James's* they fish from *Faro* and *Shetland* to *Buchaness* in *Scotland*; from that time to the 14th of *September* they fish from thence towards the *Deepwater* and *Doggerbank*; from that time to *St. Catherine's* in *November*, in *Deepwater* towards *Loest* near to *Jarmuda*.

Since I have engaged in this account of the *Dutch* fishery, I shall, from some writers of the best credit in the last century, take notice of the quantity of herrings said to be vended by the *Dutch* in their time, and the number of ships, smaller vessels, and men employed in their several fisheries, which, if the accounts were justly taken, were surprisingly great. This makes me imagine that the *English* writers took their numbers from the accounts of such persons as were willing to induce the Crown to regain the fisheries from the *Dutch*. I very much doubt if the quantity of fish or number of ships employed at this time be near so great, though I believe, even now, near 1,000 busses are employed.

It was in the fourteenth century *William Backelow* first found out the way of curing herring with salt, since which time they have been a very considerable trade. Sir *William Monson*, in his naval tracts, says, in his time (before 1630) the *Dutch* vended in *Coningsberg*, *Melvin*, *Stetin*, and *Dantzic*, from 30,000 to 40,000 last of herrings, each last being twelve barrels, which, at 16*l.* per last, amounted in value to

	£
From 480,000 <i>l.</i> to	640,000
They vended to <i>Russia</i> 1,500 last, at 18 <i>l.</i> per last, . .	27,000
At <i>Stade</i> , <i>Bremen</i> , <i>Hamburgh</i> , and <i>Emden</i> , 6,000 last, value	100,000

	£
In other parts of the <i>Sound</i> , the <i>Baltic</i> , and <i>Norway</i> , 10,000 last,	160,000
In the <i>Rhine</i> and <i>Maez</i> , 22,000 last, about . . .	440,000
In the <i>Spanish Netherlands</i> , from 8,000 to 9,000 last, about	160,000
At <i>Roan</i> , 500 last, value	10,000

Which, besides what was consumed in *Holland*,
in all amounted to 89,000 last, value . 1,537,000

They carried, also, at that time our red herrings,
cod, and pilchards to the *Streights*, and returned
for them, value, 621,750

So far Sir *William Monson*.

John de Wit, in his memoirs, written after the middle of the last century, says the *Dutch* employed then 1,000 busses and 170 smaller vessels, which fished for herrings near the *Texel*. That these busses, being equipped for three voyages, cost above 10,000,000 livres, or 10,000 livres each, all appurtenances included; which, taking 40,000 tun of fish, brought 8,000,000 livres every year to *Holland*. This being their own account may be supposed to be much within the truth, lest too great a profit might have encouraged foreigners to have undertaken it.

Emanuel de Metern says, that in 1610, there went out in three days 900 sail from *Holland* towards the east, and 1,500 busses for the herring fishery.

Gerald Malines and Sir *Walter Raleigh* say, the *Dutch* vended annually 300,000 tuns of herrings and other salted fish, and at the same time employed 12,000 men in the northern and whale fishery. After Sir *Walter Raleigh's* inquiry by King *James's* order in 1610, he says, they fished then in the *English* seas with 3,000 vessels and 50,000 men; that there were 9,000 other vessels and boats going and coming with provisions, salt, cask, &c., going to the market with the fish, and making returns. He computed 20 busses employed 8,000 men, and that the *Dutch* had 20,000 vessels of all sorts then at sea; upon the whole, he computed the number of ships and other vessels employed by the *Dutch* in

their fisheries in the *British* seas were about 10,000, and near 200,000 men employed in them; the number is so great, as scarce to be believed.

Sir *William Monson* computes, that a buss generally makes three returns or about 100 last of herrings in a season, which at 10*l.* *per* last, comes to 1,000*l.*

A buss of 70 tun computed then at,	.	.	£	500
100 last of cask, at 18 <i>s.</i> <i>per</i> last,	.	.	.	90
30 weigh of salt, at 40 bushels each, at 3 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> ,	.	.	.	105
Beer for the men, at a gallon <i>per</i> day,	.	.	.	16
Bread,	.	.	.	16
Butter, cheese, and billets for firing,	.	.	.	20
Wages for four months,	.	.	.	88
				835
Total,	.	.		835

So that they gained, by this computation in four months, a buss value 500*l.*, and 165*l.* in specie. He allows a bushel of salt to a barrel of fish, and a mixture of white and bay salt to be better than white alone.

Is it not from hence highly rational to conclude, that if the same care, diligence, and regulations were observed by us, a very beneficial trade might be made by following the herring fishery? But since I propose to show that we may still exceed the profit the *Dutch* make by their busses, which they employ in the herring fishery alone, by employing them in fishing for white fish, cod, ling, &c., as well as in the herring fishery; I shall first take notice of the time and places proper to meet with the white fish in quantities sufficient to encourage us to join both fisheries.

On the *east* coast of *Britain*, the *Dutch* it is said, have had 700 pinks and well-boats at one time fishing for cod and ling, from 60 to 100 tun burthen. When they light upon those that follow the herring, they have been known to take them as fast as they could haul them in. A fleet of colliers sailing by *Flamborough Head*, fell in once with a shoal of herring followed by cod, one of which with boat-hooks and such fish-tackle as they had on board, took so many that they sold them when they got to *London*, for almost as much money as they got for their cargo of coals.

In the *Irish Channel*, in *Clyde* near *Ailza*, and in the bays in the *western* isles of *Scotland*, as also on the banks which lie *westward* of the *Lewes* isles to the *north* of *Ireland*, and so *westward* of *Killibegs*, *Sligo*, and *Galway*, are cod, ling, and hake in great number, all good in their season, which when well saved, sell in foreign markets at a very good price. Hake, in Sir *William Monson's* time, was a very good commodity in *Biscay*; buckorm or dried whiting, in *Britany*; and cod and ling everywhere. Hake is taken in the deeps of *St. George's Channel*, from *Whitsuntide* to *St. James's Day*. Cod is good upon the *English* coast by *Lancaster*, even to *Midsummer*; upon the *north* of *Ireland*, from *December* to *March*. Ling are good whenever they can be caught, that is, most part of the year. But the greatest quantity of the best cod and ling in *Europe*, is among the *Lewes* and *western* isles of *Scotland*, and upon the banks to the *westward* of them, which extend to *Killibegs* and *Sligo*, in *Ireland*, and a great many leagues to sea *westward*. It was there the great fishery was, which supplied *Europe* before the discovery of *Newfoundland*. There the *French* and *Biscayers* supplied themselves, and all the *southern* and *western* coasts of *Europe* with cod and ling.

These banks, where the choicest and best cod and ling were caught in the greatest plenty from *February* to *June*, have not been fished upon for near 200 years. Sir *William Monson* says, in his time they had not been fished upon for about eighty years. I take it to have been neglected upon the discovery of *Newfoundland*, especially when the *English* began to inquire into, and exert their right in the *British* seas.

By this fishery an additional advantage may accrue to us which the *Dutch* have not; our busses might be fitted out in the beginning of *Spring*, with all materials; nets, hooks, and lines of all kinds for white fish, and be employed from the middle of *February* to the middle of *May*; during which time they may repair to the *Lewes*, and the banks *south-westward* of them, where with long-lines, hand-lines, &c., they may perhaps make twice their loading in those three months; and they may run to *Lewes*, *Isla*, or *Killibegs*, in case stormy weather

beat them off the banks, where they might also make an easy purchase from the natives of the isles, who take many good fish in their harbours; the natives of *Lewes* being expert fishers, for they were taught by the *Dutch* when at *Sternoway*, and would improve every day, if we frequented their coast and they found a ready demand for their fish.

