

REFLECTIONS

UPON THE

Present unhappy Circumstances

OF

I R E L A N D;

IN A

LETTER

To His GRACE the

Lord Arch Bishop of *Cashel*.

With a Proposal for Publick GRANARIES, as
the principal MEANS whereby to retrieve our
AFFAIRS.



DUBLIN:

Printed by GEORGE FAULKNER, in *Essex-Street*,
M,DCC,XXXI.

REFLECTIONS

UPON THE

PRESENT AND PROPOSED
IMPROVEMENTS OF

MR. LORD

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One would think, my Lord, that a Man of
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REFLECTIONS

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*Present unhappy Circumstances of
IRELAND, &c.*

My LORD,

WHOEVER considers the great Load of Debt due in *England*, and the Multiplicity of Taxes established upon them, will easily see, that it is impossible for that Country to sell at foreign Markets on a Level with Strangers.

EVERY Article of the Consumption of its People is overburthened with Taxes; this inhances the Price of their Art and Labour, aggravates the Expence of their Manufactures, gives all *Europe* the Advantage of them in foreign Trade, and must have sunk them long ago into Poverty and Want, had not *Ireland*, and the rest of its Dependancies, fed and supported them with their Produce and their Money.

ONE wou'd think, *my Lord*, that a Matter so obvious as this, could not so long have escaped the Observation of a People knowing in Trade, and greedy of Riches. One wou'd think, I say, that they could not be so blind to their own Interests, as
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to overload and distress those Countries from whence they receive their principal Riches, and where, in Case they are at any time reduced to Beggary, by such cruel and unkind Treatments, they can no longer be of Use, but must become to them a Burthen and a Blemish.

ENGLAND, if I may be allow'd the Comparifon, is to its Dependancies a mighty Ocean, that fwallows up all the Rivers of their Wealth, and like that too, owes the Figure which it makes in the World to their Streams, that constantly feed and support it.

How necessary then is it, *my Lord*, for all those who are studious of its Glory, to keep the Fountains clear and undisturbed, and the Channels free and open? And how great a Madness to suppress or obstruct them?

I HAVE long wondered at the Policy which has for many Years prevailed in *Great Britain*, against the Trade of our Country, and indeed, in so much against their own Interest. And upon a serious and unprejudiced Discussion thereof, I found that whatever Grounds there were for such Maxims a Hundred Years ago, there were indeed none at all at present: I fancied with myself, that it was not impossible to reconcile the Interests of both Nations, and I undertook it in a little Pamphlet, intituled, *The Seasonable Remarks*.

THE kind Reception which that met with in the World, has given me great Satisfaction, and I must own, that it is with Pleasure I see the Scheme pursued, not only by all those who have since wrote
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on the Subject, this Side the Water, but by those also on the other, who have thought justly on the Matter.

THE Labour and Industry of *Great Britain* is so incumbered, that it is not possible for them to sell on a Level with Strangers at foreign Markets; so that unless we, whose Labour and Industry are cheap, and more disengag'd, are rais'd up to encounter them in those Branches of Commerce, which *England*, is become too unweildy for, *England* must live on the sole Growth and Produce of itself and its Dependancies, and leave the intire Province of foreign Trade to others.

THIS, *my Lord*, is the Secret I adventured to discover, and it is upon this Plan we ought all of us to build. It is in vain to expect that a People who exercise a Power over us, shall ever suffer us to proceed upon any Branch of Trade, which they are able to manage themselves; and indeed if we look seriously, and with Attention around us, we shall find over and above of Business to employ ourselves upon, without breaking in upon theirs.

I SHALL at present confine myself to the Article of Tillage, and I hope to make it appear, that it is a wrong Policy in our Neighbours of *Britain* to refuse us any reasonable Encouragement in that Branch of our Business.

HOLLAND was the great Granary of *Europe*, and used to furnish even *England* itself with Corn, till the Tillage thereof was put upon such a Footing, that the Farmer could neither be underfold at home by Foreigners, nor want a Chap for the Produce of his

his Labour at home. Such a Regulation it was that first made the Tillage of *England* a certain and profitable Business to the Husbandmen, and enabled them to furnish their own Markets with Grain of all Sorts; but happy as it has proved to them, on the Article of their own Consumption, they have not, however, benefited so far thereby, as to under-sell the *Hollanders* at foreign Markets; for their Taxes lie so dead a Weight upon the Labour of their People, that the *Dutch* still furnish their Neighbours with the Corn of *Poland*, *Prussia*, *Livonia*, and other Countries, cheaper than they can from *England*.

