No. 1

AN

ESSAY

ON THE

MANUFACTURES OF IRELAND,

IN WHICH IS CONSIDERED,

TO WHAT MANUFACTURES HER NATURAL ADVANTAGES ARE BEST SUITED;

AND

WHAT ARE THE BEST MEANS OF IMPROVING SUCH MANUFACTURES.

BY

THOMAS WALLACE,

OF THE KING'S INNS, DUBLIN, AND M. R. I. A.

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1798.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

FRANCIS EARL OF MOIRA.

MY LORD,

OF a work profeſſing to treat a ſubject ſo important to this country as its manufactures, it was natural to look for a Patron among the friends of Ireland: to whom then could attention ſo properly be turned as to your Lordſhip, who at the moſt gloomy hour that has ever darkened her annals, ſupport that character with ſo much firmneſs, temperance and wiſdom?

It was under the influence of this ſentiment that I requeſted permiſſion to inſcribe to your Lordſhip the following work, and to expreſs thus publicly the reſpectful eſteem of an independent tho' humble man. But were there in our preſent ſituation none of thoſe dark ſhadings which give prominency to PUBLIC VIRTUE, and make its luſtre more conſpicuous, I ſhould ſtill have ſolicited

that permiſſion. In thoſe faireſt days of the hiſtory of man—days which childhood is taught to venerate, and manhood contemplates with delight, when a Xenophon and a Scipio meaſured the capacities of our nature, and by their own illuſtrious examples proved their extent—even *then* might an Eſſayiſt court the patronage of him who, like a conſtellation, which illumines while it ornaments the horizon, combined in himſelf every brighter quality of the Soldier, the Scholar, and the Stateſman! How much more proud muſt he be of ſuch patronage in times when man, ſhrunk below his moral ſtandard, regards with incredulous admiration thoſe great exemplars?

Had Ireland for ſome years back been bleſſed with many ſuch characters, my Lord, how different had been now our ſituation! Under *their* influence, Diſcontent and Diſcord would have vaniſhed, Treaſon have hid its head, and the mild energies of the

Conſtitution,

Conſtitution, unaided by military power, been found equal to all the ends of legitimate government—Ireland at this day would have been tranquil, free, and happy!

But theſe are melancholy reflections! I ſhall not, therefore, longer detain your Lordſhip's attention, than by declaring that as an Iriſhman, a friend to the peace, freedom and proſperity of his country,

I have the honour to be,

MY LORD,

your Lordſhip's moſt obliged

and obedient ſervant,

THOMAS WALLACE.

North Strand, April 3d, 1798.

PREFACE.

THE Public are generally but little interested in knowing what circumstances have given rise to a work, or what motives have urged its publication; custom, however, has made it a rule, and Authors seem well inclined to observe it, that of every book offered to the world an account of the origin as well as the object shall be stated in its preface. So far as this kind of statement imposes a necessity on an Author to weigh his own motives in publishing, and consider how far they will justify him in the act, it is a preliminary form with which it would not be wise to part—for he who with most confidence violates the sanctity of the public presence by rashly obtruding himself into notice, is commonly he who brings least with him to excuse his temerity.

If,

If, then, in moſt caſes it be reaſonable that this rule ſhould be obſerved, it is peculiarly ſo when a compoſition, circumſtanced like the preſent, ſolicits peruſal—the production of a man unknown to the public either by his ſituation or his works, and treating of a ſubject very different indeed from thoſe to which his ſtudies are profeſſedly directed. It is deſigned, therefore, to ſtate ſhortly the cauſes in which it originated, and the inducements that led the Author to publiſh it.

On the 3d of December, 1795, the Royal Iriſh Academy, out of the funds bequeathed to them for ſuch purpoſes by the late *Thomas Cunningham, Eſq*; of *Gray's Inn*, propoſed by public advertiſement to give a *præmium* of 50*l.* for the beſt Eſſay on this queſtion, "To what manufactures the natural advantages of Ireland are beſt ſuited, and what are the beſt modes of improving ſuch manufactures?" The compoſitions were to be delivered to the Secretary of the Academy before the 1ſt day of October,

1796;

1796; and the prize was to be adjudged on the 20th day of the ſame month.

In conſequence of this notice ſeveral Eſſays were given in on that queſtion, the majority of which, however, were ſoon rejected, and the competition lay between two only. Of theſe the following was one; the other, it has ſince appeared, was written by *William Preſton, Eſq*; a Member of the Academy, and of its council, author of ſeveral dramatic pieces, *Democratic Rage*, *Meſſene Freed*, &c. and of ſeveral poetic compoſitions.

For ſeveral nights the Council, to whom it belongs to decide on the merit of all literary works preſented to the Academy, proceeded in the peruſal of theſe eſſays; but either from a preſs of other buſineſs which they thought more neceſſary to be diſpatched, or from a diſinclination to attend cloſely to ſo dry a ſubject, they found themſelves unable at the time appointed to award the

prize.

prize. The ſame cauſes, whatever they might have been, which prevented the Council from deciding at the day fixed by the public advertiſement of the Academy, continued to operate for more than a full year ſubſequent to that period. Even then they were ſo far from having formed their opinion, that they had gone but a very ſhort way in the peruſal; and at length theſe unfortunate compoſitions, having been found totally unfit to fix the attention of claſſic minds, and the labour of deciding on their merits by the council at large appearing inſuperable, they were transferred to a committee.

The Council of the Academy conſiſts of three committees—thoſe of Science, of Polite Literature, and of Antiquities—It was not, however, to any of theſe committees that this labour was allotted. A *ſpecial* committee of *three*, and no more, was either caſually ſtruck for the purpoſe, or formed on ſome principle of ſelection with which the

the Author is yet unacquainted ; and it ſo happened, that of theſe three Mr. Preſton himſelf, the writer of one of the contending Eſſays, was one. As the Eſſays were given in anonymous, it is preſumed the Council were unappriſed that he was a candidate —Mr. Preſton, it is ſuppoſed, *forgot* it.

The Committee thus appointed, engaging ſeriouſly in the peruſal, ſoon compenſated for preceding delays. In a ſhort time Mr. Preſton and his two colleagues made their report, which was decidedly in favour of Mr. Preſton's Eſſay, and the Council acquieſcing, adjudged the prize to him.

When the Author of this work was informed that the Council had not condeſcended to judge of his compoſition themſelves, and that, after they had for fifteen months ſuſpended their deciſion, Mr. Preſton and two friends at laſt decided, he acknowledged to have felt ſomewhat of the chagrin, which perhaps a diſappointed candidate

didate always feels, however ſlender his pretenſions to ſucceſs. It ſtruck him that when a public body is engaged to judge in a caſe involving in ſome meaſure the character as well as intereſt of others, that judgment ſhould be made with punctuality and with caution; nor could he help thinking that he derived ſome right to complain from that maxim of vulgar juſtice, which ſays, *no man ſhould be judge in his own cauſe.*

But the feelings of chagrin ſoon ſubſide, and the mind, when the fermentation is over, wonders what produced them.—The Author now perceives how erroneous were his firſt impreſſions: he acknowledges that the Council, tho' pledged to decide at a given time, had a right to poſtpone their deciſion for years beyond that period; that tho' a candidate truſted the honour of his work to the learning and candour of the Royal Iriſh Academy only, the Council had a power of committing it to the inattention, the neglect, or the partiality of one or two individual members;

bers; and that tho' generally a man's decision in his own case is justly suspected, yet when a *gentleman* and a *scholar* possesses such confidence in his own inflexible integrity and unbiased impartiality, as to sit in judgment on his own work, it would be indelicate in a defeated candidate to refuse credit to his professions.

Such then are the causes which have given birth to this work, and such the inauspicious circumstances in which it stands. Why the Author should venture its publication after being thus disgraced by defeat, and condemned even by the modest impartiality of a competitor, is a question which he is now to answer. The usual apology of Authors he cannot plead—the solicitation of a friend who had seen the manuscript—for the Council were the only persons who had seen it before he resolved on the publication, and they, so far from advising that measure, detained, and still detain, the manuscript, nor has he without much difficulty persuaded them to grant a copy.

But

But tho' Council cannot be charged with directly promoting the publication, yet they have indirectly done ſo, for it was the reaſon which they aſſigned for detaining the manuſcript, that ſuggeſted to the Author the neceſſity of making it public. What was that reaſon? "To vindicate the propriety of the deciſion which had been made on its merits, and which it was ſuppoſed might be rendered queſtionable, if the rejected Eſſay were publiſhed in an improved ſtate." —Now this end it was ſuppoſed would more probably be attained by the publication, than by the ſuppreſſion of the rejected work, and accordingly it was reſolved on. —The delicacy of Mr. Preſton will, no doubt, thank the Author for affording ſo public a juſtification of *his* verdict, and the juſtice of the Council will be grateful for promoting, even by theſe means, their intention.

But was this the ſole motive which impelled the Author to publiſh? Poſſibly it was not. Of human actions the motives generally

generally are complex, and probably vanity in a greater or leſs degree is always an ingredient. This fatuous ſpark, perhaps, which ſo often illudes fancy by a diſplay of imaginary merits, might have taught the Author to believe that tho', on compariſon with another, his work was rejected, yet it might contain ſome ideas which if generally known, would ſerve the cauſe of Manufactures, or ſome hints which might lead to their advancement. While the Printer then propoſed to take on himſelf the riſk of publication, he could not reſiſt the impulſe of letting it go to the public.

But however vanity may have inſinuated that in a work of which the materials were collected with much care, and derived from the beſt ſources, ſome thoughts might be found that would make the publication uſeful, he had too intimate a knowledge of himſelf not to be convinced, that the general execution of it called for an apology, and that he had reaſon on the whole, rather

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to deprecate cenſure than hope for praiſe. He is perſuaded, that a ſubject in itſelf dry and unintereſting has received no attraction from the manner in which he has treated it. Many of the ornaments of compoſition, indeed, it did not admit of, and thoſe of which it was capable, he had not leiſure to beſtow; for the Eſſay was begun and ended within the ſpace of three months. If it be aſked why ſo ſhort a time was devoted to the compoſition, when there was nearly a full year between the day on which the ſubject was propoſed, and that on which the work was delivered? The anſwer is a ſhort one. The Academy propoſed at the ſame time *two* ſubjects for compoſition—the one that of which the preſent work treats—the other "on the Variations of Engliſh proſe from the Revolution to the preſent time." The eſſay on this latter was to be given in on the 1ſt of May 1796, and being more within range of the Author's ſtudies than the other ſubject, he naturally preferred it. In that attempt he had the good

fortune

fortune to meet the approbation of the Academy. The deciſion, however, was not made till the month of June, and as he waited to learn the fate of his firſt Eſſay, before he ſo unſucceſsfully tried his ſtrength in the ſecond, there remained of courſe but three months for the compoſition.

In a work written on ſuch a ſubject and in ſo ſhort a time, it may eaſily be ſuppoſed there are many errors—ſome perhaps of fact and ſome of principle. If they be not ſo numerous as to give a colour to the whole, it is all that the Author can reaſonably hope, and perhaps any thing ſhort of this, a candid reader will forgive. But, beſides errors which have crept in thro' haſte and inadvertency, there are ſome paſſages which appear erroneous, becauſe they are not true at preſent though they were ſo when the work was written*. For theſe the only apology which need be offered is, that the Academy have now kept the Eſſay before them for one year and a half, at a period more fertile

 in

* They occur principally under the head of Paper—of Glaſs—and of Woollen Manufacture.

in change than any in the hiſtory of Ireland or in the world, and it would have been wrong perhaps in a work ſuch as this, to make many ſubſequent alterations : accordingly the only alteration of moment that has been made is the paſſage beginning at page 326, which is a ſubſtitute for another; and the general diviſion of the Eſſay into ſections with contents, &c.

Such as it is, the Author commits it to the world rather with diffidence than anxiety. In its firſt aim it has already failed ; of that failure he has laid the circumſtances before the public, and it remains with them to decide whether it may ſtill be of ſervice. In point of emolument he is at preſent unintereſted in its fate, and with reſpect to other views, tho' he feels that there is a principle in the heart which praiſe can gratify, he has experienced that other things than praiſe are wanted to make man ſatisfied ; of that, then, which is but *one* ingredient in the cup of happineſs he has ceaſed to be *very* anxious about the acquiſition or the loſs.

North Strand, April 3d, 1798.

The Reader is requeſted to correct the following *Errata* with his pen.

Page 3—line 15, for *diſcontented* read *contented.*

—— 16—line 4, for *ever* read *even.*

—— 43—line 16 and 17, for *place if it be neceſſary* read *place; for if it be, &c.*

—— 43—line 18, dele *for.*

—— 104—laſt line, for *poſſibly to be* read *poſſibly be.*

—— 106—line 2 and 3, for *depravate* read *deprave.*

—— 122—line 14, for *its* read *their.*

—— ——line 15, for *derives* read *derive.*

—— 144—line 19, for *exerting* read *exciting.*

—— 157—line 11, for *office* read *officer.*

—— 271—line 16, for *maſter* read *maſters.*

—— 301—line 4, for *aſſumes* read *aſſume.*

GENERAL CONTENTS.

PART I.

PART II.

PART III.

Essay on the Manufactures, &c. of Ireland.

PART I.

General Observations on the Question—Necessity of considering how far Manufactures, compared with Agriculture, deserve Encouragement, and how far the positive Interference of the Legislature may tend to Promote them.

THE question which it is proposed to treat in this Essay, is much more extensive than, perhaps, at first view it appears. To ascertain what manufactures may be fitted for a country, it is necessary to consider not only her soil, climate, and local circumstances, but also, perhaps, her political relations to other countries. No nation can, with respect to manu-

 factures,

factures, or commerce, be considered as isolated; for both commerce and manufactures depend, as well on the wants and capacities of other countries, as on those of the trading, or manufacturing state. Even of those manufactures which are necessary for home consumption alone, this observation holds; for though a country may produce any given manufacture in sufficient quantity, and of sufficiently good quality for its inhabitants, yet, if other countries produce the same manufacture considerably cheaper, after deducting the expence of freight, hazard, &c. undoubtedly, no competition instituted against them in that manufacture, can succeed: the foreign manufacture will be used, and the native one rejected, unless *that* be prohibited, or loaded with heavy duties; and if the consumption of it be thus restrained, then there arises a new political relation between that country and those whose manufactures are thus burdened.

Yet it may be sufficient, in a work such as the present, merely to enquire in what manufactures the country, considered abstractedly, is calculated to excel; for it is the duty of the legislature, knowing

knowing the capacities of the ſtate, ſo to arrange its political concerns with reſpect to other ſtates, that theſe capacities may not, by external impediments, be rendered uſeleſs. We ſhall not, however, in the following pages, always confine our obſervations within theſe narrow limits.

Perhaps no where in Europe is an enquiry on the ſubject of this Eſſay more neceſſary than in Ireland, for perhaps no where are ſo many advantages both of ſoil, climate and ſituation, ſuffered to lie dormant. It is for others to determine, whether this neglect of the bleſſings we poſſeſs, ariſes from ignorance of their exiſtence, or from that lethargic ſtupor which ſleeps over the beſt gifts of Nature, and with folded arms reſts in contented poverty, while comfort and wealth are within the reach of an active arm.

Enquiries, indeed, of this nature, have been begun and carried on apparently with zeal and ability; but it has unfortunately happened, that they have commenced in the fever of party ſpirit, and have themſelves been nothing more than a paroxyſm of the national diſeaſe. Hence it has

followed, that the friends of peace and moderation, ſo far from aſſiſting in theſe enquiries, have either oppoſed them in argument, or neglected them in practice. On a return of temper in the people, they have of courſe been rejected or forgotten. Happy were it for us could we truly ſay, that the public mind is *now* leſs agitated by the political tempeſt—that it is in ſuch a ſtate of cool tranquillity as will permit its attention to be turned, with a probability of advantage, to diſquiſitions on thoſe true ſources of wealth and greatneſs, our agriculture, our commerce, and manufactures! Such unfortunately is not our ſituation. It remains for us, therefore, only to hope, that the criſis at which we have arrived will terminate in ſuch a ſtate of things, that the real intereſts of our country will become more than ever the objects of our care, and that, at laſt, we ſhall open our eyes to the favourable circumſtances which ſurround us, and make an effort to enjoy them.

In every country poſſeſſed of territory admitting cultivation, agriculture ſhould unqueſtionably be among the firſt objects of its care and encouragement.

couragement. This propoſition, taken ſtrictly, is incontrovertible; but it has, by a ſtrange perverſion, been ſometimes underſtood as if involving another propoſition, viz. that of the different modes of occupying the induſtry of a people, agriculture ſhould be *excluſively* the object of legiſlative protection. Of this propoſition the truth is not only not obvious, but, perhaps, the falſhood of it may be eaſily demonſtrated. There are irrefragable arguments which go to prove, that thoſe manufactures for which Nature has fitted a country, are entitled to a large ſhare of public attention, that the national proſperity is connected with the proſperity of theſe, and that even agriculture, the favoured object, muſt moſt flouriſh where theſe are moſt ſucceſsfully cultivated.

In an eſſay having for its object to aſcertain what manufactures are calculated for the country, it will not, perhaps, be conſidered alien from the ſubject, to glance at thoſe arguments, and to enquire, very briefly, how far manufactures generally deſerve to be cultivated. Not leſs neceſſary is it to conſider and refute the doctrine which has ſo often been uſed againſt every meaſure of poſitive encouragement to manufactures,

namely,

namely, that every attempt of the legiſlature to introduce, or ſupport them, is an impolitic effort to force them into premature exiſtence. On both of theſe topics a few obſervations ſhall be offered, before we enter into what is more immediately the buſineſs of this Eſſay.

SECTION

SECTION I.

Arguments of the Œconomiſts *to prove Manufactures unproductive.—Application of them to Ireland —Anſwer to theſe Arguments.—They derive no additional ſtrength from the Circumſtances of Ireland.—The moſt perfect State of Agriculture, without Manufactures, not highly beneficial—but, perhaps, the contrary.—Objection to this Reaſoning.—Anſwered.—Further Objections.—The Anſwer.*

WERE it poſſible for a country, by confining its induſtry to the cultivation of the earth, to increaſe its population to its utmoſt limit, to ſecure to its people the neceſſaries and comforts of life, to provide for the mental as well as the corporeal intereſts of its inhabitants, and to give ſufficient ſtrength and ſtability to its government for ſecuring the continuance of thoſe bleſſings, then, certainly, it were not only ſuperfluous to introduce other modes of employment for the induſtry of its people, but it were miſchievous, as tending to divert it from objects certainly productive, to thoſe which might ultimately prove barren,

barren, and from purſuits favourable to the health and morals of man, to thoſe which are generally found to be injurious to both. The queſtion therefore is, whether agriculture alone be adequate to thoſe purpoſes? If we reaſon from the effects which it has produced to its inherent powers, we ſhall ſoon infer, that it is far indeed from being able, alone, to ſecure to a nation thoſe great eſſentials of public proſperity. Nor ſhall we find, perhaps, in the wide range of antient or modern hiſtory, any inſtance of a nation improving in population, poſſeſſing freedom and ſufficient ſtrength to protect it, with ſuch a degree of mental improvement as man muſt enjoy before he can be ſaid to be a reaſonable creature, while that country was devoted excluſively to agricultural purſuits. States have riſen, perhaps, by commerce merely, without agriculture or manufactures; but there has been none, which, by agriculture alone, has riſen, without manufactures or commerce. Nay, the aſſertion may be carried farther, and it may be ſaid with truth, that even to excellence in agriculture alone no ſtate has ever arrived, which did not enjoy in ſome, perhaps, in a very extenſive degree, the collateral aid of

manufacture.

manufacture. Agriculture and manufactures, indeed, ſo far as experience enables us to judge of them, appear to be twin ſiſters; they are cotemporary in their origin, and are cheriſhed in their progreſs toward maturity by the mutual ſupport which they afford each other.

But thoſe who have attempted this unnatural divulſion of intereſts united by Nature, have not reſorted to experience for aid in ſupport of the attempt. They have formed ſyſtems, and framed theories, and in ſupport of them have deviſed arguments founded in ſubtlety unintelligible to the plain ſenſe of mankind, and deriving their force only from the poſtulate, that mankind have always acted, in this inſtance, in oppoſition to their true intereſts; that the appearance of national wealth, and greatneſs, which we ſee exiſt wherever manufactures have been ſucceſsfully cultivated, are but the ſpecious coverings of real poverty and wretchedneſs; and that all the benefits which are ſuppoſed to have flowed from a national protection of manufacture, would have more certainly reſulted from a dereliction of them, and from turning the care and pains which they have coſt to the culture of the earth alone.

Of

Of thoſe who thus labour to depreciate manufactures and to enhance the eſtimation in which agriculture muſt always be held, M. Queſnoi was the firſt. His diſciples have been numerous, and his doctrine has been widely diffuſed and ingeniouſly ſupported. It may ſuffice to ſay in this place, that his reaſonings, and thoſe of his followers, aim ſimply at proving, that agriculture ſhould be the ſole object of poſitive and actual encouragement; and that manufactures, the utility of which it was impoſſible to deny, ſhould be ſuffered to ariſe, and proceed, without any external aſſiſtance. They were, it was ſaid, naturally the reſult of an extenſive and flouriſhing agriculture, and if *that* were encouraged, *theſe* would follow ſpontaneouſly and certainly, as phyſical effects flow invariably from their cauſes.

To effect the depreciation of manufactures, it was aſſerted, that the labour of the artificer added nothing to the national ſtock. The labourer, who tilled the ground, was alone he who augmented the wealth of his country. Him, therefore, they denominated productive, while they ſtigmatized the artificer as barren and unpro-

ductive.

ductive. The reaſon on which they founded this diſtinction was no leſs ſingular than the diſtinction itſelf. They contended that the labour of the farmer was productive, becauſe he not only repaid himſelf in the firſt inſtance the capital ſtock which he expended in the preparation and culture of his ground, and alſo maintained himſelf by the produce, but beſides this he extracted from the land a rent to the proprietor of the ſoil. The manufacturing artiſan they called unproductive, becauſe, as they alledged, he merely maintained himſelf by his labour, and did not, like the farmer, produce by it any thing ſimilar to the net rent which the proprietor received from the labours of the farmer.

This abſtract doctrine, adverſe to manufactures, the friends of agriculture among us have endeavoured to apply to Ireland. Whatever may be its truth, ſay they, when applied to countries of which the agriculture is already in a very flouriſhing ſtate, and therefore does not need to engroſs the care of the public; or, however ineligible it may be to direct public attention to agriculture in countries which Nature may have incapacitated

for

for tillage, yet in Ireland unqueſtionably, they contend, the agricultural ſyſtem ſhould be cheriſhed. Ireland poſſeſſing a ſoil capable, in many places, of the higheſt degree of fertility, and in others, waiting only for the touch of induſtry to become equally fitted for the moſt valuable products, they aſſert, naturally points the attention of her people to agriculture in preference to manufactures. They carry their reaſoning farther: even if it were granted, ſay they, that manufactures are of ſo much importance to Ireland as to deſerve all the care and encouragement which ſhe can beſtow upon them, yet they ſhould be left to force their own way; for, if the circumſtances of the country be fitted for them, they will ariſe of themſelves; and if they be not, it were vain to force them into premature exiſtence. Private intereſt, always ſagacious in finding out thoſe channels in which the tide of induſtry may flow with moſt effect to the individual, and of courſe to the public, will of itſelf employ the capital of the country in thoſe works for which it is beſt calculated; and to reſtrain, or prompt, private intereſt, in this inſtance, muſt only tend to direct the capital and induſtry of the ſtate from a

more

more to a *less* profitable object. Such are the arguments by which it has been endeavoured to avert from manufactures that fostering care, without which there is little reason to hope they can ever reach to full maturity. What is their force ?

That argument against manufactures which is used to prove that agriculture is the most productive, or rather the only productive mode of exerting industry, " because the farmer, beside the ordinary profit of his stock by which he supports himself, produces also from his labour a net rent to the proprietor of the soil, while the manufacturer obtains from *his* labour only the ordinary profits on which he lives," has been ably answered by several writers, but perhaps by none with more brevity and force than by Mr. Hamilton in his celebrated report to Congress on the manufactures of the United States. To state his answer in any other words than his own would probably weaken its effect ; I shall therefore, as it is but short, take the liberty to transcribe it.

" That the labour employed on manufactures yields nothing equivalent to the rent of land, or

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to that net ſurplus, as it is called, which accrues to the proprietor of the ſoil, reſts on a diſtinction which, however important it has been conſidered, appears rather verbal than ſubſtantial."

"It is eaſily diſcernible, that what in the firſt inſtance is divided into two parts under the denominations of the *ordinary profit* of the ſtock of the farmer, and the *rent* to the landlord, is, in the ſecond inſtance, united under the general appellation of the *ordinary profit* on the ſtock of the undertaker; and that this formal, or verbal diſtribution, conſtitutes the whole difference in the two caſes. It ſeems to have been overlooked, that the land is itſelf a ſtock, or capital, advanced, or lent by its owner to the occupier, or tenant; and that the rent he receives is only the ordinary profit of a certain ſtock in land, not managed by the proprietor himſelf, but by another, to whom he lends or lets it, and who, on his part, advances a ſecond capital to ſtock and improve the land, upon which he alſo receives the uſual profit. The rent of the landlord and the profit of the farmer are, therefore, nothing more than the *ordinary profits* of *two* capitals belonging to *two* different perſons, and united in

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the cultivation of a farm. As in the other caſe, the ſurplus which ariſes upon any manufacture after replacing the expences of carrying it on, anſwers to the ordinary profits of *one* or *more* capitals engaged in the proſecution of ſuch manufacture. It is ſaid *one* or *more* capitals; becauſe, in fact the ſame thing which is contemplated in the caſe of the farm, ſometimes happens in that of a manufactory. There is one who furniſhes a part of the capital, or lends a part of the money by which it is carried on; and another who carries it on, with the addition of his own capital. Out of the ſurplus which remains, after defraying expences, an intereſt is paid to the money-lender for the portion of capital furniſhed by him, which exactly agrees with the rent paid to the landlord; and the reſidue of that ſurplus conſtitutes the profit of the undertaker, or manufacturer, and agrees with what is denominated the ordinary profits on the ſtock of the farmer. Both together make the ordinary profits of two capitals employed in a manufactory, as in the other caſe the rent of the landlord, and the revenue of the farmer, compoſes the ordinary profits of two capitals employed in the cultivation of a farm".

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"The rent, therefore, accruing to the proprietor of the land, far from being a criterion of *exclusive* productivenefs, as has been argued, is no criterion even of ſuperior productivenefs. The queſtion muſt ſtill be, whether the ſurplus, after defraying the expences of a *given capital* employed in the *purchaſe* and *improvement* of a piece of land, is greater or leſs than that of a like capital employed in the proſecution of a manufacture; or whether the *whole value produced* from a *given capital*, and a *given quantity of labour* employed in one way, be greater or leſs than the *whole value produced* from an *equal capital*, and an *equal quantity of labour* employed in the other way; or rather, perhaps, whether the buſinefs of agriculture, or that of manufactures, will yield the greateſt product, according to a *compound ratio* of the quantity of the capital, and the quantity of labour which are employed in the one, or in the other."

Theſe obſervations on the arguments by which the œconomiſts endeavour to prove the ſuperior productivenefs of agriculture, ſeem fully to ſhew that their reaſoning on that point is inconclu-

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ſive. They are not adduced by the author from whom they are quoted, nor are they now urged with a view to depreciate agricultural purſuits, or to eſtabliſh a pretended ſuperiority of manufactures. They are meant only to ſhew, that theſe, abſtractedly conſidered, deſerve to ſhare the patronage of the public counſels, becauſe from their nature they are as likely as agriculture itſelf to encreaſe the ſtock of national wealth.

To thoſe who may ſtill entertain doubts on this queſtion, a peruſal of all the arguments of Mr. Hamilton on this topic is ſtrongly recommended. By ſtating and illuſtrating the effect of manufactures in the diviſion of labour, and extending the uſe of machinery; in the additional employment they afford to claſſes of the community not ordinarily engaged in buſineſs; in the promotion of emigration from foreign countries; in furniſhing greater ſcope for diverſity of talents, by affording a more ample and various field for enterprize; and finally, in creating and ſecuring, wherever they exiſt, a more certain and ſteady demand for the ſurplus produce of the ſoil; he has accumulated ſuch a maſs of

evidence to prove their utility, as muſt ſurely, in the mind of every unprejudiced judge, decide the queſtion in their favour.

But, to the arguments uſed by the economiſts againſt the public encouragement of manufactures, others have been added, drawn from a conſideration of the peculiar circumſtances of Ireland. It is ſaid, that " however doubtful might be the policy of giving poſitive encouragement to manufacture in a country in which agriculture had reached to a conſiderable degree of perfection, there could ſcarcely be a doubt whether Ireland, with her lands naturally fertile, but in many inſtances yet rude, and in none well cultivated, ſhould not, in the firſt place, concenter all her powers round this ſure ſource of wealth to perſevering induſtry, inſtead of diſtracting her attention by turning it on an object which poſſibly may fruſtrate her hopes of ſucceſs, however apparently well founded, and of which indeed there can be no rational grounds to expect that it will ſo ſpeedily, ſo certainly, or in ſo

great

great a degree be productive to the country as an improved agriculture."

That Ireland has not yet availed herself of all the advantages for agriculture which her soil and climate afford, is a truth prominent in almost every farm in the country, and it is equally true, that the promotion of her agriculture should, for many reasons, be among the first objects of her care. Every argument which can be urged in favour of any national pursuit offer themselves to recommend to her the improvement of her soil, and the modes of its cultivation. But it is certainly false reasoning to infer, that because agriculture should be promoted, we may safely neglect, as a national object, the encouragement of manufactures; for, undoubtedly, one of the chief reasons why agriculture should be considered as an object of prime importance is, that it furnishes the best aids to manufactures and commerce. So true is this, that if it were possible to frame a system of laws by which agriculture might be raised to the highest possible pitch without the existence of manufactures, it is very doubtful, whether, in

ſuch circumſtances, this extended ſtate of its agriculture would much add to the wealth, happineſs, or power of the nation, however it might tend to the aggrandizement of a few individuals. To men who have acquired certain habits of thinking on theſe ſubjects this opinion will certainly wear the appearance of paradox; a ſhort view of the reaſoning which ſupports it will perhaps ſhew, that it is not unfounded.

Agriculture is then moſt perfect when the ſoil is made to yield the greateſt poſſible produce, with the leaſt poſſible labour. In ſuch a ſtate of agriculture, therefore, each individual poſſeſſor of land, procures from his farm the utmoſt poſſible produce, by the labour of a very few hands. Suppoſe then the ſoil of a country divided among a given number of proprietors: each of theſe extracting the greateſt produce from the ſoil by the labours of the ſmalleſt number of hands muſt neceſſarily employ but a few labourers, in tillage. But all thoſe who ſhall remain on the lands of each proprietor not neceſſarily engaged in the cultivation of

them

them will be a uſeleſs burden, becauſe in this ſuppoſed ſtate of things, there are no manufactures to afford employment. The number of theſe uſeleſs hands each proprietor will endeavour to diminiſh as much as poſſible, or at leaſt prevent their encreaſe. Thus, when agriculture becomes as perfect as poſſible, manufactures affording labour to none, the proprietor of the ſoil will labour to leſſen propagation. So far then the promotion of agriculture, diſtinct from manufactures, muſt diminiſh what has been truly called the wealth and ſtrength of a nation.

Nor will agriculture in this very perfect ſtate, deſtitute of manufactures, render thoſe whom it does ſupport comfortable and abundant, in proportion to this improved ſtate. Land being divided among a given number of proprietors to whom the ſurplus of the produce belongs, it will naturally be their object to ſupport the labouring people at the leaſt poſſible expence, and of courſe they will allow the leaſt wages on which they can live. They will not ſhare in the abundance which their labours produce, for the property of that will reſt in the lords of the ſoil; and under

der theſe hopeleſs circumſtances, if no manufactures exiſt, they will be deſtitute of reſource, or alternative. In thoſe countries, which, from the gift of nature, enjoy that fertility which elſewhere is the conſequence of perfect agriculture, this poſition is eaſily illuſtrated. Sicily, once emphatically called the *Romani Imperii horreum*, and ſtill poſſeſſing its former luxuriance, is an inſtance. Where are the poor more wretched? Where is population ſo thin as in this prolific ſoil?

It may be a plauſible objection to this reaſoning, that it is the diſtinguiſhing recommendation of agriculture to produce in proportion to the quantity of labour expended on it, that therefore the more population encreaſes, the more will the ſoil yield which thoſe encreaſed numbers cultivate, and that of courſe it is not true that when agriculture is in its moſt improved ſtate, it will tend rather to reſtrain, than to encreaſe population. The ſuppoſition on which this objection reſts, is falſe, if taken in its fulleſt extent; and if it be taken in a qualified ſenſe, it is fallacious from its vagueneſs. It is falſe, if taken in its fulleſt extent, for, any given quantity of land has, undoubtedly,

doubtedly, a limit to its produce, or rather to its capacity of producing, however great that produce or capability may be. After the greateſt produce, then, has been attained by the higheſt degree of cultivation, it is evident, that whatever labour is afterwards employed on the ſoil, is uſeleſs, if not injurious. But if the aſſertion be taken in a limited ſenſe, it goes for nothing, becauſe it is impoſſible to aſcertain how far it is meant to extend.

If it be objected farther, that agriculture can never be carried on in that abſtract way in which we have taken it, diſtinct from manufactures, it is granted. But thoſe who make the objection, muſt take it with all its conſequences. If agriculture be neceſſarily connected with, or productive of, manufactures, the connection muſt ariſe from one of theſe cauſes—either agriculture produces materials which manufactures are neceſſary to make valuable, or it encreaſes population to ſuch a degree, that other occupations than thoſe of tillage, muſt be deviſed to employ them ; or, manufactures muſt exiſt in order to furniſh a certain market before agriculture can become extended. In any of theſe caſes,

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and it is conceived that no other can be ſtated, manufactures become, equally with agriculture itſelf, entitled to protection and poſitive encouragement.

In the firſt caſe, manufactures being neceſſary to work up the produce of the land, in order to enable the huſbandman to bear the expence of cultivation, it is neceſſary that all care ſhould be taken to extend and promote theſe manufactures, becauſe if they fail, the huſbandman loſes a large ſhare of his profits, and ſo far, agricuture is diſcouraged.

If the connection between them ariſes from ſuch an encreaſed population as turns the ſurplus of unemployed hands to manufactures, then it becomes ſtill more neceſſary, to encourage and patronize theſe, becauſe, if the ſupernumerary hands be ſuffered to remain idle, they will deduct ſo much from the national ſtock or capital, as their maintenance will amount to: or, if they find it difficult to procure a maintenance, they will endanger the peace of the public, and ſo far will effectually damp the induſtry of the uſeful part of the community.

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In the third caſe, where manufactures are ſuppoſed neceſſary to ſecure a certain market for the produce of the ſoil, before agriculture can become extended, the propriety of giving them encouragement, even in preference to agriculture, ſeems to be conceded; as the proſperity of them is, in this inſtance, acknowledged to be an eſſential preliminary to the grand object, and without whoſe previous exiſtence it cannot be attained.

In this endeavour to prove that the higheſt degree of ſucceſs in agriculture can not be ſerviceable to a ſtate, if its agriculture be not accompanied by manufactures, it is believed we have gone far to overturn the poſition, that Ireland not having yet made ſufficient advances in the cultivation of her ſoil, ought not to divert her attention from that great object to the promotion of manufactures—for, if we have proved, that decided excellence in that purſuit, would not be valuable if unattended by manufactures, it follows, that it would be in ſome meaſure prepoſterous to poſtpone the promotion of *theſe* to *that*. And as to the argument that ſucceſs in agriculture is more ſure, ſpeedy, and

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productive, than ſucceſs in manufactures, it appears to deſerve, after what we have already ſaid, but little farther reply.

Of the comparative value, then, of agriculture and manufactures to a ſtate, we ſhall reſt ſatisfied with having given the opinion and arguments of Hamilton; and with reſpect to the greater certainty and ſpeed of our progreſs in agriculture than in manufactures, it appears that ſo far as we are likely to advance in a beneficial agriculture, we muſt be accompanied by manufacture. We ſay *beneficial*, becauſe it is not denied, but that agriculture, like manufacture, may be forced by unnatural means. It is certainly poſſible to frame a ſyſtem of corn laws, and ſecond them by ſuch degrees of encouragement, as ſhall raiſe the tillage of a country to a very high pitch indeed, by giving to the corn merchant ſuch protection, and ſuch advantages, as will induce numbers to engage in the export of grain alone, without any of that mixed commerce, which has for its ſubject, the multifarious products, not only of tillage, but of every various manufacture which the country may be fitted for.

SECTION

SECTION II.

Arguments against Legislative interposition in Manufactures.—Such Interference may, in many cases, be injudicious—but not always so—and why—Instances of the utility of Legislative Protection.—The Experience of Ireland proves how much Agriculture may be promoted by judicious Encouragement.—By analogy the same effects would follow in Manufactures.

OF those who deny the utility of encouraging manufactures by the actual intervention of legislative provisions, because they believe agriculture should be the sole object of public care, the number perhaps is not so great as of those who deny the expediency of it, because they consider any intervention of this kind, as a premature exertion in their favour. It becomes necessary, therefore, to investigate this opinion.

Those who are adverse to the encouragement of manufactures on this ground, assert that private interest, ever sagacious in finding out the most proper objects for industry to work on, will, if left to itself, always be occupied in the cultivation of those

thoſe branches of manufacture, which the country is beſt fitted for, and thoſe manufactures, thus under the beſt poſſible manangement, that of thoſe moſt intereſted in their ſucceſs, will encreaſe as faſt as the ſtate of things, or the intereſt of the public may require.

