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REMARNABLE ON TRADE

WITH

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

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

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

PHÆ.

DUBLIN:

Printed by S. POWELL, for GEORGE EWING, at the Angel and Bible in Dame's-street, MDCC XXVIII.

REASONABLE REMARKS

HTIW

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

Wrote in Loudon, but now full Published in Dublin, as a Preface to other ESSAYS on the Trade and Manufactures of IRELAND.

> Hispolicus obiit, quia noverce credinum cit Calfandrez quia non credicum ruit Ilium Ergo explorandes Freeitas soultum prins, Quam fulta prave indicet Seutenia.

DUBLIN:

11 17

Printed by S. POWELL, for GEORGE EWINCS at the Angel and Bible in Dame's-fireer, MDCC XXVIII.

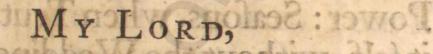
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IS EXCELLENCE

nde of Trefe IV

IC LOOT Lord CARTERET

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





HE steady and unshaken Zeal with which You have been always attach'd to the Publick Good of A 2 Your

Your own Country, and the mild and benign Influence of Your Government here, gives me Reafon to hope, that the following Essay on the Trade of these Nations may meet with Your Excellency's Patronage and Protection.

on. THERE have been Seafons, MY LORD, when it would be vain to publifh any thing, which did not fquare with the Opinion of those in Power: Seasons, when Truth it self, without the Wedding-Garment, would be turn d out of Doors: But it is our peculiar Happines, that we have a PRINCE on the THRONE,

THRONE, whole Royal Virtues have charm'd all the jarring Factions; all the different Interest of Hissseveral Dominions into one unanimous Joy, at His Accession: A Joy so much the more Remarkable, since in it the Greatest Loss which a Loyal People could suffer was so quickly forgot, and to Him Truth in any Dress is welcome.

'T IS to His Care and Vigilance for our Welfare we owe, MY LORD, Your Ex-CELLENCY'S Return to us; and the univerfal Acclamations of a glad People, fufficiently teftify the Prudence of His Choice: You are the Medium,

1,

dium, MY LORD, through which He is to view all our Occafions and Neceffities. And the generous and handfome Reprefentation which You were pleafed to make to His Late MAJESTY, on Your Return from Your Government of IRELAND, leaves this People no Room to doubt of Your Favour and Protection.

FROM these Confiderations I have form'd to my self, Hopes, My Lord, that this little Tract, how opposite soever to the Common Opinion, may meet with Your Ex-CELLENCY's Protection.

IT was wrote in LONDON, and defign'd to be publish'd there,

there, till upon a more serious Reflection, I determin'd to inquire, what Improvement the Trade of IRELAND was capable of, before I exposed it to Publick View; and I have fpent so much Time therein, that now the following Pages throw themselves at YourEx-CELLENCY's Feet, as a Preface only to other Essays on the Manufactures and Trade of IRELAND, which I have prepared for the PRESS, if this should meet with Your Approbation.

THE Subject, MY LORD, is that on which depends the Grandeur and Profperity of Two Nations; One Dear to You

You as it is Your nativeCountry, and theOther as it is Yours by Adoption, and I flatter my felf, from the general Bent of YourInclinations, which have always led You to promote uleful Inquiries, that how imperfectly foever it is here handled, You will Countenance the Undertaking, to incite abler Hands to fo Neceffary an Inquiry. I am,

pared for the PRESS, if this

My LORD,

fio disclota

Your Excellency's most Devoted, most Humble Servant.



SEASONABLE REMARKS ON TRADE, &c.



Overnments that have depending upon them many leffer States, ought to to model their Affairs, that each may

have its particular Occupation, and labour jointly with the reft for one great End : For the Wealth and Grandeur of the Whole, without incroaching upon the Business of each other, or impairing that of the Supream Kingdom; and if we do but B confider our own Concerns, with any reafonable Attention we shall find that it behoves us more particularly to apply to this Management, and by regulating, and improving the Trade of our Dependencies to recover those Branches of Commerce from Strangers, which we have long been obliged to let them run away with.

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Could any thing in its Appearance be more fortunate to the Trade of England than our Discovery of the Port of Archangel on the White Sea, and the many Encouragements which our Merchants on their first coming thither had from the Czar, to settle their Commerce with that Town: The Passage to it was incumbred with none of those Difficulties which are usually met in Voyages up the Baltick, and its Situation, 10 near the great River Duina, made the Commodities of the Russian Empire come to much cheaper to Market than

than they formerly did by Revel and Narva; that the entire Trade of that great Country was all at once devolv'd upon us, but the indefatigable Affiduity of the Dutch, foon led them our way, and by underfelling us in almost all the Wants of that Country, they quickly get into our Place in the Czar's Favour, and furnish'd all the rest of Europe with the Produce of Russia, fo much cheaper than we could afford them, that our Trade to those Parts, fell greatly to Decay; and would entirely be loft, had it not been for the Native Commodities of England and its Dependencies, which they require, and can be furnished with no way but through our Hands.

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The Fisheries of Greenland and Newfoundland were first discover'd by us; we were in the fole Posseffion of them, and claimed a Right to monopolize those Seas and their Pro-B 2 duce; duce; but the Dutch, the Hambourghers and the French, what by Fraud, what by Connivance, and what under Colour of Right to the open and free Seas, followed our Example, and notwithstanding the feveral Encouragements, which we from time to time gave, by Acts of Parliament and otherways, to the Natives of England, to profecute that gainful Business; we were however fo unfortunate to see it taken out of our Hands, and to be underfold by all the World, in the Produce thereof.