TRUE it is, that when our Harvests fail us in *Ireland*, and when we are oblig'd to have resort to foreign Grain, it sometimes happens, that we take Corn from *England*; but it bears no proportion to those Quantities which are thrown in upon us by the *Dutch*; For our Climate being so much the same with that of *England*, it seldom or never happens, that when our Harvests fail us here, they have a Plenty there; and the Plenty of Corn being the only thing that keeps it at such a Price at home, as intitles the Exporter to a *Premium*; it follows, that when there is not a Plenty, there can be no *Premium*, and when there is no *Premium* to relieve the Husbandman, the Weight of the Taxes which he pays, enhance the Price of his Corn, and lays him under an absolute Incapacity to sell it on a Level with Strangers to us, or to any others out of *Britain*. In which Situation of Affairs, our Necessities pressing, the *Dutch* who have their Granaries constantly full, pour in their cheaper Corn upon us, and run

run away with that Treasure, which (if we could have kept it yet a little while) wou'd necessarily flow into *England* for the Support of our Outlivers there.

WE have, *my Lord*, within a very little time, even within the compass of three Years, experienced the Miseries of an extream Poverty, and of an extraordinary Plenty. There are few, I believe, can forget the dreadful Famine which stared us in the Face, to whatever Part of this poor Island we turn'd ourselves three Years ago; and I am sure there are as few who can be insensible of a Plenty, almost every way as hurtful, which at this very Instant covers the Land, and crushes us with its Weight. In the first Circumstance, though the Corn was excessive scarce, there was yet Money in the Country, the Farmer might have sold his Grain at what Price he pleased, he was sure of a Chap, and every thing in the Country bore a Rate, so that though Multitudes of the Poor perished for want, Rents were however tollerably well paid, and but very few of the Farmers were broke. But in the present Case, the Wellders, who either already followed Tillage, or who were tempted by the high Price of Corn, to betake themselves to that Business (and indeed of the last Class there are Multitudes) have their Haggards every where full of Corn; the Stock which they sold to buy their Seed, and to set up their Plows, are gone into the Hands of the Graziers, the whole Produce of their Labour and Industry, and Effects, lies before them a useless and unprofitable Heap, and they cannot with all their Hoards even
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Purchase wherewith to save their Pots or their Blankets from the unmerciful Hearth-money Collectors.

THIS, *my Lord*, is the Condition of the poor Husbandmen almost universally; and it is impossible in such Circumstances, but the landed Interest must suffer. The Landlord calls for his Rents, there are no Effects but Corn; every one has over and above of that Commodity, there are no Buyers; it is Appraised to a less Value than that of the first Expence; the Farmer is ruin'd, and still the Rent is unpaid.

The Absentee runs the same Fate with the Lay Landlord; his Expence calls for Remittances, he may have Corn cheap enough, but that will not answer his Demands, and he is forced to make out for his common Occasions with Mortgages and Loans, which in all probability may prove a Cancer in what remain'd of his Estate, and oblige him to a *Recindendum* at last.

THE Clergy see the Country full of that Commodity, out of which their Tyths usually arose; there are no Bidders to farm them out, they are forced to take them in kind. Their Haggards are full of Corn, and yet they are ruin'd, and thus, *my Lord*, like the Fly in the Fable, a whole People are undone by a Plenty, which for want of a proper Vent suffocates and destroys them.

I APPEAL, *my Lord*, to a whole Nation for the Truth of what I assert, and if this be universally the Case, if, as we stand, we must either be ruin'd by a Famine, or by a Plenty, every way as undoing;
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sure it is high Time to seek out for new Measures, and new Means, to remedy the Evil under which this unhappy Country has so long labour'd.