No doubt it is poſſible, that encouragement however great, when applied by the legiſlature to manufactures for which nature or the political circumſtances of the country may have unfitted it, ſo far from tending to raiſe ſuch manufactures into a ſource of national wealth, will be ineffectual with reſpect to them, and injurious to the country at large, as tending to divert its induſtry from a more to a leſs uſeful channel. But ſurely the caſe is widely different, when public encouragement judiciouſly applied is brought to aid the infant ſtruggles of the country, already pointing its efforts at uſeful and attainable objects. It is indeed not difficult to ſhew, that in a great variety of inſtances, ſuch aids are indiſpenſably neceſſary. It is certainly one of the propenſities of human nature, perhaps, indeed, there is none more ſtrong, than that by which man is led to perſevere in the track in which he has long gone;

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nor is the antipathy of the human mind to change and innovation in habits long indulged, leſs univerſal or powerful. Whatever *public* inſtances of the contrary the times we live in may afford, the *private* experience of every man will bear witneſs to the truth of this remark. Hence, tho' varying circumſtances may ſuggeſt to the inhabitants of a country to change the accuſtomed purſuits of their induſtry, they will liſten with reluctance to the admonition, and refuſe to obey it, till, perhaps, the fortunate criſis for the change be paſt; until a ſpirit of induſtry, languiſhing from repeated diſappointments in ill-judged exertion, give place to the indolence of laſſitude or diſcontented ſloth. But if a ſagacious and vigilant legiſlature, watching the viciſſitude of circumſtances, interpoſe at the proper time, and by judicious encouragement, ſtimulate their people to catch the paſſing opportunity, and ſubſtitute a new and growing branch for an obſolete and declining one, the effect will probably be, that a new ſource of wealth will be ſecured to the country, which but for this encouragement would have lain unimproved, or been occupied by a rival. To engage in new attempts, particularly when they involve a hazard to capital, prudent men are generally diſinclined,

ned, and yet it is by the exertions of prudent men only, that ſuch attempts can rationally be expected to ſucceed. Something, then, becomes neceſſary to be done, in order to remove this diſinclination to engage in untried purſuits; ſome hope ſhould be held out to countervail the fear of loſs from failure, and to weigh againſt the difficulty of new undertakings, provided thoſe undertakings afford a well-grounded expectation of contributing, if they ſucceed, to the public good. Hence to new manufactures ſome encouragement from the public ſeem neceſſary, even tho' no impediments lay in their way, beſides, thoſe that are inherent in the very nature of the undertakings. But when it is conſidered, that a new or infant manufacture has to combat, not only with the difficulties that naturally attach to firſt eſſays, ariſing from want of ſkill, the difficulty of acquiring new habits or laying aſide old ones, but alſo in moſt caſes with the artifice of a rival nation, enjoying perhaps all the helps of a larger capital, long experience, and poſſeſſion of the market; it becomes obvious, that ſucceſs in ſuch caſes can ſeldom or never be hoped, but when the munificence of the legiſlature and the aſſiſtance of public protection come in aid of private adventure.

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According to thoſe who deny the utility of giving public encouragement to manufactures, ſuch encouragement ſhould never be given until the manufacture had arrived to a certain degree of ſtability, which would prove, that the circumſtances of the country were favourable to it; that is, protection ſhould be withheld, till protection became unneceſſary; the indulgence due to infancy ſhould be reſerved for adult age: for ſurely a manufacture which can riſe into exiſtence, and out-live the difficulties that crowd around an infant inſtitution, is little likely to need thoſe late helps which come to gratulate its health and ſtrength, rather than aſſiſt its weakneſs. What would now have been the woollen manufacture of England, had it been left unaſſiſted to ſtruggle with the eſtabliſhed manufactures of Flanders and other countries? What would have been the linen manufacture of Ireland at this day, had it not been forced upon us by the inſidious encouragements of Lord Strafford, and continually cheriſhed ſince, from more worthy motives, by every mode of public and private encouragement? Nay, where would have been agriculture itſelf had it been left to its own

energy?

energy? And yet, ſurely agriculture is, if any thing can be, calculated to proſper without legiſlative aid.

If then it be true, that we owe the comparatively flouriſhing ſtate of our tillage to the excellent ſyſtem of our corn laws by which it has been for ſome years governed, this fact affords an irrefragable argument of the neceſſity of cheriſhing and regulating by public authority, manufactures which have not yet arrived at maturity.

So far we have diſcuſſed this point on the vulgar ſuppoſition, that agriculture and manufactures are things of oppoſite kinds, and have different intereſts. But this ſuppoſition is falſe. Agriculture and manufacture agree in their eſſentials, inaſmuch as they both are the improvements of human induſtry on materials given by Nature. In the one caſe the material is the land itſelf; in the other the material is ſometimes extracted from the earth, ſometimes produced by reptiles, by cattle, by fiſh, &c. So much alike indeed are theſe two purſuits of civilized man, that the proſperity of each is promoted by the

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ſame means, and retarded by the ſame impediments. Agriculture, as well as manufacture, will flouriſh when it enjoys a ſteady and abundant domeſtic market, and is ſecure of a foreign market for the redundance. They are both depreſſed when they have not a ready conſumption for their produce at home, from want of population to conſume, or wealth to purchaſe it; or when the ſurplus produce of the ſoil or manufacture remains on the hands of the huſbandman or artificer, from want of a foreign vent, occaſioned by the abundant and more cheap ſupply of foreign markets, by domeſtic reſtriction on the export, or from deficiency in commercial enterprize.

Thus far it has been thought neceſſary to go to ſhew, that thoſe manufactures which may be fitted for the country, have a claim equally perhaps with agriculture, or at leaſt in the next place, to public patronage and encouragement. The nature of the diſcuſſion has made it neceſſary to be in a great meaſure general and abſtract. We proceed now to what is more cloſely connected with the object of this eſſay.

SECTION III.

What are the general requiſites that recommend a Manufacture to adoption?—Poſſeſſion of the Primum—*The neceſſary means of working it up—The domeſtic market—A ſecure and convenient foreign market—Its employing many hands—Its being already eſtabliſhed—Its being leaſt injurious to health and morals—Its being promotive of Agriculture—Peculiar circumſtances of Ireland from its relation to Great Britain—Its Navy—The influence of its Capital—Its poſſeſſion of Raw Materials—Regulation of Channel Trade, all neceſſary to be conſidered in order to determine what Manufactures ſhe ſhould cultivate.*

BEFORE it can be certainly known what manufactures are moſt proper for a country, it is neceſſary to aſcertain what conſtitutes the peculiar fitneſs of one manufacture above another for that country. Without fixing theſe criteria, we may

may for ever float in conjecture, and perhaps shall ultimately have but a very confused view of what it is our business to learn with precision and certainty.

Those manufactures, then, are evidently best calculated for any country, which may be instituted and carried on in it with most ease, and the greatest probability of success, and which in their establishment are likely to be productive of the most good; by good we mean, adding most to the stock of national wealth, with least injury to the health or morals of those engaged in them. But what manufactures are those? They will be found to be those of which the country in the first instance, possesses the *primum* in such quantity, as is likely to be commensurate to the demand for the manufacture in its most advanced state; 2dly, and for the working of which it possesses all the necessary means. But it is not enough, that the *primum* abounds, and that the best means for working it up are within reach; it is necessary also, that there be a certain vent for the manufactured goods; those

manufactures therefore are to be preferred for which, 3dly, a country poſſeſſes a domeſtic market; or if not that, at leaſt, 4thly, a ſure and convenient foreign market. But ſuppoſing a country to poſſeſs the *primum* of a manufacture in ſufficient quantity to make the working of it a national object, ſuppoſing alſo that the home market is ſecured to it, and beſides, a probability of vending the ſurplus in a foreign and convenient market, yet all theſe circumſtances are not enough to recommend the manufacture to notice, if it be not, 5thly, in itſelf likely to be beneficial to the country, by employing a conſiderable number of hands, to whom it may afford not merely a maintenance for themſelves, but alſo a competence to bring up children, &c. Any manufacture thus circumſtanced, the materials abounding, and the beſt means of manufacturing them at hand, a certain market for the goods exiſting, and the manufacture in its own nature, capable of employing and ſupporting a great number of hands and their offſpring, is ſo far proper for the country poſſeſſing it to promote, and deſerves public encouragement. But it will be yet more eligible, if, in addition to theſe circumſtances,

cumſtances, it is alſo recommended by being, 6thly, already eſtabliſhed to a certain degree, by which the difficulties and expences which always attend a beginning manufacture, are already ſurmounted. This circumſtance is ſtrongly recommendatory, becauſe it frequently happens, that manufactures which, in proſpect, have the moſt promiſing appearance, are found, when they are attempted, to be impracticable, and after much public expence, and the ruin of many private individuals, it becomes neceſſary to abandon them. It is an equally ſtrong recommendation of a manufacture, as an object of public encouragement, when, 7thly, it is ſuch, that in its proceſs it is not at all, or is leaſt injurious to the health or morals of thoſe who are engaged in it. And it is ſtill a farther recommendation, 8th, if it be connected with, and promotive of the agriculture of the country.

Such are the circumſtances which generally ſhould recommend a manufacture to public protection. If we conſider the peculiar ſituation of this country, it may be neceſſary to look at ſome other circumſtances before we decide what ſhould recommend a manufacture to our adoption.

Ireland

Ireland is indeed very particularly circumſtanced. With the name and the pride of political independence about her, ſhe undoubtedly is at preſent dependant on her neighbouring country for many things which are eſſential, not only to the preſervation of her political independence itſelf, but to the promotion of her civil proſperity. She is obliged to depend on the navy of Great Britain for protection from the aggreſſion of foreign ſtates. By the ſuperintending power of Great Britain, the preſent arrangement of much of her landed property is ſuppoſed to be upheld. To Great Britain ſhe has been obliged to look, ſometimes for permiſſion, and often for the means of extending her commerce.—And at the preſent day it is a fact incontrovertible, that ſhe owes much of her export trade, to the influence of Engliſh capital, and the wide extent of Engliſh commerce. —The export of Iriſh linen by the Britiſh merchant, is a proof of this. Even for the materials of many important manufactures, Ireland, under the preſent connection, depends upon Great Britain, and, above all, under the ſpirit of the preſent ſyſtem, ſhe is obliged, or

thinks

thinks herſelf obliged, to ſubmit to regulations of the trade between the two countries, which as they now ſtand, are certainly unjuſt and inequitable; while, perhaps, fairly conſidered, they are impolitic and injurious, as well to Great Britain as Ireland.

Nor are theſe the only inſtances in which the manufacturing intereſts of this country ſuffer from her contiguity to Great Britain. There are others: the ſuperiority of the merchants and manufacturers of England in point of capital, ſkill, connection, and induſtry, and that priority of conſideration and encouragement, which the commerce and manufactures of that country will always enjoy over thoſe of Ireland, ſo long as Ireland ſhall continue to conſtitute, as ſhe always muſt do, while the connection ſubſiſts, a ſubordinate member of the Britiſh empire. Theſe are ſtriking inſtances of the diſadvantages under which ſhe labours, and which in conſidering what manufactures may be fitted for Ireland, muſt by no means be left out of the account. We muſt, for inſtance, in calculating the probable ſucceſs of each branch, conſider how far it is af-

fected

fected by the advantages of ſkill and capital, which Great Britain enjoys, by what circumſtances the given manufactures may be attended, which may tend to countervail theſe, and if there be no ſuch favourable circumſtances in exiſtence, it may be right to conſider whether it be practicable to create them, and by what modes, and how far, their ſucceſs may be promoted, conſiſtently with the good underſtanding of both countries. When we come to treat of each of the principal manufactures, we ſhall have an eye on thoſe peculiarities in the ſituation of Ireland; previouſly, however, to engaging in that part of the work, it will be uſeful to make ſome obſervations on thoſe circumſtances which are ſaid above to recommend a manufacture to adoption.

SECTION

SECTION IV.

Of the possession of the raw Materials of Manufacture.—The first attempts at Manufactures must always be of native Materials—for they must precede Commerce.—Whence arose the Manufacturing of foreign Materials.—Three Causes.—Another Cause.—Inconveniences attending the Manufacturing of foreign Materials—instanced in the History of the Austrian and Dutch Netherlands, &c.—Also, by the experience of England in her Silk Manufacture.—Coventry.—Subject continued.—Solicitude of Manufacturing Countries to secure the possession of native primum.—*England.—Ireland.—Instability of Manufactures of which the* primum *is foreign—in Netherlands—Venice—Italian States.—Cases where the Manufacture of Foreign Materials may be useful.—Instances.—Iron.*

THE manufactures which first arise in any country, must be those of which the materials are indigenous. In the savage state, rude manufactures generally arise before any species of agriculture

agriculture is known. As theſe precede agriculture, they cannot ever be of foreign materials: for agriculture is the firſt foundation of commerce, and without commerce, foreign materials for manufactures could not be had. The firſt care of the ſavage is food, with which he provides himſelf from day to day by fiſhing or hunting. His next care is clothing; and with materials for this he provides himſelf while he provides himſelf in food, for the ſkin of the beaſt which he kills to eat, without any farther improvement, than perhaps drying, ſerves him for a coat or a mantle. But it is natural to ſuppoſe, that in countries where food is procured by hunting, without much difficulty or labour, and where the tribe becomes numerous, the ſavage, who has much leiſure on his hands, and is converſant with his fellows, will begin to feel the workings of vanity. In ſome diſpoſitions theſe will ſhew themſelves, in external decorations, and hence the cuſtom of painting the body, which is found ſo univerſally to prevail among ſavages.—This ſpirit will prompt him to add ornament to his

dreſs;

dreſs; he will adorn the ſkin he wears, by cutting it into a form different from that of others, or he will paint it with a brighter hue, and more groteſque figures; or, if he be ingenious, he may be prompted to form materials, not uſed before, into a ſubſtitute for the vulgar dreſs. If the ſociety be ſo numerous as to make diſtinction of rank neceſſary, and it is hard to conceive, how any ſociety, however barbarous, can exiſt without ſome ſuch diſtinctions, this will be a new ſtimulus to improvement in dreſs; for the chief and his officers will require ſome peculiar ornaments by which they may be diſtinguiſhed from the common maſs. Indeed, there can be little doubt, that among the moſt rude tribes this diſtinction takes place; for, if it be neceſſary in civilized, it is undoubtedly ~~for ſecondly~~ more neceſſary, in ſavage life. From each of theſe cauſes then, or perhaps from a combinatton of them all, may have ariſen the firſt eſſays at manufacture, and hence it appears that the firſt manufactures known in any country probably muſt have been of materials which that country afforded.

Nor

Nor was it optional in the ſavage, or even in him who had made ſome advances in civilization, to beſtow their firſt labours on the improvement of native materials. They were neceſſarily confined to theſe, for foreign materials not being attainable, as we have ſeen, but by commerce, which, in the ſavage ſtate is unknown, and in the firſt ſtages of civilization is confined to thoſe articles which are wanted for immediate uſe, manufactures in this ſtate of ſociety, are generally limited to the neceſſary wants of each individual, and each makes for his own family ſuch articles as they need, and of ſuch materials as are obvious.

It is only where luxury and encreaſed wealth have eſtabliſhed manufactures on a permanent and improved footing; it is only where they have introduced a diviſion of labour, and thus created and cultivated a taſte for further improvement in dreſs, furniture, &c. that foreign materials were firſt fabricated, either in a deficiency of native produce, or of materials of ſufficient fineneſs and delicacy,

cacy, for the more refined taſte of the country.

Another cauſe tended to introduce the manufacture of foreign materials. When by the improvements of agriculture and population the manufactures of home materials had become extenſive, they would naturally divert, as being more lucrative, conſiderable numbers from the avocations of agriculture. As this habit continued, it would tend to draw to thoſe manufactures more than a due proportion of hands. Manufactures thus becoming overſtocked, means would be deviſed to extend them, and this could be done by no means more plauſible, than by working up foreign materials, which not only gives a new excitement to conſumption, but produces to the manufacturer a greater profit than he formerly had in the manufacture of the coarſe home materials.

If foreign manufactures had found their way into the country, and been generally conſumed, this alſo might have afforded ſtrong temp-

tation

tation to attempt ſimilar fabrics at home, by importing the raw materials.

But whichſoever of thoſe cauſes give riſe to the manufacture of foreign materials, or whether they all combine, as they generally do, to produce this effect, the attempt is ſoon found to be leſs advantageous than hope had painted it. If the country from which the materials are brought be a near one, its people ſoon diſcover, that by ſuffering the raw materials to be manufactured abroad, a certain portion of their wealth is transferred to the manufacturing country. The price of the materials exported, they will naturally conceive to be enhanced, and the materials themſelves rendered more ſcarce by the exportation. With what truth this opinion is taken up, it is not neceſſary here to examine; it is ſufficient that this opinion, in ſuch circumſtances, is found generally to prevail. Beſides this inconvenience, they will probably believe that the market which they had found profitable, is already narrowed, and unleſs they prevent it, is in danger of being loſt. This ſuggeſts a duty on the export of the raw materials, if

not

not a prohibition, the obvious, tho' probably not the beſt, remedy. Hence begins that competition of duties, which have ſo much injured induſtry in every country; which, in many inſtances have been the cauſe of war, and always a ſource of jealouſy, antipathy, and diſtruſt. Thus it was, that England, by her command of wool, kept the Netherlands in check, while under the dominion of the Dukes of Burgundy, when the woollen manufacture was at its higheſt pitch of improvement in that country; and thus it is in the power of any country that poſſeſſes the crude materials, to raiſe the price in proportion to the demand, or in any proportion which they pleaſe. Such was the conduct of the Dutch, who gradually raiſed the price of flax, as we imported it, until it came to be about one hundred per cent. dearer than it had been.

If the country from whence the crude materials are drawn be a diſtant one, the carriage, the hazard, and other inconveniences attending a long voyage, muſt generally enhance the price of the material, and, therefore,

of

of the manufactured goods; and this extra price is ſo much deducted from the capital of the country. Wherever, therefore, capital is ſmall, the manufacture of foreign materials muſt be ſo far ineligible.

Theſe are evils of no trivial moment which ariſe *in limine* from the manufacture of foreign materials. There are many others, and of more ſerious importance. If the manufacture has been ſuffered to extend itſelf, by the temperance of the other country, in not impoſing heavy duties, or by not prohibiting the export of the *primum*, it muſt have extended itſelf only by bounties, or artificial modes of encouragement, for ſince that other country had the materials cheaper, and was ſkilled in the manufacture, ſhe muſt have neceſſarily been able to afford the manufactured goods, at a lower price, than the country importing the materials. Bounty then, on the manufacture, or duties on the imported goods, could alone ſecure the market to the home induſtry.* But what is yet worſe is, that by ſuffering the manufacture to extend itſelf, the ſupport

* See Smith's Wealth of Nations, Vol. I. Page 444.

ſupport of all thoſe concerned in it, becomes in a great meaſure dependant on that country which has the command of the materials, or on the caſualties of the ſea, war, &c. &c. A manufacture of this kind, widely extended, becomes a root of tumult and diſcontent, which will for ever germinate in times when tumult and diſcontent are moſt troubleſome, in times of war and danger. The hiſtory of the Spittal-fields manufactures will evince this, and the riots at Coventry laſt year, on the capture of our merchantmen, afford a recent and ſtriking proof. *

The manufacture of foreign materials in any country can exiſt only by the protection of bounties, or duties on the importation; but

 neither

* On the capture of theſe merchantmen by the French fleet, the price of raw ſilk was raiſed, a great portion of the annual ſupply of that commodity being on board thoſe ſhips. The Coventry weavers, who are principally engaged in the ribbon manufacture, fearing a want of employment, from want of materials, became extremely tumultuous. The riot at laſt becoming dangerous, a detachment of Light Dragoons quartered in the town attacked the inſurgents; ſome of them were killed, and numbers wounded.—A valuable and much-loved officer loſt his life in the conteſt.

neither duties nor bounties can raiſe it to ſuch perfection as it attains in that country from whence the materials came. That country has always the pre-emption of materials; the beſt of its produce it will naturally itſelf manufacture, and if it ſuffers its *primum* to be at all exported, it will be the refuſe only. This circumſtance alone will prevent the importing country from reaching to a competition. It will not be leſs impeded by its want of ſkill, in which the producing country muſt be ſuppoſed to have the pre-eminence, from having been longer in poſſeſſion of the manufacture, and from carrying it on in a more extenſive way. Theſe obſervations hold, with reſpect to countries independent of each other, and of nearly the ſame degree of advancement in civilization: but where one of theſe is under the controul or influence of the other, or backward in arts and induſtry, the inconveniences of ſuch a manufacture are greatly aggravated. So circumſtanced to a certain degree are Great Britain and Ireland.

If the manufacture of foreign materials be not already eſtabliſhed, it is a great objection

to

to the eſtabliſhment of it, that it will require much more care, pains, and expence, than the introduction and eſtabliſhment of a manufacture, of which the materials are native. There are ſeveral reaſons for this; the principal is, that when the raw material is abundant in a country, it will naturally be wrought up in the firſt inſtance in private families, if the materials be capable of ſuch domeſtic manufacture. By theſe means a great number of perſons will have become ſkillful in that particular fabric to a certain degree, before the attempt is made to produce goods for ſale. Thus the maſter manufacturer will avoid the hazard of having his materials ſpoiled, which he muſt undoubtedly incur if he be obliged to commit them to men entirely ſtrangers to the manufacture. The elementary parts of the proceſs will be known to all employed in it, and a little practice only will be neceſſary to enlarge that little ſkill into a complete knowledge.

A manufacture, of which there can be ſo little reaſonable hope that it will ever be able

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to hold a ſucceſsful competition with its rival; of which, even if it ſhould reach to a conſiderable degree of eminence, the exiſtence will depend on the forbearance of another country, peculiarly intereſted in its depreſſion; and which cheriſhes within itſelf at all times, the ſeeds of tumult and outrage, can ſcarcely be thought a manufacture proper for adoption, unleſs indeed, as ſometimes happens, there may be a ſingular combination of other circumſtances in its favour. Accordingly, ſo deeply impreſſed on the mind of every manufacturing country is the importance of poſſeſſing the *primum* of their manufactures, that no other object has been more ſeduloufly attended to. Great Britain has taken as much pains to preſerve the monopoly of her wool, as ſhe has to ſecure her freedom. France, under the old government, was ſo tenacious of her bark, an eſſential *primum* of the tanning trade, that ſhe burned the ſurplus of her conſumption. And wherever manufactures, the materials of which are foreign, have ſprung up, Boards have generally been eſtabliſhed, premiums offered, and bounties paid,

to

to procure and regulate the raiſing of materials of native growth. Such have been the modes for promoting the growth of flax, and the ſaving of flax-ſeed in Ireland.

The inſtability of Manufactures in thoſe countries, which have inſtituted them without having the *primum* of their own growth, affords another ſtrong proof how eſſential it is that a country ſhould chooſe for its induſtry that manufacture, of which ſhe poſſeſſes the materials.

There was a time when the Netherlands was the firſt country in Europe, for the various branches of the woollen manufacture. At that time England exported her wool, and thence the Netherlands derived their ſupply. England, under the auſpices of Edward III. began firſt to feel the importance of the manufacture of wool. She prohibited, or heavily charged, the export of it, and from that time the woollen manufacture declined in the Netherlands. Venice too, and other ſtates in Italy, were once eminent for the excellence

of

of their manufacture in wool, while the wool-countries of Europe, barbarous, and ignorant of their own advantages, ſuffered the export of this article. When they awoke from the lethargy, and began to work up their own materials, Venice and thoſe ſtates ſhrunk within their natural dimenſions; they fell as manufacturing nations, and roſe no more.

It muſt be acknowledged, however, that there are ſome manufactures of foreign materials which, notwithſtanding the diſadvantages by which they are generally attended, deſerve encouragement. Theſe are they in which the value of the manufactured goods bear a very great proportion to the value of the imported material, and in which the manufactured goods of the country producing the *primum*, cannot generally be adapted to our market. Such alſo are they of which there is no reaſon to apprehend a future deficiency of material from the jealouſy, or the induſtry of that country. The manufacture of *Iron* is an inſtance of this kind. If we ſhould continue for ever ſo inert as to let our mines be unwrought, yet ought we not to become negligent

negligent of this manufacture on account of the material being foreign, for there is little danger that the mines of Ruſſia and Sweden will be cloſed againſt us. There is as little likelihood that Ruſſia or Sweden will quickly riſe to ſuch eminence in the finer branches of this manufacture as to be powerful competitors; and it is alſo to be conſidered that whatever degree of ſkill, or other advantages they may poſſeſs, much of the iron work needed among us muſt be manufactured on the ſpot, and here adapted to the uſe for which it is wanted.

SECTION

SECTION V.

Of the means of working up the Raw Materials—They consist of, 1st, Other Materials—2d, Capital—3d, Skill—4th, Industry.—Want of Capital more frequently complained of than felt—Explained by an instance.—Effect of Capital encreased by circulation.—Skill grows with the progress of the Manufacture—Want of Skill sometimes the effect of the want of Capital.—How far want of Industry is chargeable on the Irish Workman.

THE second circumstance which we noticed, as tending to render any manufacture eligible for a country was, that country possessing the best means of working up the raw materials which she produced. This is a recommending circumstance of such obvious importance, that it seems to need no illustration; yet the very importance of it forbids passing it in silence. From us, too, it deserves peculiar attention, because it is in this instance that Ireland is generally believed to be most deficient—Whether this opinion be well founded we shall be able to judge as we go on.

The

The means of working up the crude materials of manufacture are of four kinds; firſt, *other materials*; ſecondly, *capital*; thirdly, *ſkill*; and fourthly, *induſtry*. There is no manufacture ſo ſimple as not to require in its proceſs other materials than the principal. In the woollen manufacture, dye-ſtuffs, fuel, ſoap, &c. &c. are neceſſary. In the linen, bleaching materials. In the iron, fuel, machinery, water, &c. In the tanning, bark; and ſo on of the reſt. But whatever abundance of neceſſary materials may be in a country, they muſt be uſeleſs if there be not a capital in the hands of the manufacturer to enable him to purchaſe thoſe materials, to pay workmen, to accumulate a ſufficient ſtock of goods before he comes to market or exports, to give credit, &c. Capital and materials, when both poſſeſſed, muſt be both unſerviceable for manufactures, if there be not in the country a ſufficient degree of ſkill to uſe them; and capital, materials and ſkill, can be productive of little good, if they be not put, and kept in motion by active, ſteady, perſevering induſtry.

Of

Of theſe requiſites for manufacturing, it is not, however, neceſſary, that the very higheſt degree ſhould be poſſeſſed. If that were neceſſary, manufactures could never be ſucceſsfully begun; for, undoubtedly, theſe grow with the manufactures themſelves. Yet, it is neceſſary, that, to a certain degree, they ſhould exiſt in the country, elſe there will be no ſtock to work on. Manufacture may increaſe the capital, ſkill, and induſtry of a country, but it cannot create them.

If the materials neceſſary for working up the *primum* be deficient in a country, it is ſo far a great impediment to the manufacture; but it is not ſo great an impediment as the want of the *primum* itſelf. For theſe materials have generally a much leſs proportion than that to the value of the manufactured goods, and are, therefore, more eaſily attained. It is more eaſy, alſo, in defect of thoſe of one kind, to ſubſtitute thoſe of another; and the importation of them from other countries is ſeldom ſo precarious, becauſe they generally are not of ſufficient im-

portance

portance to excite commercial jealouſy. Thus, though bark is an eſſential ingredient in tanning, and the tanning trade is equal in Great Britain to one-fifth of her ſtaple manufacture yet ſhe has never prohibited the export of bark, as ſhe has done that of wool. Salt is a neceſſary material in the proviſion trade, and we have met little difficulty in importing it.

Yet, eaſy as it generally is to procure theſe ſubordinate materials, the country which chooſes among manufactures thoſe to which ſhe will attach herſelf, ought ſurely to adopt thoſe of which ſhe poſſeſſes *all* the neceſſaries; for what is generally eaſy may at ſometimes become difficult; and among nations as among individuals, it is generally the ſafeſt policy to truſt as little as poſſible to the generoſity, or good nature of others.

Want of capital is certainly a much more ſerious want, but want of capital is more frequently complained of than felt. It is in many caſes the argument by which indolence endeavours to juſtify inactivity, and ſloth attempts to excuſe

its

its ſqualid poverty. To calculate the quantity of monied capital in a country, or its proportion to the objects about which it is to be employed, is one of the moſt difficult problems of political arithmetic. It is not deſigned here to undertake it. The queſtion relates to ideas ſo abſtract, that there is in every ſtep the greateſt danger of running into fallacies; and the diſcuſſion too, of ſuch a ſubject, would naturally run to a length, which the limits of an eſſay, already threatening to be voluminous, would not admit. It may be permitted, however, to obſerve on this ſubject, that in Ireland there are ſome very prominent circumſtances, which indicate this general excuſe for the backwardneſs of the country in manufactures to be, in ſome meaſure, ill founded. Such are, the general ſtyle of living in the middling, as well as the upper ranks, the expenſivenefs of their tables, their equipage, their furniture, their houſes, their indulgence in pleaſure, &c. It is true, that theſe may be alledged as the *cauſes* of the evil complained of; for theſe indulgences exhauſt capital: but it is equally true, that the in-

dividual

dividual who lives in this manner, muſt have a preſent fund to enable him ſo to do, which, if he employed it in his reſpective buſineſs, would add conſiderably to his capital, or, at leaſt, procure ſuch an addition, and ſo far remove the evil which has been a ſubject of ſo much complaint. To explain this by an inſtance;

A man having a capital of 3000l. engaged in buſineſs may be conſidered, in Ireland, as ranking in the upper claſs of manufacturers. He will, therefore, live in the ſtyle common to thoſe of his claſs. He will not, in the firſt inſtance, labour perſonally in any branch of the manufacture. He will reſt content with a general ſuperintendance over his workmen, and will alſo employ a foreman, or ſhopman, under him. The wages of this perſon, whoſe ſervices might well be performed by the manufacturer himſelf, will coſt not leſs than 100l. per annum, at a moderate calculation, including his maintenance. The manufacturer will, alſo, according to the cuſtom of Ireland, have a VILLA, the expence of maintaining which will ſcarcely amount

amount, including rent, additional expence of houſe-keeping, the *now* neceſſary expence of a carriage of ſome kind, ſuppoſe a jaunting car with one horſe, an additional ſervant, &c. to leſs than 120*l.* more. But the manufacturer, thus circumſtanced, muſt alſo ſee company, and will probably treat now and then with wine, at an extra expence of not leſs than 70l. more. In furniture and a ſuperior kind of houſe, beyond what an Engliſh manufacturer would be content with, there is generally ſunk a ſum of 500l. of which the intereſt is 30l. Now theſe ſums, viz.

	£	
Foreman,	100	per annum.
Villa,	120	
Company, &c. &c.	70	
Fine of a houſe and extra furniture— 500l. &c. intereſt	30	

Make a total ſum of £320 per annum, ſuperfluous expenditure. For this ſum there might be borrowed, as an addition to the capital of the manufacturer, a ſum of above

3500l.

3500l. or nearly double the capital on which he trades.

If theſe obſervations be founded in truth, (and he who ſhall take the trouble of comparing the habits of an Iriſh and Engliſh manufacturer, poſſeſſing the ſame capital, will ſoon be convinced, that they are ſo) it appears, that the want of capital in Ireland is a complaint either not ſo well founded in its full extent as is generally ſuppoſed, or it is one, which, by œconomy in the manufacturer, might be eaſily, in a great meaſure, removed. The advantages which would reſult to the manufactures of this country from a change in the habits of thoſe engaged in them are incalculable—We may, however, form ſome idea of them by attending to the conſequence, which would follow in the particular caſe deſcribed above, from adopting the œconomy of the Engliſhman.

If the manufacturer poſſeſſing a capital of 3000l. expend as above 320l. for purpoſes of luxury, &c. and if the neceſſary expenditure

diture for his family be 300l. and it cannot be much leſs, the ſum total of his expences muſt be 630l. per annum. In order to ſupport this expenditure, his capital muſt produce him at the rate of 23l. per cent. per annum. Let him deduct from his annual charges, as the Engliſhman does, the ſuperfluous expence of 320l. and apply it to the payment of intereſt for ſuch a ſum as it will procure, *i. e.* 5300l. he will now have a capital of 8300l. to work on; his annual expences now, for houſe-keeping and the intereſt of the ſum borrowed, remaining as before 620l. he may, this year, be content to diminiſh his profits 13 per cent. per annum, and yet, with the remaining profit of 10 per cent. may lay by, in addition to his capital, a ſum of 200l. annually. Is it to be wondered at, then, that while the Engliſhman purſues this œconomical ſyſtem, which the Iriſhman rejects, the Engliſh manufacturer underſells us in our own markets?

It may be objected to this plan of œconomy, that it would be difficult, or impracticable,

ticable for the manufacturer to borrow a ſum of 5300l. It is very doubtful, whether it would be ſo difficult or impracticable to borrow, if the borrower were known to be a man of probity, one that lived within moderate bounds, had a property of 3000l. and was aſſiduous to encreaſe it by an induſtrious purſuit of his buſineſs. The public papers every day abound with advertiſements, offering conſiderable ſums to be lent on good perſonal ſecurity, and it would be difficult to find better perſonal ſecurity than that of him who, with a conſiderable capital of his own, is ſteadily, and aſſiduouſly proſecuting a lucrative manufacture.

But, whatever may be the eaſe with reſpect to the loan, nothing can be more certain, than that ſuch a man may obtain credit for very nearly this ſum, if his character and conduct be ſuch as we have mentioned; while, if he lives up to the rack produce of his capital, and appears to be addicted to expence, his difficulty in obtaining credit will encreaſe with his want of it. On the whole,

 therefore,

therefore, it may be ſafely inferred, that habits of temperance and induſtry, in a manufacturing country, not only produce, *ultimately*, an actual encreaſe of capital; but by eſtabliſhing private credit, produce a *preſent* and very conſiderable encreaſe of it;—for credit is capital.*

It is certain, that capital is very frequently conſidered as deficient, from the inertneſs of thoſe in whoſe hands it is; at leaſt, the effect of capital may be encreaſed to a degree which would not at firſt be believed, by encreaſing its circulation. Hence it is, that the effect of capital has been very properly ſaid to be like the *momentum* of a falling body, not proportioned to the quantity, or maſs, merely, but to the maſs multiplied into the velocity. Whatever tends, therefore, to give a ſpring to commercial activity, ſo far from rendering more capital neceſſary, as is more generally believed, makes a leſs capital produce an equal effect. Hence it follows, that ſo long as the want of capital ſhall exiſt in Ireland

* See Smith's chapter "Of money as part of ſtock." Vol. I, 281.

Ireland, thoſe manufactures in which a quick revolution of ſtock is practicable, ſhould be preferred to others.

Skill, we have ſaid, is equally neceſſary as capital, to work up the materials of manufacture. The great advantage that they who have been long in the poſſeſſion of a manufacture, and who have invented machinery for the performance of its different operations, poſſeſs over thoſe, who have but recently undertaken it, and have not yet learned, or adopted its improvements, are ſufficiently obvious, and are ſtrong proofs how neceſſary ſkill is to ſucceſs. But ſo far is it from being true, that the higheſt degree of ſkill is neceſſary to the ſucceſs of a beginning manufacturer, that it is impoſſible it ſhould be poſſeſſed. No knowledge of the theory of a manufacture, however extenſive and perfect, can conſtitute, or confer, this ſkill. Theory may, indeed, facilitate the acquiſition of it, but it is not the thing itſelf. This muſt be acquired by the workman from practice, regulated by the beſt rules; and the longer

this practice is continued, and the more limited is the object on which it operates, the more perfect will that ſkill become. Hence it is, that this diviſion of labour is ſo beneficial to manufactures. By limiting the workman to a ſingle operation, his practice in that operation is increaſed; he acquires in it the higheſt degree of ſkill, and is led to deviſe methods by which his labour is facilitated, or abridged. Want of capital impedes the acquiſition of this ſkill, by making it neceſſary for the poor employer to occupy his workmen in various and oppoſite operations. It is, perhaps, in this that the manufactures of Ireland are moſt deficient. The iron manufacture, in its finer branches, affords numerous and glaring inſtances. The woollen manufacture, too, abounds with them. England, from her long experience, her more extenſive capital, and the more attentive induſtry of her people, ſtands, with reſpect to ſkill, far before Ireland. The invention of machinery conſtitutes part of her ſkill, and the general adoption of it marks her wiſdom. Our manufactures, being of younger growth, are yet

ſtrangers

ſtrangers to many of her improvements. It is an encouraging reflection, however, that theſe are, with a little care and docility, attainable. It has been generally believed, that there is among the Iriſh workmen an unconquerable averſion to the adoption of machinery. That they are generally adverſe to it, from the opinion which muſt always prevail among uninformed men, namely, that it tends to deprive them of employment by abridging labour, is true; but it is not true that Iriſhmen are *more* adverſe to thoſe improvements than the workmen of any other country, even of England itſelf. This is proved by the fact, that many of thoſe modes of abridging labour have been already adopted by them. The cotton manufacture particularly has been benefited by their adoption; and it is remarkable, that in that very manufacture the introduction of machinery, in certain caſes, has been followed in England by much tumult, and reſiſted, ſometimes ſucceſsfully, by the workmen. An inſtance of this is indeed viſible at Mancheſter, in the ruins of a very extenſive factory, which

which was built for the purpoſe of weaving cotton by machinery. It was no ſooner completed than the weavers aſſembled and burned it to the ground, from the common fear that if it ſucceeded, the demand for their labour would be diminiſhed. This inſtance of outrage in the Mancheſter weavers was much more flagrant, and much more unjuſtifiable, than any thing of the kind which has occurred in Ireland; for the Mancheſter people had already experienced the effects of Arkwright's machinery to be in the higheſt degree beneficial to them. It had already extended the cotton manufacture ſo widely, that though, by the aid of machinery, one perſon could perform what uſed to employ forty, yet the demand for hands encreaſed in ſuch a proportion that the town could not furniſh a ſupply. Many of the operations were committed to children; numbers of workmen came from Cheſhire, and it was computed, that, at that time, there were 10,000 Iriſhmen employed in Mancheſter.

From

From theſe obſervations it ſeems to follow, that however deficient Ireland may be in capital when compared with Great Britain, ſhe yet poſſeſſes enough to qualify her for greater exertions in manufacture than ſhe has yet made. It cannot, however, be denied, that for any *very* extenſive efforts in that way which require great ſtock, ſhe is as yet unqualified. When greater capital ſhall be employed in manufacture in Ireland, or ſomething tantamount to an encreaſe of capital ſhall take place in conſequence of the increaſed impulſes of commercial vigour; when the manufacturers ſhall learn to imitate the forbearance, temperance, and induſtry of their brethren in Great Britain, and become aſſiduous rather to *encreaſe* than to *enjoy* their capital; then, and not till then, will Ireland be fitted for thoſe manufactures which require great wealth; the ſkill of the workman will then be improved; machinery will be more cultivated, and the diviſion of labour more attended to. Until theſe deſirable events take place, the ſimpleſt manufactures, and thoſe

which

which need leaſt capital, ſeem to be moſt eligible for Ireland.