The profit made by this cod-fishery, before they begin to fish for herrings, according to the prices and wages in Sir *William Monson's* days, was by him stated thus:—

A pink of 40 tuns, with lines, nets, &c., . . .	£ 260
20 last of cask, at 18s. per last, . . .	£ 18
5 weigh of salt,	18
Provisions for two months,	12
Wages,	20
	— 68
Total,	328
20 last of barrelled cod, at 15l. per last, . . .	£ s 300 0
Deduct, to fit the buss for sea again, . . .	68 10
	231 10
Remains,	231 10
From which taking the charges as above, . . .	68 0
	163 10
Remains,	163 10

Which is so much paid in the prime cost of the buss, before she begins the herring fishery that season. If they salt them in bulk, without barrelling them, the profit and quantity will be still greater. This is upon supposition, they come off whenever loaded, without waiting the whole season.

At the time the cod-fishery is over, the nets and all materials for the herring-fishery may be ready; and by the middle of *June*, they may repair to the rendezvous at *Shetland*, and fall in with the shoal as the *Dutch* do; and accompany the *western* division down the *west* side *Scotland*, before they begin to subdivide in our channel; by which means they may be caught in great numbers, in their prime season, and be sent over early to market. This seems to me to be a much more rational way of fishing for them, to make profit both to

the fishers and merchants, than to wait for them until they come to our harbours, when they are subdivided. For besides the advantage of having them in large quantities early for the market, and in prime season, the merchants would then know with certainty where they could have a cargo of fish, would lay up stores of cask and salt in proper places, and freight would then be easier by having ships constantly employed. We should also have a greater conveniency of fishing and at less expense than the *Dutch*; for the half of our fishery might be carried on by wherrys and small boats, and the *Highlanders* of the *western* isles, who live as hardily and poorly as the *Dutch*, would be entertained at low wages.

The fishers employed aboard the busses, in a few years would find out how long the fish stay at each place on their passage, and how different winds, storms, and fish of prey occasion them to alter their course; whether in storms they retreat to the deeps, or endeavour to gain the weather shore, according to different winds and the strength of them; at what proper depths to shoot their nets, whether near the bottom or surface of the sea. They would consequently know what quantity of salt and cask would be sufficient to be left in the several convenient harbours nearest our fishery, and at what time to lay them in. Then the wherrys and small boats that would follow our busses to the *Lewes* isles, would, as our busses found out and followed the shoal, accompany them; and as the busses fished in the deep water off the isles, the other boats would take all the creeks and inlets, into which the shoal went as they coasted along, and thus they might follow them into the *Irish Channel*, as long as the fish were in season and worth the taking.

By this means our fishers would be employed in the best season, and not wait and dodge for them in our harbours, as they now do, until the fish in a manner leap into their nets. They are at present idle the best part of the fishing season; for as I observed, when the fishers hear that the herrings are in any harbour, the fish often have left it again before the boats arrive from other places, and then they are at a loss, until they hear they are got into another bay or creek. This

is what discourages the poor industrious fishers, by losing and misspending their time, and prevents others from undertaking it.

The benefit arising from such a fishery as I here propose, in our trade to *Norway* and the *Baltic*, is so obvious, that I need scarce mention it. We would not then be obliged to send ready money for timber or naval stores, nor have the *Danes* import them to us. Our freight and benefit out and home, by supplying them with fish, would make sailing so cheap, we could carry all in *British* and *Irish* bottoms. We could for the same reason be the granary and magazine of *Europe*, as the *Dutch* now are; for it is by their fish, they buy up grain and naval stores in *Riga*, *Coningsberg*, *Dantzick*, and other places within the *Sound*; and by having a full freight out and home, they are able to undersell all others who deal in those commodities. We should soon then be gainers by the carrying trade. This would also give full employment to our poor, and add vastly to our numbers, who would consequently take off our provisions, and give further employment to our farmers in tillage and other improvements at home. The advantages are so many, it would be tedious setting them out in their full light.

I will not propose a method here of packing and curing of fish, being a stranger to the best way of preparing them for the market. I believe there are many, both in *Britain* and *Ireland*, who understand it; if not they may be easily informed in *Holland*. I will only observe, that one reason why *Dutch* herring excel ours is, from their being in a manner killed with salt as soon as caught; they being gutted as they are taken from the net, and laid in salt immediately without drying or being bruised.

I am convinced that without some national encouragement at first it would be attended with loss, through the want of experience in those who would undertake it. For which reason I would think it highly prudent to give such encouragement to any persons who would undertake it, as I am informed was lately given in *Scotland* by the Board for the Improvement of their Manufactures and Fishery, viz., a

premium to any who would fit out busses to attempt it, and employ them in it during the fishing season; suppose 200*l.* or 300*l.* for each buss. The funds we had lately appropriated to our inland improvements may convince us that his Majesty would readily allow us to tax our luxury, dress, and equipage, and to appropriate it to our fisheries and other improvements, since it would redound so much to the joint benefit of *Britain and Ireland* by increasing our numbers and wealth.

But should such a tax be found inconvenient, which I do not think at all probable, it would be a generous undertaking in the wealthy part of the community to apply a small part of their income by a voluntary subscription for some years to open the way for so beneficial a trade by joining, either in fitting out a few busses and running the risk which may attend such a project until the method of fishing is better known, or in giving it away in premiums to those who would run the risk. This would be much better than throwing it away in luxury and extravagance, and thus from a small beginning we might enlarge our fishery so as to be of the greatest account and benefit to the kingdom.

But if this fishery be followed to purpose it ought to be carried on by a regulated company, into which any persons might have liberty to subscribe any sum they pleased, upon their submitting it to the management of directors or trustees, to be chosen by themselves, for the management of the fishery.

This Board or Trust, according to the stock or fund deposited, would regulate the number of busses proper to be employed, the quantity of cask and salt to be provided as the fishery increased, and how much of it should be lodged in the several stations and proper harbours where the fish usually resort. They ought also to have a power to regulate the wherrys and boats that attend the busses, by obliging them to shoot their nets in proper places, creeks, and inlets, according to the instructions and directions of the most expert fishers in the fleet, in order to their getting as many fish as possible, which would enlarge the quantity of fish taken, and the boats would have a certain and speedy vent for their fish. The company might, after saving and re-packing their fish, either

send them to market by freighting of ships, or otherwise merchants, by corresponding with them, would know what number of ships to send to each port to carry away the fish, when cured, to the several countries where there was a demand for them, without losing the season or missing their freight.

In hiring and agreeing with the fishers in the busses it may be contrived so as to make it their interest to be diligent, by agreeing with them, according to the number of fish they take, at so much *per* last to each; or by giving them so much certain wages, which should be moderate, and by giving among them a premium upon every last they took above a reasonable quantity, which they should agree upon before they went to sea. This would make them sharp and diligent to observe the motions and turns the fish took in their course, and the reasons of them, from winds, currents, fish of prey, and other accidents; by which means they would soon become expert fishers and take great quantities.

I am informed there is a bank *southward* from *Waterford* of a considerable length upon which the *French* fish most part of the summer, and take great quantities of cod and ling, but greater of mackerel, which they cure and vend in *France*. They fish there with hand-lines, long-lines, trawls, and other nets to considerable advantage. Since mackerel may be cured and preserved for sale, how do we know but a method may be found of saving flat fish to advantage, either by drying or salting; and so holliburt, turbot, sole, &c., may become a vendible commodity abroad. For which reason I think busses should be provided with every machine fit for taking of fish; with baits, both natural and artificial, for all kinds of fish; even harpoons and lines for taking of whales when they meet with them; that all improvements possible, in taking, saving, and making profit upon all kinds of fish, may be attempted and brought to perfection. They ought also to have deep sea lines to find out new banks and places of resort for fish not yet discovered; and by that means they might be better acquainted with the soundings, which would be of use in navigation.