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The Trade to the Coaft of Affrick, we were very early in the Pofleffion of; and many Charters were granted, and at laft an Act of Parliament paffed for the Encouragement of thole, who from time to time undertook it; but the Dutch, the Hambourghers, the French, and the Danes have incroached upon our Settlements and Trade in those Parts, and furfurnish all Nations of the World (which are not by their Dependance upon England confined to take them from us alone) with Elephants Teeth, Wax, Gumms, Dying Stuffs, Negroes, *Fc.* cheaper than we can afford them.

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

Many other Inftances, might be given of the great Decay of our Trade, and the Diladvantages, under which we lye, whenever we come to dispute that Point with Strangers; but alas, what need of particular Instances; for, in short, the French and Dutch undersel us in the Produce of any Country, to which they can relort, on the Level with us,---- But the Crown of England has depending upon it, feveral Kingdoms, Plantations and Settlements, in Europe, Afia, Affrick, and America, which abound with Commodities much lought after; and to be had no way but through our Hands : We are ftored at home with a great natural Wealth, and our home Confumption of foreign Commodities, is so defended by our Naval and Commertial Laws, that we can import for our own Ule, and export our own Growth cheaper than any other People can for us : Thefe

These Regulations confine all the Navigation to and from England and its Dependencies to our own Hands, furnish our Shipping with constant Imployment, and make our Navigation seem to flourish; but whenever we dip into any Branch of Trade that can be undertaken on the Level with us by other Countries, we are always unfuccessful; and this is a fure Symptom of fome lurking Disease which may in time bring on the Dissolution even of that Trade which is left us; it is therefore high time to enquire what the Cause hereof may be, that we may apply fuch Remedies, as may be most likely to remove it. arer Pr

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Every Country, and every individual of a Country will always buy their Neceflaries from those, who afford them the Best and the Cheapest; so that whatever People can fell the best Penny-worths at foreign MarMarkets, must necessarily engross to themselves, all those Branches of Trade, which they are fo enabled to maintain : But the feveral Exigencies of our State (arising from a general Benevolence to Mankind, which could not let us fit tamely by, whilst the Liberty of our Neighbours was invaded) have from time to time called out for greater Sums of Money than our Parliaments were willing, or perhaps able, to give within the Year : This brought about Loans and Debts, and these Taxes upon all the Confumption of the People, whereby they were laid under a Necessity to exact greater Prices for Art and Labour, in order to purchase for themselves the Necessaries of Life, inhansed as they were by Taxes ; and this fudden Raife in the Price of Art and Labour has made the working up of all our Manufactures, vastly more

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more expensive than those of any of ther Country in Europe.

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There are feveral Accidents which indear a Commodity to the Merchant, befides the first Cost thereof; every Alteration of the Primum, is at the Expence of Art and Labour ? Every Removal thereof from Place to Place is at the fame Expence, and these travel with the Commodity through all it's Modifications and Voyages, till they light at last upon the Confumer.

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

But there are several Branches of Trade that depend upon buying the Manufactures and Growth of one Country, to sell the same in the same Form to another; these suffer no Alterations, and yet tho' we buy them in the Place of their Growth and Production on a Level with the Dutch, &c. yet they can afford them cheaper in any Part of the World (England (England and its Dependencies excepted, where they are incumbred by the Navigation ACt, &c.) than we : Here the Carriage of the Goods is the only thing that intervenes between the Purchase and the Sale ; wherefore we may reasonably conclude, that our chief Disadvantage in this Business must lye in the Navigation, and this will more plainly appear if we confider the Nature of Navigation it felf, and the Means by which it is executed.

In the first Place, a Ship confists of many different Materials, fome of which are of our own Growth, and fome not, but they are all of them however to be purchased by the particular Trader, and his first Cost, whether dear or cheap, travels with the Ship a Weight upon all Commodities, exported or imported in her : In the second Place, all these Primums of Navigation must C_2 be

be wrought up, and put together by the Craft and Labour of Men, which differ in Value according to the Country wherein the Work is executed, and according to the Affiduity and Application of those imployed in it; infomuch that where Labour is dear, and where the Luxury of the People renders them indolent and flow to work, the building and fitting out of a Ship must necessarily require a greater Sum of Money, than it would in a Country where either the Poverty or Frugality of the Inhabitants inure them from their Infancy, to bear the Toil and Fatigue of the Day upon flender Fare; and this Difference of Expence is another Burthen upon the Ship, and the Goods carried in her; but when all this is done, there must be provided Victualing for the Voyage, and Sailors to navigate the Vessel; and this creates another Ex-

Expence, differing also according to the Dearness or Cheapness of the Place where the Ship is Victualed and Mann'd, and according as the People are more or less accustomed to Labour, and hard Fare; and this Difference also attends her in all the Voyages she performs, and is a Clog upon all Merchandizes carried in her; nor do they only affect those ordinarily traded withal, but even the Primums of our Navigation themselves, such of them especially as we are obliged to import, either from our own Dependencies or from foreign Countries, and this being the Nature of Navigation, it follows, that as it is in a particular Manner influenced by the Price of Labour and Art, so it must be greatly dearer to us, whose Industry is incumbred with so many Difficulties, than to our Neighbours who are so much easier in their Circumstances.