Induſtry has been reckoned among the neceſſaries for enabling a nation to work up its raw materials. It is certainly the moſt eſſential requiſite, not for one or two particular fabrics, but for enabling a country to thrive in any manufacture whatſoever. There are ſome manufactures which need but little capital; there are others which require but little ſkill; but there are none which can be ſucceſsfully cultivated without induſtry. Whether, therefore, the charge ſo generally made, againſt the Iriſh workman, of being greatly deficient in this quality, be well or ill-founded, it is not very neceſſary here to enquire, as the charge, if true, would rather tend to diſcourage generally all attempts at manufacture, than the purſuit of any ſpecific one which particular circumſtances might recommend.

It may be obſerved, however, that even if the

the imputation be well-founded, the Iriſhman appears to be rather unfortunate than in fault. He is in many caſes idle from the neceſſary operation of cauſes, which would have made the workman of any other country equally idle. He has not, as was well obſerved by a reſpectable old man, now no more*, a greater portion of *original ſin* in his compoſition, than the workman of other countries. He has contracted a habit of idleneſs, in many inſtances from being frequently kept idle, by the want of demand for the goods on which he is employed, or by the poverty of his employer. The depreſſion of our manufactures, by commercial reſtraints, for a long time deprived our people of the means of induſtry; and idleneſs, impoſed for a time by neceſſity, is ſoon indulged from inclination. When an Iriſh manufacturer has always had conſtant employment, for which he has been well paid, he is found to be as induſtrious as the weaver of Yorkſhire and Mancheſter, or the ſmith of Sheffield.

SECTION

* The late Mr. Travers Hartley.

SECTION VI.

Of the Home and Foreign Market.

Superior Advantages of poſſeſſing the Home-market—Quick and certain Returns—knowledge of the Demand—Frauds not ſo eaſily practiced—Experience ſhews the Home-market eſſential to the ſucceſs of a Manufacture—Every Manufacturing State has highly valued it—Home-market alone will not ſuffice to extend a Manufacture—Inſtance the Woollen Manufacture in Ireland—Confining to the Home Conſumption prevents Capital from being embarked—reſtrains Enterpriſe—Foreign Market ſhould be open to a Manufacture, tho' the Object were but to ſupply the Home Conſumption.—Of the Foreign Markets—the neareſt are the beſt—and why?—Great Britain, therefore, the beſt Foreign Market for Ireland—Little danger to Great Britain from opening her Market to Ireland—Propoſitions of 1785.

THAT the poſſeſſion of the home-market for any manufacture, is a circumſtance which ſhould ſtrongly recommend it to adoption, ſcarcely

ſcarcely can be doubted. There are ſo many advantages attached to this, which are not to be had from a foreign market, that they cannot for a moment be compared; and theſe advantages are preciſely of that kind, of which a beginning manufacture ſtands moſt in need. Among the firſt is, the poſſibility of having a quick return of ſtock, a circumſtance which we have mentioned above, as being tantamount to an encreaſe of capital, when that capital is to be employed in a foreign market whence the returns are neceſſarily more ſlow. When a capital is engaged in the home-market, the manufacturer may calculate with tolerable preciſion, the time of its return, and by taking his meaſures accordingly, may derive as much benefit from this knowledge, as from a doubling of his capital in any other trade. He has, too, at home, a much greater certainty of payment, becauſe he has the debtor more in his power, and knows with more certainty and accuracy the means of enforcing his demands: and what is of more importance, he is better able to learn the character of thoſe with whom he deals, and of

courſe

courſe runs much leſs hazard than in a foreign market.

In the home-market, the manufacturer finds it more eaſy to form connections, than in a foreign one; and he enjoys, what in every manufacture is of the utmoſt conſequence, a knowledge of the quantity of demand for his particular kind of goods, by which he is enabled to avoid overſtocking the market, and ſinking his capital in unſaleable ſtock.

No manufacture can reaſonably expect to ſupply a foreign market, until it has firſt become able to ſupply the home conſumption; for it is the experience acquired by the ſupply of this latter, which qualifies for ſupplying the foreign demand. In the commencement of every manufacture, much muſt be made of a very inferior quality. At home theſe imperfect productions may be conſumed without loſs to the manufacturer, by his workmen, his friends, dependants, &c. &c. which, if they were ſent to a foreign market, where the character of the fabric was not yet

eſtabliſhed

eſtabliſhed, would for ever preclude a hope of its ſucceſs, by impreſſing the public mind with a belief of its being generally fraudulent or imperfect. Iriſh manufactures have ſuffered much by theſe premature eſſays at foreign trade, made when foreign trade was recently opened to us. The character of the country has been injured by them, and it has been ſaid, that the quality of the goods then exported ſhews it to be a characteriſtic of the Iriſh manufacturer to ſacrifice honeſty and future intereſt, to ſecure preſent profit; while, in truth, the errors which were committed at that time, were ſuch as muſt always happen when greedy attempts are made at foreign trade, before the way is fairly opened to it through the home-market. No frauds can be committed, or at leaſt none to any conſiderable extent, in goods which are to be conſumed at the manufacturer's door, becauſe if frauds were attempted, the purchaſer had the ready remedy of throwing back the goods on the maker: hence it becomes neceſſary, in order to prevent immediate loſs, to attend to the quality of the goods made; and the habit of honeſt

neſt attention, once formed, is permanent, and will operate in every inſtance, whether goods be made for a foreign, or the domeſtic market.

Our reaſonings on this ſubject have the ſtrong corroboration of experience to ſupport them; for it will probably be impoſſible in the whole hiſtory of commerce or manufactures to produce a ſingle inſtance of a manufacture having attained maturity and got poſſeſſion of a foreign market, before it had been cheriſhed by the home market. Of any manufacture, then, to which we cannot give the neceſſary aid of home conſumption, it will be idle to hope the proſperity. It is in every point of view ineligible, and it would be the idiotiſm of legiſlation, to prop it by public aids.

The importance of poſſeſſing the home market has been very generally underſtood, and in moſt countries very carefully attended to. Generally, manufacturing ſtates have given a monopoly of it to their own people, by means of prohibitory, or, at leaſt, very high duties

on

on the manufactures of the ſame kind from other countries. Whether this policy be wiſe, has been diſputed long and often. What appears to be the reſult, on comparing the arguments on both ſides, we have already touched upon, and we ſhall detail more at large when we come to conſider what may be the beſt means of promoting manufactures.

The poſſeſſion of the home-market, we have ſeen, appears to be eſſential to the ſucceſs of a new manufacture. This gives it ſtrength to ſupport itſelf, and ſurmount thoſe difficulties which muſt always ariſe from inexperience, from want of ſkill, and want of capital. But the home-market is only preparatory to the export, without which, a manufacture can never reach to any degree of eminence—nay, without which, it can never be commenſurate to even domeſtic conſumption. This has been exemplified in the woollen manufacture of Ireland for a century back; for tho' it was in a thriving way when at the end of the laſt century Great Britain prohibited the export, yet, inſtead of continuing to encreaſe

until

until it became equal to the ſupply of the home-market, it gradually dwindled into inſignificance. And this is natural; for by preventing export, you take away the ſpring which gives energy to the manufacturer, and deprive him of the reſource to which he recurs under the preſſure of damp or diſappointment in the home trade. In a word, you ſtrip manufactures of their beſt prop, Commerce; and by confining the induſtry and enterpriſe of the manufacturer, within a ſpace ſo circumſcribed, you weaken the exertion of both—The elaſticity of a ſpring cannot operate where there is no room for expanſion.

The reſtriction of manufactures to the home market, is injurious in another way. If the manufacture be confined in a few hands, it is injured, becauſe, in that caſe, thoſe few enjoy a monopoly of it; and if it be divided among a conſiderable number, while there is no market but the domeſtic one for a vent, each of theſe can employ in it but a ſmall capital, becauſe the home demand is unequal to the employment of a number of large capitals.

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The mischiefs that result in either case are obvious. It is certainly true, that a manufacture can never find its way in any considerable quantities to a foreign market, until it has attained such a degree of strength and perfection, as to procure for it an extensive demand at home; and yet, from what we have said above, it appears necessary to its encrease and success, that the foreign market should be open to it, even at its earliest stages. For it is the possibility of vending a surplus abroad, if the home-market should fail, that prompts the manufacturer to make any considerable exertions, and it is by such exertions only, that manufactures can be much advanced. While they are carried on by only a small capital, and on a narrow scale, the division of labour, the great engine of manufactures, cannot take place to any considerable degree. As only few hands can be employed, each will be obliged to engage successively in various operations, and of course he will attain skill in none.

It becomes essential, therefore, that the

manufacturer be permitted at leaſt to aim at the foreign market, though the object be merely to procure a ſupply at home; as in the purſuits of ambition, of ſcience, or of pleaſure, our original aims ſtretch far beyond our final acquiſitions. Thoſe, therefore, who perſuade us that induſtry ſhould exert itſelf on objects within its reach, without diſtracting its attention by looking for a wider field than it is able to occupy, ſeem to know little of the principle by which induſtry is put in motion. Their counſels may direct the workman in the diſcharge of a given ſtock, but they are unfitted to govern that ſpirit which widens the ſphere of human action, and provides occupation, not for individuals but for a nation.

As that manufacture is more eligible which may be vended at a foreign market, than that which is confined to one merely domeſtic; ſo is it more ſtrongly recommended by the poſſeſſion of a near market among thoſe which are foreign, than by that of one more diſtant and unſafe. The reſource of a foreign market, we have ſeen, encourages the manufacturer to exertion; his encouragement will be ſo much greater as this

reſource

resource is likely to be more certain and lucrative. Hence it is, that to Ireland the English market is better than any other foreign one; and where a manufacture is admitted to it, and is able to stand a competition, it is found to derive the utmost benefit which can be hoped from a foreign market. The linen manufacture, but for this, would never have reached its present importance, not even if there were other markets open to it, in which as much, or more, goods might be disposed of. The reason is obvious; it is because our commerce with England possesses the great essentials that constitute a good market, quick returns, and certain solvency. If goods be sent to a distant country, a long time must necessarily elapse before the manufacturer receives a return, and during the interval, he cannot, with so much certainty, reckon on being paid, even at the expiration of this period. A poor country, like Ireland, is not equal to this credit and hazard; an individual manufacturer, without very large capital, could not trust himself in such a market.

The folly of those who endeavour to depreciate the advantages which Ireland enjoys from

admiſſion to the Britiſh market, in thoſe inſtances in which it is open to her, is from theſe conſiderations, ſufficiently obvious. Thoſe advantages are certainly of very conſiderable importance, and it ſhould be the object of him who profeſſes himſelf a friend to Ireland, to procure their extenſion by inducing Great Britain to open her markets to us more generally. If this can be done by conciliating means, let them be tried; but between countries connected as Great Britain and Ireland are, vexatious, or hoſtile meaſures, might, perhaps, only widen our excluſion. Yet, it is not meant to ſay, that the admiſſion of thoſe very few of our manufactures which Great Britain does admit, is purely eleemoſynary—a meaſure of her mere benevolence to us, from which ſhe derives no advantage. No national meaſure, perhaps, is, at any time, the reſult of pure generoſity, or good will; ſelf intereſt is, among nations certainly, the great moving principle; and it would be eaſy to ſhew, that Great Britain, in admitting even that manufacture, of which the admiſſion is moſt advantageous to us, our linen, ſecures to herſelf very important benefits. But though this be true, it does not follow that ſhe might

not

not be provoked to exclude, perhaps, thoſe manufactures, by the admiſſion of which, ſhe is moſt benefited. Nations, though they are, perhaps, never generous, are often vindictive, and it is not impoſſible, that a vexatious meaſure, taken up on one ſide to enforce conceſſion might not produce a meaſure of retaliation on the other, injurious to both countries, and perhaps peculiarly ſo to her that adopts it.

It is certain, that if the Britiſh ports were entirely thrown open to the manufactures of Ireland, but a very ſmall quantity of them would, for a great length of time, find demand in England. In almoſt every manufacture of national importance ſhe far outſtrips us, by her long experience, her capital, her ſkill, and induſtry. Little injury, therefore, could reſult to her, while Ireland would derive moſt important advantages from this liberty, not becauſe ſhe could diſpoſe of her manufactures there to any great amount, but becauſe there would be an object ſet up for hope and emulation to purſue—ſpirit would be given to enterprize, and activity to induſtry.

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The propoſitions preſented by Mr. Orde in 1785, as a foundation for a commercial ſettlement between the two countries, ſeem to have reſted on this principle. If the changes which were afterwards made in thoſe propoſitions were ſuch as would endanger, or ſacrifice thoſe more important benefits, the political independence and free conſtitution of the country, to reject them was, undoubtedly, wiſe; for the only ſure foundation of commercial proſperity is national independence and civil liberty. But if thoſe changes were *not* of that fatal kind, and were conſiſtent with, and promotive of this great principle, it is devoutly to be lamented that they miſcarried. Nothing could ſo much have contributed to call forth the exertions of the country; nothing could ſo quickly have given intelligence and induſtry to our manufacturers, or excited among them that ſpirit of emulation in which, unhappily, they are at preſent deficient, as the poſſeſſion, or the poſſibility of poſſeſſing, the Britiſh market.

SECTION

SECTION VII.

Of the MANUFACTURES which greatly encreaſe the Value of the Prime Materials.

The importance of thoſe manufactures ſhewn by conſidering how what is added to the value of the raw materials by manufacture, is diſpoſed of—It goes in three ways—Conſumption—Repairs—Encreaſe of Capital—Further Advantages of thoſe manufactures that greatly enhance the value of the primum—*in Ireland particularly.*

THE next object of conſideration is how far a manufacture is made eligible by adding greatly to the value of the materials. It is evident, in the firſt inſtance, that whatever is added by the manufacture to the value of the *primum*, is ſo much added to the ſtock of national wealth; whether this addition is to be laid by to encreaſe capital, or is devoted to immediate conſumption. It is plain, too, that of this addition ſo made to the wealth of the nation, a conſiderable part will neceſſarily be laid aſide to encreaſe capital, for the whole will be diſpoſed of in three

ways;

ways* ; one will be dispoſed of in the payment of the labour by which it was produced, and this may be conſidered as ſet apart for conſumption ; another, will be employed in erecting new, or repairing old, machinery, fixtures or implements, neceſſary in the manufacture ; this may be conſidered as a fixed capital ; the remainder goes to what is properly called the capital, or rather the circulating capital of the country. But if the manufacture be carried on by machinery, then that part of the encreaſed value of the materials which, in the other caſe, goes for the remuneration of labour, will be very ſmall, compared with the remainder ; in which caſe, the fixed and circulating capital of the country receives ſo much the more encreaſe.

Hence it appears, that ſuch a manufacture muſt be much more eligible for a country, than one in which the raw material conſtitutes a great part of the value of the manufactured goods, and of which all the operations are carried on by hand labour. For a poor country particularly, ſuch a manufacture is to be choſen, becauſe in the firſt inſtance, it

* See Smith, vol. i. page 275.

it requires leaſt capital to be ſunk in materials, and in the ſecond, it tends ſooneſt to relieve its poverty by creating a capital.

It is true indeed, that in ſuch manufactures, tho' the value of the materials be little, yet the expence of machinery is very conſiderable. It deſerves to be remembered, however, that this expence, if it can once be ſuſtained, is very quickly repaid by the ſuperior profits of the manufacture, and at all times a capital ſunk in machinery, is employed in the moſt ſure and productive way. Even a poor country, therefore, may find its intereſt in ſinking its capital in this way, by which ſuch creative powers are given to induſtry, in which ſo little hazard is run, and which will ſo ſoon repay the expence which it at firſt occaſions.

In many of our manufactures it has been found, that their progreſs is retarded by the higher wages claimed by the Iriſh workmen, than is paid to artificers of the ſame deſcription in England. This high price of wages it has

has been found impoſſible to diminiſh, becauſe high as it is, it appears the workman cannot ſubſiſt upon leſs. Tho' it may appear ſtrange at firſt view, that higher wages are neceſſary to the Iriſh workman, than to the Engliſh, it will ceaſe to do ſo, when it is remembered, that the workman in England enjoys a perpetuity of employment, and that too in preciſely the ſame branch. In Ireland the workman frequently cannot get employment for three-fourths of his time, in ſome inſtances not for two-thirds, yet he muſt have ſubſiſtence throughout the whole of it. It becomes neceſſary, therefore, for him to charge high for his work when he labours, becauſe he muſt charge upon the time of labour the expences of the time of idleneſs. This evil, among many others, makes the adoption of machinery peculiarly neceſſary for Ireland; for if a manufacturer finds himſelf unable to keep his work going forward, the ceſſation of his machinery induces no ſubſequent riſe in the price of his goods; while the idleneſs of his workman muſt be compenſated for, by higher payment when he is ſet to work. The remedying of this evil, which prevents our

goods

goods from being brought to market as cheap as thoſe of other countries, where workmen being kept conſtantly employed, work on more reaſonable terms, ſeems to deſerve peculiar attention. So far as machinery may be ſubſtituted for manual labour, it affords this remedy; and, therefore, thoſe manufactures which admit machinery in its fulleſt extent, undoubtedly deſerve a preference in our eſtimation.

SECTION

SECTION VIII.

Of Manufactures already in part eſtabliſhed.

Difficulties of giving a new direction to Induſtry—The Legiſlature can inſtitute new Manufactures only by carrying them on under the direction of public Officers, or, by Bounties to private Individuals—Dangers of each method—This does not prove that Encouragement to Manufactures already begun, may not be uſeful—And why—To what points the aſſiſtance of Government ſhould be applied—Why this aſſiſtance not liable to the objection made againſt Government originally inſtituting any particular Manufacture—Manufactures not entitled to Encouragement in proportion to the time they have been Eſtabliſhed—Inſtance.

Of all the duties which lean on the Government of a country, there is none, perhaps, ſo difficult, as that of giving a new direction to the induſtry of a people, where change of circumſtances makes the attempt neceſſary. There is, in the firſt inſtance, the utmoſt danger that a government may miſtake the true channel into which thoſe ſuper-

venient

venient circumſtances would naturally turn the tide of public exertion; and even if they determined aright in this nice criſis, it is not leſs difficult to effect what they ſee ought to be done. Though the end be right, the means of attaining it, may, in this caſe, be extremely wrong. A ſtateſman is never more prone to error than when he becomes a manufacturer. It is for this reaſon, that manufactures, which, like thoſe of Spain, are carried on under the immediate management and protection of the crown, have ſcarcely ever proſpered; and, it is from the ſame cauſe, that among ourſelves manufactures ſet up from the moſt liberal and patriotic motives, by gentlemen of large fortune, and carried on under their immediate controul, have been hitherto but little ſucceſsful. From theſe facts, it is eaſy to infer, that *generally* it is more wiſe in a legiſlature to aſſiſt and protect private induſtry in thoſe purſuits which it has ſtruck out for itſelf, than to attempt to force its courſe by the eſtabliſhment of perfectly new manufactures. Hence it appears that *cæteris paribus* a manufacture in ſome degree eſtabliſhed, has

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a much ſtronger claim to the ſupport of a government, than one which has not been yet inſtituted; that is, ſuch a mannfacture is more eligible for a country, chooſing among manufactures thoſe which ſhe will adopt.

Government cannot indeed introduce a new manufacture, unleſs in one or other of theſe ways; they muſt either eſtabliſh factories, under the immediate inſpection of officers appointed by the ſtate—or they muſt offer ſuch bounties to individuals as will induce them to engage in the new undertaking without any dependence on its future or ultimate ſucceſs. If they adopt the firſt mode, they will only try again what has already been tried, in a variety of inſtances, in Spain and in other countries, and always without ſucceſs; and, if they reſort to the ſcheme of bounties, they may indeed procure a few adventurers to engage in the manufacture, but as the bounty was the only motive for which they entered into the buſineſs, they will proſecute the *job* with no other view. While they are paid by the public, they will work for the public,

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and they will endeavour in every inſtance, to make the public pay as dearly as poſſible. But if the prop of bounty be once removed, the manufacture falls to the ground, and the only effect which remains of the ſums which have been expended, is, that they have eſtabliſhed a bar againſt the natural introduction of that manufacture in future, by impreſſing the public mind with the idea, that this manufacture has been already tried, and failed.

Theſe obſervations, however, furniſh no argument againſt the poſitive encouragement of government to manufactures in which the public had already engaged, and which they were proſecuting with progreſſive, tho' tardy, ſteps. The individual who had embarked his own capital in the purſuit, had undoubtedly done ſo in the hope, that the manufacture would ſucceed, and reward his hazard and his labour with profit. *His* opinion on this point, is the ſureſt poſſible guide to that of the legiſlator, and affords reaſonable ground to believe, that the manufacture is practicable and profitable.

If from the impediments which always block

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up the way againſt an infant manufacture, the individual labours under preſent difficulties, which he combats in the idea that perſeverance and induſtry may overcome them, though at a diſtant time; here is the *nodus vindice dignus* in which the public aid ſhould be brought to aſſiſt private exertion. Such aid will not make the individual relax his efforts, and reſt on the ſtaff which is only held forth to help him out of difficulty; he will, on the contrary, avail himſelf of this aſſiſtance to accelerate his advances towards the goal he aims at, and by this aſſiſtance may probably reach what without it he might never have attained however ſanguine had been his hopes.

Nor will this be, as it has been called, forcing induſtry to waſte itſelf on objects which were not fitted by nature for its exertion; it will only be aſſiſting induſtry in operations in which it had already engaged, and accelerating its victory over difficulties which it might indeed have at laſt overcome of itſelf, but which it was for the public good ſhould be overcome ſpeedily. Among thoſe

difficulties

difficulties we may reckon as the principal, want of ſkill in the various operations of the manufacture, and exiſting habits in thoſe employed in it, adverſe or foreign to thoſe which the nature of it required. There is another difficulty—a want of capital in thoſe who make the firſt eſſays in the manufacture to purchaſe proper neceſſaries or machinery; for in a fabric ariſing of itſelf, thoſe are always made by the poorer people. Thoſe are impediments of that kind which government may find it neceſſary to aſſiſt individuals in ſurmounting particularly in a poor country, in one not generally verſed in manufactures, or far advanced in the improvements of ſociety.

The arguments which have been uſed to ſhew the impolicy of government interfering in manufactures, will not be found to apply, with much force, to this caſe. If the queſtion were to introduce habits of induſtry, and uſeful arts among a tribe of ſavages, it would be a futile objection to ſay, that "induſtry ſhould be left to find its own objects." It would be abſurd to alledge, that the humanity which furniſhed

them with utenſils of iron for thoſe of ſtone, or rewarded and encouraged the uſe of them when a diſinclination to uſe them exiſted from prejudice, was waſting its labour, becauſe as people became qualified to make a profitable uſe of the means of induſtry, the ſagacity of private intereſt would find out the beſt modes of effecting the acquiſition. The anſwer to ſuch objections would be eaſy; "that inertneſs was the leading feature in the ſavage character—that to ſtimulate the rude race by rewards to uſeful exertion, and to furniſh them with eaſy means of uſeful acquiſition, would undoubtedly haſten deſired improvements, and that to wait for induſtry and civilization to ariſe of themſelves would be to leave them in their preſent ſtate for centuries longer." Such reaſoning applies to any people, ſo far as they are backward in arts and induſtry, as well as to the ſavage tribe; for they labour under the ſame diſadvantages, but in a leſs degree. Ignorance of improvements known in other countries is ſo far barbariſm, and diſinclination to adopt thoſe improvements when known, is a ſtill more prominent mark of a barbarous people.

It

It is not only uſeful, therefore, that government ſhould aſſiſt individuals in ſurmounting thoſe difficulties which impede a new and profitable manufacture, but it may be wiſe and neceſſary in a government *ſometimes* to originate manufactures themſelves, namely, when thoſe manufactures are ſuch as are eſſential to the improvement and well being of the country, and are not likely to be originated unleſs by the excitement of public encouragement. In doing this, however, there is always much hazard of defeat, and therefore, it ſhould never be attempted but in caſes of neceſſity, ſuch as we have mentioned. In ordinary caſes it is wiſdom to ſelect, for encouragement, manufactures already ſomewhat advanced, but yet labouring under difficulties, rather than ſet new ones on foot.

Though a manufacture which has been for ſome time eſtabliſhed deſerves a preference before that which has not yet been attempted, when the object is, to chooſe among manufactures thoſe that are beſt fitted for a country; yet it is not to be underſtood, that the

longer a manufacture has been eſtabliſhed, the more ſtrongly it is recommended to public favour. On the contrary, when the manufacture has received public encouragement for a certain length of time, and yet has made no very conſiderable progreſs—when after having received ſuch a degree of care and culture as ſhould have brought it to maturity, it yet remains in the weakneſs of infancy, it is high time to leave it to its fate, and divert toward it no longer that aſſiſtance which might be given with more effect to other objects. To continue public aid to ſuch a manufacture would be really forcing the induſtry of the public to waſte itſelf in purſuits leſs profitable than thoſe to which it would tend if left to its own direction.

If a manufacture, after having received aid by which it has taken root, ſtill continues to receive thoſe helps which it needs no longer, this alſo is a uſeleſs waſte of public care and expenditure; for after having received ſuch aſſiſtance it ought undoubtedly to be left to its own energy for its ſupport. That manufacture, therefore,

fore, which by the affiſtance of public encouragement has attained vigour, as well as that, which, after long enjoying public protection, yet continues unable to ſupport itſelf, ought both to be manumitted, and left to their own ſtrength. At what preciſe period this manumiſſion ſhould take place remains an object for enquiry, and may probably be aſcertained by conſidering for what purpoſes public aid is given. Theſe, we have ſeen, are, to enable the manufacturer to overcome the difficulty he meets with from want of ſkill in his workmen, and from the prevalence of habits adverſe to the manufacture; and alſo to remove the impediments which ariſe from want of ſufficient capital in thoſe who make the firſt eſſays in the manufacture to procure the beſt means of proſecuting it. But theſe ends are attained, when, by public encouragement ſtimulating private induſtry, the beſt modes of working have been invented, or introduced; when theſe have become generally known, and generally practiſed; and when individuals poſſeſſing capital have been induced, by the advantages held out to them, to engage in the manufacture. When a branch

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thus ſpread among individuals poſſeſſing property ſufficient to proſecute it with ſucceſs, and carried on by the beſt methods which have been adopted in other countries, it has already derived from public protection all the advantages which public protection can confer, and if with theſe advantages it be unable to make its way, or have already acquired ſtrength and ſtability, in either caſe it ſhould be left to itſelf.

If this were the proper place to enter into a diſcuſſion of the ſubject, it would be eaſy to ſhew how cloſely theſe remarks apply to the encouragement given to the linen manufacture. It would be eaſy to ſhew, that extended as it is throughout a whole province, carried on extenſively by a very great portion of the inhabitants of Ireland, and enjoying all the advantages that long experience can beſtow, it is no longer the *moſt* proper object for the regulations of a Board, and the paltry encouragements of a loom, or a ſpinning wheel. If any manufacture can be called an eſtabliſhed one, the linen is that manufacture, and ſurely, thus extended and eſtabliſhed it ſtands

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in no need of petty premiums, and trivial regulations; it can ſtand on its own legs, and ſhould not monopolize thoſe aids which ought to be given to ſtruggling and beginning manufactures.

SECTION

SECTION IX.

Of the INFLUENCE of MANUFACTURES on MORALITY, their CONNECTION with AGRICULTURE, their CONGENIALITY to the SOIL, &c.

Importance of Morality on public Happineſs.—The Diſtillery an inſtance of the miſchiefs which a manufacture may produce on the morality of a People.—Effects of it on the other manufactures of Ireland.—Manufactures carried on in cities and large factories moſt adverſe to the morals of thoſe engaged in them.—Injuries to manufactures from the manufacturer engaging in operations of huſbandry.—The only *argument in favour of that practice—anſwered—Diſadvantages of this combination—That connection of agriculture and manufacture by which the extenſion of one extends the other, is uſeful—as, where agriculture furniſhes the* primum *of a manufacture—Superior advantages of ſuch an one above others.—Congeniality of a manufacture to the country, &c. aſcertained by the facility with which it is inſtituted—Inſtances—Concluſion.*

NO object ſo well deſerves the care of the legiſlature as the morals of its people, becauſe on the morality of the nation muſt reſt every ſuperſtructure of national proſperity which can poſſibly be permanent. The public weal is con-

ſtituted

ſtituted only by the wealth and happineſs of the individuals who compoſe the public; for tho' it be poſſible that a government may extend its dominions and encreaſe its wealth, while the majority of its people are ſmarting under oppreſſion, or pining in poverty, yet ſuch a ſtate cannot be ſaid to be proſperous and happy. The governing power, indeed, may be called great and ſucceſsful, but the ſtate or nation, which is conſtituted by the people, is wretched. But it is evident that the wealth and happineſs of individuals is generally in proportion to their induſtry and their virtue; whatever tends therefore to diminiſh the one or to relax the other, muſt be ſo far injurious to the country, and inſtead of being encouraged, becauſe it may be productive of apparent good in one inſtance, for example in revenue, it ought by all means to be depreſſed, becauſe it has a *general* tendency to counteract the public weal, and therefore muſt do on the whole much more evil than good. Hence appears the neceſſity there is for a ſtate, in conſidering what manufactures it will patronize, to weigh their conſequences on morality, and decide for thoſe which in this reſpect have the advantage.

A ſtriking

A ſtriking example of the miſchiefs which may be done by a manufacture tending to depraving the morals of the people, has been exhibited for ſeveral years back by the diſtilleries of this kingdom. This manufacture by producing ardent ſpirits in large quantities and at a cheap price, has emaſculated the minds and enervated the bodies of the poor of Ireland. It has ſpread its poiſon through every quarter of the country; it has rendered poverty more miſerable, and rendered vice of all kinds more prevalent and more ferocious. Of manufactures it has been the bane. It has diſinclined and diſabled the workman to perform his work either with diſpatch or accuracy; it has made him combine againſt his employer to extort the means of diſſipation, and it has made him idle to ſpend them. In a word, it has filled our ſtreets with beggary, riot, and vice, has raiſed the prices, and ſpoiled the quality of our goods, and made the fertility of our iſland, inſtead of a bleſſing, a curſe. What is ſtill more fatal, the diſeaſe has become inveterate, and has hitherto baffled every attempt which has been made to repreſs it. It has even been doubted whether

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it have not ſo infatuated the financial department of our government as to make it diſinclined to its depreſſion; ſo much does it augment the revenue by diminiſhing the induſtry and morals of the country!

It is a general opinion, and a very little attention to a compariſon of the ſtate of manners and morals in a large city and in the country, will prove the opinion to be well founded, that the aggregation of men into large cities is one of the moſt fertile ſources of vice. Without endeavouring to account for this, it is ſufficient for us to take things as we find them, and regulate our conduct accordingly. It will follow, then, from the admiſſion of this fact, that thoſe manufactures which neceſſarily confine the workmen in large cities are leſs eligible than thoſe which may be carried on in the country. Temperance, application, ſtrength of mind, and health of body, are all of them more eaſily attained in a village, where the means and temptations to debauch and diſſipation are few, than in a large city where they abound, and where to reſiſt them requires a great degree of active virtue.

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The ſame arguments which go to prove that a manufacture is more injurious to morals as it is more neceſſary to its ſucceſs that it be carried on in large cities, apply, tho' perhaps with ſomewhat leſs force, to thoſe which are carried on in large factories. The aſſociating of men together in one ſpot, gives the vice of every individual an opportunity to ſpread; and vice is moſt contagious. It affords alſo the beſt opportunities for combination. Theſe are the evils which reſult from the crowding of workmen together. If women are neceſſary to the manufacture, and are admitted, as they generally are in factories, to mix indiſcriminately with the men, the miſchiefs are ſtill worſe. In factories, the women are univerſally and extremely diſſolute, the children catch the immorality of their parents, and ſoon reach to high degrees of premature iniquity. Can any manufacture be worth ſo much?

Another of thoſe circumſtances which were ſaid to recommend a manufacture to public protection, was its connection with the agriculture of the country. By this is not meant

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a connection of the operations of manufacture with those of husbandry, or an alternation of those operations in the same person. Than this, perhaps nothing is more injurious to industry.——It prevents at once the improvements both of agriculture and manufactures, and diminishes greatly the quantity of effective labour, by the time lost in transition from one operation to another, the distraction which attends that transition, and the interruption of that impulse which the mind receives from an undivided attention to a single object, so necessary to give full effect to any operation.——It has been pleaded, indeed, in defence of this practice, that it contributes to the health of the workmen; but this solitary argument in its favour, will, on examination, be found to have but little weight.——In the first place, it is far from being certain that moderate industry, in the prosecution of those manufactures, in which the workman is thus made a botching farmer, viz. the linen, or woollen manufacture, is at all injurious to health. In manufacturing cities, these men, it is true, appear pallid and sickly, but this is

rather

rather to be attributed to their residence in the crowded and filthy part of a populous town, to their being penned up in factories, or to the intemperance, which, in such places, is so prevalent, than to the effect of their labour: for even in these situations, they exhibit as many instances of longevity, as are to be found, perhaps, among the other residents of cities. It is an experiment, therefore, well worth making, whether by healthful situation and temperate habits, even tho' as sedulous an application to the manufacture should exist, the evil, which is attributed to the nature of their labour, would not be removed. Until this be ascertained, nothing can be safely inferred with respect to the superior healthfulness of combining in one man the dissonant operations of manufacture and husbandry.

Without waiting, however, for a decision on this question, nothing can be more clear, than that some ill consequences do result from this combination. Every one who is at all conversant with manufactures, knows what is meant by the workman when he complains

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that his *hand is out.* He knows that at this time he is incapable of working either ſo quick or ſo well as at other times; and he knows alſo, that the workman's hand is always put out by having been for ſome time at an occupation different from his own. If the fabric in which he is engaged be a fine one, it is eaſy to ſee with what ill effect he muſt attempt it, after having ſpent his morning in holding a plough, or uſing a ſpade, and how injudiciouſly and clumſily *he* will handle a web of cambrick, or a thread of ſilk, whoſe fingers have been rendered callous by the coarſe labours of a farm or garden.

It is not, then, this connection of agricultural and manufacturing labour in the workman, which recommends a manufacture, but that connection, by which the extenſion of the one promotes the extenſion of the other. Such is that between agriculture and thoſe manufactures, the materials of which are the produce of agriculture. So far as this manufacture is proſecuted, ſo far it is evident agriculture meets a ſure and ready market for

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that branch of its produce. The beneficial effect of ſuch a manufacture, is double of that which reſults from a manufacture, of which the materials are not the produce of the ſoil; for it is profitable, not only by giving employment to numbers in its own proceſs, but alſo to others by whom the earth is cultivated for the *primum*. The manufactured goods in this caſe may be ſaid to be created by induſtry; in every other, the given materials are only improved. But if ſuch a manufacture be doubly more uſeful than that which works up materials not the produce of the land, it muſt be *fourfold* more uſeful than that, which, in proportion to its own encreaſe, *prevents* the extenſion of agriculture. Such, in ſome degree, is the proviſion trade: *how far* it is ſuch, we ſhall ſee, when we come to treat ſpecifically of that head. At preſent it is ſufficient to have ſhewn, that it is a ſtrong recommendation of a manufacture, if it be connected in this manner with agriculture, and that, in proportion as it comes thus recommended, it is entitled to preference, when we conſider what manufactures are beſt fitted for the country.

Manufactures

Manufactures are ſometimes peculiarly adapted to a country, from a correſpondence to the nature of its ſoil, or climate; and in many inſtances, the diſpoſition of the inhabitants of a country, qualifies them to excel in ſome manufactures beyond others. In determining, therefore, what manufactures are fitted for a country, it may be right to pay particular attention to theſe circumſtances. Thus, for a country abounding with water, and properly ſituated for mill ſites, thoſe manufactures which are beſt carried on by mills, ſeem, ſo far as one inſtance goes, to be well ſuited. Manufactures carried on by fire, are fitted for the country where fuel abounds; and ſo of the reſt. The diſpoſition of the inhabitants is a circumſtance which deſerves peculiar attention; for a manufacture is likely to derive much more benefit from its correſpondence in this, than in any other inſtance.

This propenſity of a country toward any manufacture is eaſily judged of, from the facility with which a little encouragement ſets it forward, from the number of rude eſſays in it which are to be met with, and from its being cultivated by families for private uſe.

Thus, the ineffectual ſtruggles which have been made to extend the linen manufacture throughout the ſouthern parts of Ireland afford a ſtrong preſumption, that it is not ſo well fitted to the genius of the inhabitants of that part of the country; and this conjecture ſeems to derive ſtrength from the circumſtance, that the people of Ulſter, where this manufacture has ſucceeded, are the deſcendants of Scotch and Engliſh ſettlers, and widely different in habits and manners from the people of the South, of whom the great bulk are deſcended from anceſtors originally Iriſh.

The woollen manufacture, on the other hand, ſeems to have ſome quality which peculiarly fits it to the genius of the people in that part of the iſland. This appears from the rude manufacture of wool being ſo widely ſpread among the inhabitants, every village producing flannels, frizes, &c. either for private conſumption, or for ſale, &c. and alſo from the inhabitants of theſe provinces being to a man clad in woollen. Both ſexes indeed ſeem equally fond of this mauufacture, and, in many inſtances, the man may be ſaid

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to be loaded rather than cloathed with it; for in the heat of ſummer, beſides a coat and waiſtcoat, he uniformly wears a woollen great coat of ſeveral pounds weight. The cloathing of the women from head to foot is generally of wool, except in thoſe articles which are indiſpenſably of linen. In ſome places, however, the conſumption of cotton manufacture has lately increaſed to a degree which has leſſened very conſiderably the quantity of woollen in the Iriſh female dreſs: but this is a recent innovation, and not yet of ſuch extent as to derogate much from the force of our remark.

We have now enumerated the ſeveral circumſtances which ſeem to recommend a manufacture to adoption; and we have made ſome obſervations on each of them to ſhew that they are really, and how far they are, recommendatory. Thus we have ſet up landmarks to direct our courſe in the ſubſequent part of this enquiry, and it now only remains to find what manufactures poſſeſs theſe recommending qualities, or the greater number of them; for ſuch, unqueſtionably, are the manufactures beſt fitted for the country.