As for pilchards the fishing for them in this kingdom has not been attempted since the last reduction of *Ireland*, though before that time 700 tun have been taken and vended in a season. It is alleged, how true I will not say, that they were disgusted, upon an engagement in *Bantry Bay*, at the time of our last reduction; but I should rather attribute it to the confusion of those times, which prevented the fishers from following it, and afterwards, it is probable, they found it an easier way of living to farm the waste lands at a low rent.

The method used in that fishery is, to have sightsmen placed on the headlands and hills next the sea to direct the fishers by signs where they see the shoals of pilchards, who, by that means, fall in among them and catch great numbers of them. I am informed it is no difficult matter to be a good sightman, for the fish are easily distinguished by a sudden reflection of light from them as they move or alter their course in the sea; if so, I think they might easily renew that fishery without sending to *England* for sightsmen, and recover a fishery which has been, and may again be, of considerable advantage to us.

If upon such a trial there were none found, which I cannot easily imagine, I should then conclude that, upon abandoning their place of spawning, the herrings or other fish, finding the banks and shallows unfrequented, had taken them up for to spawn upon, and afterwards the pilchards could not regain their possession. For I am apt to believe, as the herrings retire *north-westwardly*, so the pilchards retire *westerly* to the deeps of the ocean near to the *Bay of Biscay*, to be near at hand in their season to return to the *British Channel*, where they spawn, and so keep their possession; otherwise I cannot account for the regularity of the pilchard's keeping the *south* coast of *Devonshire* and *Cornwall*, when the herrings always keep the *Severn* side of those shires.

The next and last branch I proposed taking notice of is the *northern* and whale fishery, which, as our numbers increase, may be followed to considerable advantage. The train-oil and whalebone in the common whale is of general use and consumption, and the spermaceti and ambergris in

the spermaceti whales are also of great value. So are also the oil and skins of the morses or sea-horses, and their teeth; the horn of the sea-unicorn; and the skins and oil of seals, of which there are great numbers. Besides these there are others, though not equally valuable, considering the hazard in taking them, as the scrag-whale, the bunch or hump-back-whale, and the fin-fish; as also grampuses and porpoises, which are in great plenty in all the *northern* and colder seas, but especially along the ice upon the coast of *Greenland*, *Spitzberg*, *Davy's Streights*, and so downwards as far as the coasts of *New England*, and even to *Bermudas*; each of which kinds frequent those places most where the greatest plenty of food is to be had and safety from the pursuit of their enemies. The whale kind go to the *southern* deeps, where they lie warm, in the winter, and so return to the ice in the summer, according to the observations of the fishers in *New England* (their heads being all turned at the latter end of the year to the *south-westward*, and in the beginning of the summer to the *north-eastward*).

The common whale feeds mostly upon water-insects, a kind of sea-snail, which are in swarms upon the coast of *Greenland*, *Spitzberg*, and *Davy's Streights*, near the ice, where the sea is from 80 to 120 fathoms deep. The spermaceti whales feed upon the fry of fish, herrings, sand-eels, needle-fish, &c., and are found in great numbers upon the coast of *New England* and banks to the *eastward* of it, and also among the *Hebrides* or *western* isles of *Scotland*, where herring and their fry resort.

A great many ships are annually employed in the whale fishery, along the coast of *Greenland*, at *Spitzberg*, and in *Davy's Streights*. The *Dutch*, at a medium of forty-six years, have employed annually 149½ sail, as I have taken it from Mr. *Elkin's View of the Greenland Trade*, laid before the Court of Directors of the *South Sea Company*; the *Hamburgers*, 50; *Bremen*, about 20; the *French*, *Spaniards*, and *Berghen* in *Norway*, about 20; and the *South Sea Company* of late, 22; so that the *Greenland* fishery employs annually above 260 sail of ships, from 150 to 500 tuns burthen; which, supposing them, one with another, 300 tuns and forty-three men, which

is the compliment of ships of that burthen, having six chaloups; and supposing only 250 ships annually employed, there is 75,000 tun of shipping employed in the *northern* whale fishery, and in them 10,750 able seamen, and yet full employment for them all, and a sufficient vent in *Europe* for a greater quantity than is taken. The value of the oil and fins of the fish taken, at a medium of forty-six years, by each ship is above 1,600*l.*, that is 400,000*l.* among the whole number, as I shall show from Mr. *Elkins*. Supposing that all fared as well as the *Dutch* have done, who, in forty-six years, employed 6,884 ships, and in that time took 32,908½ whales, which was to each ship, one with another, 4.78 whales, the whole number afforded 1,250,714 puncheons of blubber, which was, at a medium, thirty-eight to each whale. They took in that time also at least 40,000,000 weight of whale fins, which at a medium would be 1,215½ pounds to each whale, which is but a moderate allowance, since a whale which yields fifty puncheons of blubber, will hold about 1,700 or 1,800 weight of fins.

Thus, at a medium, each ship getting 4.78 whales, and from them 181 puncheons of blubber (which is computed to lose one-fifth when made into oil) at 4 puncheons to the tun, each ship would make 36½ tun of neat fine oil, which, at 18*l.* *per* tun, would amount to 654*l.* to each and 5,810 suttle pounds of whalebone, or 51cwt. 3qrs. 3lbs. at 112 to the cwt., which at 400*l.* *per* tun, would be 1,035*l.* So that one with another, every ship gained in oil and fins 1,689*l.* If we allow 689*l.* to be struck off for the wear and tear of the ship, wages, provisions, and boiling of the blubber, &c., then the undertakers would make 1,000*l.* net profit upon each ship, by which the *Dutch* are computed in those forty-six years to make at least 14 millions sterling, and the other nations that followed the fishery in proportion. Besides these, there are many employed in *America*, to the eastward of *New England* and *New York*, where a great many of the spermaceti whales are killed, as well as of the common whale, by which the fishers there make considerable profit; thus we see, though this is a dangerous and bold navigation, what a great advantage has been made of it.

It may serve as a foundation for further observations, to the improvement of the fishery, to insert here the best account yet extant of the natural history of whales, for the greatest part taken from what Mr. *Dudley*, of *New England*, has transmitted to the Royal Society.

The common *Greenland* whale, out of which the train oil and true whalebone is got, is of a dark marbled colour inclining to black, many of them quite black, without scales, having a soft fine smooth skin; with only two fins, one on each side, from five to eight feet long, which they are not observed to use but in turning or stopping, unless when young (when they are carried by their dams upon the fluke of their tails, which lie *horizontal*, and are from three to four fathoms broad; at which time, the young whale clasps its fins round the small of the dam's tail, to prevent it's falling off). These whales when at full growth, are from sixty to seventy feet long; they have a bunch, but no fin, on their back; on each side of which is a spout hole, by which they throw out the water which they receive in their mouths either when they feed or play, and it seems to be of the same use to them as the gills are to other fish; where the circulation of the blood is assisted by the water and air, which they receive in at their mouths and emit at their gills, which by reason of their floridness we may apprehend to be of the same nature with our lungs. The young whale when first brought forth, is about twenty foot long and worth little, but then the dam is very fat; at a year old they are called short heads, and will yield fifty barrels of oil; then the dam, by suckling it, is poor, and will not yield above thirty barrels; at two years old they are called stunts, being stunted after weaning, and will not yield above twenty-eight barrels; after that they are called scull fish, their age being only guessed at by the length of the bone in their mouths.