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

?Tis

'Tis true that England can have either within it felf, or from its Dependencies most of the necessary Materials, for Ship-building, and 'tis true that on that Account, we can fit out one or more Vessels, at less Expence of Treasure to the Publick, than Holland; but this is a very inconfiderable (if any Ease at all) to that Part of our Navigation which has Respect to Trade ; for by Navigation, in that Senfe, is underftood the Carriage of Goods only from one Place to another, and that too, as it is dearer or cheaper, for tis this that influences the Sale of Commodities fo carried : The Savings of the Publick are of no Account to the particular Builder, but infomuch as he is benefitted by them : He must pay for the Growth of England and its Dependencies as well as for those of foreign Countries : 'Tis what he alone is out of Pocket for either that will

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will always be his Direction in the Freight of his Veffel, and he must get the Interest of his Money, the Expence of the Voyage, and a reafonable Ware and Tare, or he will be a lofer, let the Ship be built of home produced Materials or not, fo likewise must the Merchant consider the Expence of his Freight in the Sale of his Goods, and not the National Loss or Gain in the Building of the Ship : 'Tis that he must provide for over and above his first Cost the Interest of his Money, and a reasonable Profit, and so much as it stands him in more than the Dutch Merchant, so much must he sell dearer than the Dutch Merchant, to gain only as much by the Sale as the other; wherefore if the Dutch can import from Abroad all the Materials of Navigation, cheaper than we can procure them at Home, they will be able to let out their Ships to

to Freight, fo much cheaper than we can ours, and confequently all Goods carried on Board their Ships, tho' bought at the fame first Cost, with these carried in our Bottoms, may be afforded at foreign Markets fo much cheaper than ours, as the Expence of Carriage is less; and this Difference in the Navigation (that is the Carriage of Goods) is that which gives them the Advantage of us in all those Branches of Trade which they can undertake on the Level with us.

This is indeed a very great Miffortune, but however, whilft the Dutch are a more laborious and frugal People, whilft they can live upon cheaper Fare, and work harder, whilft their Intereft-money is lower, and whilft the Confumption of their labouring People is lefs loaded with Taxes than ours, fo long will it continue, and fo long will they be our Ri-

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Rivals in Trade ; unless fome other People rife up, cheaper to feed and more hardy to work, freer from Taxes and more favoured by the Interest of Money, than they ; but when foever that happens in *Europe*, the States of *Holland*, who from poor Fisher-men have extended their Trade over all the Ocean, and unto all the Kingdoms of the Earth, must tumble down, and we shall no longer fuffer those Rivals in Trade, who have more than once disputed with us the Empire of the Sea.

The Ballance of Trade is as variable as the Ballance of Power, and has as often fhifted Sides: There have been as many univerfal Empires (if I may fo call them) eftablished upon the Ocean as upon the Land; but like those they have fallen to Decay, and given Place to others; for as Industry begets Trade and Wealth, fo whenever the Minds of a People are

are unbent by excellive Riches into Indolence and Luxury, and the Price of their Labour and Navigation is thereby rendered dearer, than that of their Neighbours, they foon see their Grandeur moulder away, and their flow acquired Riches, depart with hafty Strides to their rifing Successors; these by indefatigable Labour and Industry, by the Parsimony of Particulars, and the OEconomy and good Government of the State for a while hold the Dominion of the Seas, till the fame Diftemper brings upon them the fame Fate, and they also give away to others.

Such has been the fickle Temper of Trade fince her first Appearance in the World under the Phenicians, to her present Settlement amongst the Dutch; these indeed have extended her Dominion farther than any of their Predecessions, but they seem at present not far from that fatal Period, D 2 when

when they in their Turn must yield to others that Province, which they with fo rapid a Course have overrun, and fo long ingrofs'd to themfelves ; but who the fortunate Succeffor is likely to be, is not much inquired, tho' the Search might well deserve our Pains, since, if we purfue Trade through all the various Turns which it has already taken, we shall always behold it rendring Great and Confiderable those People, who before it smiled upon them were weak and unnoticed amongst us, but striking Terror into the rest of the World, whenever it added it felf to a State already Great and Powerful.

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

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In the 12th Century another trading People begun to appear in the World, by the Name of OEsterlings, these were the Inhabitants of several little Maritime Towns in Germany, who to defend themselves against the frequent Pyracies, with which the Northern Seas were then infested, associated themselves together, and in that Situation, became so Considerable, that they continued to the latter End of the 15th Century the fole Arbiters of Peace and War in the North, North, and were indeed greatly confidered by all the Princes of Europe; tho' their remote Situation, and their divided Interests, rendered them but little Formidable however to the Liberty of the World.

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But about the latter End of the 15th Century the Trade of the Universe suffered a greater Revolution, than perhaps it ever did before, and that Part thereof which was added to the Power of Spain, made all Europe tremble, the Portuguees having found out a Way to the East-Indies by the Cape of Good-hope, made Lisbon the Staple of all those Eastern Commodities which the hither World was formerly supplied with, through the Ports of the Mediterranean : The new World was difcovered by the Spaniards under Ferdinand; and Gold and Silver (which till then was only to be acquired by long and painful Applications to Industry) came in Ship-

Ship-loads from the conquered Kingdoms of Peru and Mexico into Spain, and in the Year 1500 the Hanstownes or OEsterlings through excessive Riches and an unfortunate Division amongst themselves, gave the Englifb and Dutch an Opportunity to furnish the World with those Commodities, which before came only through their Hands; and here it mayn't be amiss to observe, that fo sudden was their Fall, who for upwards of 200 Years ingrossed to themselves almost all the Trade of the World, that in 1506 they had scarce any Business at all : A surprifing Instance of the speedy Departure of Trade from those who have once passed the Summit of good Fortune. Isons othe base and

So confiderable an Addition as was made to the Power of Spain by the Trade of the Galleons to America, changed the Face of Affairs in Europe;

[24] Europe; for Charles with all those Treasures at Command, could not fail of his Election to the German Empire; by which he was all at once made an Over-ballance for the rest of Europe; and had not so many things conspired to rescue Mankind from such an imoderate Growth of Power, it is much to be doubted whether all those Alliances which were formed against him by his warlike Contemporaries could ever have

kept him within Bounds. Spain by the Expulsion of the Moors and Jems after a long Succeffion of intestine Wars, was in a Manner exhausted of People; its Conquests in America were a perpetual Drain upon the Few that were left, and the excessive Plenty of Money, which all at once devolv'd upon them (for Trade begun with Spain, where it ends with others) occasioned such an intire Disuse of In-

Industry and Manufacture, that they were quickly under a Necessity to fend out the Wealth of the Indies as fast as it came in : All the Dominions of Spain were but newly acquired, and the unweildly Fabrick had not time to confillidate or cement it self together, before it was on all Sides attack'd. The Spaniards and Flemmings were jealous of each other, and the Germans of them both, which made it for a while Work sufficient for Charles the 5th to reconcile the jarring Interests of his feveral Dominions : but before that could be done, the uneafy Jealousy of his Subjects obliged him to have his Brother Ferdinand elected King of the Romans, and that Intitling him to the Succession of the Empire, devided the Power of Spain before it was able to exert it self against her Neighbours.