It was neceſſary to lay down thoſe general principles, for two reaſons; firſt, in order to guide our deciſion, which would probably have been erroneous had we nothing but tacit and vague notions to govern it; and in the ſecond place, to ſecure a degree of perſpicuity to our future enquiries, which would neceſſarily have been obſcure, if the reaſons for which we preferred or rejected any manufacture were not expreſsly given, and confuſed, if they were given here and there as occaſion might ſuggeſt them.

PART

PART II.

SECTION I.

Of the LINEN MANUFACTURE.

Erroneous opinion entertained of this manufacture—created by the artifices of Lord Strafford, who endeavoured to supplant the Woollen by the introduction of the Linen Manufacture—This not effected, until restrictions were imposed on it by the Parliament of England—Linen Manufacture well calculated for this country, but not exclusively the staple—What circumstances are favourable, and what adverse to it, enumerated—Competitors of Ireland in the Linen Manufacture—Its proportional encrease in Scotland, has been greater than in Ireland, from 1727 *to* 1783*—Cheque and Sail Cloth Manufacture decayed in Ireland from the competition with Great Britain—The little progress made by the Linen Manufacture beyond the limits of Ulster—an Argument against*

its

its being conſidered the only National Manufacture—Recapitulation.

HAVING examined, in the former part of this Eſſay, the arguments which prove the utility and neceſſity of encouraging manufactures generally, and having alſo determined what are the circumſtances which ſhould recommend any particular manufacture to adoption; we come now to examine individually the principal manufactures, and conſider how far thoſe recommendatory circumſtances are to be found in each. In an enquiry on this ſubject, the firſt place undoubtedly belongs to that of linen, as well becauſe it has long been conſidered the ſtaple manufacture of the country, as becauſe it is really one of the firſt importance to it.

Of the facility with which an error may be planted in the public mind, and of the ſtrong hold which it takes of the national underſtanding when cultivated by the art of the politician, nothing can afford a ſtronger inſtance than the hiſtory of this manufacture.

Its

Its firſt riſe in Ireland may be dated from the adminiſtration of Lord Strafford in the reign of Charles the Firſt. When he arrived in this country, the woollen manufacture was carried on in it to ſuch extent, as induced his Lordſhip to fear that if it were in any degree encouraged, or even permitted, it might ultimately grow to ſuch magnitude, as to become a dangerous rival to the woollen manufacture of England. Under this impreſſion, his Lordſhip undertook, not indeed to prohibit or reſtrain, but to diſcourage and ſupplant it. This he attempted by means, the ſucceſs of which did honour to his ſagacity, however little credit he may derive from them, either as a ſound politician, or a friend to Ireland. He encouraged the manufacture of flax, ſet ſeveral looms to work, and in a letter to his maſter, in which he accounts for his conduct in this inſtance, declares that he foreſaw it would become a flouriſhing manufacture. The event has juſtified his prediction, and in doing ſo, has afforded the ſtrongeſt poſſible preſumption, that his opinion with reſpect to the manufacture which he undertook to diſcourage,

was

was equally well founded, namely, that the circumſtances of Ireland were ſo peculiarly favourable to the manufacture of wool, that if it were not diſcouraged, it might in the end, rival even that of England herſelf.

The arts of Lord Strafford, however, were not able either to depreſs the woollen manufacture, or raiſe that of flax. So unequal indeed were they to effect either purpoſe, that towards the cloſe of that century, it was matter of complaint to the Parliament of England, " that the Iriſh were backward in the linen manufacture, and tenacious of that of wool;" and they not only complained of the fact, but endeavoured to account for it: They aſſerted, " that it was not to be wondered at, if a people, poor as the Iriſh, were ſtrongly inclined to work up the materials in which their country abounded;" thus giving the moſt ſtriking proof of their opinion, that wool, rather than flax, was the natural produce, and ſtaple of the country. Who at that day would have believed, what is now received almoſt as a truiſm—that linen was

deſigned

designed by Nature to be the principal manufacture of Ireland, and that she was not fitted to excel in that of wool?

At that time, however, or shortly after in the same reign, measures were taken by the Parliament of Great Britain, and acquiesced in by the legislature of Ireland, which did effectually damp the woollen manufacture, and from the effects of which it has not since recovered: while the almost perpetual and sedulous care of the legislature to the linen manufacture has raised it to an excellence, extent and importance, which evince the foresight of Lord Strafford, and give some colour to the opinion, that linen is the staple of Ireland.

That Ireland is well calculated for the linen manufacture cannot rationally be denied. On the contrary, it is certain that she possesses many striking advantages for it. But, certainly, it may fairly be doubted, whether it be the *only* manufacture which she is equally well qualified to prosecute; whether it be exclusively and properly the staple of the kingdom, and whether it be good policy

licy to confine legiſlative protection and encouragement to that manufacture alone. Thoſe obſervations may, perhaps, appear well founded when the circumſtances of the linen manufacture are attentively conſidered.

It is certainly a very ſtrong recommendation of this manufacture that its raw materials can be raiſed in the country. They are not foreign like thoſe of ſilk, nor to be found cheaper and better in another country, like thoſe of wool and iron. The manufactured goods, too, when finiſhed, are ſuch as are always ſure of being in demand at home, for its uſe is indiſpenſible to cleanlineſs and comfort, and derive little recommendation from the caprice of opinion. They are ſure, alſo, for the ſame reaſon, of finding a market in foreign countries wherever they cannot be produced cheaper; for it is a manufacture not obnoxious to the changes of taſte and faſhion which ſo frequently annihilate one manufacture to raiſe another. Beſides all thoſe circumſtances in its favour, it is a manufacture which promotes agriculture by the production of its raw material.

But,

But, on the other hand, it deſerves to be remembered, that though the linen manufacture be promotive of agriculture, inaſmuch as the materials of it are the produce of the ſoil; yet, the raiſing of flax is by no means the moſt lucrative mode of employing land. It is known, that a crop of flax, more than any other product, impoveriſhes the ſoil; ſo much ſo, indeed, that, in a very ſhort time, it completely exhauſts it. Hence it is, that notwithſtanding the encouragements which have been held out for the raiſing of flax-ſeed, nothing like a ſufficient quantity of it is yet raiſed for the conſumption of the manufacture; and even of thoſe who have been induced by bounties to lay out their lands for flax, many, finding themſelves in a little time loſers, have, notwithſtanding the bounties, declined ſo unprofitable a purſuit.

Another conſideration of not leſs importance; that, though we are now in poſſeſſion of a foreign market, that market is not very ſecure to us. We have in Germany and Ruſſia powerful competitors; they have already beaten us out

of

of one part of the trade—the Ofnaburghs; and who can ſay, that they may not in a little time be equally ſucceſsful in many of the other branches? But it is not only in Ruſſia and Germany that we meet a powerful competition. Scotland has made rapid advances in this manufacture, and continues ſtill to improve. In the finer branches ſhe is already our ſuperior, and is not contemptible in the middling price and coarſe linens. But above all we have to dread the competition of England herſelf; for England has, in the courſe of half a century, made greater advances in the linen manufacture than any other country in Europe. And a circumſtance extremely remarkable, one that ſhould make us leſs confident of keeping the linen trade to the extent in which we now poſſeſs it, is, that in the exact proportion as our exports of linen to England encreaſe, we encourage the manufacture of Engliſh linens; for it is a fact, that of every cargo of linen exported from England ſince the grant of the bounty on export, which is the circumſtance that has made England the market for Iriſh linen, a large proportion

portion has been Engliſh, and that proportion, there is reaſon to believe, has been continually increaſing.*

By collating the returns of the exports of Britiſh and Iriſh linens, we ſee that in 1743 the Engliſh export was to the Iriſh as 40,907 to 52,779; in 1773 the proportion had encreaſed in favour of England ſo much that the Engliſh linen exported in that year was to the Iriſh linen exported as 5,235,266 to 2,832,246.

Nor is it to be wondered that the ſyſtem of bounty on the export of Britiſh and Iriſh linens

* This will appear by the following ſtatement of the export of Britiſh linens, from the year 1743, when the bounties were firſt granted, to 1773.

			Yards of Britiſh Linen.
1743	*exported*	-	52,779
1753	—	-	641,510
1763	—	-	2,308,310
1773	—	-	5,235,266

			Yards of Iriſh Linen.
1743	*exported*	-	40,907
1753	—	-	1,308,967
1763	—	-	2,588,564
1773	—	-	2,832,246

linens has produced theſe beneficial effects to the linen manufacture of England, when it is conſidered that the bounty being the ſame on Britiſh and Iriſh linen, and the Iriſh manufacture being loaded with five per cent.—the average expence of freight, warehouſeing, &c. attending the carriage to England—the Britiſh manufacturer comes to the foreign market with an advantage equal to this per centage in his favour.

We have already ſaid that Ireland has powerful competitors in the foreign fabrics of linen. That this is true appears hence, that tho' the duties on the import of foreign linen, (Iriſh excepted) and the bounty on the export of Britiſh and Iriſh, make together an advantage of 15 per cent. yet the foreign manufactures have been able to preſerve a degree of competition in fine linens. Should England then at any time think proper to leſſen the duty on the import of foreign linen, the immediate conſequence would be that the fine linens of Ireland would be excluded from the Britiſh market, while the manufactures of England might be exported by a bounty which would ſecure them

the

the export trade in as great an extent as they at preſent poſſeſs it.

It is, indeed, true, that of ſuch a meaſure as this on the part of Great Britain there is little danger. The important truth that the intereſts of both countries are the ſame, and that what would tend to impoveriſh Ireland would at the ſame time tend to diminiſh the ſtrength of Britain, it is at this day too well underſtood to admit ſuch an idea into the head of a ſound politician. But tho' this be true, yet Ireland conſidering as an independent kingdom what manufactures are beſt fitted for her, ſhould pay moſt attention to thoſe for the ſucceſs of which ſhe is leaſt dependant on foreign aids. It may be too cold a policy to practice among individuals, but it is certainly wiſdom among nations, to act towards friends as thoſe who may one day become enemies, and towards enemies as thoſe who may one day become friends.

It has been frequently urged that this country may reſt ſecure of the continued poſſeſſion of the Britiſh market, becauſe England it is ſaid

cannot,

cannot, if ſhe would, provide more advantageouſly in any other country. The fallacy of this argument appears from what has been ſaid above; for granting that ſhe cannot get from any foreign country linen of the kind and price which Ireland furniſhes, yet her own manufacture, which in the year 80 was reported by the lords of trade to produce more linen than is annually exported from Ireland, is in a ſtate ſo improved, that from this alone we have reaſon to fear; it is certain at leaſt that by making ſome extraordinary exertions in favour of her linen manufacture, ſhe might raiſe it to ſuch a degree as to prevent any inconvenience from the want of Iriſh linen, and to ſupply any encreaſed demand, or ſudden deficiency.

Many, indeed, are the circumſtances, which, duly conſidered, ſhould make Ireland leſs ſanguine in her hopes of continued proſperity to her linen trade, ſo far as that proſperity depends on the market of England. The value of foreign linen imported into England, excluſive of thoſe from Ireland, is greater than the

the value of any other foreign manufacture which ſhe imports, notwithſtanding her high duties on that article. It has been calculated that the value of this import amounts annually to a million; that of linen imported from Ireland, to a million and a half; and that from Scotland to half a million. Indeed Scotland herſelf holds a competition with us in this article which is by no means contemptible. From manufacturing only 2,183,975 yards in the year 1727, ſhe has encreaſed her manufacture of linen to 17,074,777 yards in the year 1783, excluſive of thoſe linens which were manufactured for private uſe, and not taken into this account. And this encreaſe in the Scotch manufacture is real, while the apparent encreaſe of that of Ireland is, in a great degree, perhaps, nominal. For all linens ſold in Scotland are ſtamped, by which the quantity is aſcertained with preciſion; while, in Ireland, if the produce be eſtimated by the cuſtom-houſe returns, it is probably much exaggerated, becauſe merchants paying no duty on the export, gratify frequently their com-

mercial vanity, by entering for exportation much greater quantities than they really ſhip.

Yet even allowing theſe returns to be true, it follows from a compariſon with thoſe of Scotland, that the linen manufacture, with all the aids which it has had from the legiſlature, and all the care and protection which the men of landed intereſt in Ulſter have beſtowed on it, has not encreaſed by any means ſo rapidly as that of Scotland. Our exports of linen in 1727 were in value, 284,721l. the one-fifth of the value of the linen exports of 1783; while by the ſtatement mentioned above of the Scotch exports for theſe two years, the linen manufacture of that country appears to have encreaſed in the interval, above eight-fold.

For the cheque manufacture it might be ſuppoſed we had at leaſt equal advantages with England, yet of this article Great Britain exports to the annual amount of 120,000l.; we export none.

From the fate of the ſail cloth trade, too, we may be warned againſt depending too much on the preſent poſſeſſion of any branch of the linen

linen or hemp manufacture. What has been the fate of it? From exporting to the value of twelve thouſand pounds annually, as we did ſome time back, we do not now ſupply our own conſumption, little as that conſumption is. The Engliſh manufacture, has cut up that of Ireland by the roots.

It deſerves to be remarked of the linen manufacture, that, with every poſſible encouragement which public and private munificence could beſtow upon it, with all the care of a cheriſhing legiſlature, with a board of intelligent men to direct and promote its progreſs, and with a marked preference given to it in the market of England, it has yet in the courſe of a full century, made little progreſs beyond the narrow limits of a ſingle province. The other three provinces have been left a prey to idleneſs and poverty. Some of the beſt ſoil in the empire has been waſted under paſture, and thoſe lands which Nature had deſigned to be occupied by a hardy peaſantry, and cities flouriſhing with manufactures and commerce, have been occupied but

by herdſmen and horned cattle. Want of occupation and miſerable poverty, both occaſioned by the want of manufactures, have produced their natural conſequences, habits of idleneſs, ſervility and diſcontent, and have raiſed difficulties, which naturally did not exiſt, to the progreſs of induſtry and morals. Nay, even in that province which was peculiarly and excluſively the ſeat of this manufacture, poverty and diſcontent have been conſpicuous. Hence, in part at leaſt, have ariſen thoſe emigrations, which peopled the New World with a hardy and induſtrious race of men, who, after conſtituting a new empire of the weſt, are going on to adorn it with all that is valuable in good government and regulated liberty.

It is ſcarcely poſſible that the manufacture which in ſuch circumſtances, has, in the courſe of a century been unable to creep from one corner of the kingdom, can be its natural ſtaple, the manufacture which nature has peculiarly fitted for it. If it be, to what can we attribute this ſlow progreſs? unleſs, perhaps, to that fatal error

which

which has ſo long been miſchievouſly operative in this kingdom—namely, that if the ſtaple manufacture be encouraged, it matters not what becomes of the reſt, and that on this ſingle prop, the proſperity of the country may ſafely reſt.—Such an error, muſt, no doubt, for ever dwarf the growth of Ireland, and make her idleneſs, her poverty, and her diſcontent, perpetual; for if experience be a preceptor on which we may rely in political reaſoning, nothing can be more true, than that a country can never arrive at excellence in any one manufacture, while ſhe excludes the reſt. Each thrives only in the neighbourhood of its fellows; as in morality no virtue can exiſt in the mind unaccompanied by others.

This head has been protracted to a great length; but it was intereſting, as well from the nature of the ſubject, as from the prevalence of thoſe opinions reſpecting this manufacture, which however generally received, yet ſeem to be in many points erroneous. Let not, however, what has been here offered on this

ſubject,

ſubject, be miſtaken—it is briefly this; that the linen manufacture is one which is well fitted for this country, becauſe the materials are native; becauſe it is connected with the agriculture of the country, and promotive of it; becauſe the manufacture is one which muſt always be in demand every where, and therefore is certain of ſucceſs in proportion to its cheapneſs and excellence; becauſe as it is an eſtabliſhed manufacture, every part of its proceſs is well known to the people, and where it is not known, it is eaſily learned: but that on the contrary, it is not ſuch a manufacture as deſerves to be ſo much relied on, as Ireland ſeems to rely on it; for it is not ſuch an one as ſeems ever likely to give full employment to the people, by ſpreading thro' the country; that it is one in which many other nations are competitors with Ireland, and ſuperior to her; that even of thoſe markets which ſhe has hitherto enjoyed, ſhe is daily loſing part, by the encreaſing excellence and extent of the manufacture in other countries; that it is alſo a manufacture, of which, after the utmoſt endeavours on our part, we are not yet able to produce an adequate ſupply of the

the materials; and even where they are produced, it is not the moſt lucrative or ſalutary mode of occupying the ground; and that finally, granting it to poſſeſs every poſſible advantage, experience has ſhewn that it cannot proſper ſingly, and therefore ought not to engroſs excluſively, the attention of the country.

SECTION

SECTION II.

Of the Woollen Manufacture.

Doubts entertained of the propriety of encouraging this Manufacture—The History of it affords reason to believe it is peculiarly adapted to this Country—Ancient and Modern Testimony to this Point—Lord Strafford's Opinion, that Ireland abounded in Wool, and had other Advantages for prosecuting this Manufacture—Wool afterwards became scarce—The Manufacture not depressed, until the Restrictions imposed by the Jealousy of England—Though these Restrictions depressed the Manufacture, they have not annihilated the Capacity of the Country to prosecute it—She still rears much of the Raw Material, and might be enabled to rear much more—The Rearing of Sheep neglected, though there are many Reasons why they would be beneficial to the Farmer—General Observations on the Rearing and Improvement of Wool in Ireland.

It has been a question much agitated, whether, circumstanced as Ireland is, the woollen manufacture

manufacture be one to which induſtry ſhould be turned by public encouragement. The queſtion is intereſting, and the nature of this eſſay makes it neceſſary to examine it. It will be determined, indeed, without going at all out of our way, by conſidering how far it does, or does not, poſſeſs thoſe qualities which recommend a manufacture to public adoption.

The ſtate of this manufacture in Ireland, at a former period, certainly affords good general ground for believing that it is well adapted to the country. That it was known here at a very early period, and that Ireland excelled in a variety of its branches, has been ſo ingeniouſly and fully proved by the noble and learned preſident of this ſociety,* in his eſſay on that ſubject publiſhed among the papers of the academy, that it is neceſſary only to refer to that eſſay to be ſatisfied of the point. With reſpect to its ſtate, at a later period, we have the teſtimony of various writers, and that of lord Strafford in particular is

* The Royal Iriſh Academy.

is explicit—" that of the few manufactures known in the country in his time, that of wool was the principal." Of this teſtimony there is no reaſon to queſtion the veracity. Of his conjecture as to the probable future progreſs of the manufacture there is as little reaſon to believe that it was not founded on good ground. The following extract from his letter on that ſubject, giving an account of the report which he had made to the king and council, we ſhall be forgiven for tranſcribing. The letter is dated July 25, 1636.

" That there was little or no manufacture among them, but ſome ſmall beginnings towards a cloathing trade which I had, and ſo ſhould ſtill diſcourage all I could, unleſs otherwiſe directed by his Majeſty and their lordſhips; in regard it would trench not only on the cloathings of England, being our ſtaple commodity, ſo as if they ſhould manufacture their own wool, which grew to very great quantities, we ſhould not only loſe the profit we made now by in-draping their wools, but his majeſty loſe extremely by his cuſ-

toms;

toms, and in conclusion it might be feared, they might beat us out of the trade itself, by underselling us, which they were able to do. Yet, have I endeavoured another way to set them on work, and that is by bringing in the making of linen cloth; the rather in regard the women are all naturally bred to spinning; that the Irish earth is apt for the bearing of flax, and that this manufacture would be, in conclusion, rather a benefit than other to this kingdom. I have, therefore, sent for the flax-seed into Holland, being of a better sort than we have, and have sown this year a thousand pounds of it (finding by some I sowed the last year that it takes very well there). I have sent for workmen out of the low countries, and south of France, and set up already six or seven looms, which, if it pleases God so to bless us this year, I trust so to invite them to follow it, when they see the great profit arising thereby, as that they shall generally take and employ themselves that way, which, if they do, I am confident it will prove a mighty business."

By

By this teſtimony of an Engliſh nobleman, it appears, that Ireland abounded in wool, and that though manufactures generally were in a ſtate of depreſſion, yet that of wool had made ſome progreſs; a ſure proof that it was the manufacture to which, of all others, the country had the ſtrongeſt bent. Such, too, it appears, were our means of carrying on this manufacture ſucceſsfully, that there was great reaſon to fear, in a little time, we ſhould beat Great Britain out of her ſtaple manufacture.

It is true, indeed, that this abundance of wool of which Lord Strafford ſpeaks, was within a few years afterwards very much diminiſhed; but this aroſe from the violent concuſſions which Ireland had ſuffered in the interim from the civil war. The natural ability of the country to produce wool in abundance, had not been annihilated, tho' by the circumſtances of the times, the exiſting abundance had been reduced.

Tho' it had been the general policy of Strafford, to diſcourage the woollen manufac-

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ture, and to encourage that of linen, yet ſo little effect had his endeavours in depreſſing the manufacture of wool, that in 1697 it ſtill remained in ſuch a ſtate as to alarm the jealouſy of England. In conſequence of this jealouſy, the Engliſh legiſlature, by the moſt wanton exerciſe which they had ever made of the aſſumed power of legiſlating for Ireland, prohibited the export of woollens from this country. Under ſuch reſtrictions, it was impoſſible that the manufacture ſhould proſper. It ſunk to a very low ebb indeed; the induſtry of the nation thus reſtrained, loſt its energy, and that character of idleneſs with which the lower order of people in Ireland are now branded, was impreſſed by the fetters which then chained their exertions.

If Ireland, a century back was fitted to excel in the woollen manufacture, ſhe is not now incapacitated for it. If any preſent impediments be in her way, they are ſuch as a policy, contrary to that which created them, may remove. This we ſhall ſee more fully, when in the courſe of our obſervations on this

this manufacture, we come to consider specifically what those impediments are.

At present, Ireland undoubtedly possesses means of carrying the manufacture of wool much farther than she has yet done. Of the raw materials she possesses much, which either in its rude state, or in a state of half manufacture, is exported. Of the latter kind—worsted—she exported in 1792, 53,644 stones, and of yarn, 2,220 stones. From this, however, it is not meant to infer, that she has wool in such abundance as to be adequate to a very extensive demand. At present her whole growth of wool, is not, perhaps, equal to her consumption. But there is the best reason to believe, that means could be devised, by which not only the quality of wool might be improved, but the growth of it encreased to a degree that would be commensurate to the demand of a very flourishing manufacture. On a position so interesting, we may be permitted to offer a few observations.

The rearing of sheep in Ireland has been neglected to a degree for which no adequate

reason

reaſon can be given. It is true, indeed, that when the export of woollens from Ireland was prohibited, and the manufacture of courſe declined, the growth of the material muſt have become an object of much leſs importance; yet as the export of the material to England was permitted, ſubſequent to that period, and in England found not a bad market, and as the fleece, too, was but a collateral object to the farmer, it appears ſtrange, that wool ſhould have been ſo neglected, as to have riſen to a price beyond the capacity of the manufacture to pay. But whatever may have been the cauſe of relinquiſhing, to ſo great a degree, the rearing of ſheep, it is ſufficiently clear, that in order to extend our woollen manufacture, the attention of the farmer, or of the grazier rather, muſt be again turned to this object. Nor are there wanting powerful arguments to evince, that it is his intereſt to attend to it. Sheep are, of all animals, thoſe by which the ſoil, on which they feed, is moſt enriched. They are more productive than black cattle, and, in a country like this, where ſo much land is occupied by theſe latter,

ſheep

ſheep could be reared in very great abundance, almoſt without any additional expence. In proportion, indeed, to the numbers placed on a given portion of land, does its ability to maintain them encreaſe, ſo that could the grazier be brought to underſtand his own intereſt, nothing would be more eaſy than to encreaſe the growth of ſheep in Ireland to a greater extent. Nor is the growth of tillage, which undoubtedly ſhould be in every country a primary object, incompatible with an encreaſe of ſheep—for, as tillage and agriculture improve, the encreaſed quantity of artificial graſſes, will always furniſh more than an adequate ſupport for the encreaſed number of ſheep. For a full illuſtration of theſe poſitions, and a more diffuſe and ample explication of them, Mr. Anderſon's valuable book on the means of ~~exerting~~ exciting a ſpirit of national induſtry in Scotland, may be referred to. The reaſonings which it contains on theſe ſubjects, though intended to apply to that country, will be found to be in moſt inſtances, perfectly applicable to the ſtate of Ireland. What are the beſt means to direct the atten-

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tion of the farmer and grazier to this important object, it is not our buſineſs at preſent to enquire; but if it appears that the thing propoſed is not only conſiſtent with the intereſt of theſe deſcriptions, but in a great degree promotive of it, one cannot poſſibly believe, that ſome ſuch effectual modes may not be deviſed.

As the material is capable of being thus increaſed till it becomes commenſurate to any extent of manufacture which Ireland can ever attain, it is equally certain, that by proper attention it is alſo capable of being improved in quality. No poſition ſeems to have been more clearly proved by the writers on this ſubject than that the wool of a country may be improved in two ways; the one by improving the breed of ſheep, for which is required only care to ſelect and purchaſe breeders from thoſe places where the wool is moſt excellent, and the other by a little circumſpection in the management of the ſheep. It would be eaſy to give a volume on this part of the ſubject, but as it could only be a tran-

ſcript of what has been already ſaid by two very able writers—Smith* and Anderſon,† we ſhall content ourſelves with referring to them for a more copious detail.

SECTION

* Memoirs of Wool. † On National Induſtry, vol. 1.

SECTION III.

Of the MANUFACTURE of NEW DRAPERY.

This Branch has made considerable progress, principally from the judicious Encouragement which has been given to it—In New Drapery the Competition with Great Britain is most likely to succeed, and why—Instances in which England has superior Advantages as to this article—These make it necessary to assist this Manufacture—What Modes of Encouragement are likely to be useful—Circumstances that recommend New Drapery, and suggestions for their Improvement—State of the Progress of this Manufacture in Ireland.

THIS manufacture come recommended to us by a variety of circumstances. Of those, the the most striking, perhaps, are the improvement and increase of it under all the difficulties with which it has had to struggle. In many of the articles of new drapery, under which are comprehended Shalloons, Durants, Calimancoes, Everlastings, Sattinets, Broad and Narrow Stuffs, Plushes, Crapes, Tab-

binets and Poplins, our progreſs has been immenſe. In tabinets and poplins, particularly, Ireland has long been ſuperior to her competitors; but as of theſe a large part of the material, viz. the warp, is ſilk, they may ſeem not properly to rank under the head of woollen manufacture. In other articles, however, her advances have been alſo conſiderable. In durants, or ſingle ſtuffs, we have quadrupled the quantity which was manufactured amongſt us twenty years back, and the improvement in quality has kept pace with the encreaſe of quantity. For texture and finiſhing they are little, if at all, inferior to the beſt of their kind in England, notwithſtanding the decided ſuperiority which the Engliſhman enjoys in the article of ſpinning.

The progreſs which this branch of the manufacture has made within a few years, is a proof of the efficacy of judicious encouragement; for this ſpecies of goods was but little known as a manufacture in this country until the parliamentary bounties were given under the direction of the Linen Board in 85. To the judicious diſpoſition by the board of the

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ſum granted at that time we may attribute other advantages which have reſulted to manufactures, beſides a mere encreaſe of them. By offering premiums on the ſale of goods of a certain deſcription, in ſeveral of the principal market towns appointed by them, they not only promoted the manufacture, but fixed it in that ſituation where its proſperity is likely to be moſt advantageous to thoſe engaged in it, and beneficial to the public, viz. in the country. It is in conſequence of this well-judged plan, that, in a ſingle market, that of Maryborough in the Queen's county, woollens, principally durants, are ſold monthly to the amount of ſeveral thouſand pounds. Much, however, of this proſperity is due to the munificent encouragement and protection afforded to the manufacturer in this quarter by Sir J. Parnell, whoſe conduct in this inſtance, holds out an example to the men of landed property, which, if generally imitated, would, in a very few years, give the interior of Ireland an appearance of induſtry and comfort, very different indeed from that which it has ſo long exhibited.

Of

Of ſattinets, calimancoes, and double ſtuffs, the manufacture has not been equally ſucceſsful. The demand for theſe three ſpecies of goods has been ſomewhat reſtrained by the growing uſe of other manufactures, for inſtance, cotton, which, in ſome provinces, has almoſt ſuperſeded the uſe of ſtuffs in the cloathing of the lower claſs of females, while among the middle claſs of women, the fine kinds of leather have taken place of ſattinet and callimancoes for ſhoes. In many of the articles of men's wear alſo, cotton is uſed inſtead of various kinds of worſted manufacture. Still, however, the conſumption is conſiderable, and the quality of the goods made, reſpectable.

It is in theſe manufactures, that Ireland ſeems to have the beſt chance of ſucceſsful competition with her experienced and powerful rival, Great Britain; for in theſe manufactures, if we except the article of ſpinning, in which, indeed, England is greatly beyond us, ſhe enjoys ſomething more near a parity of advantages. Our wool, however inadequate it may at preſent be in quan-

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tity or quality, to an extenſive manufacture of old drapery, appears to bear a very reſpectable proportion to any conſumption or export of new drapery, on which we can probably reckon. This, too, is a branch which requires much leſs capital, and conſiderably leſs ſkill, than the manufacture of broad cloths, and beſides theſe circumſtances, it is a branch which is already widely diffuſed, and is capable of being extended ſtill more widely thro' the country. We have already a firmer hold of the home-market in this inſtance than the other, and in foreign markets we have long ſince made many ſucceſsful eſſays. Theſe are advantages; but they have not been found ſo deciſive as to enable the manufacture to make the reſt of its way alone. The Engliſh manufacturer ſtill enjoys a great ſuperiority over us in point of wool, and this circumſtance in his favour is much enhanced by the greater excellence of the Engliſh ſpinning. Theſe radical advantages, too, produce others, which ſpread themſelves throughout the whole proceſs of the manufacture. The Engliſh workman, for example, having better materials to work

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on, can work for leſs than the Iriſhman, and yet have earned more at the week's end; and the goods when made of thoſe more excellent materials, admit with more eaſe a higher finiſh; they look ſmoother to the eye while raw, and when preſſed, have a higher gloſs. With theſe advantages againſt him, the Iriſh manufacturer has long ſtruggled, and in deſpite of them has made much way; his endeavours then, deſerve aſſiſtance, and with but little help it is highly probable he would overcome the difficulties that impede him. Tho' this is not the place for pointing out at large what aids may be given him with good effect, it may be permitted to throw out a few hints on that ſubject.

In the firſt inſtance, then, whatever means, whether by premium or other modes, are taken to improve the ſpinning of worſted, will eſſentially ſerve the manufacture. The kind of ſpinning which prevails in Ireland is generally of the moſt ſlovenly and clumſy kind. It is fitted well enough for coarſe manufacture, but not at all adapted for the finer

works.

works. Where the pound and half of wool (the quantity which, when ſpun, is called a ball) is ſpun into ſix or eight ſkains, this kind of ſpinning anſwers, but when this weight is to be ſpun to twelve, or from that to twenty ſkains, it is productive of the worſt conſequences. Even in the ten ſkain work, where the thread is deſigned to be wrought ſingle, the workman often finds himſelf incapable of going on from the defect in the ſpinning; the looſeneſs of the twiſt occaſions the thread to break on the leaſt tenſion. To remedy this, recourſe is had to repeated ſizings, by which much of the workman's time is waſted, while himſelf, provoked by diſappointment, and the loſs of time and labour, is driven to diſſipation, and falls into all the evils with which diſſipation is attended.

Nothing would conduce more to the proſperity of thoſe manufactures, than preventing the ſame workman from ſucceſſively engaging in different branches. At preſent, he who is this week engaged in weaving durants, or ſtuffs made of ſingle worſted, three-quarters of a yard wide, will probably next week be turned

turned to double ſtuffs, or ſtuffs made of ſtrong worſted doubled and twiſted, and not more than fifteen or ſixteen inches wide; the following week it is poſſible he may be employed in weaving tabbinets or poplins, of which the warp is ſilk; and from this lightest kind of work, may change, perhaps, to the heavieſt kind of worſted manufacture, ſattinet or everlaſting. The rapidity of theſe tranſitions produces the worſt effects on the manufacture, and as we have elſewhere obſerved, neceſſarily tends to enhance the price of labour, as well as injure the quality of the goods. The poverty of the employer, or his want of demand, gives riſe to this practice, and perpetuates it; for when either of theſe cauſes renders him unable to find continual employment for his workman, he is obliged to engage elſewhere on ſuch jobs as he can procure, however diſſimilar from that on which he was laſt employed. A fooliſh emulation among the employers themſelves to keep as many workmen or looms at work as poſſible, adds to this neceſſity which their want of capital creates; perhaps, indeed, this wiſh to over-

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work their ſtock, is the grand error among the manufacturers of New Drapery.

However plauſible it may appear in theory, that a manufacture thrives beſt when left to itſelf without reſtrictions of any kind, it is certain that this complete liberty has rather injured than ſerved the manufacture of which we are now ſpeaking. The unſteadineſs of the employment generally afforded by the maſter manufacturers, beſides the evil of making the workman frequently change the ſpecies of his employment, has occaſioned an evil of perhaps ſtill greater magnitude. It has forced every man who could purchaſe the materials for a ſingle piece of goods, to ſet up for himſelf, and trade on this miſerable capital, which, could he have procured conſtant work as a journeyman or undertaker, he would never have done. A man thus poor, in the firſt inſtance purchaſes the worſt ſtuff he can find; in the next, he endeavours to make up theſe materials in ſuch a manner that the quantity he poſſeſſes may produce the greateſt poſſible length of manufactured goods. By theſe means,

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and by working up theſe ſcanty materials in a haſty and imperfect manner, which he is obliged to do in order to have a quick return of his capital that he may live on the profits, he brings goods of the very worſt quality to market. Of theſe he is enabled to diſpoſe at a much lower price than the more wealthy manufacturer who uſes the beſt materials, and in proper quantities: and in conſequence of this lower price, and the aſſiduity with which he obtrudes his goods on purchaſers wherever they can be found, they are very often bought in preference to thoſe of a better kind; the more ſo, becauſe theſe poor manufacturers, in many inſtances, uſe the diſhoneſt artifice of making what they call a ſelling end to their goods, *i. e.* making a few of the exterior folds of a better quality than the bulk of the piece, which, from the manner of rolling, cannot be examined until it comes to be retailed in the ſhop. When goods of this deſcription have been a while worn their defects appear, the character of the manufacture ſuffers, the conſumption decreaſes, and the honeſt manufacturer is ſometimes obliged to give up the buſineſs.

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For this evil a remedy ſeems much more eaſy to be found than for thoſe above mentioned. Nothing more would be neceſſary than to eſtabliſh certain places where goods of this ſpecies ſhould be meaſured, rolled and ſealed by an inſpector, or officer appointed for this purpoſe, whoſe duty it ſhould be alſo, to examine the quality, breadth, and ſtamina of the goods, and refuſe to put the ſeal to any which ſhould be materially deficient in any of theſe points.

Some years back an office of this kind did exiſt in Ireland, but, at the unanimous inſtance of all the manufacturers, the office was aboliſhed. He was called Alnager, and received a ſmall ſum of two-pence, or thereabout, in proportion to the weight of the piece, for ſealing it. Nor were the manufacturers wrong in calling for the abolition of this office, ſuch as it then exiſted, for nothing was really done in it but receiving the money and affixing the ſeal, which was placed, without examination, to goods of every quality, good and bad. Though it was the duty of the officer to examine, meaſure, and roll each piece before

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he ſealed it, the goods were, latterly, brought to him meaſured and rolled up, and, without any examination of their quality, he gave them the ſtamp of public authenticity. Such an office was an uſeleſs exciſe on the manufacture; if the duty were properly diſcharged nothing would have contributed more to its proſperity and extenſion.

It is a circumſtance much in favour of new drapery, that it has already a ſtronger hold of the home market, and, therefore, a greater chance of ſecuring it altogether than the other branches of the woollen manufacture. It has already acquired a ſtability which better enables it to ſtand the ſhock of Britiſh competion; and, excluſive of this advantage, it is ſecured by a duty of 2d. per yard on the import of foreign goods of this denomination, a duty which, conſidering its ratio to the average value of new drapery, ſeems to be a ſufficient protection to it againſt ſtrangers. New drapery, too, has a much greater chance of becoming an article of conſiderable export than old drapery, as well becauſe we have al-

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ready made greater advances in it, and have gone farther towards a ſupply of the home market, as becauſe we have already, and, indeed, a good while ſince, exported conſiderable quantities. It is well known, that new draperies, particularly double ſtuffs and camblets, found their way to the Portugal market many years back: and the following account from the inſpector general's books, ſhews that our exports of this article have been very conſiderable.

Export of New Drapery.

Years, ending in March.		Yards Exported.
1780	-	8,653
1781	-	286,859
1782	-	336,807
1783	-	583,661
1784	-	666,298
1785	-	770,032
1786	-	349,628
1787	-	206,849
1788	-	315,111
1789	-	363,196
1790	-	352,022

1791

Years, ending in March.		Yards Exported.
1791	-	320,491
1792	-	384,396
1793	-	140,294
1794	-	206,547
1795	-	105,283

Such a manufacture in a national point of view deſerves peculiar attention; the more ſo, becauſe, however great our advances in it may have been, it is unqueſtionably capable of being carried to a much greater extent, were the impediments to it which we have mentioned above, removed or leſſened. The decreaſe in the export for the three laſt years, ſhews, that theſe impediments are not inoperative; for though the war, and the diſturbed ſtate of the continent, may have been one cauſe of the deficiency, yet it is highly probable the other cauſes have contributed to it.