They bring forth but one at a time, and but once in two years, as the fishers pretend. When they take bull, as the fishers term it, the female sinks her tail and falls back, then the bull glides over her and she clasps him with her fins. His penis is six feet long, and seven or eight inches diameter

at the root, falling away to a point; and the female has pudenda formed as in land animals. She has two teats of six or eight inches long, and ten or twelve round, by which she suckles the young, at which time she falls upon her back on the top of the water. She is very careful of her young, often rising with it upon her tail to let it breathe, when she does not breathe herself; and if it falls off at any time, she swims under it and lets it again take hold. The fishers are always cautious not to kill the calf until they have dispatched the dam, but only to fasten it, for she will not forsake it whilst there is any life in it; nor will she strike with her tail unless she finds it is dead, and then she grows unruly and frequently does mischief.

The common whale has no teeth, but the whole upper jaw and roof of the mouth is all whalebone, lying in ridges parallel to each other, being about 500 in number, from six to eighteen feet long, according to the size of the whale and place of the mouth they lie in, all weighing together from 12 to 18 cwt. The fat or blubber is generally six inches thick round his whole body; about his under lip it is two or three feet thick, and his two fins are also very fat. A whale generally yields from 40 to 50 puncheons of blubber, though some will yield from 80 to 100; and from *New England* they say, some have yielded 130 barrels of oil, of which near 20 barrels was out of the tongue.

The finback whale is distinguished from the true whale, by having a fin from 2½ feet to 4 feet long, upon his back. This fish is more dangerous when struck, and swims faster; yields little oil, and the bone is short and knobby, so they do not often attempt to take him.

The scrag whale is near the kind of the finback, but instead of a fin in the after part of the back, he has half a dozen knobs like knuckles. He is nearest the right whale for quantity of oil. His bone is white and will not split.

The bunch or hump-back whale is distinguished from the true one, by having a bunch like a plug where the fin is on the finback whale; he yields but little oil, and the bone is worth but little, though somewhat better than the finback.

The cachelot or spermaceti whales are grey, having a bunch

on their back and no fin. They are much of the same dimensions with the true whale. The head is large and has no whalebone in the mouth, but white ivory teeth in each jaw five or six inches long, they being fish of prey. One was caught in 1721, and before he was killed he threw a shark twelve feet long out of his mouth, which it was supposed he had taken and had not swallowed when he was struck. The spout holes of this whale are near the nose. It does not strike with the tail when wounded, but turns and fights with its mouth. The train oil made of the blubber is clearer and sweeter than that of the common whale, and a fish yields from twenty to fifty barrels. The true spermaceti oil lies in a great trunk, about four or five feet deep and ten or twelve long, near the whole length, breadth, and depth of the head, supposed to be the brain, being lodged in several membranous cells, not covered with a bone, but with a cartilaginous substance below the skin, through which they make a hole and lade out the clear oil. The head and other glandulous parts will also afford oil, but nothing so good as that lodged in the trunk, which alone yields from ten to twenty barrels. The ambergris is only found in the spermaceti whale, and consists of balls of various sizes, from about three to twelve inches diameter, and from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 22 lbs. weight, lying loose in a large oval bladder three or four feet long and two or three deep and wide, like an ox's bladder but more acute, having a duct which enters into and runs along the penis, and at the other end another which comes from the kidneys. This bag or bladder is almost full of a deep orange-coloured liquor, not quite so thick as the oil; of the same scent with the balls of ambergris which float in it, but rather stronger. The inside of the bladder is deeply tinged with the same colour; and also the canal along the penis. The balls are made like an onion, with one coat upon another, and some of the outer coats are frequently found, upon opening the bag, as it were broke off from the inner part of the ball, lying floating in the liquor. These balls are only found in old whales that are well grown, and as yet only in the males; because the females are so shy, that the relator says, he never saw nor heard of any that had been killed.

The way they take out the ambergris is by fixing a tackle to the penis, and then cutting a hole round the root of it through the rim of the belly until they come at the bladder; they then tie up the further duct leading to the kidneys, pretty near the bladder, and then cut it off; upon which they draw out the penis, and the bladder in which are the balls, comes along with it out of the body. The time of taking the common whale near *New England*, is from the beginning of *May* to the end of *June*, and of the spermaceti whale, from the beginning of *June* to the end of *August*.

The morses or sea horses are as big as oxen, their teeth are two feet long and as valuable as ivory, five of their bellies will give a hogshead of oil. *Elkins* says, a large one will yield a puncheon of blubber. Their hides dressed are twice as thick as ox hides, and are a good defence against darts or arrows. One ship killed 900 of them, out of which was got thirty-one tuns of oil, and two hogsheads of teeth.

The seals are from five to eight feet long. The fat of twelve of them, and so to twenty according to their bigness, will fill a puncheon. Their skins are valuable; and a stroke of a staff upon their nose will make them fall.

The sea unicorn is a beautiful spotted creature, having a horn growing straight out of his upper jaw, from three to twelve feet long, as valuable as ivory. A large one will yield about two barrels of blubber, the train oil of which is whiter than that of the whale.

There are also many white bears found upon the islands of ice, as large as a cow, which are either killed with lances or muskets. Their skins are valuable, and their fat yields oil, but in small quantity.

The ships generally employed in this fishery are from 200 to 500 tun, and accordingly have 3, 4, 5, 6, or 7 chaloups. The complement of a ship of 300 tun and 6 chaloups, are these:—

A captain or master; a chief harpooner, who commands the whole fishery; 5 other harpooners; 6 steersmen; 6 line-givers; a surgeon; a boatswain; a carpenter; 2 coopers; 16 sailors; 2 or 3 boys; 42 or 43 in all.

The voyage to *Greenland* from *London* is generally performed in four or five weeks, and consequently in less from *Ireland*. The fishery begins in the month of *May*, as soon as they dare enter the ice, and continues till the middle of *August*. The whales used to be found near *John Mayen's Island* and *Old Greenland* early in the summer; and, as it advanced, they went towards *Spitzberg*, where they were found in great numbers; but of late they keep more among the ice, and do not frequent *Spitzberg* so much as formerly, where one ship has been known to take from two to eight or ten whales in a season. As they now generally carry on the fishery among the ice upon the east coast of *Greenland*, from 70° to 80° lat., whenever the ships approach the ice they divide their crew into three watches of eight hours each, there being no night, and fit out all their chaloups with six men each, viz., a harpooner, a line-giver, a steersman, and three others. The ship's store for the fishery should at least consist of sixty lances, six sea-horse lances, forty harpoons, ten long harpoons, with which they strike whales under water, six small sea-horse harpoons, and thirty lines (the length of each from 125 to 133 fathom). When they go a hunting they take in each boat two or three harpoons, six lances, three sea-horse lances, and five or six lines. They ought also to have a chopping knife, hatchet, hammer, and drags for cutting up the whale. All the hands in the boat row until they come near the whale, having their lines properly coiled and fastened to each other. The harpooner endeavours to strike as near the middle of his body as possible, for his head is invulnerable, and near the tail is dangerous; the skin is also toughest there, and the harpoon is not so apt to plough out and lose its hold as near the tail. The skill of the steersman is to keep the head of the boat to the whale, and to avoid the stroke of the tail. The best time to strike him is when he spouts water, which he does with great violence and noise. When he is struck he immediately plunges under water with great swiftness, and carries the line with him. The other boats must endeavour to row up and furnish more lines, for they often run off many hundred fathoms before he rises to take breath.