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To Philip the Second defcended (together with Spain) the Belgick Provinces, the Principalities in Italy, and the Kingdoms in America, to which he added that of Portugal, a Place at that Time very Confidederable for Trade, but the same fundamental Evils still lurked within the Body of Spain, its want of People became a more fensible Misfortune by the Loss of Germany, which before in some Measure supply'd that Defect, a universal Difuse of Industry required still an Expence of most Part of that Treasure which was brought in by Trade: The Support of the League in France was a great Drain upon what remained; the Defection of the Belgick Provinces, through the Severities of the Duke of Alva, put its Affairs into Confusion; and the intire Defeat of the invincible Armada (which not only took up the ready

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dy Money of Spain, but run the State also into Debts, from which they have not been able, even to this Day, to extricate themselves) gave the finishing Stroke to its Power. All these complicated Misfortunes of State (I say) were Cause sufficient why Spain in those two Reigns, wherein their Power feemed at fo high a Pitch, by the Accession of Trade to their Possessions by Land, did however, so little incroach upon the Liberty of her Neighbours.

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The Defection of the Belgick Provinces ended in the States of Holland. These Children of Oppression (if I may so call them) being, under the severest Penalties, forbid any Commerce with Spain or Portugal (from whence they hitherto had all those Commodities of both the Indies, with which they furnish'd the rest of the World) open'd E 2 for

for themfelves a Way to the Place of their Growth; and the Portugues after their Union with Spain (being loft as it were) in fo great a Kingdom (and no longer a People) forgot their former Spirit and Refolution, and made fo poor a Refiftance, that before they recovered their Liberties in the Reign of Philip the Third, the Dutch had posselfed themfelves of most of their Settlements in both the Indies, and upon the Coast of Affrick.

'Tis true, the Dutch had in their Infancy feveral Difficulties to wreftle with, but on the other Hand, fo many things confpired to encreafe their Power and Riches, that in a fhort Time they furmounted them all: The Misfortunes of Portugal, the Severity of the Inquifition throughout all the Dominions of Spain, the Perfecution in France, and the Troubles in England, made Holland

land (as it were) an Asylum for all the trading and rich People of Europe; thither they reforted with their Wealth and their Families, so that in a short time, Amsterdam became what Lisbon, Bruges and Antwerp formerly were, the chief Staple of all the Trade of Europe : They proceeded intent upon Trade only; engaged in no Wars this Side of the World, but such as were necessary for their Preservation, and even those within their own Country, which were therefore to them, rather an Inlet than a Drain of Treafure ; they kept the Consumption of their Poor free from exorbitant Taxes, at a Time when most of their Neighbours were under heavy Debts, and by this Means continued the Price of Labour at a moderate Pitch; OEconomy and Temperance were the usual Recomendations to Places of Trust and Power 111

in the State, this begot a universal Parfimony amongst the People, and suspended for a Season the Evils of an exceffive Riches, which their Neighbours already began to feel in an encreasing Luxury and Profusion; all these Accidents and prudent Councils (I fay) have advanced them to a higher Station in Trade, than any other People, and (little as their Country is) if they have not extended their Dominions in Europe, it feems to be not from any want of Power, but from a Defect in their Constitution, which is fitted rather for Preservation than Conquest, fince one negative Voice (a thing not hard to be purchased amongst a People, who are rather studious of Wealth than of Glory) is able to overthrow the best concerted and the most prosperous Enterprize.

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But the Parlimony, and other domestick Virtues of the Dutch, by which

which they were fo long enabled to transact almost all the Trade of the World, have within a few Years greatly given Way to Expence and Figure, they have already a Taste for elegant Living, and sumptuous Equipages, and they can indulge themselves in Riot and Luxury, without becoming odious to their fellow Citizens; but whenever they arrive to fuch a Pitch, that OEconomy and Temperance shall no longer be the necessary Recommendations to Places of Power and Confidence in the State, when the Ambitious in the Common-wealth have found out the more agreeable Way to Popularity, by Expence and Profusion, and when the People begin to tafte the Sweets of fuch Engagements, the States of Holland (perhaps in as short a Time as the Hanstowns) will cease to be High and Mighty; their Power at Sea will devolve

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volve upon some other People, and they may chance to be reduced to their primitive Fishing-boats again.

The Symtoms of this Decay are already upon them; it is therefore highly proper for us to think of Means whereby to prevent fo great an Addition as their lofs of Trade wou'd make to the Strength of any other State already Confiderable in *Europe*, leaft fuch a Union of Power and Riches might in time prove dangerous, not to ours alone, but to the Liberty of the World in general.

'Tis plain, that upon our own Bottoms, we are unequal to the Undertaking; our Condition is already what that of *Holland* is about to be, our Luxury devours more than our Industry can provide; and the Expence of our Manufactures is greater than any Price which we can expect for the Produce of them Abroad ! broad! but as melancholy a Reflection as this feems to be, it is however no fmall Comfort to think that we have it ftill in our Power, by a prudent Regulation of our Dependencies, to fupply all thefe inward Defects, and to recover from Strangers a great Part of the general Commerce; with the Hands of thofe whole ev'ry Acquifition by Trade and Industry must always flow in upon us, to feed and fupply us with Money.