Every ſpecies of new drapery, except, perhaps, tabbinets and poplins, which are connected with the ſilk manufacture, may be carried on to more advantage in the country than in the metropolis. Much of this branch is already

ready eſtabliſhed there in conſequence of the judicious aids of bounties, &c. which we have already mentioned. It is, however, principally the durant trade which has thus yielded to their operation, and even of theſe a good part of the proceſs of the manufacture is performed in the metropolis; for inſtance, the dyeing, preſſing, and other operations of finiſhing. The ſattinet, calimanco, and double ſtuff trade, is yet ſeated in Dublin. Were there halls for the ſale of finiſhed goods, eſtabliſhed in the principal town of each county, the maſter manufacturer would find it his intereſt to carry on the whole of the manufacture in the country, particularly if the preſſes and other finiſhing apparatus, which are too expenſive* for the poorer claſs of manufacturers to purchaſe for their individual uſe, were erect-

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* At preſent the middling and lower claſſes of manufacturers in Dublin, not being able to ſpare 100 or 150l. for preſſes, dyeing-coppers, &c. hire the latter by the day; and for preſſes, there are ſhops to which the goods are ſent, and preſſed at ſo much per piece. Theſe places, which are called PRESS SHOPS, in ſome meaſure ſerve for halls, as the goods when finiſhed are left there for ſale, and thither the country ſhop-keepers reſort to purchaſe. The advantages that would reſult from having ſome ſuch eſtabliſhment in the country, are obvious.

ed there for hire, as is now done in Dublin. With ſuch inſtitutions to invite them, moſt certainly theſe manufactures would fix themſelves in the country, and thrive to a degree, which cannot be expected, while they are carried on in the drunkenneſs, extravagance, and diſſipation of the capital.

SECTION

SECTION IV.

Of Old Drapery.

We are not ſo near England in Old as in New Drapery—Cauſes of our Inferiority—Yet Improvement in this Manufacture is within our power—Reaſons why we ſhould perſevere in the proſecution of it—drawn from the advances already made—and other circumſtances—Particular Modes of improving and promoting this Manufacture—View of the manner in which this Manufacture is carried on in England—Compared with thoſe in Ireland.

IN the manufacture of old drapery we do not ſeem to come ſo near a competition with England, nor are we for ſome time likely to do ſo, as in new drapery. In wool, at preſent, ſhe has greatly the advantage, both as to quality and price. She is above us alſo in ſkill in the different operations of the manufacture, ſhe excels us in her arrangements, and has a greater capital. Yet, great as theſe advantages are, it would be madneſs in Ireland to relinquiſh this manufacture, becauſe in

all theſe inſtances, improvement is within her reach. Undoubtedly, by proper encouragement, the growth of wool (as has been already obſerved) might be encreaſed, without any diminution or retardment of tillage. As the growth may be encreaſed, ſo may the quality of our wool be improved, by attending to the breed and management of our ſheep, as to a matter of national concern. Skill is the reſult of experience, which will grow as the manufacture ſpreads, and of attention, which is within our own power. The arrangements of England in the management of her manufacture are known, and we may at this moment, if we pleaſe, adopt them. With reſpect to capital, we have already ſeen that the inferiority of Ireland, is ſometimes rather acknowledged than felt, and in ſuperior induſtry, and encreaſed œconomy, we may find much to relieve it. Inſtead, therefore, of giving up in deſpair, a manufacture, in which, tho' we do not yet excel, yet excellence is attainable, if ſteadily purſued, it more becomes us to redouble our efforts, and to pay a more attentive regard to their direction.

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In this manufacture Ireland has not to contend with a competitor who advances as ſhe is purſued, and who can, therefore, be overtaken but when the difference of growing improvements ſhall be equal to the preſent diſtance; the woollen manufacture of Great Britain has been, for a conſiderable length of time, either declining, or ſtationary, and, therefore, whatever advances Ireland ſhall make in this inſtance, will bring her ſo much nearer to equality with her great rival.

That this country is fitted for the manufacture of old drapery is moſt ſtrongly evinced by the progreſs ſhe has made in it, notwithſtanding her deficiency in materials, a leſs capital than her competitor, and the diſcouraging reſtraints under which it had ſo long lain. During a century of depreſſion much wool had been made into cloth or frizes; her poor, who conſumed more wool than the poor of any other country, were generally clad in home manufacture, and ſince the reſtrictions on the trade of the country have been removed, the manufacture for ſale

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has encreaſed conſiderably. Though the import of old drapery has been augmented largely within that time, the circumſtance is accounted for by the growing conſumption of the country, in which encreaſed conſumption the Iriſh old drapery has had its ſhare. Some has even been exported, and at leaſt a beginning has been made in competing with England even in foreign markets. The following extracts indicate the encreaſe in the manufacture of old drapery, for there can be no doubt but the home conſumption has encreaſed in as great a ratio as the export.

Old Drapery exported in the

Years, ending 25th March.		Yards.
1788	-	7,747
1789	-	7,833
1790	-	7,842
1791	-	15,085
1792	-	18,669
1793	-	19,389
1794	-	21,237
1795	-	22,739

In the five years immediately preceeding 88, the

the export was much more conſiderable, but in thoſe years the trade was over worked. The efforts made by our merchants at that time were much beyond either their ſtrength, or the demand of the markets. The conſequence was, that in that year (88) the exports ſuddenly fell to their natural level, perhaps below it; ſince that period they have grown naturally with the growing extent of the manufacture, and there is reaſon to hope, that, with proper care, they will continue to encreaſe. That this hope is not without foundation will appear, from conſidering that France, the great rival of England in the clothing trade, has been obliged, by her recent diſtractions, to relax, if not give up altogether, her attention to this manufacture. If Ireland exert herſelf as ſhe may do, it is natural to expect that ſhe will find new channels open to her induſtry in this way, which, heretofore, ſhe could not have hoped for. Before ſhe can avail herſelf, however, of the offered opportunity, much is to be done, and much changed in the proceſs of this manufacture. Of thoſe changes, and thoſe improvements

ments we will here ſuggeſt ſuch as cannot be ranked under any of the general heads of improvement, to which the latter part of this eſſay ſhall be devoted.

With reſpect to the manufacture of fine cloths, as the material is foreign both to England and us, we have, in this inſtance, equal advantages with England if we pleaſe to avail ourſelves of them, except as to the mere act of manufacturing. We, as well as Great Britain, may import our wool immediately from Spain, and yet it is certain, that the greater part of the Spaniſh wool which is uſed in Ireland is imported from England, by which the Iriſh manufacturer, in the firſt place loſes the amount of two commiſſions and the profit of the Britiſh merchant, and in the ſecond, he gets wool of an inferior quality. Whatever may tend to induce, or to enable our manufacturers, or our merchants to import the material of our ſuperfines immediately from Spain will be productive of a double benefit; it will not only enable the clothier to bring his goods cheaper and better to

market,

market, by giving him the primum cheaper, and better, but it will, *probably* open a new vent in that country for ſome of the manufactures of this in return, or it will encreaſe the quantity of the exports which we already make there—Both of theſe are objects worth attention.

Ireland, in the manufacture of ſuperfine cloths, is conſiderably inferior to her neighbour as to the article of finiſhing. This is an obſervation which would, perhaps, hold equally true in many other branches of the woollen manufacture, but the defect is felt here with peculiar inconvenience, becauſe it is the excellence of the finiſhing in theſe which conſtitutes much of the value of the goods. In manufactures conſumed by the opulent, the vain, or the luxurious, colour, luſtre and ſoftneſs, are eſſential qualities. It has been ſaid, that there is ſomething in the ſoil of England which impregnates its waters with qualities for dying, that are in vain ſought in the waters of Ireland. The water of the Thames, too, was ſaid to poſſeſs qualities which peculiarly fitted it

for

for the brewing of porter; experience, however, has ſhewn, that it poſſeſſed no ſuch excluſive excellence, and, probably, if the Iriſh clothier would uſe the neceſſary precautions, and take the neceſſary care to procure good dye-ſtuffs, and ſkillful dyers, the inferiority of Iriſh water would be found to be equally ideal in the one caſe, as it has been in the other—For our inferiority in preſſing no cauſe can be aſſigned, but ſlovenly, or negligent workmanſhip.

After the ſcarcity, or coarſeneſs of our wool, the next great evil under which the manufacture of Ireland labours, is the want of Wool-ſorters. Theſe are men who buy wool in the pack, and afterwards ſort it into different kinds fitted for the ſeveral various uſes which the manufacture requires. Where theſe men are known, the manufacturer of moderate capital who is unable to buy his wool in very large quantities, reſorts to them, and takes at a price proportionable to the fineneſs of the ſort he wants, and the rate of the groſs wool, that kind which exactly ſuits him. In Ireland, where there

there are no wool-ſorters, the poorer manufacturers labour under moſt diſtreſſing diſadvantages; they are obliged to apply to the richer manufacturers, who purchaſe their wool in large quantities, and then ſort it for their own uſe. The rich manufacturer deals with the poor one, on ſuch terms as one rival may be ſuppoſed to give another. He gives him the refuſe of the wool at a very high price, and, it frequently happens, that of the kind wanted by the poor man, none can be ſpared; he is then obliged to take that which comes neareſt to what he wants, ſorts it for himſelf, and rejects, to abſolute loſs, what will not anſwer his end. The rich manufacturer, in the mean time, is, perhaps, not leſs a loſer than the poor one; for, after ſorting his wool, thoſe parts which he has not occaſion for himſelf, remains uſeleſs on his hands, until ſome other manufacturer may want it, and, perhaps, for the whole of it he may never find a purchaſer.

The magnitude of the miſchiefs which reſult to the manufacture from want of wool-ſorters,

is

is apparent from this circumſtance, that the price of ſorted wool is nearly twice as dear in this country as in England, while the price of Iriſh fleece-wool is very far from being ſo much dearer than that of England. This exorbitance in the price of ſorted wool, ariſes from the neceſſity under which the manufacturer labours, of making ſuch parts of his wool as he can diſpoſe of, compenſate for the loſs which he ſuffers by thoſe kinds, for which he may never get a purchaſer. Where wool-ſorters are eſtabliſhed, they are enabled to ſell every ſort of wool ſeparately, making a moderate charge for their trouble and the uſe of their capital, by which the manufacturer obtains, on reaſonable terms, the exact kind which he may want, inſtead of the half-ſorted wool, which, in Ireland, he buys from his more wealthy rival.

It is equally neceſſary to the ſucceſs of the clothing trade, as to that of new drapery, that it be carried on in the country; for the high price of the neceſſaries of life in Dublin, weighs as much againſt one manu-

facture

facture as the other. Combination among the workmen, which is always more prevalent in great cities, than in the country, is equally adverſe to its proſperity, and the intemperance and idleneſs to which the town exhibits ſuch ſtrong temptations, are no leſs inconſiſtent with its advancement. To compenſate theſe diſadvantages, the manufacture of old drapery derives no benefit from its contiguity to the metropolis, for in clothing, the changes of faſhion are neither ſo frequent, nor ſo rapid, as to make it neceſſary that the manufacturer ſhould be on the ſpot to catch them as they riſe, as is the caſe in ſilks, and the finer manufactures.

But much is yet to be done, before it will be poſſible to transfer the manufacturers of cloth to the country. It will be neceſſary to adopt all the arrangements of England in this trade, before we can hope to make cloth-weaving a ruſtic manufacture. A ſketch of theſe arrangements, will not, perhaps, be thought foreign from the ſubject of this Eſſay. They relate principally to the ſituation of the manufacturer,

nufacturer, and to the eſtabliſhments which have been made to afford him convenience.

Of theſe latter, the principal is the eſtabliſhment of halls in the chief towns of the manufacturing counties, which ſerve at once as markets and repoſitories for cloth, and in many inſtances, for every other kind of woollen goods. To theſe halls there belong factors, men of reſpectable property, to one or other of whom the manufacturer who lives at a diſtance, conſigns his goods.

If the goods do not meet an immediate market, the factor advances the manufacturer caſh to the amount of nearly their value, having the goods as a depoſit. When theſe are ſold, he repays himſelf, with commiſſion and intereſt for his advance.

In thoſe towns where cloth-halls are eſtabliſhed, there are generally wool-ſorters, from whom the cloth-maker when he ſells his goods, may immediately purchaſe ſuch wools, and in ſuch quantities, as he wants. By theſe two eſtabliſhments, the poorer manufacturers

are

are enabled to carry on their buſineſs on a ſmall capital; the ability of taking up caſh from the factor, anſwering nearly the ſame end as an immediate ſale, and the eſtabliſhment of the hall giving ſecurity to the factor for his advances.

Beſides theſe benefits which reſult to the manufacturer from theſe halls, others are derived to the purchaſer, and to the general intereſt of the manufacture itſelf. No goods are ſold in the halls until they have undergone a very minute inſpection, by which any faults in them are detected, and proper deductions made from the owners. Thus the purchaſer is ſecured from fraud, and the character of the manufacture preſerved. The examination which the goods undergo, is called *perking*, and conſiſts in viewing the piece in every part, when hung up before the light.

The goods thus ſold in the halls, are generally rough cloths; they are finiſhed by the merchant who purchaſes, and who, depending for his profit on the excellence of the finiſhing

ing, is as careful of this as poſſible. The poorer manufacturers would not be able, from the ſmallneſs of their capital, to perform this part of the manufacture, with ſo much advantage, as the apparatus for finiſhing is inevitably very expenſive, and it is neceſſary that a conſiderable quantity of goods be finiſhed together, in order to finiſh at once cheaply and well.

Perhaps it would be for the intereſt of ſeveral branches of new drapery alſo, if the poorer manufacturer would thus diſpoſe of his goods, in a rough ſtate, to thoſe who would be better able to finiſh them with care and excellence. In the durant trade, this is already the prevailing mode, particularly in the country markets. However, as the manufacturers in the other branches have a propenſity to finiſh, or get their goods finiſhed for themſelves, in order to have the profits of finiſhing, as well as manufacturing, it might be uſeful to promote ſuch eſtabliſhments in the country towns, as would enable them to do this with as much eaſe and advantage, as

might

might be; it would be one of the ſtrongeſt inducements to manufacturers to ſettle in the country.

Having thus ſeen the eſtabliſhments which exiſt in the country parts of England for the convenience of the cloth-maker, let us now obſerve the ſituation of the cloth-maker himſelf: He is generally a man poſſeſſed of no great capital, occupying a ſmall houſe, with a garden for vegetables, but no farther a farmer than the cultivation of this garden makes him one, unleſs perhaps he holds land to graze a cow which gives milk to his family, and a horſe which carries his cloth to the hall or market. In the manufacture of his cloth himſelf and each of his family is occupied, he in weaving, they in the various operations of carding, ſpinning, ſcribbling, winding, and picking. Thus occupied, every one of his people is uſeful, and from the child of four years old, to the woman of eighty, none eats idle bread. By the accumulated labours of theſe, a comfortable proviſion is made for the whole, though eve-

ry part of the proceſs of the manufacture is paid for at a low rate. From this mode of carrying on the buſineſs, the manufacturer is enabled to bring his goods cheap to market; and, as every part of the proceſs is performed under his own eye, the whole is performed well. Other circumſtances concur to make his cloths good; he confines himſelf to one ſpecies, and he knows that whatever imperfection they may have will be detected at the hall, and proportional deductions made from their price.

It is obvious, that manufacturers thus following their buſineſs in the retirement of the country, without allurement to vice, opportunity for combination, or ſtrong incitements to idleneſs, aſſiſted too, by the cheapneſs of neceſſaries, and the habit of making all about them contribute their induſtry to the common ſtock, can carry on a manufacture with much more advantage, than thoſe, who, like the manufacturers of this country, are confined within a licentious, extravagant, and idle metropolis, where, as they muſt ſpend more,

they

they can earn leſs, and where the family generally depends on the labour of its head.

It is worth while to conſider more minutely the proceſs of clothing in Ireland, and the ſituation of the clothier. In the country parts there are ſcarcely any who make cloths and ſell them in the rough ſtate; nor can it be reaſonably expected their numbers ſhould encreaſe while there are no places for ſale eſtabliſhed there. Even in the metropolis the manufacturer muſt procure cuſtomers for himſelf, not having any fixed repoſitory for the reception and ſale of his goods.* Conſigned then to the capital, what is the proceſs of the manufacture there? The clothier buys his wool in large quantities; he ſorts it, and as he wants only certain kinds of it, the remainder lies on his hands until ſome poorer man wants, and then he diſpoſes of part of this reſidue at an exorbitant price in order to indemnify himſelf for the loſs of the reſt for which he may never find ſale. Such wool as he

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* The Iriſh Woollen Warehouſe is not an inſtitution of this kind: for *that* is deſigned merely for the retail trade, and is not a repoſitory to which the mercer, or the merchant reſorts for wholeſale purchaſe.

means to uſe himſelf he does not get ſpun, like the Engliſh rough cloth makers, under his own eye; he gives it to an undertaking ſpinner, who keeps a number of ſpinning women continually at work, ſometimes ſpinning coarſe, and ſometimes fine yarn, as chance directs. By this unſteadineſs in the ſpecies of their work their ſpinning is always imperfect, partaking of the nature of that kind in which they were laſt employed. The ſcribbling is alſo performed out of the clothier's ſight, and imperfectly, becauſe the profit of the undertaker depends on his getting as much work as poſſible done for a certain ſum. When the yarn is got home, it is again ſent out of the manufacturer's management to an undertaking weaver, who is paid by the yard, and according to the fineneſs of the cloth. As the workman is probably idle the two firſt days of the week, he haſtens his labour towards the cloſe of it to compenſate for his idleneſs in its beginning; and as he is paid by the quantity, his object is to weave as many yards as poſſible in the remaining time. He therefore neglects the texture and accuracy of his work, the more ſo

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as he is too poor to pay for any faults he may commit, and, perhaps, would be ſupported by a combination in refuſing to pay, even if he had the means.

If the manufacturer be poor and unable to keep in employment more than one loom on which he works himſelf, the caſe is not mended. He is under the ſame neceſſity as the rich manufacturer to ſend his wool to the undertaking ſpinner, for cuſtom would not ſuffer his wife to ſpin; ſhe probably does not know how, and will not condeſcend to learn. As he is a poor man, and his cuſtom therefore not worth much attention, his yarn is ſpun more negligently than that of his rich neighbour, and beſides this, his wool is worſe, for he is obliged to purchaſe from the rich manufacturer his refuſe wool at a high price. Under the preſſure of theſe inconveniences he endeavours to make himſelf amends by deducting from the proper quantity of warp of which his web ſhould conſiſt, and alſo from the weft by laying it as thin as poſſible in the cloth. Thus the fabrick is injured in its moſt eſſential quality, firmneſs; and when it comes to be

worn

worn, it melts away in a much leſs time than Engliſh cloth of the ſame denomination.

Such is the general ſtate of the clothing trade in Dublin—there are certainly ſome exceptions. Of ſome cloth-makers the goods may vie with the beſt imported ; but it is not to be expected that this claſs ſhould be very numerous, while the proceſs of the manufacture is thus carried on by men not intereſted in its ultimate ſucceſs, who are not reſponſible for neglect, but, on the contrary, are prompted by the manner in which their earnings are aſcertained, and by their reſidence in a licentious and turbulent metropolis to work haſtily and ill.

Would the limits of this eſſay admit, or did the nature of it require us to point out minutely the means of improving individual manufactures, it would not be difficult to ſhew how theſe errors in the arrangement of our woollen manufacture might be corrected by the eſtabliſhment of rough cloth markets in the country parts of this kingdom, by allowing immunities and privileges of certain kinds,

kinds, to thoſe who ſhould carry on the manufacture in the vicinity of theſe markets, and who ſhould alſo adopt the long-approved methods of the Engliſh clothiers. As this, however, is not ſtrictly within the ſcope of this work, we ſhall at preſent be content with repeating, that on a review of the woollen manufacture in each of its branches, it appears that new drapery is more within the immediate reach of Ireland, as ſhe has the wool fitted for that manufacture in greater abundance than clothing wool, as ſhe has already made a greater degree of proficiency in this, than in old drapery—as ſhe is more likely to ſecure the home-market, and ſhare the foreign ones, and as it generally requires leſs ſkill and capital.

Of old drapery it appears that Ireland has no reaſon to deſpair, and that tho' hitherto ſhe has not made any great advances in this branch, yet it would be madneſs to relinquiſh it, becauſe the deficiency of wool, under which ſhe in ſome degree labours, may be removed, by due attention to the breed of ſheep, and in almoſt every other inſtance, ſhe enjoys conſiderable advantages. She ſupplies already

ready, a great part of her own conſumption in coarſe cloths; and in the ſuperfines, which conſiſt entirely of foreign wool, ſhe has the ſame means of attaining excellence as Great Britain, and could ſhe be brought to adopt, or rather were ſuch ſteps taken, as would enable her to adopt, the arrangements of Great Britain in this manufacture, there can be little doubt but ſhe would ſoon make a rapid progreſs.

SECTION

SECTION V.

Of the Cotton Manufacture.

Cotton Manufacture has already ſpread itſelf—The Objection that the primum *is not native, of leſs force in this, than in ſome other Caſes—It admits Machinery—Some Branches of this Manufacture not yet introduced here—The Cotton Manufacture generally may be carried on in the country, and really is ſo here—Linen Yarn uſed with Cotton Yarn, in ſeveral kinds of Cotton Goods—This is a recommendation of it to Ireland—A principal recommendation is, that the Value of the Manufactured Goods bears a very great proportion to that of the* primum *in this branch; it therefore requires leſs Capital—The Cotton Manufacture illuſtrates the utility of moderate protecting Duties.*

THE cotton manufacture, has, undoubtedly, very ſtrong claims to encouragement. Tho' it is but new in Ireland, it has ſhot its root deep in the ſoil, and has ſpread its branches over very diſtant parts of the

the country. Its congeniality to the diſpoſition of our people is proved by the excellence which they have attained in it within the courſe of a very few years, and that not in one province, but in ſeveral. What has been already done in it, is a fair ſample of what may reaſonably be expected.

One great advantage, indeed, is wanting in the cotton manufacture—the *primum* is not native. This circumſtance, however, is of the leſs importance in this inſtance, as tho' it is not grown in Ireland, there is yet little danger of a ſcarcity, ſince it is produced in ſo many places, and under ſuch circumſtances, that there is no reaſon to fear a monopoly. It is a recommendation too, that we have merchants among us who import the *primum* immediately from the Weſt Indies, and in return, export the produce or manufactures of Ireland; thus procuring the materials of one manufacture, by the finiſhed goods of another. It were much to be wiſhed, that all the cotton uſed in the manufacture, were, as it might be, thus imported. Much is got thro' the medium of Engliſh merchants, by which it comes

dearer

dearer to the manufacturer, and ſo much of a lucrative commerce is loſt, as the returns would amount to.

There is no manufacture of ſoft goods, which more eaſily admits machinery, or in which more machinery is uſed, than that of cotton. So far it is more eligible than others, becauſe by machinery, the effect or produce of a given quantity of labour is encreaſed. Whatever aids from machinery Great Britain has attained, we have already adopted, or the moſt of them—a circumſtance which not a little recommends the manufacture, becauſe experience has taught, in a variety of inſtances, that there is a wide difference between the invention of a machine to abridge labour, and the adoption of it in common uſe. Ignorance and prejudice will frequently oppoſe the introduction of improvements, and to invent, is often but to do half the buſineſs.

With all the advantages which are derived from machinery in this manufacture, we are

yet

yet in execution far behind Great Britain. In the coarſer kinds the diſparity is indeed not very great, but in the finer goods we are by no means ſo ſucceſsful, and ſome of them we have not yet undertaken. In the higher price thickſets, or velveteens, we cannot ſtand a competition either in quality or price with Mancheſter. Though we poſſeſs the machinery which they uſe, we are not ſo adroit as the Engliſh manufacturers in the uſe of it; and in thoſe parts of the manufacture which are performed by the hand, our workmen have not yet acquired that facility and ſkill which are ſeen in the Engliſh factories. It is to that cauſe which in all our manufactures is ſuch a fertile ſource of miſchief—the frequent changing of the workmen from one ſpecies of goods to another that this is to be attributed, nor is it rational to expect that the evil will be removed till the manufacturer is perſuaded, or enabled by a greater extenſion of his own capital, and of the manufacture, to employ each workman on only one ſpecies of goods.

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Of that kind of cotton goods which is frequently uſed for waiſtcoating, and known by the name of Marſeilles-quilting, none is manufactured in Ireland. In the finiſhing of theſe goods, however, we are arrived at a very conſiderable degree of excellence; a great part of what is conſumed in Ireland is imported white, and printed or painted here. It is a branch which deſerves peculiar attention, as whatever is added to the manufacture by this proceſs, is ſo much clearly ſaved to the country. It is alſo likely in its tendency to accelerate the introduction, and general diffuſion of the manufacture itſelf, conſtituting, as it does, a very important part of it. There ſeems, indeed, to be no reaſon why the making of this kind of goods might not, in every part of it, be carried on as ſucceſsfully in Ireland as any other branch of the cotton manufacture; and there can be little doubt, but in a ſhort time, the manufacturers will be rouſed to exertion, and make for themſelves thoſe goods which they now ſo well finiſh when imported.

When we conſider whether or not a manufacture

nufacture be fitted for this country, it is neceſſary, for reaſons which we have given at large in the firſt part of this eſſay, to ſee whether it be one that may be carried on with equal advantage in the country as in the metropolis. Experience has ſhewn, that the cotton manufacture poſſeſſes this advantage in an eminent degree. The firſt ſucceſsful eſſay which was made to extend it in Ireland was made by Captain Brooke at Proſperous in the county Kildare. The country is indebted to the late Baron Hamilton for ſimilar exertions at Balbriggan, a place ſtill more diſtant from the metropolis: and at preſent the manufacture is carried on with more ſpirit and ſucceſs at Belfaſt than, perhaps, it is in Dublin, or its vicinity. That the country, where proviſions, houſe rent, and all the neceſſaries of life are cheapeſt, is peculiarly fitted for the ſeat of manufactures not immediately depending on the faſhions of the court, or people of the upper ranks, ſeems to be ſo obvious, that one wonders why it has not been acknowledged and felt by the manufacturers themſelves. The cotton manufacture affords a

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new illuſtration of this truth; for the cotton manufacturers of Belfaſt are often able to underſell in Dublin the Dublin manufacturers, notwithſtanding the expence of carriage from thence hither. They have, in many inſtances, prevented them in ſtocking the market.

Of what is generally called the cotton manufacture, there are ſome ſpecies in which linen yarn, as well as cotton yarn, forms a part of the materials. The cheaper kinds of fuſtian are of this deſcription. As Ireland enjoys the advantage of having this article cheaper, and in greater abundance than Great Britain, thoſe low priced fuſtians ſeems to be, ſo far, peculiarly fitted for her.

But beſides this and the other advantages by which, we have ſeen, the cotton manufacture comes recommended to the attention of Ireland, there is one which gives it a decided claim to national protection, namely, the great proportion which the price of the manufactured goods bears to that of the raw material, or the great encreaſe of value which the manufacture gives

to

to the materials on which it operates. In this respect it has greatly the advantage of the silk manufacture, in which the labour bestowed on the materials adds but very little to their first value. This will appear by comparing the profits produced on a given capital employed in these different branches. The calculation is taken from Lord Sheffield's Observations on the Trade, &c. of Ireland, and as it appears accurate and minute, we shall transcribe it:

" Thrown silk of 16 ounces to the pound given to be dyed produces 11 ounces when fit for the loom and cleared of gum, &c. and is worth 40s.—it will produce (suppose exactly) nine yards of lustring, which at 6s. per yard, amount to 54s. or 14s. advance on the first cost, and allowing to the mercer only 6s. for his profits, there will remain 8s. or one-fifth for the manufacture or national profit. If Ireland imports annually 100,000lb. of raw silk, and supposing the profits on the other branches of this manufacture to yield an equal benefit, the amount on the whole will be 40,000l. and to produce this the nation employs a capital of 200,000l. and in addition to this the Dublin

export

Society give 2000l. in bounties to affiſt the export of the manufacture."

"Now if 200,000l. capital ſtock aided by 2000l. in bounties produce only 40,000l. the calculation will ſtand as follows:

200,000l. at 5 per cent. intereſt is worth 10,000l. a year on an average, to which add 2000l. the bounty, - -	£. 12,000
And conſequently there will be left national profit for the ſupport of the manufacture only the net ſum of - - -	28,000
	£. 40,000

"But ſuppoſing the whole to be exported, which is implied in the bounties being taken into the calculation, then the mercer's profit of 6s. per pound weight of the materials is to be taken into the eſtimate, which amounting to 30,000l. will make the groſs ſum 58,000l."

"The manufacture of cotton is every way preferable—200,000l. will purchase 2,000,000lb. weight of the best cotton in its raw state. If every pound of cotton wrought into Stockings, Fustians, Dimities, Muslins, Velverets, &c. &c. produce on an average six shillings and eight pence value in manufactures, which is but a low estimate, the amount will be 666,666l. 13s. 4d. sterling, or 456,666l. 13s. 4d. national profit, deducting as above, 10,000l. for interest, which, in the other instance, produces but 30,000l. and adding the mercer's profit, only 60,000l. from which 2000l. the bounties must be deducted, leaving 58,000l. net. But the merchant's profits on the exportation of the cotton manufactures, supposing one half only of them exported, will far overbalance the profits of the silk mercer, and give the preference to the cotton manufacturer beyond all comparison. The cotton also requires more labour, and of course employs more people,* which is one great national object."

The

"* A dyed Velveret, one of the most important articles, passes from the raw material to a finished state, through the following different processes, viz.—batting,

The reaſoning of my Lord Sheffield on this ſubject is irrefragable, nor is there any reaſon to ſuppoſe him partial or prejudiced in this inſtance however he may be in others, for here he is recommending to the people of Ireland to exert themſelves in a manufacture which may be reckoned amongſt the moſt favourite and beneficial of his own country. When he courts Ireland to rival her ſiſter kingdom in ſuch a manufacture, and one in which ſhe has already made a great proficiency, he muſt write under the ſtrong conviction of truth and impartiality.

From the facts ſtated in the above calculations it appears, that the cotton manufacture muſt be more eligible for any country than the manufacture of ſilk, becauſe it is one in which the price of labour bears a leſs ratio to the

picking, waſhing, drying, carding, roving, ſhebbing, ſpinning, winding, doubling, twiſting, re-winding, warping, pin-winding, waving, cutting, ſcouring, ending, ſinging, rubbing, bleaching, dying, and making up. Theſe 23 different operations are almoſt always performed in Lancaſhire by ſo many different claſſes of artiſts. Indeed it it is not unuſual for ſeveral of them to be again ſubdivided into two or more parts, and to be ſtill performed by different artiſts."

value of the unwrought material; but for Ireland it muſt be peculiarly eligible, as ſhe reckons among her greateſt difficulties the want of capital: for it is obvious, that a manufacture, of which the raw materials are of little value, compared with the wrought goods, may be carried on with leſs capital than thoſe of which the materials cannot be purchaſed but at a much greater expence.

Before we quit this manufacture we cannot help remarking how ſtrongly it illuſtrates the beneficial effects of moderate duties on the importation of goods of which we have a beginning manufacture ourſelves. It is not intended to inſinuate that the monopoly of the home market ſhould be ſecured to manufacturers of any claſs by prohibitory duties, by which the competition of the home and foreign manufactures would be removed, nor by ſuch high duties as would draw from the public by the encreaſed price of the article more than the manufacture itſelf would be worth. But ſurely when an infant manufacture evidently calculated for the country is retarded by the ſu-

periority

periority enjoyed by another country in the ſame fabric, from its being long eſtabliſhed, and carried on by larger capitals, it may be right to give native induſtry ſuch help as ſhall eſtabliſh an equipoiſe between it and that of the foreigner which is backed by ſuch advantages. Care, however, ſhould be taken, that the public be not put to greater expence either in bounties on the home manufacture, or duties on the importation of the foreign, than the ultimate eſtabliſhment and ſucceſs of this manufacture is likely to repay. The true mean ſeems to have been taken with reſpect to the cotton manufacture of this country. The duty of 10l. 10s. per cent. on the value of cotton goods imported was ſuch as would not ſecure an excluſive poſſeſſion of the home market to the avarice or indolence of the Iriſh manufacturer, while it was ſufficient to ſupport his induſtry againſt the ſuperior wealth and ſkill of the Engliſh weaver; and though while the foreign cotton goods continued to be imported, the duties on the importation, together with the bounties on the home manufacture, were ſo ſo much taken from the pockets of the public

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to ſupport the Iriſh manufacture, yet from the utility and value of the fabric, from the progreſs which it made in conſequence of theſe aids, and the natural fitneſs of the country to proſecute it, it was evident, that its ſucceſs would more than compenſate this expence of its eſtabliſhment. Hitherto, events have juſtified this reaſoning. The protecting duty of 10 per cent. has not excluded the Engliſh from our market, but it has extended the manufacture of Ireland. The judicious aids granted by parliament, and through the Dublin Society, aſſiſted by the patriotic exertions of one or two individuals, have given to the manufacture a ſtrength and ſtability which ſeem ſufficient to juſtify a hope that it will now continue to go forward till it becomes one of the moſt important in the country. Who is ſanguine enough to believe, that without this duty, and theſe aids, it would have been able of itſelf to ſtand a competition with one of the beſt eſtabliſhed manufactures of Great Britain, ſupported by conſummate ſkill, extenſive machinery, and great capital?

SECTION

SECTION VI.

Of the Silk Manufacture.

Disadvantages of this Manufacture—Notwithstanding these, it deserves countenance to a certain dedegree, as being already established—Four Species particularly claim attention, Modes, Peelings, Handkerchiefs, and Ribbons—State of the Mode Trade—Of Peelings and Persians—Of the Ribbon Trade—and of Handkerchiefs—Though Ireland excels in this latter Branch, it is not yet carried so far as it is capable of—Reason of this—Conclusion shews how far this Manufacture ought to be encouraged.

THE silk manufacture comes not to us recommended by our possessing the *primum*, by a probability that it can ever become a source of employment to great numbers, or by raising very highly, the value of the materials employed in it. It is a manufacture for which we are not always sure of the home-market, and for which we have still less probability

bability of enjoying an extenſive foreign demand. Yet even with theſe circumſtances againſt it, it ought not to be neglected, tho' neither, perhaps, ought it to be made an object of much encouragement, for many reaſons. The manufacture of ſilk, in a variety of branches, is already eſtabliſhed in Ireland, and what is more, it is in a progreſſive ſtate. During the laſt ſummer, the ſilk manufacture was in a more proſperous ſituation than it had been known for ſeveral years. The quantity produced was ſold, and the manufacturers, judging from the urgency of the demand, and the number of orders neceſſarily left unexecuted, aſſert, that if five-fold more goods had been manufactured, they would have met a vent. That the manufacturers did not extend their buſineſs to ſupply the demand, they ſay, was owing to want of workmen, very conſiderable numbers having been drawn off by the war.

Of the ſilk manufacture there are four ſpecies, which ſeem beyond others, to call for encouragement;

couragement; theſe are, handkerchiefs, modes, peelings, and ribbons.

In modes, principally uſed for cloaks, we already emulate the beſt productions of that kind in England; and, however high the character of Engliſh modes may be in Ireland, it is certain that the conſumption of Ireland, is, in a great degree, ſupplied by the Iriſh manufacturers. A majority, indeed, of what is ſold, is called by the mercer, Engliſh; but this ariſes from his wiſh to profit by the vulgar prejudice in favour of Engliſh modes. Inſtances daily occur of a piece of Iriſh mode being cut into two parts, one of which is ſhewed to a cuſtomer as Iriſh, the other, as Engliſh; the latter is always preferred, and by this artifice, the mercer ſecures cuſtom, a high price, and the character of having aſſortments.

The manufacture of modes is worth attention for another reaſon; it is not variable, as the other branches of the ſilk manufacture, from the caprices of faſhion. They are a ſpecies of goods, which are always like-

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ly to be in demand, and, therefore, always likely to occupy a conſiderable number of people.

Peelings and perſians are in a certain degree valuable, for the ſame reaſon. The Iriſh maker has already attained ſuch a degree of perfection in theſe fabrics as almoſt ſecures to him the home-market. Little or no Engliſh peelings or perſians are imported. They are alſo a kind of goods, which, as they are uſed in linings, and other unimportant parts of dreſs, are likely to ſuffer few changes from the variations of faſhion. Accordingly, a great number of the ſilk-weavers of Dublin are employed on them.

With reſpect to ribbons, there ſeems to be no impediments in the way of the Iriſh manufacture. It is a branch which requires little capital, which, tho' it depends ſomewhat on faſhion, yet can eaſily, and with little expence, admit ſuch changes as faſhion may dictate. It is, too, an eſtabliſhed manufacture, all the improvements of which, that are known

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in England, we have already adopted. It is, perhaps, ſtill more ſtrongly recommended, by furniſhing employment as well to the women and children of the country, as to the men, and certainly if the charge of idleneſs is fairly applicable to Ireland, it is to the women and children of the country that it applies. By far the greater part of the ribbons made in Dublin, are woven by women and female children under fifteen years old. Could the women and children be thus brought into operation in the other manufactures, even in the leſs important parts of the proceſs, Ireland would ſoon become a much more dangerous rival to Great Britain in manufacture, than ſhe now is.

In the handkerchief branch Ireland has long enjoyed celebrity throughout Europe. For texture and durability ſhe is not exceeded by any other country in this manufacture. That a branch, in which ſhe is thus excellent, is fitted for her to proſecute, it would appear ſtrange to doubt; it is, however, a curious fact, that even in handkerchiefs, Ireland does

not

not ſupply to the full her own conſumption. Conſiderable quantities are imported, and in larger quantities, as handkerchiefs are more worn. How does it happen, it may naturally be demanded, that foreign goods can find a market in Ireland, while Ireland herſelf manufactures the ſame kind cheaper and better than her neighbours? It is accounted for in this way:—Handkerchiefs, in colour and pattern, are extremely liable to the fluctuations of faſhion; but the changes of faſhion originate in the capital of another country; it will therefore naturally happen, that the Spital-fields manufacturer, ſhall be able to preoccupy the market, by the ſingle advantage of his goods being more faſhionable than the Iriſh, while the latter are of a better quality and cheaper price. It may be urged, however, here, that the Iriſh manufacturer, by a little attention to procure early information of new faſhions, might be able to have a ſupply almoſt as ſoon as the Engliſh manufacturer could ſend goods to Ireland, and, perhaps, earlier than the Engliſhman would deſire to ſend them; for certainly while his goods continued

tinued in demand at home, that is, while the fashion continued prevalent, he would prefer his home-market to the chance of a foreign one. This objection has weight, and would decisively fix the charge of inattention and inactivity on the Irish manufacturer, were there not some considerations which go to justify him. The argument of most strength which he urges in his justification, is, that the expence of setting a new pattern to work, is very considerable, and that when it is once begun, there must be a very considerable quantity made, a piece consisting of not less than from twenty to thirty dozen. Now it frequently happens, that before a manufacturer is able to dispose of such a number as will produce a profit equal to repay the extraordinary expence incurred by the arrangement of the new pattern, the fashion is again superseded, and what is yet unsold remains dead stock on his hands. Such consequences deter the manufacturer of small capital from adventuring again in the same way, and induce him rather to relinquish the market to the Eng-

lishman,

liſhman, than hazard ſo conſiderable a ſum in the competition. Hence it is only in the common kinds, and thoſe which admit little change from faſhion, that the Iriſh manufacturer derives benefit from his ſuperiority. The remoteneſs of his ſituation from the centre from which faſhion emanates, prevents his availing himſelf of that ſkill, and of thoſe advantages which he poſſeſſes for the nicer and more valuable kinds, in which they would be moſt productive.