If he runs under the ice they must hale in as much of the line as they can; and if the harpoon does not come out at one or two pulls they must cut it off and lose it. When he rises they row up to him and strike him again, at which time he will again shoot away under water, but will not carry above one or two lines until he again rises to breathe. When he rises the second time they close in with him and attack him with their lances, taking care to keep from his tail. When the lances enter his body he begins to spout blood, by which they know he is mortally wounded, and soon after he expires. They then cut off the fluke of his tail, tie a rope to the smaller part of it, and drag him in triumph to the ship. Then they cut off his blubber in large pieces, which afterwards, on board, is cut so small as to run into the bungs of the hogsheds in the hold by a sail-cloth pipe. The men who cut it have ice-spurs fastened to their shoes, to avoid slipping off the whale. So, having turned the whale, and cut off the blubber from all sides, as also the whalebone from the mouth, they let it go for the use of the fowl without heeding it any farther. I am surprised they do not open the head; perhaps something might be found of use in it as well as in the head of the spermaceti whale, since the head is almost as big as the body, and it may be supposed to have a large brain, which would yield good oil. When they have finished cutting up the whale they go a hunting for more. To make the crew more alert their wages are generally paid in proportion to the fish they kill, giving them their several proportions in every puncheon of blubber or oil; and if any man discovers a dead whale floating on the sea, he has half a-guinea or ducat given him as a premium, to make them look out sharp.

The commanders ought to be men of experience and ready, acute understandings, to know where to enter the ice, and where they may reasonably expect to meet with most whales; how to avoid the ice, and prevent themselves from being enclosed in it; and what islands it is proper to fasten their ships to, upon occasion, by their nose-hooks and hawsers, which are made on purpose for it; this they do by picking a

hole in the solid ice, where they fix their hooks, and anchor as well as in a sandy bay.

I have thus endeavoured to show, that from the fisheries alone we have a large field open for the employment of our poor, not only by making them fishers and seamen, but by finding them work at home, in supplying the hands employed in the fisheries with the materials of hemp and flax, and with provisions and other things necessary for their use. This I have done with as much brevity as is consistent with making the several advantages appear in a clear light, and shall now leave it to the consideration of all that have the interest of *Britain* and *Ireland* at heart, whether we ought not, by proper encouragements, to influence as many as we can to undertake some of the fisheries, if not all of them.

What I think most material, which I have not yet touched upon, are the difficulties we lie under in our plantation trade. That part which related to our not importing non-enumerated goods from thence the *British* Legislature have, in their great wisdom, taken away; in which they have done a particular favour to us, for which we should be grateful. And as they will find that this favour to us will add to the numbers, and give more employment to our colonies, and consequently increase the power and wealth of *Britain*, by employing more hands at home in furnishing the growing numbers in our colonies with more manufactures and other necessaries which they will want from them, I am hopeful that, finding themselves gainers by this kind step they have taken towards us, they will find it their interest to allow us to import even some of the enumerated goods, particularly sugars and molasses, for which I will offer some reasons, and consider the remaining difficulties upon our plantation trade.

By the Acts of the 12th, and 22nd, and 23rd of King *Charles II.*, all plantation goods there enumerated, viz, cotton-wool, fustic, or other dyeing-wood, ginger, indigoes, sugars, and tobacco, to which molasses and rice were afterwards added, were to be brought to *Britain* only, or to some other *British* plantation; and bond was to be given by all

ships going to the plantations to bring their cargo only to *Britain*; the word *Ireland*, by the 22nd and 23rd of *Charles II.*, being to be left out of these bonds. And though, by the Act of the 25th of *Charles II.*, plantation goods might be shipped from one plantation to another, upon payment of a duty there, and upon giving bond to carry them to the plantation they were bound for, yet, by the construction of the *English Commissioners of the Revenue, Ireland*, though the first and most ancient plantation and colony of *Britain*, was not allowed to be included in that Act, by saying it was only intended between plantation and plantation in *America*. By the 7th and 8th of King *William III.* the plantation enumerated goods could not be landed in *Ireland* unless first entered and landed in *Britain*. This difficulty, which our plantation trade yet lies under, I am hopeful may be in part removed by the *British* Legislature upon laying it in a true and full light before them, since I think it may be made fully appear to be a great prejudice to the trade of *Britain*, and that it prevents the increase of our colonies; and, by making these plantation goods dearer to us by the increase of freight, it also prevents us from having returns to give to *England* for what goods we would otherwise take from them, and obliges us to send our money to foreign nations for some of those goods which we might otherwise have from the *British* plantations.

It is highly reasonable that *Britain* should confine the plantation trade to herself, exclusive of foreigners. The protection she has always afforded the plantations, from their infancy and first settlement, gives her the justest claim to it, as well as their having been peopled from *Britain*. But how far that reason will hold against us in *Ireland*, who are under the same Government, and who have always (to the utmost of our abilities) assisted *Britain* in her foreign wars and peopling her colonies; and what bad effect it would have to enlarge the *British* foundation so far as to admit *Ireland* into this trade, and still keep the restriction as to foreigners, I cannot easily find out, since I dare now venture to affirm that *Ireland* is nearly in the possession of proprietors of *British* extraction, and most of these Protestants. If we were ad-

mitted, all we could gain by it would be for our home consumption; for, by limiting of the drawbacks, our foreign sale of plantation enumerated goods might be prevented. I shall, therefore, beg leave to set the plantation trade, as it regards *Ireland*, in a somewhat clearer light; and see whether *Britain* would not be a much greater gainer by easing us and opening that trade to us, than they are now by the restrictions we are laid under.

The advantages, I conceive, that *Britain* aims at are: that the colonies in *America* shall be kept in a necessary dependence upon *Britain*; that they shall be supplied with all things they want from *Britain*; and that, by having the sole returns from their plantations, *Britain* might become the magazine of all the *West India* commodities now raised in the *British* islands and colonies on the continent of *America*.

I shall beg leave to consider how far these ends are answered by the difficulties we are under at present of entering and landing all plantation enumerated goods first in *Britain*.

It is evident, that by easing our trade and removing this difficulty, as we are all under one Government, the dependence of the colonies upon *Britain* is no more altered than at present by their mutual trade with one another; and *Ireland* in that respect, cannot be called foreign to *Britain*.

Nor can the difficulty we lie under in our plantation trade be an increase to the sale of the *British* manufactures in their *American* colonies; but the contrary: for every thing that lessens the demand we have for their produce, by making it dearer to us, is a straitening of the colonies and a check to their increase; for, by this means, instead of trading with them, we go to foreign kingdoms for the same kind of goods we could have from them, and supply them with the money and commodities we would otherwise give to the colonies or to *England* in return for the goods we had from them. As, for instance, if we had rum and sugars at the cheapest hand from the plantations, we should be encouraged to distil spirits from sugar at home, and to make use of rum instead of *French* brandy, and also to meliorate some of our home-made liquors, by which means we would lessen our demand for *French*

wine and brandy. This would increase our demand for sugars and rum, and the colonies would reap great part of the benefit which *France* and the *French* islands reap now by our trade.

We have had of late, at a medium, annually upwards of 145,000*l.* value from *France* in wine, brandy, and sugar. Would it not, then, be a great advantage to *Britain* and the colonies to have the greatest part of that sum given to the *British* sugar islands for rum and sugars? for, by that means, the planters would increase both in numbers and wealth, and take off an equal value of *British* manufactures. But at present, *France* and its islands having the benefit of our trade, *Britain* not only loses the sale of so many of her goods and manufactures that would attend the increase of her colonies, but this loss is doubled by the increase of the *French* colonies (arising from our being obliged to give *France* our money, and the *French* sugar islands provisions cheap, by which means they are enabled to undersell our planters, and will soon furnish more of the southern parts of *Europe* with sugars than *Britain* can). By this means *Britain* loses the benefit they aim at—of being the staple and magazine for *West India* commodities.