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The Crown of England has annex'd to it many Dependencies, where Labour is cheaper, the People hardier, eafier to feed, and freer from Taxes, than any of our Neighbours; thefe like io many Spunges (if I may be allowed the Comparifon) must be employed to fuck up Treasures from the Ocean in Order to fqueeze them out again into the grand Receptacle of all the Riches of her Dependencies, Great Britain. F Thefe must, I say, be employed to manage those Branches of Trade, which we, by reason of an immense Wealth, an encreasing Luxury, and an over-bearing Debt, are at present under a Necessity to let Strangers run away with.

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Our Plantations in America are very Confiderable, as well for their Extent and the Numbers of People already fettled there, as for the great natural Wealth which they produce. Labour is there universally cheap; and all the Materials of Navigation at the easiest Rates; 10 that there is not in the World a Place better adapted for Ship-building, which however is the only Article of the Plantation Business unprovided for. If therefore the Importation of Ships from thence (if I may be allowed the Expression) were encouraged, it wou'd ease our Navigation of a very great Burthen, and very much ailift our

our Trade; for there is no Dispute, but as the Primums of Navigation are there to be had in a manner for taking, so they might be put together much cheaper than they can in England; and when a Veffel is once fitted out, the Ingredients of which it is composed, and which come at prefent to us, incumbred with the Expence of a long and dangerous Voyage, a costly Freight, &c. would then become cheaper in the Passage, and might be afforded in England at a lower Price, by fo much as it had defray'd the Expence of the Building by the Freight of Goods carried in her; but when this is faid the Plantation Trade is capable of very little other Improvement, for their remote Situation, and the Abundance of Imployment with which the People are already, in a manner, overcharged, and from which, it is by no means our Interest to divert them, renders F 2 them

them unfit for so extended a Trade as they were to be wished capable of. Scotland by its Union with England, enjoys already all the Advantages of a free Trade ; but the Barrennefs of the Soil, and the Want of Communication between the inland and maritime Countries, through the almost inaccessable Mountains, which detain the Growth and Manufactures of the Country from Exportation, and the Commodities brought in by Trade, from a proper Distribution amongst the working People, leave us but little Room to hope for any great Affiftance from thence : But Ireland is under none of these Inconveniencies, its Situation for an extended Trade is more Advantagious than that of any other Nation in Europe; its Harbours are many and commodious, its Inhabitants numerous and hardy, inur'd to Want and Labour, easy to feed, and able upon modu

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on poor Fare to run through a great deal of Work : All the Necessaries of Life are in that Country at lower Prices than they are in any other this Side the Globle; the People are incumbred with very few Taxes, and their Labour is cheaper than that of any of their Neighbours : Their near Situation renders the Intercourse between us very easy, and enables us to protect their Trade, and to take fuch Care of our Intereft there as would almost be impossible, had they been more remote. The Politeness, the Gayety, and the Power of our Court allure all those who are studious, either of Improvement, of Pleasure, or of Preferment; this drains from thence the Penny-rents of most of the great Eftate of that Kingdom, and every Increase of their Wealth will (by inlarging the Rent-rouls of those already lettled here, and by enabling others

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others to tafte the Delights of a Court, who by the Narrownefs of their prefent Fortunes are confined at home) greatly enlarge this Inlet of their Money, and increase our Drafts upon them; which together with the Restrictions on the Exportation of their Wooll, and the other Advantages which we already have of them in Trade, will cause to center in England, all or the most Part of their Acquisitions on the general Ballance.

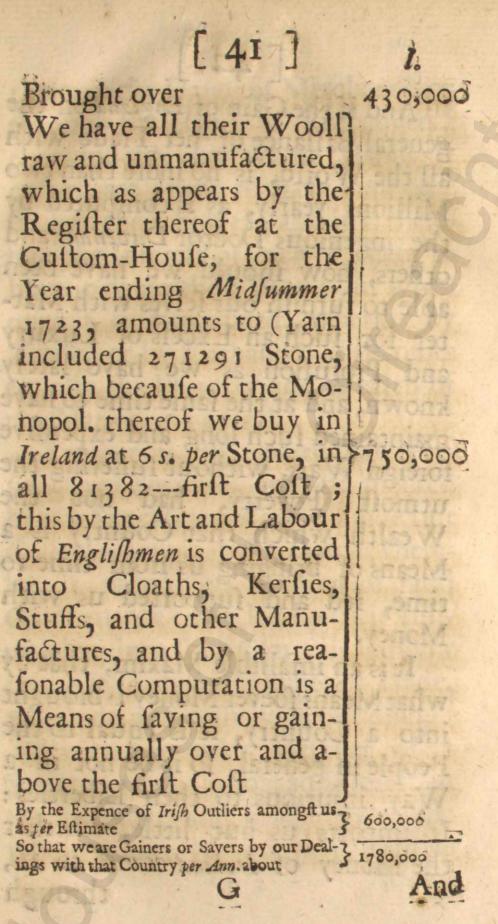
I am fenfible that the Proposition which I here advance, is a very bold one, as it is so opposite to the univerfally received Opinion, that it were better for England if Ireland were no more, but if we confider (apart from Prejudices and particular Interests) how greatly we are already Gainers by the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