On a conſideration of all the circumſtances of the ſilk manufacture, it is apparent, that from its being an eſtabliſhed manufacture, which furniſhes employment to numbers, and on which numbers are obliged to depend for employment; from the excellence at which our workmen have arrived in all its branches, and the ſuperiority which they have attained in one; and from the probability that the demand for ſilk manufacture of one kind or another will grow with the growing wealth and luxury of the country; it is a manufacture of ſome, tho' not of the utmoſt

importance

importance to Ireland, and one, which to a certain degree, ſhe ſhould cultivate. It is, however, alſo to be remembered, that as it is a manufacture of which we do not poſſeſs the *primum*—one, which in ſome of its branches depends on faſhions that do not originate with us, and which we cannot eaſily catch—one, which from its nature muſt be confined to the metropolis, and, therefore, muſt be rather detrimental to health and morals—as it is finally, a manufacture in which the workmen have been found both in Ireland and Great Britain, and we may add, in France itſelf, to be moſt frequently diſtreſſed by want of employment, and moſt turbulent under their ſufferings, it ſhould be extended with great caution. Of ſuch a manufacture, however policy may direct that we ſhould preſerve it from ſudden decay, it ſeems to be very doubtful indeed, whether it would be either wiſe or ſafe to make the proſperity eſſential to the welfare and quiet of greater numbers than it at preſent employs, eſpecially while there are ſo many other objects, as linen, wool, iron, &c. in

&c. in every point of view more important, courting public countenance, and of which ſome are pining from the want of it.

SECTION

SECTION VII.

Of Hosiery.

Three kinds of Hosiery—of Worsted—of Cotton—of Silk.—The first kind most cultivated in Ireland—not so far advanced as it might be—Impediments to its Progress—its being chiefly carried on in the Metropolis—high Price of Hosier's Labour—idleness of the Hosier's Family—high Price and Scarcity of Canterbury Spinning—Cotton Hosiery impeded by our backwardness in Spinning and Twisting—Loss on importing prepared Cotton—Dearness of Labour—Comparative View of the Advantages of the British and Irish Cotton Hosiery—Silk Hosiery labours under equal Disadvantages with the Cotton, from the Inferiority of the Materials used in Ireland—Dearness of Labour, &c.—On the whole the Worsted Branch best fitted for Ireland.

THIS is another of those manufactures in which it is not probable much will be done in Ireland until some considerable change shall have taken place in the management of the manufacture.

How do we ſtand with regard to materials? Stockings are made of worſted, of cotton, and of ſilk. Of the firſt kind Ireland has the materials, and accordingly the great bulk of the manufacture in Ireland is of coarſe worſted. The quantity made even of this, however, is but ſmall, compared with what either the ability of the country would reach, or with the extent of the manufacture of this kind in England.

The impediments to its extenſion are, firſt, the poverty of the individuals concerned in the buſineſs, by which they are prevented from eſtabliſhing factories in the country, where this, and almoſt every manufacture is moſt likely at firſt to ſucceed. It is, indeed, the high price of labour, occaſioned undoubtedly by the reſidence of the workmen in the metropolis, that conſtitutes the great impediment to the progreſs of the manufacture. In Ireland the price of hoſier's work is much higher than in England, and this evil, moſt miſchievous of itſelf, is aggravated by other cauſes. Among theſe, the principal is the idle-

neſs

neſs of the woman and children in the hoſier's family. In England, the workman who has a family, ſo far from being obliged to look for encreaſed wages to ſupport an encreaſed family, is rather enabled by that circumſtance to live on leſs wages; for *his* children and his wife all aſſiſt in the manufacture, and the united ſum of their induſtry produces a much more comfortable proviſion for the whole than the ſolitary earnings of *one* would do for the individual. The Iriſhman labours alone for a family whom he ſupports in idleneſs, and therefore frequently in expenſive vice.

When the ſtocking manufacture ſhall be principally carried on in the interior parts of the country, as in England, where towns have grown from the manufacture, not the manufacture from the towns; and when the Iriſh hoſier ſhall have learned to make his family aſſiſt him in his labours, then will he be enabled to work on the ſame terms as the workman of England, and until then it is unreaſonable to expect that the manufacture ſhould

prosper. This is an obſervation which we have been forced to make in more than one inſtance; it is one which continually obtrudes itſelf on him who reviews the ſtate of manufactures in Ireland.

Another impediment to the manufacture is the ſcarcity of Canterbury ſpinners. This is a ſerious evil. In Ireland this part of the buſineſs, inſtead of being performed as in England by the hoſier's family, by children in charitable foundations, or by children in families yet poorer than that of the hoſier, is performed by adult women of the loweſt and leaſt moral claſs. Theſe, fond of any occupation which will favour the exertions of their lungs and limbs, in the ſummer months ſtroll forth from their ſedentary labour to hawk fruits or vegetables, and perſevere in this vagabond vocation till hunger and cold in the winter compel them to labour under a roof for food and fire. By theſe means ſpinning, which with the Engliſh manufacturer is conſtant and cheap, is with the Iriſhman dear and unſteady.

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The manufacturers themſelves mention other impediments to this manufacture, namely, the high price of wool, and the exportation of worſted; but theſe are, perhaps, leſs ſolid reaſons for their want of ſucceſs, than thoſe we have already aſſigned.

With reſpect to cotton hoſiery. Of this manufacture the material is foreign, and, therefore, it might be ſuppoſed, that Ireland was equally well circumſtanced for it as England. At preſent ſhe is greatly behind her, and for theſe reaſons—cotton as imported from the Weſt Indies, before it can be fit for manufacture muſt undergo two operations, ſpinning and twiſting. Theſe operations are either not performed at all in Ireland, or are but ill performed; this induces a neceſſity of importing it ſpun and twiſted; but on cotton of hoſier's twiſt imported, there is a duty of ten per cent.; this, and the charges of commiſſion, &c. bring the materials of the manufacture thirteen per cent. dearer to the Iriſh than to the Engliſh manufacturer.

But

But the Iriſh manufacturer labours under another diſadvantage. Workman's labour is fifteen per cent. dearer here than in England. This, in addition to the thirteen per cent. advance on his materials, makes twenty-eight per cent. againſt him. To countervail theſe diſadvantages of the Iriſh manufacturer there are the following charges againſt the manufacturer of England: ſix per cent. diſcount which they allow on all goods ſold in Ireland for caſh, and ſix per cent. riders' travelling charges. Theſe making twelve per cent. leave a balance againſt the Iriſh manufacturer of ſixteen per cent. Is it then to be wondered that the manufacture, under theſe circumſtances, is not extended? There is, indeed a duty of 10l. per cent. on the value of cotton, or thread hoſiery imported; but even after deducting this from the balance againſt Iriſh hoſiery, there ſtill remains againſt it full 6 per cent. Beſides, in comparing the manufacture of England and Ireland with reſpect to the home conſumption of both countries, which is by far the moſt important, this duty is not at all to be conſidered; for the duty in this

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inſtance does not operate againſt England, nor for Ireland, inaſmuch as it does not diminiſh the price either of materials or labour.

In ſilk hoſiery the diſadvantages of the Iriſh manufacture are not leſs than thoſe which depreſs the cotton. England has her Bengal ſilk twelve per cent. cheaper than it can be had by the Iriſh manufacturer; and what is ſtill a more important circumſtance, her cheap ſilks are better prepared for the manufacture than thoſe uſed in Ireland. The conſequence of this is, that the Iriſhman who wiſhes to maintain a competition with the manufacture of England is obliged to uſe a better and dearer ſilk than that which is there uſed; and in order to obtain a character for the durability of his goods, he makes them heavier. In the ſilk, as in the cotton hoſiery, the labour of the Iriſh workman is fifteen per cent. dearer than that of the Engliſh, which, added to the twelve per cent. encreaſed price of the materials, makes a difference againſt Ireland of TWENTY-SEVEN per cent. beſides the diſadvantage ſhe ſuffers from having the materials

worſe

worſe prepared. As in the cotton hoſiery, ſo in the ſilk, the duty on the importation of ſilk work from England is a protection to the Iriſh manufacturer; but as it neither leſſens the price of labour nor of materials, nor tends to improve their quality, it goes but a ſhort way in advancing the manufacture.

Of the three kinds of hoſiery which we have mentioned, the worſted branch is certainly that which ſeems moſt within the power of this country.—Could there be any mode deviſed of ſecuring a ſufficient number of good Canterbury ſpinners, and of exciting the hoſier at the ſame time to remove to the country, where he might live on leſs and work more, there is little reaſon to doubt, that the manufacture would ſoon ſtretch far beyond its preſent limit. Many more difficulties appear in the way of the cotton and ſilk branches. We labour under greater diſadvantages with reſpect to the materials, and in the preparation of theſe materials, we are ſtill more remote from England. In ſilk England muſt

always

always have the upper hand, as ſhe has the firſt choice of it, and has it alſo on lower terms. Cotton we may import immediately from the places of its growth; but as England has at preſent the means of preparing it for the manufacture in a much better manner than we, it will be long before we ſhall ceaſe to import it from her in that prepared ſtate. To obtain her method of preparation, and to avail ourſelves of our opportunities of immediate importation, are objects, which, as they are attainable and important, we ſhould ſteadily purſue.

SECTION

SECTION VIII.

Of Iron.

The Value of this Manufacture not attended to in Ireland—Scarcity of Timber may excuse our backwardness in the making of Malleable Iron—*not in the other Branches—Even for this we possess many of the Advantages which have promoted this Trade in England—but which from various causes we neglect—Coak—the use of it in Iron-making recommended by its success in England—Value of this Branch—Arigna Company—*Cast Iron *clearly within the power of Ireland—Instances that prove it a very lucrative Manufacture—Requisites to extend it, and Advantages which we possess—Manufacture of* Foreign Bar Iron—*Calculation of its Value to the Country if carried on to the full extent of the home consumption—But it might be carried much farther—Impediments in its way—Instanced in the article of Fire Irons—The Slitting and Rolling Trade—Result of the Observations on this Manufacture—Japanned Ware.*

AMONG those manufactures which are valuable from being of indispensible necessity, from

from their being formed of materials which are worthleſs till manufactured, and which the country produces, or may produce, Iron deſerves to rank in the firſt place. The importance of this manufacture conſidered in any of theſe points of view, does not ſeem to be underſtood in Ireland, and the example of Great Britain, who has recently made ſuch rapid advances in her iron manufacture, is paſſing before us without producing any adequate effect upon our conduct.

In no country of Europe is better iron to be met with than Ireland may produce for all the common purpoſes to which this metal is applicable; but this, like many other advantages placed by nature within our reach, we have, till very lately, ſuffered to lie unimproved. For our backwardneſs here, however, it muſt be confeſſed we can offer a better excuſe than in almoſt any other inſtance. When in former days Ireland abounded in timber, as it is incontrovertible from a thouſand proofs that ſhe once did, iron was made here in conſiderable quantities; but

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ſince that article of eſſential importance to the manufacture failed, through our waſtefulneſs and neglect of it, combined perhaps with other cauſes, the manufacture itſelf has fallen to decay. But tho' the ſcarcity of timber may be alledged as a reaſon why we have done ſo little in the making of malleable iron, it will not exculpate us for our neglect of the other branches of the manufacture, for which we are at leaſt as well qualified as our neighbours, if we do not poſſeſs peculiar advantages.

But before we conſider what advantages we poſſeſs for the manufacture of caſt iron, or that of bar iron imported, it is proper to ſee how far it may be practicable to proſecute that other lucrative branch, the making of malleable iron from the ore.

Iron ore is found in ſeveral parts of Ireland, of the beſt quality, and in a degree of plenty which would not be exhauſted for centuries by the moſt extenſive manufacture. For working this ore, *i. e.* for extracting from it

malleable

malleable iron, the fuel generally uſed is charcoal, and it is aſſerted, that no other ſpecies can be ſubſtituted in its ſtead. The ſcarcity of timber in Ireland rendering a cheap ſupply of this article unattainable, has locked up from us, in the boſom of our own country, thoſe inexhauſtible ſources of wealth. Had we been provident in keeping up a growth of that timber which is indigenous in our mountains, we would not now be labouring under this moſt miſchievous ſpecies of poverty—a poverty of neceſſary materials for purſuing one of the moſt lucrative and neceſſary manufactures; and if that ſpirit of patriotiſm really exiſted, which ſo many of our landed men profeſs, it would be eaſy in the courſe of half a century perhaps finally to remove it. The advantages indeed which would accrue from attention to the growth of timber are incalculable. Even were thoſe advantages limited to this particular manufacture, they would deſerve the moſt ſedulous care and warmeſt encouragement of the legiſlature; but if the equally important advantages that would accrue to other branch-

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es, and particularly to that, which, were it properly cherifhed, would be fo rich a fource of benefit to Ireland—the tanning trade, by furnifhing it with a fupply of bark, of which at prefent we feel the mifchievous confequences of a deficiency—if thefe, I fay, be taken into the account, it muft appear a moft unworthy and felfifh fpirit indeed, which can neglect to improve an opportunity of doing fo much good to that country, of whofe intereftsfts we talk fo much and for which we do fo little.

But, without expecting facrifices to pofterity, it is not certain that this trade, even in our prefent circumftances, may not be carried to very confiderable extent. In England it has been found that coak, *i. e.* pit coal, burned to a certain degree, may be fubftituted in many cafes with fuccefs for charcoal; and experiments have been made with peat or turf, in which Ireland is fo abundant, which prove, it is faid, that this fuel anfwers nearly as well as charcoal for the fining of iron. Of coak the ufe has become in England very exten-

five,

ſive, and it is to the adoption of it ſhe partly owes her extended manufacture. It muſt be acknowledged, however, that its merit, as a ſubſtitute for charcoal, is not uncontradicted. It has been ſaid, that the iron made with it is much inferior to that made with charcoal, and reſembles that kind which the workmen call *red ſhort* iron, and of which the defects are, that it flies under the hammer like pot-metal, and in working loſes nearly one-third of its weight. It is highly probable, that theſe qualities in the iron made by coak are attributable, in part at leaſt, to other cauſes. It is certain they may be produced by an injudicious application of the fire to the iron in working it, with whatſoever kind of fuel the iron may have been made—By an injudicious application of the fire is meant, a miſdirection of the blaſt, by which the very ſame degree of heat, that, properly applied, would have only heated the iron, will as the workmen ſay, *burn* it, *i. e.* run it to a cinder.

But, whatever may be the defects of this mode, it is certain that Ireland might adopt

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it with at leaſt as much ſucceſs as England, were ſhe not again nonpluſed either by her negligence, or her poverty in working her coal mines—By her neglect of thoſe all her capacities in the iron trade are narrowed: nor does the miſchief end here; it extends, as we ſhall ſee in the proper place, to the glaſs manufacture alſo, and while it thus tends to circumſcribe the powers of the country for proſecuting thoſe profitable ſubjects for induſtry, it renders her people dependant on another nation for a prime neceſſary of life, fuel for common uſe; the article of coals being among the moſt extenſive and coſtly of her imports. Want of capital is charged with thus keeping our coal mines unwrought, and of courſe limiting our iron and glaſs manufactures. Part of the evil is certainly attributable to this cauſe, but, moſt certainly, the inertneſs of the men who poſſeſs what capital we have is alſo in fault. Perhaps the enquiry, if carried a little farther, might be apt to attach ſome part of the blame alſo on that ſpirit of jobbing, by which, for ſo many years, the redundance of the Iriſh treaſury was laviſhed in futile and

abortive

abortive projects, until the public mind became ſo diſguſted with works carried on, or aided by public grants, that at length no aid could be obtained for the moſt laudable and neceſſary undertakings. Hence, the collieries of Drumglaſs continue uſeleſs to Ireland though ſituated at the end of a navigable canal communicating with the ſea, and though they had been for ſome time wrought with ſucceſs by an individual who failed only for want of a very little aſſiſtance to carry him on—(See Young's Tour).

If the Iriſh collieries were worked, it is probable they would afford us better means of ſucceeding in the iron making than England poſſeſſes, for the Iriſh coals appear better fitted to make a ſubſtitute for charcoal than Engliſh or Scotch. They are more ſoft and light, and therefore likely to make better coak, and of courſe produce better iron.* But,

 granting

* The opinions of thoſe who hold it poſſible to make good iron with coak properly managed, derive ſtrength from an item in the philoſophical tranſactions of the Leipſic Society, [ſee vol. 2. De Re Ruſtica] by which we are informed, that a kind of pit coal has been found in Saxony which ſucceeds in making malleable iron from

granting that we ſhould not ſucceed in this uſe of coal better than our neighbours, yet as they have thriven by it, would it not be worth the while of Ireland to try the experiment? If the iron made by it be brittle, yet there are purpoſes for which this quality may be no diſadvantage. At all events we find, that, in deſpight of it, the Engliſh make annually 10,000 ton more than they did a very few years back; and it is not conſidered as an extravagant hope, that, if no check to the manufacture occur, in the courſe of a few years more, ſhe will, by means of this improvement, the ſaving of ſteam engines, &c. be able to ſupply the empire with this neceſſary article, and thus keep at home above 600,000l. per annum which is now ſent abroad for it, excluſive of freight, and other incidental charges.

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the ore as well as the beſt charcoal. It has been obſerved, however, in working with this coal, that if the heat be augmented beyond a certain degree the deſign is fruſtrated. It is not improbable that this coal is of the lighter kind, like that of Ireland, and that it is ſome ſuch miſmanagement as this account alludes to which makes coal-fuel in the buſineſs ſo ſeldom ſucceed.

The value of this branch of manufacture may be eaſily calculated from conſidering the preſent import of pig and bar iron. On an average of the laſt five years, it appears that the annual import was 227,566 cwt. which at 24l. per ton, the average price, amounts to 273,072l. Such would be the ſum ſaved to the nation by the ſucceſs of this manufacture: ſo much would be extracted from the ſimple induſtry of thoſe employed in it.

It is matter of pleaſure to obſerve, that notwithſtanding the complaint of want of capital, and want of enterpriſe in the people of Ireland, one company at leaſt, the Arigna company, has engaged in this and the other branches of the iron manufacture, with a ſpirit which does them honour, and a capital, which, with proper management, will, no doubt, ſecure ſucceſs. They have already made ſome progreſs, and it is ſaid, have ſucceeded equal to their beſt expectations—perhaps no attempt was ever made in Ireland that better merits ſupport, or is more worthy of emulation.

If it is neither to be hoped, that public ſpirit will aim at raiſing timber—the beſt ma-

terial for carrying on this valuable manufacture—nor try the next beſt mode of making iron, *i. e.* by coak, at leaſt it might be expected we ſhould beſtir ourſelves in the other parts of this trade, which are ſtill more obviouſly within our power, that of caſt iron—or the working up of foreign iron imported. The canals which have been made, hitherto to ſo little purpoſe compared with their expence, and the numerous rivers with which our country is interſected, afford admirable conveniences for theſe branches. The Arigna company have entered deeply into that of caſt iron, and ſeveral individuals are now carrying it on in a manner which amply rewards their enterprize. He who was lately the principal perſon in this trade, but now retired, is ſuppoſed, on a capital of 6000l. (a trifling one indeed, compared with what might be engaged in the buſineſs) to have made 3000l. per annum. Inſtances indeed are not rare, of men engaging in this buſineſs on very ſmall capital, and retiring after a few years in affluence.

To enable Ireland to make this a growing and important manufacture, it is only neceſ-

ſary

ſary that ſhe have a ſufficient quantity of ore, or pig iron and coals, (for with reſpect to capital, it certainly does not require a greater one than the country already poſſeſſes, could ſhe be perſuaded to employ a part of it in this way) and a certain and profitable market for the goods. With reſpect to coals, it has been already obſerved, that we abound in mines, could we be brought, or enabled, to work them. But without expecting that we ſhall immediately acquire ſpirit or wealth enough for this undertaking, it is worth reflection, that in many parts of this kingdom, we may have Britiſh coals as cheap as they are had in London, where there are ſeveral extenſive works of this kind. Ore alſo we have in great abundance, and if we will not or cannot work the mines which contain it, we have equal opportunities with Great Britain to import. With regard to a market, it is that manufacture of all others of which we may be moſt ſure to have the ſupplying of the home-market—many of the principal articles of caſt metal are ſuch as muſt be fitted to patterns—inſtance, mill-work—and therefore cannot

not be well imported: beſides, in ſcarcely any article of caſt iron, does Great Britain conſiderably underſell us. In pots, and veſſels of that kind, the Engliſh manufacture indeed is ſaid to come cheaper than that of Ireland, but the reaſon is, becauſe in the Iriſh manufacture they uſe larger molds, by which, in any given veſſel of equal ſize with an Engliſh one, the coſt is greater, as it weighs more, and it is ſold by weight. But this is an error, which, when the manufacture extends, will eaſily be remedied. At preſent even this diſadvantage does not impede the manufacture, for all that is made finds a prompt market, and were even twenty-fold more made, it would find a vent equally certain and ſpeedy.

The next branch is the manufacture of foreign bar iron, and of this, the extreme importance may be eſtimated by this fact, that on an average of all the ordinary articles only, there is added by the manufacture to the firſt value of the materials, above one hundred and fifty per cent. Lord Sheffield makes the profit of manufacturing to the coſt of the

materials

materials, as 28l. to 10l. which is greater than the ratio here given, but his calculation was made ſixteen years back, within which time the material has riſen conſiderably, perhaps more than in proportion to the riſe on the manufactured goods. Reckoning then the conſumption of Ireland, at 6,518 ton (and it will be found, on the average of any five years, ſince the year 1770, that the imported iron, and iron ware, does not amount to leſs) and rating this iron at 24l. per ton, the preſent price, it will be found that the profit of the manufacture for one year, would not be leſs than 234,648l.

But it would not be extravagant to hope, that if proper attention were paid to this manufacture, it might be carried much farther than a mere ſupply of the Iriſh market. Could we open our coal mines, or could we contrive means even to ſecure an equable and adequate ſupply of coals from Great Britain, for which nothing is wanted, but a little foreſight on our part, there would remain ſcarcely any obſtacle in our way, in carrying this

manufacture

manufacture far beyond the mere ſupply of home conſumption. The canals which are opened, and opening, in various parts of the country, afford the moſt eligible modes of carriage for manufactures, and the neceſſaries for them. Some difficulties, indeed, the manufacture does labour under at preſent, from want of ſkill in the workman, and the high price of labour, but both theſe difficulties would become leſs, if men of wealth, or rich companies, engaged in the buſineſs. To give an inſtance of theſe inconveniencies, we do not at preſent, in the common article of fire-irons, ſupply our own conſumption, principally, becauſe the poverty of the men concerned in the trade, will not permit them to employ a number of men on thoſe articles alone. The conſequence is, that they are never able to arrive at that facility and ſkill in this branch of the manufacture, which the Britiſh workman has attained, and being leſs ready, they muſt neceſſarily charge more for their labour on any given article. But let a company with extenſive capital, ſet on foot a manufactory for fire-irons only, the workmen, will, in

a ſhort

ſhort time, when employed each in only one operation, become ſo expert, that they will produce probably twice as much work in a given time as they do at preſent, when they are ſent by their employers from light to heavy, and from heavy to light alternately.

But there are other branches of this trade which require leſs ſkill, and therefore it ſhould ſeem, we might, by a little exertion, extend our manufacture, in thoſe inſtances, conſiderably. Such, for inſtance, is the ſlitting and rolling trade. There are not more than five mills for theſe purpoſes in Ireland, although the conſumption would probably ſupply buſineſs for twenty. It muſt be confeſſed, however, that theſe are the leaſt valuable branches of the trade, and therefore not equally well worth attending to as the finer branches; yet ſome attention they deſerve which they have not yet received.

The reſult on the whole of this article is, that Ireland, poſſeſſing iron and coal mines, canals, and navigable rivers, is well calculated

lated for carrying on the iron manufacture, *i. e.* the making of iron to a greater extent, could ſhe rear a greater quantity of timber; and that, even in her preſent circumſtances, ſhe is able, with proper exertions, to keep at home much of thoſe large ſums which ſhe now annually ſends abroad for iron;—that however ſhe may ſucceed in the making of malleable iron, there is no natural impediment whatever to prevent her from carrying on extenſively the caſt iron trade, from which individuals, and the country, might derive immenſe benefit; and that, beſides this, ſhe might, by attending to the manufacture of imported bar iron, ſave the ſums which are now given to more induſtrious nations for iron manufacture. Nor would it be extravagant to hope, if the manufacture were attended to, and conſiderable capitals engaged in it, to derive profit from an export trade in iron manufacture.

In obſerving on this article it is impoſſible not to feel wonder why Ireland has been ſo negligent of an article ſo eſſential in this and

other

other manufactures as timber. Had ſhe been a champaign country highly cultivated, ſhe would naturally diſcourage timber as a leſs profitable mode of occupying the ground, and as detrimental to agriculture. But, poſſeſſing as ſhe does very conſiderable ridges of hills, which are ſcarcely applicable to any other uſe than the growth of timber, and which for oaks eſpecially, are admirably calculated; having, too, as yet by no means co-extended her agriculture with her plains, there can be no good reaſon aſſigned for her neglect of wood, unleſs it be that her landed men have adopted as a rule of conduct the chilling principle, that poſterity is nothing to us, we are every thing to poſterity, and have, therefore, been unwilling either to devote time, or to venture money in order to ſecure advantages not to be enjoyed, but at the diſtance of half a century.

It ſhould be remembered, however, that he who plants will not, in all caſes, by the ſhortneſs of life, be prevented from deriving benefit from his labours. Underwood, in many inſtances, will go far to remunerate him for

his

his expence and trouble. Some timber may be produced within a ſpace of ſeven years from the planting; and in almoſt all caſes if the planter be a young man, it is not improbable but his old age may be ſolaced by the labours of his youth. But even if he ſhould not, ſurely to ſee his hills covered with growing wealth at once ornamental to his eſtate, and promiſing future benefit to his country—to enjoy the honourable diſtinction of being a benefactor to poſterity from the moſt diſintereſted motives, are conſiderations, which, as they cannot influence a ſordid mind, ſhould by ſo much the more be ſtronger motives of action to men of minds truly liberal, whoſe heads can comprehend, and hearts feel ſomething beyond preſent intereſt.

Under the head of Iron manufacture it was forgot to mention the manufacture of japanned ware. The conſumption of this deſcription of goods is very extenſive, and the manufacture perfectly within the reach of Ireland, yet from ſome unaccountable overſight of our manufacturers, little or none of thoſe

goods

goods are made in this country. It were much to be wiſhed that their attention could be directed to a branch by which ſo much might be ſaved to the kingdom which is now ſent to Birmingham and Sheffield, and from which very conſiderable profit would reſult to the manufacturers themſelves—A new ſource of employment to thoſe among our artizans who are induſtriouſly inclined, is an object of ſerious importance.

SECTION

SECTION IX.

Of the Glass Manufactory.

Flint Glaſs is among the moſt thriving Manufactures of Ireland—yet not commenſurate to our Home-conſumption—We underſell Great Britain, tho' we Import much of the Materials, &c.—The Manufacture capable of being proſecuted to a much greater extent—Why it is not extended—Crown and Bottle Glaſs leſs extenſively carried on—Concluſion.

THIS is to be reckoned among the manufactures which Ireland has cultivated with moſt ſucceſs within a few years. It is not very long ſince almoſt all our fine flint glaſs ware was imported from England; at preſent we are able not only to ſupply our own conſumption, but to export very conſiderable quantities to America, and elſewhere. I ſay we are able to ſupply our own conſumption, becauſe in fact we really do not do ſo; much

of

of the glaſs ware conſumed in Ireland is imported, for our houſes find the ſupply of the American market ſo much more lucrative, and have ſo much of that trade that they think lightly of ſupplying the home conſumption. The houſes in this city which are in the American trade have generally orders from New York ſufficient to occupy them entirely for two years.

On enquiring into the circumſtances of this manufacture one is ſurprized to learn, that the principal materials of it are imported from England though we are able to underſell the Britiſh manufacturer; and this ſurprize is encreaſed at finding not only that the materials are imported, but that the rate of wages in this manufacture is conſiderably higher here than in England; yet this is the caſe. The clay of which the pots are made, in which the metal of the flint glaſs is run, is entirely Engliſh, and the ſand which, mixed with red lead, is now uſed as a ſubſtitute for flint is taken principally from the Iſle of Wight, and yet Iriſh glaſs comes at leaſt ten per cent.

cheaper

cheaper than Britiſh. It is to the bad policy of encumbering and embarraſſing the manufacture in its proceſs with duties and revenue-regulations from which the Iriſh manufacture is happily free,* that this higher price of their glaſs muſt be owing; and powerfully miſchievous muſt theſe embarraſſments be, when they are able to counteract the beneficial effects of cheap labour, great ſkill, and great capital.

Though the demand for flint glaſs would furniſh ample employment for twenty houſes, it is vexatious to obſerve, that at preſent only five exiſt in Ireland—two in Dublin, two in Belfaſt, and one in Waterford. To what can it be owing that ſuch opportunities of making wealth are ſuffered to lie unimproved? It is attributed to want of capital, but when it is conſidered that four or five thouſand pounds would ſuffice for carrying on this buſineſs in ſuch a way as to make it profitable, including a glaſs houſe;

* Duties have been impoſed on it ſince the writing of this.

houſe; ſurely this excuſe cannot be conſidered valid. It is perhaps more likely that the advantages and facility of the manufacture are not generally known, and that there is too great a diſinclination among our people to enterprize in manufacture and trade. Though we have hitherto gone on moſt ſucceſsfully in this branch, it is certain that if Ireland made the moſt of her advantages, ſhe might carry it on with ſtill more ſucceſs and profit. Were the coal mines wrought, it is the general opinion of thoſe concerned in the manufacture, that clay for glaſs pots might be found in abundance in Ireland, as it is in the vicinity of coal mines that this ſpecies of tenacious clay is always met with. In themſelves, too, coals are eſſential to the manufacture, as there is none in which more fuel is conſumed. With reſpect to ſand, if ſufficient care were taken to explore our ſhores, it is hardly poſſible but that much might be found fit for the manufacture. It is confeſſed, that as yet little pains have been taken to make the neceſſary reſearches. In crown glaſs we are far from being as extenſive or as ſucceſsful as in

the flint glaſs manufacture. In the manufacture of common bottles we have no reaſon to complain either of our execution, or the demand. The ſand which is employed in this manufacture is had at home. The Dublin bottle glaſs houſes take theirs from the North Bull.

On the whole, this manufacture may be pointed out as one of thoſe which beſt ſeem to merit our attention; at preſent it would afford employment to infinitely more hands than are engaged in it; and improved and improving as it is, an attention to procure for it native materials, which undoubtedly we poſſeſs if we could be perſuaded to look for them, would raiſe it far above its preſent level.

SECTION

SECTION X.

Of the POTTERY.

This Manufacture ſcarcely exiſts in Ireland—Proſperity of it in England owing to the exertions of one *Man—England enjoys no excluſive advantages for it—The principal Material of the Wedgwood Ware not found where the Manufacture is carried on.*

IF there exiſt any manufacture of this kind beyond that of a few coarſe tiles, and ſtill coarſer earthen ware, it is ſo trivial as to deſerve no notice. The pottery of England employs many thouſand perſons, and owes its preſent improved and extended ſtate to the induſtry, taſte and adventure of an individual—Mr. Wedgewood. He has converted the leaſt valuable materials of his country into goods of ſuch extreme elegance as has procured for them a character in every nation of Europe, if not in every quarter of the world.

Yet Mr. Wedgwood enjoyed no advantages from the government of his country in eſtabliſhing or proſecuting this manufacture; on the contrary, it is the opinion of Lord Sheffield, that it has been more than any other manufacture clogged with imports and prohibitions. An Iriſhman cannot but bluſh for the indolence of his country, when he reflects on the exertions and ſucceſsful labours of this man. What advantages had he, or has his country, for this manufacture which can adequately account for their excluſive poſſeſſion of this manufacture?—moſt certainly none; and had Ireland a man like Wedgewood, ſhe, too, might have her ſhare in this moſt uſeful and lucrative manufacture. Every country in Europe, indeed, but Ireland has imitated the pottery ware of England, yet, ſome years back it was prophefied by Engliſhmen that Ireland, of all the countries in Europe, would ſooneſt and with moſt ſucceſs begin the competition.

It deſerves to be remembered on the ſubject of pottery, that none of the materials of

which

which the Wedgwood ware is made are found in Staffordſhire except the clay of which the moulds are made; the clay for the ware itſelf is brought from Devonſhire, and the flint which is mixed with it, from Derbyſhire. The great advantage which the manufacture enjoys then is in fuel, which, no doubt, is an eſſential one; but Ireland, too, has fuel (it has been often repeated, and often muſt be repeated, when the ſubject is the manufacture of Ireland) if ſhe would uſe it; Kilkenny, for inſtance, might be made the Staffordſhire of Ireland.

SECTION

SECTION XI.

Of the Provision Trade.

This trade is important to Ireland, but ought not to be put in competition either with Tillage or Manufactures—and why—Disadvantages of it in a National View—Salt, a raw Material of the Provision Trade, is principally a foreign Article—The Demand in this trade, too, is unsteady to a great degree. It requires great Capital and produces very small profit—The Export of Live Cattle the most injurious Branch of this Trade, has lately encreased—In the present Circumstances of the Country, however, the Provision Trade cannot safely be restrained but in proportion to the previous advancement of Tillage aud Manufacture—Hogs, the rearing of them advantageous—Instances of Industry and good Management in the Provision Trade—Loss resulting from the Export of the Hides raw—Observations on Salt—Necessity of Encouraging the making of it, &c.

In treating of manufactures the provision trade must not be forgotten, for, though less obviously,

obviouſly, it is a manufacture as much as the making of ſtockings, or the weaving of cloth. When Ireland ceaſed to be a manufacturing country in other reſpects, the proviſion trade began to be conſidered as her ſtaple in the want of other manufactures, and in the wretched ſtate of her tillage it was the only ſource of induſtry, though a miſerable one indeed, which remained to her. Even in the preſent improved ſtate of Ireland, with her tillage much extended, and manufactures of various kinds ariſing in different parts of the kingdom, the proviſion trade is an object of much importance, for neither her tillage nor her manufactures are yet able to afford full employment to her people; but to put it in competition either with tillage or manufactures would be injudicious in a high degree; nor can it be purſued beyond certain limits without coming into competition with them, for ſeveral reaſons.

In the firſt place tillage employs a much greater number of hands than the proviſion trade can do, allowing the greateſt number poſſible for the curing, ſlaughtering, &c. it adds

adds more alſo to the national capital by employing a greater portion of productive labour: but with the advancement of tillage, an encreaſe of the proviſion trade ſeems to be incompatible, for the grounds which are occupied in grazing black cattle, are ſo much taken out of tillage.

In the ſecond place, the rearing of black cattle obſtructs manufactures in the ſame proportion as it does tillage; for we have already ſeen, that manufactures proſper in proportion to the agriculture of the country, agriculture encreaſing population, and a full population affording the beſt market for manufactures.

But the proviſion trade is liable to other objections, without conſidering it as oppoſed to other manufactures, or to tillage. Of the proviſion trade, one of the moſt eſſential materials is ſalt; an article which Ireland has not of her own, in ſufficient quantities, to anſwer an extenſive trade in proviſion. It therefore lies under the ſame diſadvantage as thoſe manufactures of which the raw material is foreign,

reign, and of which we may not always have a certain ſupply. It would be eaſy to recollect how often the legiſlative deliberations of Ireland have been held in ſuſpence, while parliamentary wiſdom was occupied in weighing the probabilities whether a given meaſure would, if adopted, endanger our ſupply of this important article, and dwelling on the neceſſity of prudent caution, in a point which affected the exiſtence of the ſecond manufacture of the country. How unhappy is it that a manufacture, the proſperity, if not the exiſtence of which depends on the forbearance or caprice of other countries, ſhould be of ſuch vital conſequence to us; and how injudicious would it be in Ireland to make it of ſtill greater moment, by extending it farther, in preference to other modes of induſtry?

The proviſion trade is ſaid to be diſadvantageous in another reſpect; it is unſteady. The demand in war time, and in peace, differs very widely, of which the conſequence is, that of thoſe who are employed when the demand is briſk, many are deprived of employment and

leſt

left a prey to poverty and discontent, when peace scatters plenty and content through the rest of the community. A noble writer on the manufactures and trade of Ireland, has denied this fact, and in proof of his allegation, that the trade was not diminished in peace or encreased in war, he has given an abstract of the exports of provision, for five years of peace, and five of war, by which it appears, that the peace export exceeded the export in war. There is the best reason however to believe that his arguments are inconclusive, and his doctrine false; for in those returns, the provisions taken by the army and fleets are not included, and undoubtedly these are they which make the variation. He says, indeed, (but we know not whence he had his authority) that the export to the fleets was not very considerable; but in this point he has probably been mistaken, as the general opinion of those conversant in the trade is directly against him.

Among the great impediments that obstruct Ireland in manufactures and commerce, it is

frequently

frequently ſaid, that the greateſt is her want of capital, and that, therefore, thoſe manufactures which require leaſt capital are clearly the moſt eligible. The proviſion trade cannot be ranked among thoſe. Grazing requires a very extenſive ſtock, and produces very ſmall profits. According to Mr. Young, the profits are not more than the legal intereſt of money, excluſive of the riſk of loſs, and bad markets. Such a trade then, ſwallowing up much of the capital of a poor country, producing little, and employing few, can ſcarcely be ſaid to be fitted for Ireland. It tends to depreſs the exertions of the country, by turning its wealth into an unprofitable channel, baniſhing induſtry and intelligence from the land, and ſupporting, without effort or adventure, a race of uſeleſs men, who, in proportion to their wealth, depopulate the country, and become more wealthy as the country is more depopulated.