The *French* have our *Irish* provisions very cheap, because we have no other market sufficient to take off the quantity we export; and their ships going light to *America*, can carry it there for a small freight. By this means their colonies increase, and take off many more of their manufactures. This also distresses *Britain* in the sale of her woollens, by the encouragement *France* gives to run the wool to that kingdom: whereas part of these inconveniencies would be removed, if the difficulties upon our plantation trade were taken off, particularly in respect to sugars and molasses; for, all that *Britain* gains by our entering and landing them in *Britain*, is the trifling duty of 8*d.* per cwt. upon the sugars and 6*s.* 4*d.* per tun upon molasses, which remains upon re-exporting them to *Ireland* or abroad; but the *Irish* merchant is at great expence by loss of time, and increase of freight, as well by the length of the time, as by the greater risk in going for

Britain and returning, after they have been safe at their port in *Ireland*. This makes it easier for us to buy sugars in *France*, and pay foreign duty, than to bring sugars from our own islands.

I think also, sugars should be allowed to be refined in the sugar islands; for since few hands in *Britain* are employed in refining them, and the expence of freight is much increased, not only by bringing them over coarse, but by bringing them over first to *Britain*; by which means the *French*, who refine theirs, and carry them directly into the Straits, must necessarily undersell *Britain* and carry away the sugar trade. It may therefore be concluded, that the only likely way *Britain* has to retrieve its foreign sugar trade, is by opening it not only to *Ireland* but allowing our colonies to refine them, and *British* merchants in *British* ships to carry them directly from our islands into the Straits, as they are now allowed to do with rice.

The difficulty now attending the taking of horses from *Ireland* to *Britain*, seems to me to be prejudicial to both, and no benefit to his Majesty's revenue in *Britain*, although each horse pays 1*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.* duty to the Crown. If this duty were designed to support the Government, for so much as it yields, it is demonstrable the Crown loses by the tax, and would gain much more if the duty were lessened to 5*s.*; for then forty horses would pay duty for one which now pays, and the Crown would get 10*l.* instead of 1*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.* Then no person would risk a horse, for the value of a crown, but every horse would pay duty. If it is designed as a prohibition, in order to promote horse-breeding in *Britain*, the policy is wrong, and both north and south *Britain* undoubtedly lose by it. I believe most people are convinced, that for some years there has been a great demand in *France* for hunters and saddle-horses from *Britain*, and that great prices have been given in *England* for them, from 20 to 40 and 60 pistoles. *England* is not able to supply them or answer their demand, without having horses of less value for the road, and other common occasions in the country. These they are supplied with from *Scotland*, but *Scotland* is not able to

answer their demand without calling in *Ireland* to her assistance; so it is plain, for every horse of 5*l.* or 8*l.* value they get from *Ireland*, they sell a horse to *France* from 20 to 60 pistoles, which they could not afford to do if they had not a supply from hence. So that the difference of the price between the horses bought in *Ireland* and those sold to *France*, is all clear gain to *Britain*; of which gain the *Scotch* horse-jockeys have their share, by the difference of the price in *Ireland* and what they sell them for in *England*. Since then it is demonstrable, that *Britain* would gain by an open trade, and that the Crown at present has not so much duty as they would then have if it were reduced to 5*s.*, I am persuaded, the *British* Legislature upon a proper representation of it, would lower the duty and allow of a free honest trade; and by that means his Majesty, to the advantage of the public, would gain in his revenue what is generally now lost to the kingdom by the number of boats, horses, and men which are wrecked, by carrying off horses clandestinely from hence to *Scotland* (being frequently overtaken by storms; and they will not put into any port, lest they lose their horses or pay the duty, so they run all risks).

There is another inconvenience *Ireland* lies under, which I think is prejudicial to both kingdoms—I mean the want of a free importation of black cattle into *Britain*. It is the interest of all nations to make the greatest profit they can of their lands, when it does not prejudice the manufacturing part of the kingdom, by too much raising the premiums of manufactures, or too much raising the price of provisions; both of these ought to be regulated by their prices in neighbouring manufacturing counties, who otherwise, by having the labour and premiums cheaper, must carry away the sale in foreign markets. If this be allowed to be true, then whatever will keep down the price of flesh, tallow, hides, &c., to a middle price, and at the same time procure to the greatest number of the farmers or graziers the same price for their grass, must necessarily be advantageous to a trading and manufacturing country; and these ends may be obtained in some measure,

by the exporting of *Irish* cattle to *Britain*, to the good of both nations.

I believe it will readily be allowed, that feeding countries, or those which fatten cattle, have vastly the advantage of breeding countries. Mountainy or hilly countries not easily improved, and which naturally do not throw up much grass, are not proper for feeding countries, but are very proper for breeding countries and rearing of cattle; these being cheaper than the rich fattening lands, the dairy men can afford to sell young cattle from thence to the farmers of rich lands cheaper than if both attempted to rear and fatten; for the high light grounds can rear many more in proportion than they can fatten, and for that reason can afford to sell them cheaper to the feeding countries, and yet make considerably more of their lands.

England, as it is now circumstanced, can only have such a proportion of feeding land as there are countries in *Britain* which breed; this obliges some part of *England*, very capable of feeding cattle, to be breeding countries, since they cannot have enough from the mountainy parts of *England*, *Wales*, and *Scotland*, to supply them with young cattle to feed; this consequently raises the price of young cattle too much upon those who feed and fat them, and this again obliges those who fat them, to sell them at a much dearer price to the butcher, which raises the price of beef, tallow, and hides too much upon the merchant and manufacturer.

Should *Ireland* then be admitted to be a breeding country for *England*, and at the same time be allowed to slaughter and sell abroad according as markets answered, both *Britain* and *Ireland* would reap the benefit, and only foreign nations would pay for it. For first, many of the lands in *England* now employed in breeding, would be turned into feeding countries, by having a new market opened to them to supply them with young cattle; which, in proportion to what *Ireland* could afford, would increase the feeding countries in *England*, and yet prejudice the breeding countries no more than what is necessary for the benefit of trade and manufactures by

keeping beef, &c., down to a reasonable price. Though many lands were added to the feeding countries, the prices of young cattle would very little abate, whilst *Ireland* had free exportation abroad for their beef, &c.; for, by opening a new market from *Ireland* to *Britain*, the quantity sent to *France*, *Holland*, &c., would abate, and *France* wanting the quantity of beef it usually took for its sugar islands, would naturally raise the price, which now by being glutted they beat down upon us; and this consequently would raise the price of cattle in *Ireland*, and prevent us from throwing in so many young cattle into *Britain*, as to lower the price upon the breeders there, any more than is reasonable for the good of trade. So that the breeders in *Britain* could not suffer, unless our ports were shut up from exporting it slaughtered, which no wise man would think of, since it would be a vast prejudice to both nations. Thus, I think it is plain, by opening our export to *Britain* and continuing it open to foreign countries, *Ireland* would become with advantage to both, a breeding country to *England*; and yet, by the price of our beef rising abroad, we should gain in proportion more by our foreign trade, than we now do by glutting the foreign market.

I shall not take up the reader's time or tire his patience any longer, in being more particular in any observations on the improvement of *Ireland*. My whole design in this tract, has been to give a true state of the kingdom, and to lay down some hints that may put us upon thinking what may be done for the improvement and good of our country, and to endeavour to rectify the mistakes many in *Britain* have fallen into, by reason of a prevailing opinion, that the neighbourhood, trade, and prosperity of *Ireland* are detrimental to their wealth and commerce; and that we are their rivals in trade, which we can never be whilst under their government, when all the wealth we gain by the surplus of our industry centres with them; for it is plain, whatever we gain by our trade, is only what foreigners must have had from them in case *Ireland* were not in being; of which no part would again return to *Britain*, as it now does from *Ireland* by its being a part

of the *British* empire. I would willingly hope, therefore, that from a just representation and view of our trade, they will see that our prosperity and wealth contribute vastly to the prosperity and welfare of *Britain*; and that as long as a harmony is promoted between us, our mutual happiness and riches will increase, and whatever we do in promoting each other's welfare, contributes in a great degree to the prosperity of both.