Sir Will. Petty (the most ingenious Observer of the last Age) in his political Anatomy of Ireland, computes that at the Time when the Landlords Rent of the whole Kingdom was but 432,000 l. per Ann. there was remitted Yearly for the Support of Outliers in England 200,000 l. Sterl. and this Article alone was lately, and I believe very justly estimated in a Book, called the Defence of the Conduct of Ireland, at 600,000 l. per Ann. but we had also (when Sir Will. made his Calculation) almost the entire Trade of that Country in our Hands, we took of all their Commodities, and imported to them all or most of their

their foreign Confumption, fo that it is more than probable that we had even then coming to us out of that Country one way or another a Sum equal to the Landlords Rent of the whole; at present indeed they begin to manage their own Trade, and well for us it is that they do fo, for else the Dutch and the French (who navigate fo much cheaper than we) wou'd do it for them, and by draining away their Wealth wou'd leave the less thereof to Isfue to us; but however, it is more than probable, that they annually fend us at preloneswas lacely, and I believe, tash For Coals, I and becamin 100,000 For Corn, bnod and to soco 80,000 For Broad Cloaths, East-India Goods, and Mercers >250,000 Wares, Hops, Toys, &c. of therefountry in our Hands Are

000,024 all their Commodicies 10% to them all or melt policied Brought

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

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

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

Every particular Member of a Society has (no doubt) an Interest in the Grandeur and Prosperity of the whole; but yet every particular G 2 MemMember has at the fame time another Interest separate from that, which he pursues with a more ardent Inclination, and that is his own private Interest.

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It is his Business to promote the Power and Riches of the Commonwealth, but it imports him much more, however, to add to his own private Fortune and Degree in the State; and for that Reafon, whenever these two Interests clash one with another (as it too often happens) the particular Members, with a perfect Tranquillity, reap the Fruit of publick Mismanagements; or very unwillingly, and with great Murmurs suffer any Loss of their private Business, how necessary foever it may be for the Health and Welfare of their Country; and this perhaps is one great Reason of the general Outcry against the Trade and Wealth of Ireland, with which

which our Ears are of late filled, but to reconcile these Interests, and to take care, that whenever they class or jarr one with the other, the Good of the whole shall always be purfued, at whatever Expence or Loss of particular Persons or Societies, is the Business of the Legisslature, which in our happy Constitution is the Representative, not of a Part, but of the entire Common-wealth, and must therefore consider the general Good of the Nation, before that of Particulars.

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It is true, that even in Parliaments, every Member may be fuppofed to labour with a more particular Affiduity, the Advantage and Immolument of that Corporation which fent him; but every other Member does the fame; and this Diftraction of Affairs (as I may call it) brings the Matter quickly to an Iffue, and by the Majority of Voices de-

determines which is the Common Good: But it sometimes however happens, that the Defigns of particular Societies are so gilt and varnished over with specious Pretences and Infinuations, that it is almost impossible to distinguish the real from the fictitious Good, and they are led into Mistakes; for alass, nothing but the divine Omniscience can trace the Defigns of wicked Men, through all their Mazes and Windings: Amongst the Children of Men there is no Infalibillity; and the greatest and wifest Assemblies may err in their Determinations of what is, and what is not the Publick Good : It might be instanced in many Particulars, but I shall only mention one, which has respect to our Trade with Ireland, and which occasion'd no sinall Loss to us, I mean that which forbid the Importation of Irish Beef. Be-

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Before the Restoration we were in the fole Possession of the Beef Trade, all foreign Markets were through our Hands furnished with that Commodity, and those depending upon it, which being bulky Commodities afforded no small Occupation to Ships and Sailors, and no inconfiderable Profit to the Nation in general, on the Articles of Trade and Navigation, but the Irish Beef which was the principal Support of that gainful Business was afforded so cheap, by reason of the Poverty of that Country, that our Graziers apprehended it would in sometime oblige them to lower cheir Prices here, and made that a Pretence to call to their Landlords for an Abatement of their Rent: The Interest of the Landed Men is without doubt the surest Test of the Publick Good; could any thing be more artificially devifed in that tender

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tender Part, the Graziers attacked them, and by specious Arguments; pretended to demonstrate, that if the Importation of Beef from a Country wherein Land was fo much cheaper than ours was fuffered, it would lower the Price of English Beef : This would affect the Lands that reared and fed them, and by that means all the Lands of England would be in some time reduced to a Level, or at least to some Proportion with the Lands in Ireland : The Argument seemed feasible, and the Prohibition passed : But what was the Consequence? the Irish clogged with a Commodity for which they loft the only Vent that they hitherto knew, were laid under a Neceffity to look out elsewhere for a Market ; and we found them more dangerous Rivals abroad than at home, they underfold us everywhere, and nothing was left to support us in any Pare tender

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Part of that Trade, which was fo lately all in our own Hands; but the particular Excellency of our Beef, above all others, from their rich Pafture, and the extraordinary Feeding which we beftowed on them, Advantages which without a Prohibition, would ever have intitled our Graziers to higher Prices than any others.

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Thus from the fole Dealers in Beef, Butter, Tallow and Hides (for which Commodities, we could as the Dutch do for their Spices, fix a Price at Will) we all at once abdicated that advantagious Situation, deprived our felves of all the Gain thereon from Trade and Navigation, and become poor Sharers therein with another Country; and all this by fuffering our felves to be led by the Infinuations of a particular Society; whereas, if we did but look beyond the Surface of the Argument, we should find, that by what H

what Means foever the publick Treafure is encreafed or exhaufted, by that fame Means the Rents of Lands will always rife or fall, and if we did but cooly confider how much more Wealth muft neceffarily be introduced by the whole Beef Trade than by a Part of it, we fhould never be prevailed upon to lend a helping Hand to that Prohibition, which we then fo earneftly follicited for.

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I should be glad to know with what Face a Petition from the Shepherds of England, to prohibit the Importation of Iri/b Wooll, would at this Day be received in our Parliament ; it is certain that it would greatly raife the Price of that produced here; and the fame Arguments might be framed for it, that were made use of to procure the Prohibition of Beef, but I am fure a very indifferent Politician might however fee, that the Gain of that particular SoSociety could in no Measure compensate the Injury it would do to our Woollen Trade, and to the Nation in general.