If the proviſion trade in its beſt ſtate ſeems thus to be injurious, or at leaſt but little beneficial, compared with agriculture and manufactures,

factures, what muſt it be when it exiſts ſtripped of the few recommendations which it derives from the labour of curing and thoſe other operations which are required in ſaving the produce of cattle? It is certainly of all modes of occupying capital the worſt: yet ſuch is the trade which has for ſome years been growing in Ireland, and is at preſent miſchievouſly extenſive—the exportation of live cattle. When a bullock is ſlaughtered in Ireland, the ſalting, packing, cooperage, and porterage, afford employment at leaſt to a few; the leaſt valuable parts of the fleſh, give a cheap ſupply of meat to the poor, and the hide affords materials for a valuable and important manufacture. But when live ſtock is exported, all thoſe advantages are transferred to that country in which they are ſlaughtered; all the benefit derived to Ireland is, that two or three herdſmen have been ſupported on two or three hundred acres, and that a large capital has been employed to very little purpoſe, which might have given labour and comfort to thouſands in uſeful manufactures, or been ſucceſsfully employed in the productive

tive labours of agriculture. The magnitude of this evil may be judged of from the average export of bullocks and cows for the laſt three years, which is no leſs than 10,877 head.

That the proviſion trade, then, however well fitted Ireland may be to rear cattle, and however ſure ſhe may be of a market, ought not to be encouraged beyond certain limits, ſeems to be ſufficiently clear. It may not be equally eaſy to aſcertain where thoſe limits lie. Were the queſtion to be conſidered in the abſtract it might be ſaid, that this trade ought to be proſecuted only ſo far as it was connected with agriculture, that is only ſo far as the rearing and fattening of cattle was the neceſſary reſult of tillage. But, circumſtanced as Ireland at preſent is with reſpect to the proviſion trade, it could not with ſafety be reduced ſuddenly within this narrow compaſs. It is now one of the principal objects of export, and forms almoſt the whole of the commerce of the ſecond city in the kingdom. It would not be wiſe to diſſolve this tie by which we are connected in commerce with

other

other countries until, by the growth of our manufactures we ſhall have formed others; and though the proviſion trade furniſhes employ but to few in proportion to the capital and extent of country it occupies, yet until we have acquired means of more general and certain occupation for our poor, it would be impolitic to contract or ſtop up even this ſource of induſtry.

The obſervations we have hitherto made apply principally to that part of the trade which depends on black cattle. There is another branch of it which ſeems not only to be unexceptionable, but to deſerve every encouragement, namely, the pork and bacon trade. Hogs, as they are reared in Ireland, on the refuſe of the peaſant's food, may be conſidered as ſo much produced by the care and induſtry of the owner. They form a comfortable ſupplement to his ſcanty earnings, and in doing ſo are in effect a premium for agriculture; for the more the peaſant derives from the hogs which he rears, the leſs will he need to receive for his labours in the field. In

either

either point of view, therefore, whether the promotion of agriculture, or the comfort of the peasant be considered, this branch of the provision trade deserves to be cherished.

It affords pleasure to observe, that whatever may be the tendency of this trade, whether it be such as ought to be discouraged because it obstructs tillage; or cherished because its returns are large, and at present essential to the commercial weal of Ireland, we prosecute it, in some instances at least, in such a manner as to make it as profitable as may be. In Cork, the city most deeply engaged in the export of provisions, every part of the beast is made the most of. Sometimes the belly is saved and barrelled, and even those parts that are apparently worthless are cured and exported. It were well we could say with equal truth, that we are as careful to avail ourselves of the advantages which might be derived from the manufacture of the hides, but, here indeed, we are greatly deficient—of these a very great proportion are exported raw, by which we lose the benefits that would

result

refult from the tannage, and the many fubfequent operations of the manufacture of leather. The magnitude of this lofs cannot eafily be afcertained, as the quantity entered for export, it is believed on good grounds, falls greatly fhort, (particularly in calves fkins) of the quantity actually exported.

If the provifion trade be one which Ireland muft profecute, the firft object fhould be to fecure a fupply of good falt on reafonable terms. Were it poffible to procure a fufficient ftock of native falt, a great object indeed would be attained. It feems as if fufficient attention had not been paid to this fubject. Not only the provifion trade, but the fifheries, an object of equal, if not more importance, fuffer from their dependence on foreigners for this article, and it is impoffible to forefee to what extent this mifchief may run. It has been frequently known that falt for the herring fifhery has coft at the rate of 10l. 10s. per ton, which is 7l. 10s. above the average price of that article. It deferves to be very ferioufly confidered, whether it would

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be practicable by public encouragement, or other means, to extend ſalt making in Ireland till it ſhould be in ſome degree proportioned to the conſumption.

Hitherto, Iriſh-made ſalt has lain under diſrepute. It is ſaid to be weaker than that imported even from Great Britain. This is occaſioned by its being leſs boiled, and it is leſs boiled in Ireland, in conſequence of the greater ſcarcity of fuel. Thus our deficiency in this one article ſeems to affect all our principal manufactures. A defect of induſtry in one inſtance, throws difficulties in the way of exertion in every other.

SECTION XII.

Of the Fisheries.

These as well as the Provision Trade may rank among Manufactures—Advantages that result from them. Modes of encouraging them—Salt Works—Red-herrings neglected in Ireland—Extent of this Branch in England, &c.—Herring Fishery principally fitted for this Country in its present circumstances.

ANALAGOUS to the provision trade are in some measure the fisheries. They come under the head of manufactures, because to catch and cure fish is as much an object of art and manual labour as any assignable. That the fisheries deserve much attention from Ireland is obvious to any person who considers the immense advantages that result to an island situated like Ireland from an industrious and successful fishery; it furnishes cheap and wholesome provisions for her poor; it affords employment to large numbers; it is one of the most productive sources of national wealth; it is the best nursery of hardy seamen; it gives the strongest impulse

impulſe to ſhip-building, and by ſupplying a valuable article of export to other countries, creates an open by which other manufactures may find their way to diſtant markets.

Its importance has been long known to the moſt intelligent men in Ireland, and to none more than to that eſtimable and reſpected character whom Ireland has ſo lately loſt, and whoſe memory will to Iriſhmen be long dear, the late W. B. Conyngham. Sagacious in finding out the beſt objects to which the induſtry of his country might be directed, and ſteady in recommending them by his advice, while he aſſiſted in the proſecution of them by his counſels, his labours, and his purſe, the fiſheries of Ireland early caught his attention, and throughout his uſeful and active life, were a primary object of his care. His munificence in expending a ſum of 20,000l. of his private fortune, in addition to an equal ſum obtained by his advice and zeal from Parliament, for the promotion of the herring fiſhery on the North Coaſt, will long honourably diſtinguiſh his name while the

ſingular fatality which attended his liberal efforts will remain a monument of the ſhort-ſightedneſs of human policy, and the inefficiency of the beſt intentions.

Notwithſtanding the advantages which Ireland enjoys for proſecuting her fiſheries, little has been done in this way. The inhabitants of our coaſts have ſeen foreigners come to ſeek and gather on the ſhores of Ireland that wealth which nature ſeems to have deſigned for Iriſhmen; nor have we profited from this circumſtance, as we might have done, in catching from thoſe adventurers their habits of perſeverance, induſtry and neatneſs. We have not the ſame degree of patience in ſeeking for fiſh, by which the Dutch and our nearer neighbours the Scotch are diſtinguiſhed; nor that accuracy and niceneſs in curing them when found, by which the former have obtained for their fiſh ſo widely extended a market. He who would effectually promote the Iriſh fiſhery muſt direct the attention of the people to thoſe important points, and there is

no

no reaſon to fear but that they are attainable by well-guided exertion.

To prove that this object is worth attention on the part of Ireland, or that there is no purſuit for which, in any point of view, ſhe ſeems better fitted, muſt be ſuperfluous—for what need of argument to prove that it is advantageous to a nation to take up and preſerve a valuable article of food and commerce which the ſpontaneous bounty of nature throws upon her coaſts, or that a nation is fitted to proſecute a trade which every neighbour nation crouds to her ſhores to partake in? It is of more importance to ſuggeſt means by which her induſtry in this way may be aſſiſted, and to do this requires a more minute knowledge of fiſheries than the writer of this eſſay poſſeſſes. There are, however, ſome general topics of advice, which, though they occur to every man who ſits down to conſider for a moment the ſtate of the Iriſh fiſheries, yet appear to be forgotten. Among theſe is the providing of a cheap ſupply of ſalt in thoſe places which are moſt occupied in the

the curing. This is, as we have already obſerved with regard to the proviſion trade, a raw material in this manufacture, and therefore to ſecure any degree of permanent ſucceſs in the purſuit it is neceſſary that this point ſhould in the firſt place be attended to.

Next to an actual encouragement for the boiling of ſalt, the trade in that article would be beſt promoted by being as little encumbered with duty and revenue regulations as poſſible. In Scotland the ſalt for their fiſhery is much leſs loaded with theſe than that which is uſed in the fiſhery of Ireland. The ſuperiority of Scotland in fiſhery has been attributed to this immunity, and perhaps is rather attributable to that cauſe than to any advantage of ſuperior ſkill, or induſtry.

Salt works have within a few years riſen along the north-weſtern coaſt, but they are far from being numerous or proportioned to the want. Were theſe and ſtores erected in ſufficient numbers, immenſe advantages might be expected. At preſent while fiſh is ſalted in holes dug in the earth and then covered with the ſoil, little neatneſs or excellence can be expected in curing.

Beſides

Beſides the erection of ſtores, &c. in ſufficient numbers, more attention ſhould be paid to enforcing a careful and honeſt mode of curing and making up. There are few manufactures carried on in Ireland, in which ſome public check of this kind on the negligence or diſhoneſty of the individuals, would not be uſeful.

Ireland has not yet been ſufficiently attentive to the curing of red herrings. Her neighbours procure from her the means of carrying on this manufacture. The extent of this branch, ſo much neglected by us, may be judged of from the quantity of fiſh carried to the Liverpool and the Iſle of Man red herring houſes, in two years, 1780 and 1781. In the firſt year they took from Lough Swilly, the cargoes of ſeventy-one veſſels, in quantity 39,000 maizes (a maize is 500 herrings) for which they paid at the rate of 10d. per hundred, 8,125l. In the ſecond year they took from the ſame place the cargoes of one hundred and ſeventy veſſels for their red-herring houſes; the quantity was 49,950 maizes, for

which

which they paid 12,487l. 10s. The ſum total of the two years 88,950 maizes, amounting to 20,612l. 10s.

Of the various fiſheries, that of herrings ſeems to be beſt adapted to Ireland. The fiſh never totally deſert her coaſt; they may not indeed always embay preciſely at the ſame time of the year, or exactly at the ſame place, but on ſome part of the coaſt they are at one time or other of the year always to be found; and the curing and management of theſe fiſh requires leſs ſkill. Until Ireland becomes more attentive and expert at fiſhing in general, and has a greater capital to ſpread over a variety of objects, it is right that ſhe ſhould confine her exertions principally to this branch.

SECTION

SECTION XIII.

Of the Paper Manufacture.

Recommending Circumſtances of this Manufacture—Difficulties under which it labours—Scarcity and Dearneſs of Materials—Cauſes of it—Monopolizing ſpirit of the Manufacturer—Large Capital required—and conſiderable Experience—Duty on Imported Paper—Its Effects on the Manufacture—Concluſion.

THIS manufacture has to recommend it that ſtrongeſt of arguments, that it is a thriving manufacture, and that its preſent ſtate, both as to the quantity made, and the quality of it, is much more reſpectable than it was ſome years ago.

No country in the world, perhaps, is better adapted for the paper manufacture, with reſpect to local circumſtances, than Ireland. Every where one may find water in abundance, and

and there is ſcarcely a ſquare league in the kingdom, which does not afford a good mill-ſite. With reſpect to labour, we are at leaſt as well off as our neighbours, and we have among ourſelves a market more than equal to the conſumption of any quantity we are likely for a long time to be able to produce. A manufacture thus circumſtanced, ſeems already to enjoy very conſiderable advantages, and to deſerve every farther aid that can be given to raiſe it to that height which it ſeems capable of attaining.

Notwithſtanding theſe advantages, however, the paper manufacture labours under difficulties which greatly depreſs it. We ſhall be forgiven for entering into them with ſome minuteneſs, becauſe they are perhaps not very generally known, and therefore the ill effects produced by one cauſe, are very often wrongly attributed to another. It is from this ignorance of the real ſtate of the manufacture that ſuch a clamour has been raiſed againſt the duty on foreign paper, recently impoſed; for were the circumſtances of the manufacture

generally

generally known and duly attended to, the cauſe of thoſe complaints which have been made, with indeed good reaſon, would be found to lie not in the duty, but in the management of the manufacture itſelf, and the conduct, avarice, and monopoly of the manufacturers.

Of the diſadvantages, then, under which the paper manufacture at preſent labours, the principal is, the ſcarcity and dearneſs of the material, rags. Of the quantity of this material neceſſary for the manufacture, only a part can be had at home—the reſt is had, ſome from Italy, and a great deal from the low countries; and the exiſting circumſtances of thoſe countries, and of Europe, eaſily account for its being ſcarce and dear. When the war ſhall be terminated, and a proper communication with the Netherlands be again opened, the manufacture will neceſſarily find a more eaſy and cheap ſupply. Could our people be immediately taught that œconomy which can ariſe only from habits of ſlow growth, we might within ourſelves find materials enough for the

manufacture

manufacture. Were every family to preſerve their rags, and like the inhabitants of thoſe countries, to which, in this inſtance, we are obliged to reſort, let nothing go to loſs which might be converted to a uſeful purpoſe, the paper manufacture in Ireland might on domeſtic materials be extended much beyond its preſent limits. Habits of ſlovenly negligence, however, it is painful to reflect, are at preſent too prevalent, not merely among the lower, but the middling ranks of ſociety in Ireland, to juſtify a hope that we ſhall ſoon ſee families careful to preſerve theſe trifles either from œconomical or public-ſpirited motives. Till then the manufacture muſt lie under the diſadvantage of truſting to the uncertain and variable ſupply of foreign materials.

It is not to the war only that the high price of rags and their ſcarcity is attributable. Since the impoſition of the duty on foreign paper, the demand for Iriſh paper has very greatly encreaſed. This encreaſed demand has neceſſarily encreaſed the demand for the material, and of courſe has raiſed the price of it. This is a natural

tural and inevitable conſequence of a ſudden extenſion of the manufacture, but it is a conſequence which will probably be but of a ſhort duration; for the high price will naturally augment the number of thoſe engaged in the collection of the materials; this will bring a larger ſtock to market, and the material will again, probably, ſink to its former level, unleſs we ſuppoſe that the induſtry and activity of thoſe people had before been ſtretched to the utmoſt point, and that they were therefore incapable of further exertion; a ſuppoſition which in this caſe appears by no means natural.

But there are other diſadvantages of much more ſerious importance to the proſperity of the manufacture. With the creation of theſe the manufacturers are charged—Such are the unjuſtifiable means to which it is ſaid they reſort to preſerve to themſelves a monopoly of the manufacture. At preſent there are but very few engaged in the paper trade, and theſe generally men of conſiderable wealth; if a man leſs wealthy preſumes to enter into competition with theſe, they cruſh him by ſacri-

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ficing a confiderable fum to fhut him out of the trade—if, for inftance, the poor man bids for materials, the monopolifts bid ftill higher, and they continue to rife in the fcale until they get above the pitch of the poor man's capital. As their greater property enables them to out-bid him in the purchafe of the materials, fo does it enable them to underfell him in the manufactured goods, until they either ruin him, or make him quit the bufinefs to avoid ruin. It is a difadvantage indeed to the paper manufacture that it requires fuch a capital as few poor men can embark in it. This affifts the fcheme of the monopolifts, and has greatly contributed to keep the manufacture in its prefent contracted ftate. This difadvantage is aggravated by another, namely, that confiderable fkill and inceffant affiduity is effential to carrying on the paper making with fuccefs; the perfons employed in the fubordinate parts of the manufacture are the very loweft of the people, and have that propenfity to cunning and fraud by which this clafs are unhappily diftinguifhed. Hence the ftricteft attention is neceffary in dealing with them,

while

while in the higher parts of the manufacture the ſuperintendance of the workman requires a very conſiderable degree of ſkill in the buſineſs. Theſe circumſtances prevent men of capital, not converſant in paper-making, from engaging in the buſineſs.

While the manufacture is confined to a few, the miſchiefs of monopoly muſt ever be expected. Of this the paper-makers have recently given the ſtrongeſt proofs—A conſiderable length of time after the impoſition of the duty, and after the materials had riſen to their higheſt pitch in conſequence of the encreaſed demand; the working paper makers turned out, as the phraſe is, for an encreaſe of wages. The maſters kept them out until the market was completely exhauſted; they then agreed to raiſe the wages agreeably to the demand of the workmen—viz. three ſhillings per week, and, in conſequence of this, raiſed paper one ſhilling per ream. Now this riſe, calculating the quantity which each workman is ſuppoſed to make in a week, was thirty-ſixfold more than the occaſion would warrant.

Notwithſtanding theſe diſcouraging circumſtances

ſtances in the nature of the manufacture itſelf, and the monopolizing ſpirit of thoſe engaged in it, the number of manufacturers, it is pleaſant to obſerve, is encreaſing; and while the demand for Iriſh paper continues as it has done ſince the impoſition of the late duty on foreign paper, and the profits of the manufacture remain as great as they are well known to be, there cannot be a doubt but more men of capital will every day be added to the number.* Whatever means would tend to accelerate this opening of the manufacture by throwing it into more hands, muſt infallibly tend to improve its quality and lower its price, and of courſe remove thoſe complaints which are at preſent made with ſo much good reaſon.

The bookſeller, the printer, and indeed the public generally, are almoſt unanimous in attributing to the duty on foreign paper the encreaſed price, and, as they call it, the debaſed quality of the home-made paper. We have already ſeen that there are other cauſes by which the firſt of theſe may in ſome meaſure be accounted for, and it is very doubtful whether the

* The duty on home-made paper was not impoſed when this eſſay was written.

the latter at all exists. A worse kind of paper is indeed sold for the former price, but this only shews that the prices of paper have risen—for certainly paper of any given denomination is made at least as good now as before the duty was imposed. That the duty, however, has afforded a pretext to the workman to raise his wages, and to the master manufacturer to enhance his profits, and that both descriptions have availed themselves to the utmost of the opportunity, cannot be denied; yet is the duty by no means the less wise, or the less likely to be beneficial in its consequences. Every duty which goes to protect the home manufacture in any article must operate in the first instance in raising the price of that manufacture, by encreasing the demand for it. If it did not operate in this way it must be useless—for if the home manufacture could, without the duty, be brought to market as cheap and as good as the foreign, it would be superfluous to protect it by a duty, and if not, then this duty, by confining in some degree the consumption to the home manufacture, obliges the public to give for it a higher price than the foreign was sold for.

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But this inconvenience which immediately follows the impoſition of a protecting duty is but temporary, provided the manufacture is ſuch as the country is fitted for. The certainty of a conſtant and profitable market quickly induces numbers to engage in the manufacture, and by the emulation of theſe, by the diviſion of labour which always follows the extenſion of manufacture, and the encreaſed ſupply of improved goods produced, the price is ſoon reduced to its former ſtandard, and in a ſhort time, by the operation of theſe cauſes, falls below it. Such, there is every reaſon to hope, will be the event with reſpect to the manufacture of paper.

The outcry raiſed againſt the duty on imported paper affords the ſtrongeſt proof how inconſiderate and inconſiſtent is ſometimes a popular clamour. Thoſe very men who are now moſt warm and noiſy in declaiming againſt the paper duty are thoſe who, a few years ſince were equally warm and noiſy in calling for protecting duties generally. The doctrine then was, that when the home market

ket was ſecured to us we muſt neceſſarily improve in every manufacture, and produce them cheaper. The wiſdom of the legiſlature has now given them a ſpecimen of protecting duties in an inſtance which affects themſelves —they revoke their opinion, or modeſtly aſſert, that the only exception to it is that manufacture by the protection of which they, for a time, ſuffer. This is not the place to ſay whether protecting duties in general be uſeful or not; but it is obvious, from the experience which this inſtance affords, that the queſtion ought to be decided by ſomething elſe than the noiſe of a multitude.

It is plain, by what has been ſaid under this head, that from the progreſs which has already been made in the paper manufacture, from the importance of it to the country, from the peculiar advantages which we enjoy for carrying it on by the abundance of water and mill-ſites that are to be met with in every part of the kingdom, it deſerves to be made a primary object of attention; but that notwithſtanding theſe advantages, the manufacture labours under difficulties from the paucity of

the number engaged in it, from the ſcarcity of foreign materials, and the negligence of our people in ſaving thoſe that are produced at home; and that of courſe, whatever degree of aid it may be thought fit to afford this manufacture ſhould be directed to theſe points.

SECTION

SECTION XIV.

Of the DISTILLERY and BREWERY.

Diſtillery—Advantages of it—do not compenſate for the Evils it occaſions—Reaſons for diſcouraging it—Brewery—It produces all the Benefits of the Diſtillery, without any of its Diſadvantages—Importance of it—Ill Effects reſulting from the Regulations of it.

OF the Diſtillery ſomething has been ſaid before, under another head. It is only neceſſary to ſay here, that however ſtrongly this manufacture (for ſuch it is) may be recommended by its furniſhing a market for the farmer and ſo far encouraging tillage, or by its producing a revenue and ſo far alleviating the burden of taxes which muſt fall ſome where; theſe recommendations are totally inadequate to compenſate the immenſity of miſchiefs which it creates, by vitiating the morals of the people, debilitating the bodies and enervating

enervating the minds of the poorer claſſes, introducing habits of idleneſs and a propenſity to tumult in thoſe on whoſe induſtry the ſucceſs of our manufactures depends, and on whoſe ſubmiſſion to the laws reſts the quiet of the country. A manufacture ſuch as this, ought at all events to be diſcouraged, for no evil that can reſult from its ſuppreſſion, can be equal to thoſe which its proſperity produces. The financier who always meaſures public happineſs by the extent of revenue, may find arguments to embarraſs the queſtion, whether or not this manufacture of poiſon ſhould be reſtrained?—He may tell us, that the depreſſion of it ſhould be gradual, that many of the evils that are charged on it are attributable to other cauſes, that it may, by proper regulations, be made a ſource of benefit inſtead of ruin, and that at all events, without it the reſources of the ſtate will fall ſhort, and therefore it is a neceſſary ill. But the ſtateſman, whoſe views and underſtanding are not contracted by the habit of attending to one official object, will ſee the fallacy of this reaſoning; he will know, that when a diſeaſe

has

has taken deep root, and ſpread widely thro' a country, a radical cure cannot be effected by gentle palliatives; that a manufacture which goes to ſap the morals and induſtry of a nation, muſt be productive of every miſchief which a people ſhould fear; and that whatever temporary or partial inconveniencies may ariſe from the depreſſion of that manufacture, they will be compenſated a thouſand-fold by thoſe new reſources which will be found in the encreaſed induſtry of a ſober people.

The brewery has all the advantages which the diſtillery can boaſt, unattended by its miſchiefs. It is, like the diſtillery, connected with the agriculture of the country, and furniſhes a market for its produce: it does, or might employ conſiderable numbers, and its whole value, except the coſt of the imported hops, is the produce of the labour employed in it. On thoſe who conſume it, its effects are the contrary of thoſe produced by diſtilled ſpirits; inſtead of debilitating, it ſtrengthens; while it affords a comfortable and exhilarating beverage for the workman, which promotes, inſtead of impeding

impeding his exertions. For theſe reaſons the brewery ſhould be ranked in the firſt claſs of thoſe manufactures to which the attention of Ireland ſhould be directed; and theſe arguments in its favour derive additional ſtrength from the conſideration, that there is nothing in the circumſtances of the country which diſqualifies it from attaining to eminence in this article, and that by neglecting judiciouſly to cultivate it, no leſs a ſum than 120,000l.* is annually ſent out of the kingdom.

That much pains have been taken to regulate this trade, the friends of it acknowledge and lament: but the reſult of theſe labours for the promotion of the brewery, has been its depreſſion; as that of thoſe for the depreſſion of the diſtillery, has been the promotion of that deſtructive manufacture. To enter into a minute diſcuſſion of the ſyſtem which was adopted, and ſo long pertinaciouſly adhered to with regard to the brewery, would protract this eſſay beyond all tolerable bounds; nor does ſuch a diſcuſſion appear

* The import for 1793, was 124,423 barrels—for 1794, 76,255 ditto—for 1795, 72,398 ditto.

pear ſo cloſely connected with our object, as to make it neceſſary to attempt it. It ſhall therefore ſuffice to ſay, that the experience of ſo many years, ſhould long before have convinced thoſe who had the ſuperintendance of the Iriſh brewery, that the principles on which it had been managed, were founded in error; and that, therefore, ſome other, perhaps the directly oppoſite ſyſtem, ought to have been adopted. Inſtead of being trammelled in every operation of his buſineſs, and obliged to work in every ſtep, from the commencement to the concluſion of the proceſs, by Act of Parliament, the brewer ſhould have been left without reſtriction in the proſecution of the trade, whatever means might be thought neceſſary for aſcertaining the quality, or limiting the price of the liquor produced,

SECTION

SECTION XV.

Of Tannage.

Promotion of the Tanning Trade renders that of Provision more beneficial—Declining state of it—Causes of it—High Price and bad Quality of Bark—The Excise Duty—Export of Raw Hides—The Home-market being stocked by the English Tanner—Yet these disadvantages do not prove that this Manufacture is not one of the best fitted for Ireland, for Remedies may be found for them—Hopes entertained of Foreign Bark.

So long as the provision trade continues to be, as it has been called, the second staple of the country, the tanning trade will deserve a very particular regard. If there be any circumstance which can make that trade beyond controversy a real benefit to Ireland, it must be such a cultivation of the tannage and leather manufacture as shall keep the hides at home till they have reached the last stage of improvement.

At

At preſent theſe branches are in rapid decline, and it will require no little ſkill to prevent the total annihilation of one of them—the tannage.

It is not yet two and twenty years ſince there were annually exported from Ireland 50,000 tanned hides after the home conſumption was fully ſatisfied. From that period the export gradually declined, until on an average of five years ending March, 1782, it was no more than 12,973. In the year 83 the export was ſtill leſs, it did not exceed 11,500, and from that year the declenſion has continued, until at preſent there is not a ſingle tanned hide exported, nor are we even able to ſupply our own conſumption. There are daily importations of Britiſh tanned leather, which though at preſent ſmall, will in all probability continue to encreaſe. The import of tanned hides in 1792 was 9956. It is not eaſy perhaps to account truly and ſatisfactorily for this decline in one of our moſt valuable manufactures; the cauſes to which it is attributed, however, are eaſily learned, and many of them are at leaſt feaſible, if not true.

The

The loſs of the export trade, it is alledged, has been occaſioned by a gradual riſe in the price of our tanned leather, and the growth of tannage in thoſe countries to which the export uſed to take place. Thoſe countries are Italy, and the different ports of the Mediterranean, which took at leaſt nine-tenths of the whole quantity exported. This riſe in the price of leather, which went beyond the capacity of our cuſtomers to purchaſe, is attributed to two cauſes—one, the great demand for green hides in our market, by the Engliſh factors, and which has been ſo great, that the export of raw hides has trebled that of tanned, even when this trade was beſt; the ſecond is the encreaſed price, and depraved quality of Britiſh bark, which yet, as the tanners ſay, is the only kind within their reach.

That theſe cauſes have exiſted, is matter of fact—the firſt is proved by the cuſtom-houſe returns, which, tho' they may not be perfectly accurate in the article of exported hides, yet are good evidence in this caſe, becauſe the error, if any, is but a diminution of

the

the quantity exported. The ſecond is proved by the concurrent teſtimony of all who have been converſant in the bark trade—it has riſen in price from 4l. per ton to its preſent value of 11l. 10s.—it has riſen in fact in a far greater ratio, for at preſent the tanner is obliged to buy his bark with the outſide, or uſeleſs parts from which it was formerly freed before ſale; the weight of this uſeleſs matter is not leſs than fourteen pounds in the cwt. on a moderate average, by which the efficient part of the bark becomes dearer by one-eighth, which makes the price of a ton of uſeful bark from England at this day 12l. 19s.

To theſe cauſes which, at firſt view, appear ſuch as muſt neceſſarily operate againſt the manufacture, another is added, of which perhaps the miſchievous tendency is not leſs evident, and that is the exciſe duty on tanned leather. This duty is alledged to be miſchievous, for this reaſon among others, that it is laid upon an article of which the firſt manufacturer cannot raiſe the price proportionably on the public, and therefore it is a tax againſt the

the manufacture, and not upon the public. That this aſſertion of the tanners' is true is proved beyond controverſy by facts, one of which is, that green hides ſell at preſent conſiderably higher than immediately previous to the impoſition of the duty, and yet the price of leather is two-pence per pound leſs than it was at that period, although neither bark has fallen, nor is any item of expence in the manufacture diminiſhed. Theſe facts are indiſputable—the cauſes which have produced them are not ſo eaſily diſcovered. One probable cauſe of the fall, however, is, that at the time when the duty was impoſed, the ſhoe-makers and other workers in leather foreſeeing that the duty would neceſſarily, as they thought, induce a riſe on the goods, began to reſort to Britiſh leather. The importation of this naturally tended to lower the price, and the tanner, inſtead of being able to command the market, as the financier muſt have thought he could do when he argued that the duty levied immediately off the tanner would ultimately come from the public, was obliged, in order to get rid of his ſtock, to diſpoſe of it at a leſs price than formerly.

The

The duty operated againſt the tanner in another way; though the tanner was unable, as we have ſeen, to raiſe the price of his leather a penny per lb. on the men who dealt in this article, yet thoſe, through whoſe hands the goods paſſed to the public acted as if the advance had been paid to the tanner; accordingly the ſhoe-maker and the ſhop-keeper (for it is to be obſerved, that of the ſhoes and brogues conſumed in this country a very large portion is vended not immediately by the maker but by the country ſhop-keepers) availed themſelves of ſo plauſible a pretext for raiſing, unneceſſarily and extravagantly, the price of the ſhoes on the public. Thus the tax has undoubtedly diminiſhed the quantity conſumed, and by affording opportunities for extortion on the public, rather than by its own weight, has injured the manufacture.

It has been ſaid above, that the duty has operated againſt the manufacture by inducing the leather-ſeller to reſort to Engliſh leather. It may be objected to this, that if there were

not

not ſome capital defect in the tannage of this country, or ſome inſuperable impediment in its way, the Engliſhman could not bring his goods to market ſo much cheaper than the Iriſh, when he not only pays an exciſe duty of an halfpenny per lb. more than the Iriſh tanner, but alſo is obliged to reſort for his green hides to the Iriſh market, by which he loſes commiſſion, freight, &c. on the re-exportation of the tanned leather. With reſpect to the firſt part of the objection, it may be anſwered that the exciſe duty is drawn back on the export, and as to the expence of the commiſſion, freight, &c. it is certain that the Iriſh manufacturer labours under diſadvantages equal to theſe, in the difficulty with which he procures a ſupply of bark; for he too pays double commiſſion and freight on the importation of this article, and excluſive of this, is obliged to pay a much higher price for bark of much worſe quality than the Engliſh tanner uſes. Theſe circumſtances together, make Britiſh bark in the Iriſh tan-yard, at leaſt fifteen per cent. dearer than in England; for as bark is a bulky commodity, the freight is not

leſs

leſs on an average, than from 20s. to one guinea per ton, which on an article worth 11l. 10s. per ton, is ten per cent.; the two commiſſions make five per cent. more, excluſive of any allowance for the defect in quality.

Beſides the advantages which the Engliſh tanner enjoys in the article of bark, the quality of his manufacture enables him for a time at leaſt, to underſell the Iriſhman. He ſends out his goods in a leſs perfect ſtate, he does not ſuffer them to remain in the yard much more than one-half of the time which the Iriſh tanner thinks neceſſary; he haſtens the proceſs by the operation of ſtrong oozes, nor does he take as much pains in what the tanners call fleſhing the hides, as the Iriſh do. The conſequence is, that the leather, though apparently well manufactured, and weighing favourably for the ſeller, will not bear the ſubſequent operations of the workman, like Iriſh leather. Hence the general diſlike among the ſhoemakers to Engliſh leather, which, nevertheleſs will continue to

be imported, while the leather-ſeller finds it more cheap, and gets longer credit than he can get in Ireland.

Under theſe circumſtances, it may be aſked, how can tanning be conſidered as a manufacture fitted for the country? If the Engliſh poſſeſs theſe ſuperior advantages, will it not be vain to waſte exertion in a uſeleſs competition? It may be anſwered, that there are ſcarcely any of the cauſes of the declenſion of this trade, for which it is not reaſonable to hope that a remedy may be found. So far as the exciſe duty operates againſt it, the remedy is in the power of the legiſlature, and it is not poſſible to conceive, that if the injurious tendency of it were once fully proved, they would not immediately apply that remedy. Nor would it be difficult, probably, to derive from leather as much revenue as this duty produces, by means from which no ill conſequence would reſult, either to the manufacture or the country. Were the duty laid on coach-leather in the coach-maker's-yard, on ſadlery, and on ſhoes in the ſhop,

exempting

exempting from duty ſhoes of more than a certain weight, for inſtance, a pound and a half, which would exempt thoſe worn by the peaſant and working artificer, there would be little reaſon to fear injury to the poor, or to the manufacturer from its operation. But were a ſum equal to that now produced by this duty, laid on the export of the raw hides, it would not only not be injurious, but in all human probability, it would ſecure proſperity to a moſt important manufacture.

Of the difficulty under which the manufacture labours from the ſcarcity of bark, one cannot ſay that it is likely to be entirely removed until that time ſhall arrive when the proprietors of land in this country ſhall be more firmly impreſſed with the beneficial conſequences of growing oak. But if it cannot be entirely removed, there is reaſon to hope it may be leſſened. So long as great Britain ſhall continue to ſuffer the export of bark to Ireland, free of duty, and ſurely ſhe will not think of reſtricting it while ſhe enjoys a free acceſs to our wool and worſted, linen yarn and

raw hides, the tanners of Ireland may, by proper exertions in ſending agents of their own to buy bark, inſtead of depending on the integrity of the Britiſh factor, procure bark of as good quality as the Engliſh tanner uſes. This, indeed, is a mode they have, in ſome places, already begun to adopt. A company has formed itſelf in Newry, which, by this mode, procures bark of the beſt quality. When it ſhall be generally adopted we may indeed continue to labour under the neceſſary expence of freight, &c. but we ſhall not have to complain of being obliged to uſe the refuſe of the Britiſh bark.

There are other proſpects which open with regard to this article. It has long been an opinion univerſally received among the tanners of Ireland, that no foreign bark would tan a hide as well as that of England; that opinion ſeems to have yielded a little to experience. The expence, dearth and ſcarcity of Britiſh bark, ſometime ſince made it more than ever neceſſary to try that by Hamburgh as a ſubſtitute. The effect has been, that, though

though the proceſs of tannage has been longer, the hide has come forth as perfectly tanned as it could have been by Britiſh bark. Such, at leaſt, has been the experience of ſome perſons engaged in the trade, whoſe extenſive experience of it, and whoſe ſagacity to profit by experience is, at leaſt, equal to that of any of their brethern, many of whom, it muſt be acknowledged, differ on this ſubject. Of this bark the price is 8l. per ton in Ireland, and making allowance for the greater length of time it takes in operation, is conſidered as cheaper than Engliſh bark at 12l. per ton in Ireland, and has this advantage to recommend its uſe, that the ſupply is certain, and the quality ſteady.

During the exiſtence of the old government in France they were tenacious, to a remarkable degree, of their bark. The export of it was prohibited under ſevere penalties, and to ſecure the effect of the prohibition, the ſurplus of bark, after ſupplying their own conſumption, was burned. Whether the new government will adhere to this monopolizing principle

principle is not certain; if they ſhould not, Ireland may thence have a hope of ſupply for her manufacture, of the beſt bark in the world, for ſuch the French bark is acknowledged to be.

SECTION

PART III.

Of the means of promoting Manufactures.

SECTION I.

Of Protecting Duties.

Arguments against the interference of Legislature by Duties on Foreign Manufacture—Dr. Smith's Arguments stated and considered—They do not seem to apply closely to a Country circumstanced as Ireland.

It was part of the original plan of this essay to consider, in the conclusion, the various modes which have been proposed by the friends of manufacture for the encouragement and promotion of them, and how far they were likely to effect the end proposed. In the former part of the work, however, it has been found necessary, in some measure, to anticipate this design. Many observations on this subject are scattered in the foregoing pages, which it would be superfluous to repeat here; we shall, therefore, on this head be very brief.

Among

Among the methods which public ſpirit, or private intereſt has propoſed for the promotion of manufactures, the moſt obvious, and therefore, that which has been moſt frequently and warmly urged, is the impoſition of duties on foreign manufactures imported.

This has been indeed the mode which, in almoſt every country, has been uſed to cheriſh infant manufactures; and, in many inſtances, it is that by which adult ones have been ſupported. Whether ſuch duties are, or are not politic, has been a queſtion on which ſpeculative writers have held very diſcordant opinions, of which there are none, perhaps, but has been ſupported by very plauſible arguments. Something has been already ſaid on this ſubject in the former part of this work, but it may, perhaps, be permitted us to conſider it here with ſomewhat more minuteneſs.

Of thoſe who have argued againſt this policy, the principal is Dr. Smith in his celebrated work on the Wealth of Nations.

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As his arguments on this head are not very diffuſe, and it is of the firſt importance to aſcertain how far they are true in themſelves, or how far they apply to the circumſtances of Ireland, we ſhall ſtate them in his own words.*

"That this monopoly of the home-market frequently gives great encouragement to that particular ſpecies of induſtry which engages it, and frequently turns towards that employment a greater ſhare both of the labour and ſtock of the ſociety than would otherwiſe have gone to it, cannot be doubted. But whether it tends either to encreaſe the general induſtry of the ſociety, or to give it the moſt advantageous direction, is not, perhaps, altogether ſo evident."