In this complicated subject, though I have acted with the greatest caution, according to the best of my judgment and capacity, yet I am sensible many things I have here advanced may be liable to cavils and objections from persons of different ways of thinking. I therefore once again beg that the reader may throw a veil over whatever faults I may have committed in this essay, and accept of my intention and inclination to do my country service. And instead of condemning me, where amiss, that he may assist in altering and amending it, that we may all join hand in hand, in promoting the welfare and happiness of his Majesty, and the peace and prosperity of all under his Government.

FINIS.

AN ABSTRACT
OF THE NUMBER
OF
Protestant and Popish Families
IN
I R E L A N D.
1732-33.

AN
A B S T R A C T
OF THE
N U M B E R
OF
PROTESTANT AND POPISH
F A M I L I E S
In the Several
Counties and Provinces
OF
I R E L A N D,

Taken from the

RETURNS made by the *Heartmoney* Collectors, to the *Heartmoney* Office in DUBLIN, in the Years 1732 and 1733. Those being reckon'd *Protestant* and *Popish* Families, where the HEADS of Families are either *Protestants* or *Papists*. With OBSERVATIONS.

DUBLIN: Printed by M. RHAMES, for R. GUNNE, Bookfeller in
Capel-street. M. DCC. XXXVI.

NUMBER OF
Protestant and Popish Families
IN IRELAND.

PROVINCE OF ULSTER.

COUNTIES.	Protestant Families.	Popish Families.	The Proportion of Protestant to Popish Families.
Antrim,	14,899	3,461	as 4½ to 1
Down,	14,060	5,210	as 3 to 1
Ardmagh,	6,064	3,279	as 2 to 1
Donegal,	5,543	4,144	as 11 to 8
Tyrone,	5,587	6,123	near equal
Derry,	8,751	2,782	above 3 to 1
Fermanagh,	2,913	2,127	near 3 to 2
Monaghan,	2,838	5,096	near 3 to 5
Cavan,	1,969	6,237	near 1 to 3
Total,	62,624	38,459	above 3 to 2

PROVINCE OF LEINSTER.

COUNTIES.	Protestant Families.	Popish Families.	The Proportion of Protestant to Popish Families.
Dublin, { City,	8,823	4,119	above 2 to 1
Dublin, { County,	1,928	6,336	near 1 to 3
Kilkenny,	970	9,785	as 1 to 9
Kildare,	656	7,614	near 1 to 11
King's County,	1,237	6,677	1 to 5
Longford,	819	3,742	as 1 to 4½
Lowth,	897	5,136	near 1 to 6
Meath,	1,691	14,416	as 1 to 8½
Queen's County,	1,355	7,313	as 1 to 5
Carlow,	1,000	4,079	as 1 to 4
Westmeath,	1,139	7,120	as 1 to 6
Wexford,	2,193	10,837	as 1 to 5
Wicklow,	2,533	5,260	as 1 to 2
Total,	25,241	92,434	as 1 to 3½

PROVINCE OF MUNSTER.

COUNTIES.	Protestant Families.	Popish Families.	The Proportion of Protestant to Popish Families.
Waterford,	827	10,165	as 1 to 12
Cork, { City,	2,569	5,398	as 1 to 2
{ County,	4,520	36,938	as 1 to 8
Limerick,	2,056	14,820	as 1 to 7
Kerry,	1,073	13,273	as 1 to 12
Tipperary,	1,627	16,465	as 1 to 10
Clare,	665	9,348	as 1 to 14
Total,	13,337	106,407	as 1 to 8

PROVINCE OF CONNAUGHT.

COUNTIES.	Protestant Families.	Popish Families.	The Proportion of Protestant to Popish Families.
Galway,	911	15,912	as 1 to 17
Mayo,	697	11,466	as 1 to 17
Roscommon,	790	7,312	as 1 to 9
Sligo,	1,166	5,067	as 1 to 4
Leitrim,	735	4,344	as 1 to 6
Total,	4,299	44,101	as 1 to 10

TOTAL OF IRELAND.

PROVINCES.	Protestant Families.	Popish Families.	Total of both.
ULSTER,	62,624	38,459	101,083
LEINSTER,	25,241	92,434	117,675
MUNSTER,	13,337	106,407	119,744
CONNAUGHT,	4,299	44,101	48,400
Total,	105,501	281,401	386,902
As Three to Eight.			

A B S T R A C T
OF THE NUMBER OF
PROTESTANT AND POPISH
FAMILIES
IN IRELAND.

THIS Abstract contains the number of families reported by the hearthmoney collectors, to be found in their respective districts throughout the kingdom, in the year 1732. And though it appears from their returns, that there were 386,902 families, yet we must take notice that all the inhabitants of the kingdom are not taken into the account; for neither soldiers or their families, nor those who live in colleges, hospitals, and poorhouses, nor above 2,000 certificate-houses (as those are called which by reason of their poverty are excused from paying hearthmoney) are included in that number: the former articles not having been within the course of enquiry of said collectors, and the last omitted by some of them in their returns.

From the number of families we may find the number of inhabitants of the kingdom, by allowing such a number of souls to each family, as they reasonably may be supposed to contain one with another at a medium.

In order to find out such medium, several gentlemen have had the curiosity to take an exact account of the number of men, women and children in every house in large districts in the country, and in great towns, and found upon trial, in some parts of the open country but four and a third, and four

and a half in a house; in other parts, where manufactures were carried on, four and three-quarters and five in a family, but in large towns and cities, 5, 6, 7, or 8, and particularly in *Dublin*, near 10 souls to a house one with another.

This inequality of numbers in country and city houses, seems to arise from hence, that the lower sort of people, who are generally very poor and make the bulk of the nation, have few or no servants in their houses, but on the contrary send out their children to wealthier families, and furnish them with servants and apprentices, whereby their own families are diminished, and those of the rich are increased.

From what has been said, we may reasonably allow five to a family throughout the kingdom, considering that the largeness of families in cities and great towns will make up the deficiencies in the country.

If there be 386,902 families in the kingdom, and if we allow 5 to a family, then those families will contain 1,934,510 souls, and if we add to them the 12,000 soldiers and their families, and all such who live in colleges, hospitals, poor-houses, and the unreturned certificate-houses above mentioned, none of which are included in the aforesaid number of families returned by the hearthmoney collectors, we may very well conclude that there are very near two millions of inhabitants in the kingdom.

It appears by the abstract that there are 105,501 *Protestant* families, and 281,401 *Popish* families in the kingdom, which are in proportion to one another as 3 to 8, that is, supposing the whole to be divided into 11 parts, the *Protestants* make 3 of them, and the *Papists* 8.

If we take into the account the 12,000 soldiers and their families, and all those who live in colleges, hospitals, and poorhouses, and many servants from *Great Britain*, who have settled among us, who are all *Protestants*, and not included in the number of *Protestant* families before mentioned, and reckon them equal to 7,060 families, as we may reasonably do, and add them to the said 105,501 families, then the number of *Protestant* families being 112,561, will be in proportion to the *Popish* families exactly as one to two and a half.

If the number of *Protestant* families be to those of *Papists*, as one to two and a half, or as one to two and two thirds, it may be asked what proportion do *Protestants* bear to *Papists* with respect to their numbers in general.