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The Views of a trading People should extend themselves far into Futurity, for there are many things which carry an Appearance of an immediate Gain, and are nevertheless highly detrimental in the End; and there are also many others, which at first feem dangerous to the Wealth of a Country, that in Process of Time, bring to it great Power and Riches : The Husbandman confidered in Spring, casting his choicest Grain into the Furrows, would undoubtedly feem mad, if we looked no further; but if we confider him in the Harvest, reaping the bountiful Reward of his Profusion, how wife will he feem in foregoing a Part of his present Hord for so agreeable a Prospect in Futurity. The End is H 2 the

the furest Proof of the Wisdom or Folly of our Actions, 'tis that which gives the fincerest Character of our Councils and Deliberations, and 'tis that alone that ought to be confidered by a wise People.

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Particular Societies tempted by a near Prospect of Gain, are too apt to lay Schemes for agrandifing and enriching themselves at the Expence of the Publick; but alass, it is better even for them in the End, that the general Welfare should be pursued, for tho' they may thrive for a Seafon on the Misfortunes of the Common-wealth, yet whenever its Vitals are touched, a livid Paleness, and a general Decay ipreads it felf over all the Members, and they too late repent themselves of those felf-interested Councils, which brought on its Ruin: Let us therefore, apart from particular Interests or Prejudices, confider the Question before us, and we fhall

shall find, that the Wealth of Ireland has for many Years flowed in upon us, and that the Method to encrease that Inlet of Treasure, is to put it in a Way of getting more; a Way, I fay, that without incroaching upon our own Business will encrease its Riches; for Ireland is to England (if I may be allowed the Comparison) a milch Cow, if we let it run into good Pasture it will overflow our Pails, but if we deny it that, and leave it to starve in barren Grounds, it will quickly run dry, and become rather a Burthen than a to have thirted up to a Rau of qloH

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But fome are of Opinion, that the Parliament of *Ireland* has of late fhewn fuch a flurdy Spirit, that it won't be fafe to make any Acceffion to their Wealth, leaft they fhould in Time be able to fhake off their Dependency upon the Crown of England. This leems to be a very material rial Objection, and it may not therefore be improper, before we proceed any farther, to enquire a little into that, and into the Interest of the People themselves in respect thereto.

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The Landed Intereft of Ireland has suffered very confiderable Revolutions fince Queen Elizabeth's Time. In the Beginning of King James the First's Reign, there was a very great Change of Property in that Kingdom, for that Prince led either by Pollicy or Affection, attainted feveral unfortunate People, whom his own Artifices and Emissaries are faid to have stirred up to a Rebellion in the preceding Reign, and gave all at once the entire Province of the North to his own Countrymen; but how injurious foever this at first appeared, it was in the End highly advantagious to the Country in general, for the industrous Scotch Protestants who fucceeded the lazy Irifb, introducing 18/17 LaLabour and Industry into that Kingdom, laid the Foundation of the Linnen Manufacture, which is at this Time their chiefeft Wealth, and made that Province, which was before, the courfest and thinnest inhabited in the whole Kingdom, equal to any two of the rest in Numbers of Men, in the Acquisition of national Wealth, and in the Beauty of Land Improvements.

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The next great Change was in Oliver Cromwell's Time, where the Iri/b taking Advantage of our Commotions in England, under Pretence of affifting the King, took up Arms, but with that bad Succefs, that notwithftanding the Numbers of honeft Engli/bmen who were fettled there, and who affifted them with fincere Intentions to reftore the King's Affairs ; they were intirely routed, their Towns taken and fack'd, their Women and Children put to the Sword,

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Sword, their Estates given to Eng-liss Protestants, and Multitudes of those who escaped the Fury of the War, and the Rage of the Pestilence (Evils which Sir William Petty computes to have wasted upwards of 500,000 Souls) were transported into foreign Countries, so that in 1652, most Part of the whole Kingdom was in English Hands, and tho? a confiderable Number of Acres were after the Restoration given back to those who proved their constant good Affections, &c. yet there remained in the Hands of the English and the Scotch, in the Year 1672, upwards of 5,220,000 Acres, and in the Hands of the Irish not above 2,280,000 Acres.

But the last and most remarkable Change of all, was upon the late Revolution; for King James the Second, having an Inclination to strengthen himself by the Affections of the Irish,

Irish, incouraged and passed a certain Act in that Parliament, repeating all former Forfeitures, and restoring to the Proprietors the Lands which were taken from them in 41, Uc. under Colour of which Law, all the old Irifh who could make out any Title to the Lands of English, entered upon them, and turned the Owners out of Doors; this occasioned an universal Confusion and Distress of Affairs in Engliss Families, till King William after settling Affairs in England went in Person thither, and in less than three Years reduced that Kingdom to an entire Obedience, the Act of Repeal lost its Force, the dispersed English returned in Peace to their Habitations, and the Estates of all those who were concerned in the Rebellion were forfeited and fold, fo that this Day, there is fcarcely any

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any Land in Ireland held by any other than an Englifb Title; and how is it then possible to imagin, that a People who derive all their Titles from their Dependence upon the Crown of England, should ever be fo mad as to attempt or even to fuffer any thing that might impair that Dependence, which is their only Charter for all the Power and Poffessions which they have in Ireland.