"The general induſtry of the ſociety never can exceed what the capital of the ſociety can employ. As the number of workmen that can be kept in employment by any particular perſon, muſt bear a certain proportion to his capital, ſo the number of thoſe that can be continually

* Vide Smith's Wealth of Nations, vol. 1, page 444.

continually employed by all the members of the ſociety, muſt bear a certain proportion to the whole capital of that ſociety, and never can exceed that proportion. *No regulation of commerce can encreaſe the quantity of induſtry in any ſociety beyond what its capital can maintain.* It can only direct a part of it into a direction into which it might not otherwiſe have gone, and it is by no means certain that this artificial direction is likely to be more advantageous to the ſociety, than that into which it would have gone of its own accord."

"*Every individual is continually exerting himſelf to find out the moſt advantageous employment for whatever capital he may poſſeſs.* It is his own advantage indeed, and not that of the ſociety, which he has in view. But the ſtudy of his own advantage, naturally, or rather neceſſarily, leads him to prefer that employment which is moſt advantageous to the ſociety."

"Firſt, every individual endeavours to employ his capital as near home as he can, and

conſequently

conſequently as much as he can in ſupport of domeſtic induſtry, &c. &c."

"Secondly, every individual who employs his capital in the ſupport of domeſtic induſtry, neceſſarily endeavours ſo to direct that induſtry, that its produce may be of the greateſt poſſible value. The produce of induſtry is what it adds to the ſubject or materials upon which it is employed. In proportion as the value of this produce is great or ſmall, ſo will likewiſe be the profits of the employer. But it is only for the ſake of profit that any man employs a capital in the ſupport of induſtry; and he will always, therefore, endeavour to employ it in the ſupport of that induſtry, of which the produce is likely to be of the greateſt value, or to exchange for the greateſt quantity either of money or of goods."

"But the annual revenue of every ſociety, is always preciſely equal to the exchangeable value of the whole annual produce of its induſtry, or rather is preciſely the ſame thing with that exchangeable value. As every individual

dividual therefore, endeavours as much as he can, both to employ his capital in the ſupport of his domeſtic induſtry, and ſo to direct that induſtry, that its produce may be of the greateſt value; every individual neceſſarily labours to render the annual revenue of the ſociety as great as he can. He generally, indeed, neither intends to promote the public intereſt, nor knows how much he is promoting it. By preferring the ſupport of the domeſtic induſtry to that of foreign, he intends only his own ſecurity, and by directing that induſtry in ſuch a manner as its produce may be of the greateſt value, he intends only his own gain, and he is in this, as in many other caſes, led by an inviſible hand to promote an end which was no part of his intention, &c. &c."

"What is the ſpecies of domeſtic induſtry which his capital can employ, and of which, the produce is likely to be of the greateſt value, every individual, it is evident, can in his local ſituation judge much better than any ſtateſman can do for him. The ſtateſman who

ſhould

ſhould attempt to direct private people in what manner they ought to employ their capitals, would not only load himſelf with a moſt unneceſſary attention, but aſſume an authority which could ſafely be truſted, not only to no ſingle perſon, but to no council or ſenate whatever, and which would no where be ſo dangerous, as in the hands of a man who had folly and preſumption enough to fancy himſelf fit to exerciſe it."

"To give a monopoly of the home-market to the produce of domeſtic induſtry, in any particular art or manufacture, is, in ſome meaſure, to direct private people in what manner they ought to employ their capitals, and muſt in almoſt all caſes, be either a uſeleſs, or a hurtful regulation. If the produce of domeſtic, can be brought there as cheap as that of foreign induſtry, the regulation is evidently uſeleſs. If it cannot, it muſt generally be hurtful. It is the maxim of every prudent maſter of a family, never to attempt to make at home, what will coſt him more to make than to buy. The taylor does not attempt

tempt to make his own ſhoes, but employs a ſhoe-maker; the ſhoe-maker does not attempt to make his own clothes, but employs a taylor; the former attempts to make neither, but employs both theſe different artificers. All of them find it to their intereſt to employ their whole induſtry in a way in which they have ſome advantage over their neighbours, and to purchaſe with a part of its produce, or what is the ſame thing, with the price of a part of it, whatever elſe they have occaſion for. What is prudence in the conduct of every private family, can ſcarcely be folly in that of a great kingdom. If a foreign country can ſupply us with a commodity cheaper than we ourſelves can make it, better buy it from them with ſome part of the produce of our own induſtry, employed in a way in which we have ſome advantage. *The general induſtry of the country, being always in proportion to the capital which employs it*, will not thereby be diminiſhed, no more than that of the above-mentioned artificers; but only left to find out the way in which it can be employed with the greateſt advantage. It is certainly not employed to the

greateſt

greateſt advantage when it is thus directed towards an object which it can buy cheaper than it can make. The value of its annual produce is certainly more or leſs diminiſhed, when it is thus turned away from producing commodities evidently of more value than the commodity which it is directed to produce, according to the ſuppoſition that the commodity could be purchaſed from foreign countries cheaper than it could be made at home. It could therefore have been purchaſed with a part only of the commodities, or what is the ſame thing, with a part only of the price of the commodities, which the induſtry employed by an equal capital, would have produced at home, had it been left to follow its natural courſe. The induſtry of the country, therefore, is thus turned away from a more, to a leſs lucrative employment, and the exchangeable value of its annual produce, inſtead of being encreaſed according to the intention of the law-giver, muſt neceſſarily be diminiſhed by every ſuch regulation."

"By means of ſuch regulations, indeed, a particular

particular manufacture may ſometimes be acquired ſooner than it could have been otherwiſe, and after a certain time, may be made at home cheaper than in the foreign country. But tho' the induſtry of the ſociety may be thus carried with advantage into a particular channel ſooner than it could have been otherwiſe, it will by no means follow, either that the ſum total of its induſtry, or of its revenue, can ever be augmented by any ſuch regulation. *The induſtry of the ſociety can augment only in proportion as its capital augments*, and its capital can augment only in proportion to what can be gradually ſaved out of its revenue. But the immediate effect of every ſuch regulation, is to diminiſh its revenue, and what diminiſhes its revenue, is certainly not very likely to augment its capital faſter than it would have augmented of its own accord, had both capital and induſtry been left to find out their natural employments.

"Tho' for want of ſuch regulations the ſociety ſhould never acquire the propoſed manufacture, it would not upon that account

neceſſarily

neceſſarily be the poorer in any one period of its duration. In every point of its duration, its whole capital and induſtry might ſtill have been employed, tho' upon different objects, in a manner that was moſt advantageous at the time. In every period its revenue might have been the greateſt which its capital could afford, and both capital and revenue might have been augmented with the greateſt poſſible rapidity."

This reaſoning of Dr. Smith, reſts upon two ſuppoſitions, both of which are aſſumed as true, tho' both require proof. The firſt is, that individuals who poſſeſs capital, are always beſt qualified to judge, what mode of employing their capital will make it produce the greateſt poſſible value. The ſecond is, that the capital of a country is always, when uninfluenced by legiſlative influence, fully employed, and in the beſt poſſible way.

With regard to the firſt of theſe propoſitions there is reaſon to believe it is not univerſally true. It ſuppoſes that every man who

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has his capital engaged in any given employment has conſidered the various advantages held out by every other mode in which it might be occupied, and that on the compariſon of each with every other he has determined with perfect juſtneſs in favour of that which he has choſen. Probably theſe ſuppoſitions are not true with reſpect to one in ten thouſand, even in thoſe countries where the different modes of occupying capital are beſt known. In countries leſs advanced in theſe ſpeculations, among which Ireland is certainly to be numbered, theſe ſuppoſitions are ſtill leſs frequently true. Many inſtances might be given in which numerous deſcriptions of men employ capital in ways which are far from being the moſt productive within their power; one may ſuffice. No counties in Ireland are more capable of tillage than ſome of thoſe which are at preſent chiefly occupied in paſturage, and no man can doubt whether tillage be more lucrative than paſturage either with regard to the profit of the individual, or the addition made to the national capital. Yet in theſe counties we ſee men induced by in-

dolence

dolence and other motives as little connected with views of profit, foregoing the moſt productive, and adopting the leaſt productive employment of their ſtock—Would it be an impolitic interference of the legiſlature in ſuch caſes to recommend tillage in preference to paſturage by bounties on one hand, and reſtrictions on the other? Theſe obſervations do not apply immediately to the caſe of duties impoſed on foreign manufactures for the promotion of ſimilar fabrics at home, but they ſeem to prove, that the argument on which thoſe duties are oppoſed is not always univerſally true, viz. that the individual, when left to himſelf, always employs his capital in the moſt beneficial way. This argument, indeed, if carried as far as it will go, proves not only that the individual ſhould be left to himſelf in the choice of the modes in which he ſhall employ his ſtock, but that all interference with reſpect to the proceſs by which he ſhall proſecute that mode is equally impolitic and unneceſſary. Yet it does not appear to have been quite ſo impolitic and unneceſſary to prohibit the old method of ploughing, in ſome parts

of this country, by faſtening the plough to the horſe tail; the preſent mode is evidently the more advantageous one, and yet ſuch was the force of attachment to old habits, and the propenſity to reſiſt innovation on eſtabliſhed cuſtom, that, with all the apparent benefit of this new method, it would probably have been long before it was generally adopted, but for the injunctions of law. Inſtances of the reluctance with which individuals and bodies of men adopt improvements in arts and manufactures abound in every country. The manufacturers of England itſelf have, in many inſtances, reſiſted the introduction of approved, only becauſe they were new modes of working.

But the interference of the legiſlature in a manufacture is not always a poſitive preſcription to individuals to turn their capital into a particular channel. The legiſlature may interfere many ways for the mere purpoſe of removing obſtacles to a manufacture without affording it ſuch advantages as may be fairly called a dictation to individuals to embark their ſtock in that manufacture; and it would require

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ſome further arguments than thoſe of Dr. Smith to prove that ſuch an interference in favour of a uſeful and productive manufacture is either unneceſſary or unwiſe. Thoſe obſtacles may be of various kinds; they may ariſe from other countries preventing us from obtaining a ſupply of materials uſeleſs perhaps to them—or from the prevailing taſte of the public for manufactures of thoſe countries, impeding the uſe of native manufactures, though not of the ſame kind with thoſe foreign ones. In either of theſe caſes, duties impoſed on theſe productions of foreign induſtry only tend to remove impediments by which manufactures, capable of adding greatly to the capital of the country, are obſtructed. They do not dictate to the individual to embark in this manufacture, but only put it in his power to avail himſelf of this ſource of profit, if, on comparing it with his other means, he ſhall judge it eligible. Duties on the manufactures of a country, prohibiting or encumbering our manufactures in their market, come within the deſcription of means for removing obſtacles which lie in the way of the home induſtry.

Perhaps

Perhaps the oppoſition to the doctrine of Smith may be ſafely carried farther. He reaſons againſt duties on foreign manufactures as tending to diminiſh the capital of the country by compelling the people to conſume the home manufacture at a dear price, in preference to the foreign, which may be afforded at a lower; and he contends, as we have ſeen, that, though in conſequence of theſe duties, the home manufacture may ultimately come to be produced cheaper than the foreign; yet the capital of the country might, during the interval have been employed in a more lucrative way. But, if by means of theſe duties the country ſhall have acquired a manufacture not only capable of compenſating the loſs which was ſuſtained by the public in the acquiſition of it, but which ſhall alſo be able in a ſhort time to add to the capital of the country much more than it would have acquired by the employment of its capital in another way, it is not eaſy to ſee why it ſhould not be conſidered as excellent policy to have obtained this manufacture by the impoſition of duties on that of other countries. Whether ſuch manufactures have not been ſo obtained, and whether

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there are not others attainable in the ſame way, is a queſtion which, perhaps, no man can anſwer in the negative, and which it may be a uſeful occupation of the ſpeculatiſt to conſider.

The ſecond propoſition on which Mr. Smith's reaſonings on this ſubject reſt, and of which he gives no proof, is, that the capital of a country is always fully employed, and in the beſt way. This is, perhaps, a haſty aſſumption; there is reaſon to believe, that there is in every country a conſiderable quantity of capital unemployed. In countries where manufactures do not proſper this is inevitable; becauſe in ſuch countries there is no way, or few ways, to employ capital, and even in countries where manufactures do flouriſh, much capital may remain idle from the indolence, the timidity, the ignorance, and, perhaps, the avarice of the proprietors—for avarice is more prompt to ſave capital by retaining it than to encreaſe it by enterprize in trade—if we can conceive ſuch kind of legiſlative interpoſition in commerce, or manufactures as ſhall elicit this capital from its lurking holes, moſt undoubtedly that interpoſition

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muſt be beneficial; nor does it ſeem abſurd to believe, that a legiſlature, by holding out judicious protection to manufactures adapted to the country, and therefore promiſing to be lucrative, may, in ſome meaſure, attain this end. How often do we ſee capital appear as if by magic, on the creation of ſome new and promiſing occaſion for employing it? and how many inſtances are there of one country lending to another a redundancy of capital, which there can be little doubt would be withdrawn, and employed in the more lucrative way of manufactures, if a new manufacture ſhould be ſtarted, promiſing at once, more ſecurity, and more advantage?

But whether the doctrine of Dr. Smith, as founded on thoſe two propoſitions be true or falſe, ſo far as it regards countries of which the capital is occupied in uſeful purſuits, and the people fully employed, it does not ſeem applicable to a country in which induſtry languiſhes, and of whoſe people conſiderable numbers are idle, either from neceſſity or from habit. Thoſe means of promoting manufactures,

which,

which, according to Smith, would be generally impolitic, ſeem to deſerve a different character here, where the queſtion is not whether induſtry and capital ſhall be directed to this or that object in preference to others, but whether induſtry ſhall be excited at all, or the mental and bodily force of its people be ſuffered to degenerate into ſavage ferocity?

It is better, ſurely, in ſuch circumſtances, to promote manufactures by any means, even by ſecuring a monopoly of the home-market, by duties, or by bounties, than to truſt to time and chance for their natural introduction. Exerciſe is the beſt means of acquiring, or of preſerving health, if the patient be ſtrong enough to take it, but in that degree of debility which is incapable of exertion, the phyſician muſt preſcribe other remedies. So far as this defect in the ſpirit of induſtry is applicable to Ireland, ſo far only is it recommended to adopt theſe forced methods of cultivating manufactures. In many inſtances, they are alreadily happily become unneceſſary.

SECTION

SECTION II.

Of the MONOPOLY of the RAW MATERIALS of MANUFACTURE.

Doubtful Policy of this Measure—Tho' adopted by Manufacturing Nations, it is probably not the cause of their Success—for it tends to discourage the raising of the Material, and so far hurts the Manufacture—Application of this principle to WOOL, *in England and other Countries.*

NEXT to the imposition of duties on foreign manufactures, the monopoly of the native materials for manufacture has been recommended. In Ireland, the export of her raw materials has long been reprobated as bad policy, and as a practice by which she divests herself of one of the most important advantages for manufacture, with which nature has blessed her.

If the exportation of the raw material tended to deprive us of a necessary stock for our manufacture,

nufacture, and thereby impede the induſtry of the nation; or if it deprived us of a market for our manufactured goods, which we ſhould otherwiſe poſſeſs, the policy of permitting the export might be doubtful. But it deſerves well to be conſidered, whether theſe conſequences neceſſarily reſult from the export of the rude material. That the conduct of moſt manufacturing nations, and of Great Britain in particular, gives ſanction to this opinion, is, indeed, true, and the ſucceſs which has attended the manufactures of Great Britain, is a circumſtance very impoſing. But before a deciſion is formed on the queſtion, we ſhould conſider whether that ſucceſs is not much more probably the effect of other cauſes? It may be ſafely admitted as a principle, that ſo far as the demand for any commodity, raiſed or cultivated merely for ſale, is diminiſhed, ſo far the raiſing and cultivating of that article, is diſcouraged. For a limited market, a limited ſupply is ſufficient. If, while the market remains the ſame, the ſupply be encreaſed, the demand for that commodity will ſo far be diminiſhed. If the ſupply be diminiſhed, the

demand

demand will be encreaſed in the ſame ratio; and as the demand is encreaſed or diminiſhed, the price which the article bears, will alſo encreaſe or diminiſh. In proportion as the price encreaſes, the profit of the ſeller will be augmented, other circumſtances remaining the ſame, and as the profits of the ſeller encreaſe, by ſo much the more will the number encreaſe of thoſe who will lay out their capital and induſtry in the raiſing or cultivation of that article. Thus there comes to be a ſupply in the market always proportioned to the demand—encreaſing, if that encreaſe, and diminiſhing if that be leſſened. Apply this to the prevention of the export of any article. By cutting off the export, you diminiſh the demand, by diminiſhing the demand, you diminiſh the price, and therefore the profit on the article, and in doing this, you leſſen the number of ſellers, *i. e.* diſcourage the production of the article. It matters not for what purpoſe this article be wanted, whether it be wool for a lucrative manufacture, or corn for a hungry people; in either caſe, the effect is preciſely the ſame, for the farmer raiſes his

corn,

corn, and grows his wool, without any consideration of the benefits which are to result to the country from either. He considers only his own immediate profit in both instances; he will raise corn if there be a sure and profitable market, and neglect wool if he be likely to meet a thin market and a low price. On the other hand he will grow wool if he be sure of a good price in a market where buyers abound, and will neglect corn though the country should starve if he be likely to have the redundancy left on his hands, when the public are satisfied.

If this reasoning be just, it must certainly be bad policy to lay any restraints on the export of the raw material, if that material be such that the quantity produced may be encreased by the efforts of industry. If, indeed, there were a given quantity always in the market, incapable of any increase or diminution, it might be, perhaps, politic to restrain the export, provided we had the means of working it up ourselves. But even in this case, it would not be wise to restrain it, if our manufacture

nufacture was not commenſurate to the quantity of material produced; and if we manufactured none of theſe materials, it would be highly advantageous to induce ſtrangers to export them. Iron ore is a raw material. If we refined no iron ourſelves, what could be more advantageous, than a company of ſtrangers ſettling among us, and working our mines, which elſe would remain uſeleſs; thus at once giving us payment for what themſelves made valuable, and holding out the incitement of example to the induſtry of our people.

If the material be of that kind which may be improved or deteriorated by care or by neglect, another evil beſides the diminution of the quantity produced, will follow, namely, it will degenerate in quality. When the price of any article is fixed, there remains no motive to improve its quality, unleſs it be to obtain a preference of ſale. But when the export of a commodity is reſtrained, the quantity produced will accommodate itſelf to the demand of the home-market, and in many

caſes

caſes will not be able to ſupply even that. As there can, therefore, in this caſe, be no fear of the commodity lying on hands, there will remain no inducement whatever to improve its quality.

The principal raw material of this country, of which the export has excited the loudeſt complaint, is wool; and this very article exhibits perhaps, moſt ſtrongly, the impolicy of reſtraint. For a full century, the export of it has been prohibited in England, and for a long period prior to that, had been reſtrained. It is true, indeed, that in conſequence of this reſtraint, the price of wool has been kept down; but it is alſo true, that in conſequence of it the quality of the wool has degenerated; it has been grown in leſs quantity, and England has been obliged to reſort to other countries for a ſupply, to Spain for fine wool, and to Ireland for much of the coarſer kind. The reſult of all theſe circumſtances is, that at beſt, ſhe is now but on an equal footing with other countries, in the woollen manufacture; at leaſt in the fine kind, in which

which ſhe was once ſo eminently ſuperior. That ſhe was once thus ſuperior, proofs are to be found interſperſed in all the old Engliſh hiſtorians and antiquarians, and many of them have been collected by the laborious Anderſon in his Hiſtory of Commerce. From the accounts given by him, it appears that the character of Engliſh wool was very high indeed throughout the Italian States, and the Netherlands, from the year 1298* down to 1519, and that during the earlier periods, the inhabitants of Rouſillon and Catalonia, were among the purchaſers of Engliſh wool, though theſe countries now afford wool far finer than any produced in Great Britain. It is fair to infer from theſe circumſtances, that Engliſh wool was in every reſpect equal to the beſt in Spain, and this opinion receives ſupport from the ordinance of Henry II. in 1172‡, by which he forbids the mixing of Spaniſh wool with the Engliſh, in the manufacture || of fine cloths. It is corroborated alſo, by the edict of Edward

* See Anderſon's Hiſtory of Commerce.—Year 1298, infra.

‡ Idem. || Rymer, vol. 5, page 36.

ward III. in 1338, forbidding the exportation of Engliſh live ſheep, to prevent other nations from improving their wool, and thus coming in competition with Engliſh manufacture. The ſame poſition is eſtabliſhed by the permiſſion granted by Henry VI. to Don Duarle, King of Portugal, to import ſixty ſacks of Cotſwold wool, in order to enable him to obtain ſome Florence cloth of gold*. This took place in 1437, a time when Portugal was at peace with the King of Caſtile, and in affinity. It would ſeem from this fact, that Cotſwold wool was generally preferred at that time to Spaniſh. At preſent, Spaniſh wool ſells from 3s. to 6s. per lb. and the beſt Cotſwold or Leominſter, for leſs than a ſhilling—what a falling off is here! It deſerves to be remarked, that in the reign of Edward III. when Engliſh wool was of this ſuperior quality, the export of that article amounted in value to 294,088l. 14s. 8d. which, allowing for the difference in the weight of the coin at that day and the preſent, was equal to 729,340l. 13s. 4d.

* Anderſon's Hiſtory of Commerce, vol. 1, p. 263.

without allowing for the different value of money at the two periods.*

Elizabeth, ever ſagacious of the true intereſts of her country, however prone ſhe might in general be to grant monopolies to individual ſubjects, yet ſhe was adverſe to a general monopoly of wool. During her reign, no check was given to the export of wool, and accordingly, in 1551, no leſs than ſixty ſhips ſailed from Southampton with that commodity. In the reign of James I. and Charles, the prohibition took place, which, however, they diſpenſed with when they thought fit; the prohibition was continued at the revolution, when the power of diſpenſing was abrogated. The conſequences of this meaſure, we are told, was what had been expected—wool fell in price, but another part of the manufacturer's expectation was not verified—the manufacture did not encreaſe in proportion. On the contrary, it was found that the woollen exports of a year, in the reign of Elizabeth,

* In the reign of Edward III. the lb. of ſilver was current for 22s. 6d. at preſent it is coined into 62s. See Llounds and Fleetwood.

beth, were double what they ever reached in the ſucceeding century. In her reign, the exports (including contraband trade to France, Spain and Portugal) was calculated to amount to 2,000,000l. and during the latter half of the 17th century, it is calculated by King's Britiſh Merchant, that they did not amount to more than 1,000,000l. Had we not already dwelt much too long on this article, it would be eaſy to ſhew, from the beſt authorities, that the effects of this prohibition were in the firſt inſtance, an encreaſe in the price of the carcaſe of the ſheep—*that*, not the wool, becoming now the lucrative part of the ſheep; in the ſecond, a degeneracy in the quality of the wool. The fine kind being no longer ſought for exportation, nor in ſufficient demand at home, was neglected. Of conſequence, Engliſh cloths made of Engliſh wool, became unable, in the foreign market, to bear a competition with thoſe of France or the Netherlands, which were made of Spaniſh wool. Hence the neceſſity of importing Spaniſh wool, by which England is reduced to a level with the manufacturer of other nations, over

whom ſhe formerly enjoyed a proud ſuperiority. Should Spain and Portugal come to work up their own wool, and, according to the policy of Great Britain, prohibit its export, the woollen manufacture of England, at leaſt in the fine cloths, falls to the ground.

After what has been ſaid on this ſubject, ſhould it be ſtill feared that the foreign demand for the materials of a manufacture may be ſo great as to threaten the home manufacture with a ſcarcity, it would be practicable to impoſe ſuch regulations on the export as, while they left it free ſo long as the materials were ſufficiently cheap and plenty, would reſtrain or prohibit it when the price ſhould riſe above that which the manufacture could afford to pay; ſuch regulations have been found beneficial to agriculture in ſecuring an abundant and ſteady ſupply for the home conſumption; why they ſhould not be equally ſo to manufactures is not apparent.

It appears then, on the whole, that, however eſſential the poſſeſſion of the primum

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may be, it is not good policy to prohibit the export, becauſe by that prohibition the only encouragement that can induce individuals to raiſe, cultivate, and improve that material, is removed. Yet, if the foreign demand for it ſhould ever become ſo great as to threaten danger to the home manufacture, then reſtraints might be laid on with ſafety, to be removed, however, when that danger ſhould exiſt no longer.

SECTION

SECTION III.

Of General Causes that tend to advance Manufactures.

Sincere Disposition in the Legislature to promote Manufactures necessary to their Success—Influence of the general complexion of the Laws on them—How far these Observations are applicable to Ireland—State of the Commercial Intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland—Observations on Absentees, and substitution of a Tax on them for those on Manufactures—Conclusion.

WHAT has hitherto been suggested for the promotion of manufactures, related to specific modes of encouragement or regulation. But there are general causes which have an effect on them more powerful, though less direct and immediate—causes that derive their being and efficacy from the structure of the government itself, and from the principles by which it is actuated. This is a very complex and a very delicate topic; it will be enough for our

our purpoſe briefly to touch it, and ſhew, by an inſtance or two, how theſe general cauſes operate to advance or retard the induſtry of the country.

Of thoſe means then to promote manufactures which offer themſelves to the mind when it looks at this as a great national object, the firſt and moſt important is, that thoſe who have the power of the ſtate ſhould entertain a ſincere intention and deſire to advance them, without reference to the will or intereſts of any other country.

If it were ſuppoſed poſſible that the legiſlature of a given ſtate could be influenced by any conſideration diſtinct from, or contrary to the general welfare of that country for which they legiſlated—it is apparent, at the firſt bluſh, that under the auſpices of ſuch a legiſlature, neither manufactures, nor any other great object of public purſuit, could uniformly proſper. Or, could we ſuppoſe the legiſlature of any country to be ſo conſtituted that the intereſts of the ſtate they governed were but a ſecondary object of their care, and that they were obliged by certain moral cauſes,

of

of which the operation was as powerful and certain as that of any phyſical cauſe in nature, to conſult that intereſt ſo far only as it ſhould not interfere with the particular concerns of another country, it would need no argument to prove that the ſtate ſo governed could never hope to carry her capacities for wealth and greatneſs into full effect. Under ſuch circumſtances it would be folly to ſuggeſt ſyſtems of encouragement conſiſting of partial regulations, and petty ordinances for this or that manufacture; for the baneful effect of the internal and operative principle of ſuch a legiſlature would for ever counteract this efficacy, would for ever check the energies, and blaſt the proſpects of the country. He then who conſiders of means for the promotion of manufactures, muſt ſuppoſe the exiſtence of ſuch an influence as this in the legiſlative body to be impoſſible; for, if it exiſted, no means could be ſucceſsful.

Next to this ſincere diſpoſition in the legiſlature of the country to forward its true intereſts, the moſt effective mode of promoting

manufactures

manufactures muſt be, governing by ſuch laws, as, while they enſure the peace of the country, ſecure at the ſame time the perſonal liberty and property of the ſubject. Under a government of deſpotiſm it is confeſſed, that neither manufactures, commerce, nor indeed any of thoſe purſuits to which civilized man directs his induſtry, can proſper; becauſe ſuch a government, beſides weakening the motives to exertion by rendering individual acquiſition leſs ſecure, tends alſo to vitiate the mind, and render its powers ſtagnant—But if deſpotiſm, which is the arbitrary government of one or more individuals, unreſtrained by law, produce theſe baneful effects on public induſtry, it remains to be conſidered, whether the ſame effects will not flow from a ſyſtem of government under which, though it profeſs to be that of limited or mixed monarchy, laws are enacted equally ſevere, capricious, changeful, unjuſt, adverſe to perſonal right and liberty, and innovating equally on private property as the dictates of the deſpot himſelf. If there be any real difference between arbitrary rule and genuine, rational freedom; if the diſtinction be-

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tween what have been called the beſt and the worſt forms of government, be any thing more than a nominal difference, then certainly, the nature of the laws, rather than the denomination of the legiſlator, muſt conſtitute their diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic; and thoſe laws which from anger or from pride, from corruption or timidity, wantonly violate the ſubject's right; thoſe laws which are enacted againſt the real ſenſe, and true intereſts of the people, and calculated only to ſecure the power or intereſts of a few, muſt deſerve the ſame name, and produce the ſame effects; whether they be enacted by a body of men under the character of a repreſentative legiſlature, or by the tyrant profeſſing to govern for himſelf.

Thoſe who read this tract will, no doubt, ſee how little theſe obſervations apply to this country. Ireland is a free ſtate—her legiſlature conſiſts of a king who cannot be ſuppoſed, when he acts as king of Ireland, to have in view the intereſts of any other kingdom—of lords raiſed to that high dignity for deeds of valour and virtue, which while they have ennobled them, have ſerved their country, and who in their legiſlative capacity ſoar

high

high above the influence of ſiniſter motives; and it conſiſts alſo of a REPRESENTATIVE BODY, who, being ſuch, muſt be conſidered as ſpeaking the popular ſenſe, and conſulting *only* the intereſts of the people. Of ſuch a legiſlature, it it would be political blaſphemy to ſuppoſe that they did not entertain the moſt ſincere and unmixed intention to promote the intereſts of Ireland, as it would be preſumption to deny, that thoſe laws which are the reſult of the combined prudence of thoſe three bodies, were not generally the moſt perfect productions of human wiſdom. But as human wiſdom is ever fallible, it may be permitted, perhaps, to ſuppoſe, that even this legiſlature, excellent and pure as it is, may ſometimes have omitted what the intereſts of the country have called for, and ſometimes adopted meaſures, in ſome degree militating againſt the common good. On one or two inſtances in which manufactures ſeem to ſuffer by theſe overſights or omiſſions, we ſhall touch very lightly, and with becoming humility.

Among ſubjects of this nature, the ſtate of commercial intercourſe between the two king-

doms

doms always claims a priority of attention. That it is for the benefit of Great Britain and Ireland to be connected as independent countries, under a common ſovereign, on terms of equal right, and equal advantages of conſtitution and commerce, is a propoſition to which every man, who conſiders the circumſtances of both kingdoms, and founds his opinions rather on experience than theory, will readily aſſent. But in order to make the truth of the propoſition indubitable, the connection muſt be ſuppoſed ſuch as we have ſtated it, that is, equal rights and equal advantages muſt be enjoyed by each country, and the welfare of either muſt not be ſacrificed to the other. It is therefore to be lamented, that the ſtate of the commercial intercourſe between Great Britain and Ireland, has hitherto been ſuch as affords the enemies of this connection one of the ſtrongeſt arguments by which its utility can be controverted—What is the ſtate of that intercourſe? Great Britain and Ireland are both manufacturing countries—the former already arrived at full maturity, poſſeſſing the higheſt degree of ſkill in manufactures, enjoying the advantage of a moſt extenſive capital,

and

and ſtretching its commerce, the vehicle of manufactures, to the remoteſt quarters of the world: Ireland, on the contrary yet in her infancy as a manufacturing country, far inferior to Great Britain in every manufacture, ſave one, poſſeſſing little capital, and it may be ſaid, no commerce. With all theſe advantages enjoyed by Great Britain, ſhe yet guards her market againſt the introduction of Iriſh manufactures, by duties and prohibitions, which could be ſuggeſted only by a ſpirit of the moſt cautious jealouſy. Does the legiſlature of Ireland thus ſecure *her* home-market for her own manufacture? Nothing like it; the ports of Ireland, open to the Britiſh manufacturer without reſtriction ſeem to court his approach, and he avails himſelf fully of the advantage. The markets of Ireland are accordingly filled with the manufactures of Great Britain, while the native manufactures (always excepting *one*) unaſſiſted in the competition either by equal ſkill, capital, or experience, yield without a ſtruggle, and are compelled to languiſh in ſome ruined corner, ſurrounded by rags and wretchedneſs, unpitied and forgotten! Can it be expected by reaſonable men, that under ſuch circumſtances manufactures

nufactures can thrive in Ireland? This expectation may be entertained, if there can be produced, in the hiſtory of manufacturing ſtates, a ſingle inſtance of manufactures riſing to proſperity, under the preſſure of ſuch competition. But if no ſuch inſtance can be found, and it may be ſafely aſſerted that there cannot, let thoſe whoſe duty it is to watch over the intereſts of the country, conſider whether ſomething ought not to be done to aſſiſt her in the ſtruggle againſt her gigantic competitor. Will it be ſaid, that the jealouſy of Great Britain would make it dangerous for Ireland to take a ſtep which would interfere with *her* intereſts?—that to reſtrict the importation of Britiſh manufactures, would be an angry meaſure; and that it is impoſſible to force Iriſh fabrics into the Britiſh ports, until Great Britain ſhall of her own accord open her market to Ireland? This is a dangerous argument, however often it may have been uſed—for it concedes to the enemies of the connection of the two countries, that equal rights and equal advantages are *not* the baſis of that connection—that the intereſts of Ireland in this important

inſtance

inſtance are inconſiſtent with thoſe of Great Britain, and muſt always yield to her more powerful rival—that Ireland, which in conſequence of this connection is bound to ſhare the burdens and participate in the misfortunes of the ſiſter country, is excluded from a participation of advantages, and muſt never dare to conſult her own intereſts but by the permiſſion of the rival ſtate. The public underſtanding at this day will not bear ſuch an argument—the public feeling will revolt againſt it! Were a legiſlator to reaſon thus it would be a dereliction of his character as the legiſlator of an independent ſtate, and a confeſſion that he legiſlated for Ireland not as a kingdom but as a province!

In a former part of this work in which the importance of the Britiſh market to Ireland was deſcribed, it has been ſaid, that the poſſeſſion of that market ſhould be ſought by none but friendly meaſures, and that thoſe which had the appearance of being vexatious, or hoſtile, as they might provoke retaliation and be injurious to both countries, ſhould be avoided. Undoubtedly this is true; but if Great Britain be the ſiſter and not the miſtreſs of Ireland, if the con-

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nection between them be that of independent ſtates united by the tie of a common ſovereign, why ſhould it be conſidered hoſtile and vexatious in Ireland to protect and cheriſh her manufactures by thoſe modes which all ſtates have adopted to cheriſh and protect them? If Ireland impoſed on the manufactures of Britain terms more ſevere than thoſe which Britain impoſes on the manufactures of Ireland, this indeed were a meaſure of vexation and hoſtility —but when ſhe only recurs to thoſe modes of protection to which the practice of Great Britain herſelf has given ſanction, who will ſay that ſhe does that which is inconſiſtent with the fair, honourable, and independent connection of the two countries? No; the preſent ſyſtem of prohibition, in which Great Britain perſeveres, is that which ſavours of vexation and hoſtility; and if Great Britain wiſhes to perpetuate and make valuable that connection, ſhe will mitigate that ſyſtem—ſhe will no longer withhold from Ireland, which has been the prop of her ſtrength, thoſe advantages which ſhe has ſo liberally interchanged even with France, her rival and her enemy —ſhe will unite the intereſts of the two coun-

tries,

tries, bring their powers to act in one direction, and thus raiſe a falling empire into one which ſhall be the awe and the admiration of Europe!

That which forms the next inſtance in which legiſlative care ſeems to have forgotten the manufacturing intereſts of Ireland is, perhaps, the ſtate of the Abſentees. Among the impediments which ſtand in the way of manufactures in Ireland, the want of capital is probably the moſt fatal. How much muſt its miſchievous efficacy be encreaſed by the tranſmiſſion of no leſs a ſum than one million four hundred thouſand pounds annually to the land-holders of this country reſident in Great Britain? If this ſum were circulated in the country, what energy would it impart to induſtry, which now languiſhes from want of excitement; what life to manufactures that are now ſtagnant from want of conſumption, or cramped from want of capital to extend them? Were theſe landholders to reſide in the country, how would their preſence ſtimulate the exertions of their tenantry—how would their munificence aid, and their intelligence direct them? But theſe are bleſſings of which the nature of the connection between the two countries, even on its beſt footing, will probably for

ever deprive us. The call of ambition, or of pleasure, will always draw the affluent and the great to the seat of the sovereign; and it were idle to hope that the operation of any law which justice or sound policy would warrant, can ever counteract the influence of motives so powerful. This inconvenience, therefore, naturally resulting from our connection with Great Britain, is inevitable as it is great—but, great as it is, the benefits which might be derived from that connection would fully compensate for its effects were that connection what it professes, and what it ought to be, a connection of equal rights and equal privileges, so far as the nature of things themselves would admit—Would it not, therefore, become those who wish best to the connection to try to mitigate, as much as possible, that evil which cannot be removed, and consider whether it might not be possible to transfer to those *alien-Irishmen*, part, at least, of those heavy burdens, which, by excise, and other duties, are now thrown on the manufactures of the country? Let the legislator and the theorist weigh the mischiefs of these imposts—let him compare them with those, which have

him

been ſo often urged againſt an abſentee tax, and then determine, which ſhould moſt powerfully influence him who profeſſes to be a repreſentative of the IRISH PEOPLE, not the agent of a few BRITISH PEERS.

How many other inſtances there may be, in which the intereſt of manufactures ſuffers from the omiſſion of means to protect and cheriſh them, and in how many more they feel the injurious efficacy of impolitic reſtraints, and injudicious or inordinate taxation, it is for the wiſdom of the legiſlature to enquire. It ſhall ſuffice here to have offered a few hints on that ſubject: to enter into a diſquiſition on it in this place, even were the writer equal to the undertaking, would protract a work already advanced beyond the intended limits, to a length intolerable.

Having thus ſhewn that manufactures deſerve encouragement; having conſidered what are the circumſtances which render a manufacture fitted for a country to proſecute; having ſeen how theſe circumſtances apply to each of the principal manufactures within the reach of Ireland; and in the laſt place, made a very few obſervations on thoſe ſpecific modes of encou-

ragement which have been generally recommended for the promotion of them, and on thoſe general cauſes that tend to promote or retard their progreſs, it is conceived our enquiry may here terminate.

This Eſſay ſhall therefore be concluded by expreſſing the writer's hope, that for any inelegance in point of ſtyle, or any unimportant miſtakes in matter, he will meet indulgence. To the firſt of theſe, the nature of the ſubject was leſs propitious than if it were a queſtion of literature or criticiſm; and with reſpect to the ſecond, the frequent neceſſity he was under, from the wide extent of the queſtion, to conſult the opinions, and depend on the ſtatements of others, made it ſometimes impoſſible to attain indubitable certainty. Errors in matters of fact, however, he has the beſt reaſon to believe, occur but ſeldom in the courſe of the work, becauſe he has endeavoured, with very conſiderable pains, to obtain the moſt authentic information in points where his own knowledge was deficient, and he has adopted nothing without trying it by every teſt of truth or probability within his power.

FINIS.