To this it is answered, that what proportion soever there is between *Protestants* and *Papists*, with respect to the number of their families, the same proportion will hold good also with respect to the number of *Protestants* and *Papists* in or belonging to those families; for though the families of *Protestants*, who have most of the estates and wealth of the kingdom in their hands, are generally much larger and have more servants than those of *Papists*, and though it be allowed that there are great numbers of *Popish* servants in *Protestant* families, and few or no *Protestant* servants in *Popish* families, yet if we allow an equal number of souls, 5 for instance to every family, as well *Popish* as *Protestant*, throughout the kingdom, then every *Papist* and *Protestant* will be taken into the account whether they live in their own or other families. A family properly speaking is made up of a man, his wife and children, and whatever difference there is between families with respect to their largeness, the same arises from the number of servants more or less in those families; the families of the rich are increased by taking in servants from the poor; and the families of the poor are lessened by that means. *Protestant* families are furnished with servants both from *Protestant* and *Popish* families of the lower sort, and if they are enlarged by taking in *Popish* servants, of consequence *Popish* families, from whence such servants are taken, must be diminished in the same proportion.

Suppose three families, one *Protestant* and two *Popish*, each originally consisting of five persons, and that a servant is taken from each of the *Popish* families into the *Protestant* one, then there will be seven persons in the *Protestant* family, and four in each of the *Popish* families. In this case, as the proportion of families is two to one, so the proportion of individuals, or of *Papists* to *Protestants*, originally belonging to those families is also two to one. From hence it follows, that though there be many *Popish* servants in *Protestant* families,

yet if we suppose all families to contain an equal number of souls, they will be all taken into account as much as if they had still remained in their own families, or had been separately reckoned in the families where they live.

This may serve as a rule in political arithmetic, that when we know the number of families in any country, we may find the number of inhabitants, by allowing five souls, or any other number, as a proper medium to each family; and by knowing of what persuasion or religion the heads of those families are, we may also find the number of persons of each persuasion nearly; for that number will be in proportion to the number of their respective families: provided however and upon this supposition, that they are equal breeders, and that the members of each family continue to be of the religion of the head of the family, and that there be no accession of people to either side from other countries; for in such cases the proportions may vary a little. It cannot well be supposed but that the women of the same country are equal breeders, except that the poor have generally more children than the rich; but as to the other cases, it must be allowed, that many *Protestants* come yearly into *Ireland* from *England*, *Scotland*, and *Wales*, and settle with us; but no *Papists* come into *Ireland* but such as before went from thence; and many servants taken from *Popish* families, and others, become *Protestants*, and continue so. It is true that many *Protestants* have of late years left the kingdom to settle in *America*, and it is no less certain that many *Papists* do yearly go abroad, either to enter into foreign service, or to make their fortunes, who never return again; this may make a diminution of the stock of people in the nation, or in some measure lessen their increase, but will make little or no variation in the proportion between *Protestants* and *Papists*, the decrease on both sides, on account thereof, being very near in proportion to their whole numbers.

This Abstract confirms another sort of computation, made use of to shew, that there are not three *Papists* to one *Protestant* in *Ireland*, which computation was grounded on the following suppositions, which are generally allowed to be true.

1st. That the province of *Ulster* contains more than the fourth part of the inhabitants of the kingdom.

2ndly. That there are as many *Protestants* in *Leinster*, *Munster*, and *Connaught*, as there are *Papists* in *Ulster*; and therefore supposing all in *Ulster* to be *Protestants*, and all in the other three provinces to be *Papists*, the consequence must be, that there are not three *Papists* to one *Protestant*; now it appears by the Abstract, that *Ulster* contains more than a fourth part of the families of the whole kingdom, and that the *Protestants* of the other three provinces are more in number than the *Papists* in *Ulster*, and consequently the *Protestants* must be more than a fourth part of the whole.

Sir *William Petty*, in his *Political Survey of Ireland*, page 8, published in 1672, computed that there were then in *Ireland* three *Protestants* to eight *Papists*; it does not appear upon what grounds he made this computation; but this is certain, that whatever was the disproportion in number between *Protestants* and *Papists* in 1672, the present disproportion must be much less, considering the great numbers of *Protestants*, who soon after the revolution, and ever since, have come over from *Great Britain* into *Ireland*, and settled among us.

Most of the computations concerning the number of *Protestants* and *Papists* in *Ireland* have hitherto been made without any good or probable foundation; the general notion was, that the disproportion between *Papists* and *Protestants* was much greater than what appears by this Abstract; but this very probably was owing to this, that such gentlemen who took particular notice of the great number of *Papists* in some parts of the kingdom, did not make proper allowances for other parts, where the *Protestants* are more numerous. But now that we have a distinct account of all the *Protestant* and *Popish* families in the kingdom, returned by the hearthmoney collectors, who could with ease make a true return of the heads of families, whether they were *Protestants* or *Papists*, and we presume have done it with some tolerable exactness, pursuant to the directions they received from the Commissioners of the Revenue for that purpose; we may reasonably believe the same is near the truth: and though there may be mistakes in some

of the returns, yet as such mistakes may be on both sides, there may be little or no difference in the whole. And if there should be a mistake of a 1,000 or 2,000 families on either side, this will make but an inconsiderable variation in the proportion which they bear to one another, when taken all together.

As the bills of mortality for the city of *Dublin* give some light to that part of the Abstract which relates to the said city, I shall here observe, that it appears from the accounts of burials and christenings of *Dublin*, for seven years, ending the 25th of *March* 1735, published by *William Mulhellen*, Register, that at a medium yearly for said seven years, 2,519 persons were buried in *Dublin*, and 1,578 christened; so that the christenings were near two-thirds of the burials; but no account being taken of the number of children born yearly in that time, we may supply that defect by taking notice, that it is found by many observations, that in very large cities the burials exceed the births, but in the country the births exceed the burials. We will however suppose and allow the births and burials to be equal in *Dublin*, viz., 2,519 each: now we must take notice that the burials mentioned in the bills of mortality for *Dublin* comprehend those of all persuasions who are buried in *Dublin*, viz. *Conformists*, *Dissenters*, and *Papists*, but the number of these christened or baptized, comprehends the children of *Conformists* only, who are reported by the clerks of the respective parishes to be christened therein, exclusive of the children of *Dissenters* and *Papists*; so that the children of *Conformists* alone which amount to 1,578, are very near two-thirds of all the births, which are 2,519; and if we add to them the children of *Dissenters*, they will both together make up considerably more than two-thirds of all the births, which agrees very well with the return of the hearth-money collectors, which makes the proportion of *Protestant* to *Popish* families in *Dublin* as nine to four.

It is true that many who die in *Dublin*, are buried in some adjoining burying-places in the country, and are therefore omitted in the bills of mortality, so that the number of deaths are more than the burials. And it is no less certain, that many children of *Conformists* are omitted in the number of

those christened; but as these omissions on both sides may be nearly in proportion to their respective numbers, there may be little or no difference in the whole.

From hence we may easily account for that great inequality which constantly appears between burials and christenings in all the bills of mortality for *London* and *Dublin*; the christenings in *London* not being more than three-fourths of the burials, and in *Dublin* not quite two-thirds; when at the same time in *Paris* and other places, the births are commonly more than the burials, or very near equal to them. But this is owing to the different manner of keeping their accounts of the bills of mortality; for in *Paris* they keep an account of all burials and births, but in *London* and *Dublin* only of burials and christenings; and in the article of christenings none are included but the children of those of the Established Church.

This Abstract is published for the satisfaction of those who are curious in political arithmetic, which has been often of service to rectify mistakes, clear up difficult points, and furnish useful hints for the advantage of the public.

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