If we confider the Conduct of that People, fince the Revolution, we shall find that we have no Grounds for such a Jealousy of them, and we shall be convinced, that nothing but the cruellest Acts of Oppression from us, and in them the extreamest Madness of Despair, can ever precipit te them into such pernicious Councils, for could there be in Appearance, a greater Hardship ship upon them, than by Laws made in a Parliament, wherein they had no Representative, to be restrained from exporting anyManufactures of Wooll (the most abounding and precious of all their Commodities) to any Part of the World, and from exporting the Wooll it self, raw and unmanufactured, to any Place but England? A Regulation which laid them under a Neceffity to gain nothing on that Article of their Growth from Labour and Industry, and to become only Shepherds to us; and yet they have submitted thereto, with such an uncommon Refignation, that no one Person has in so many Years been convicted, or even accused of a Transgression; they acquiesce under our Laws, in Favour of the East-India Company, which confine them to England alone, for feveral Commodities I 2

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modities of the East, they perform the Requisites of all our naval and commercial Laws, perhaps better than we our felves do, they have seen the Judicature of their House of Lords taken away, without any other Opposition, than an humble Remonstrance to his Majesty to interpose in their Favour; they furnish their Quota's with Chearfulnels and Alacrity, and are ever foremost in Zeal for the Protestant Succession, as may be instanced in their unlimited Vote of Credit to his late Majesty, when threatned by several Insurrections in Great Britain, and by the high Prices which they offered for the Heads of his Enemies. They see their intire Church-livings, and all the civil and military Government of the Kingdom given from them, to fuch of us as either in Church or

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or State have deserved well of the Crown; and if these People have lifted up their Hands, not to resist, but petition against a Project, whole difinal Effects had to lately thrown all England and France into the utmost Confusion and Distress, if they have addressed and made Remonstrances against a Patent, which contained in it felf no coercive Clause, and which was judged by them pernicious to their Business. Must we from these two Circumstances conclude against a Thousand, that they would if they had Power shake off their Dependence upon us?

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Since then Ireland is secured to us by the strongest Tyes of Interest and Necessity, since every Addition to the Wealth of its Inhabitants will, by enlarging their Stakes, confirm the Tyes of their De-

Dependence upon us, and at the fame Time enlarge the Remittan-ces of their Money to England, fince every Acquisition which they make by Trade is at last to center amongst us, and since it is evident, that without imploying them, we can never recover the Trade which we have loft, what should hinder us from making the proper Use of them, and fetting them up as Instruments to encrease our Wealth, and to prevent the Rife of any others, to whom the Trade of the Universe might prove a fatal Acceffion of Power, much to be dreaded by the rest of the World, tho? more immediately by these Kingdoms, whose chief Defence has ever been the Dominion of the Sea. The Means which I shall propose to bring this about are but few, and fuch too as in no. Manner

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ner clash with our own Affairs, viz.

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

Secondly, To ease their Importation of naval Stores from Scotland, or the Plantations, by taking of them all Manner of Duties, and by allowing those of the Plantations to be directly imported from thence without touching in England, that the building of Ships there may be incumbred with as small an Expence

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pence as possible, and that they may be in that Article enabled to underfel Foreigners; for it is furely better for us to have the carrying Trade in the Hands of a People who are our Subjects, and whofe every Acquisition by Trade flows in daily upon us; to encrease our Wealth and Power, than to let it remain in the Hands of those whose every Acquisition by Trade helps to turn the Ballance against us, and to make us less Confiderable in Europe:

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

and to all

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This is a Business in which we our selves must ever be unsuccessful, notwithstanding the many Arguments of late advanced, by a certain ingenious Gentleman, to prove, that we can on our own Bottom recover it from the Dutch and French, for tho' as he fays very truly, Fish is taken out of the Sea, and no Money issues to buy it, yet whilst the taking of Fish out of the Sea is more Expensive to particular English Undertakers than to Dutch, so long will they be able to undersel us at foreign Markets, but if the Irish, who could be put in a Way to Build, Man and Victual fo much cheaper than they, and whose Situation and Harbours are 10 much more commodious than theirs, had once betaken themfelves to that Business, they would every where underfel them, and K 111

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in a few Years make that Employment of 10 little Account to Foreigners, that they would (as we have often been forced to do) give up and neglect it, and leave all the Profit of that gainful Trade to us and our Dependencies.

Fourthly, To encourage the Irifb to trade to the Coafts of Affrick, where we are fo much out-numbered in Settlements by Strangers, and in the Produce of which we are fo fhamefully underfold at foreign Markets, for if the Irifb had once betaken themfelves to that Trade, they would quickly recover it from the Dutch, the French, the Hambourghers and the Danes, and fo confiderable an Addition to our Trade with those Parts, would not only encrease our general Wealth, but greatly add alfo to the the Riches and Power of the Royal Affrican Company, by the Addition of 10 l. per Cent. Duty on fuch extraordinary Quantities of exported and imported Commodities as it would occasion.

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Fifthly, To give the Turkey Company leave to buy up, and export to the Levant, directly from Ireland, fuch Woollen Cloaths as the French fell in Turkey, and as we, by reafon of the exceffive Price of our Labour, cannot afford cheap enough to underfel them, in order if polfible to recover from them that Branch of the Turkey Trade, which by the great Number of Confumers is fo much better than that which we are at prefent polfeffed of.

I am sensible that it may be ob-K 2 jected 7

jected to this, that the Scarcity of Wooll, which the Exportation of fuch Cloaths from Ireland would occasion here, might inhance the Price of those finer Pieces, which we at present send to Turkey; and by that Means endanger that Branch of our own Trade ; but the Remedy is in our own Hands, for if we change our Management a little, and bury our Dead in home-spun Linnen, it will at once spare from our Confumption of Wooll enough to fupply that Scarcity, and fave England the Expence of fo much as we bury annually in the Ground.

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

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Many other Ways might be fhewn to encreafe the Trade of *Ireland*, without damaging our own, and to make the Wealth of that Country more uleful to us, but I have already exceeded the Limits which I first prefcribed to my felf, and I shall therefore leave them to more accurate Observers, submitting always in what I advance to the Judgment of the Publick, for whose Welfare alone I have ventured to expose to the World