It is the Misfortune of Human Nature, to be as blind to Futurity, as they are avaricious and greedy of the Present; and this may be particularly instanced in the Matter now before us; when the Price of Corn runs high for a Year or two, every Farmer in the Country enlarges his Plow Lands, and expects the same Price for the next Year's Crop; this sudden Application to Tillage, cloggs the Market, there is no Care taken to provide a Vent for the Return: It becomes a Drugg: The Farmer shrugs his Shoulders, and wishes he had never touch'd the Plow: This soon becomes epidemick: They all quit the Business, and the next Year is starved for Want. Thus the particular Members of the Commonwealth, left each of them to their own private Guidance, must ever be blind to the Future, and destroy each other for want of wholesome Regulations, to provide for their Wants, and to take off their Superfluities.

In *England* it was the same Thing, till by the first of King *James* the IId, Chapter 19, and the first *William* and *Mary*, Chapter 12, the above prudent Councils were taken, to defend the Country from suffering by a Scarcity, or the Farmer by an Abundance.

At *Dantzick*, the principal Magazine of Corn in the *Baltick*, and that which gives a Vent to all the Corn of *Poland*, the same prudent Care is taken, to defend the Farmer, and the Country;

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for, on the one Hand, it is provided, that none but a Citizen shall buy Corn in their Markets; by which Means, the Price of Corn is always kept within reasonable Bounds; whilst, on the other, the Citizens being oblig'd, by Law (to buy up all the Corn that is brought to their Markets, at such a Rate as the Magistrates affix.) There is always a profitable Price for Grain, and the Farmers, all along the Banks of the River *Vistula*, navigable almost 300 Leagues, are by that Means sure of a Vent, and encouraged to follow the Plow.

IN *Holland*, the very Being of the People is Trade. The Lands which they possess, do not produce sufficient wherewith to support them for one Month of the Year, and they are obliged to have a constant and watchful Eye upon the Wants, and Superfluities, of the whole habitable World, to make out for the Rest; and This, is the Reason why their Country is, (if I may so call it,) the Market-Town of the Universe, the great *Emporium* wherein may be had at all Times, and in all Seasons, whatever is produced in the rest of the World.

THUS, *my Lord*, to be more particular, they have prudently provided at home, Granaries sufficient to receive the superfluous Corn of all the Countries to which they trade; and they take Care, whenever they see a Plenty of that Commodity, to take it in Exchange for others, and to lay it up at Home, that they may have it in Readiness to sell with Profit, wherever they find it scarce; nay, they often send it back again to the Places where it was produced, and make the very Farmers who reaped it, pay them dou-

double the first Cost. Such are the Advantages which they make of their Granaries, or Magazines of Corn; and if we do but consider them a little, we shall find that they are equivalent to the Tillage Laws of *England*, and to the wise Provisions of the *Dantzick* Magistracy.

THE Intent of well devised Tillage Laws, is to provide, that while the Country is defended from a Scarcity, the Farmer shall at the same Time, be secure of a good Market. In *England*, this is as effectually done as their Taxes will allow of, by the first of *JAMES* the II^d, and first of *WILLIAM* and *MARY*, abovementioned; for while the Former prevents the Importation of foreign Grain, until the Markets at Home grow too dear for the Consumer, the latter upon an extraordinary Plenty, allows the Importer such a *Premium* as may enable him to give the Farmer a full Price for his Grain.

AT *Dantzick*, the Magistracy takes the same prudent Care, and in fixing the Rate of Corn, leaves a reasonable Encouragement for the Husbandmen to send it in, whilst the Laws of the City hinder any Foreigners from inhancing the Market: Thus the Tillage Laws of *England* and of *Dantzick*, have each of them the same Tendency, and equally provide, that the Husbandman shall never suffer by such a Plenty, as may discourage him from prosecuting his Business.

Now the *Hollanders*, to answer all these Purposes, have their Granaries. The constant Price which they give for Grain, is an Encouragement to the Farmers

mers of those Countries from which they buy; and the vast Profit which they make upon the Wants of their Neighbours, is always to them a sufficient and sure *Premium*, as well for the storing of the Grain as for the Re-exportation of it to other Countries.

I HAVE been thus particular, *my Lord*, to shew that it is the constant Practice of all People, who would encourage Tillage, to take Care of the Farmers Interest. Profit is the strongest, and perhaps the only Inducement to Labour and Industry, and where Care is not taken at all Events, to secure that to the Husbandman (who, indeed, is the hardest Labourer in the Commonwealth) it is a Folly to expect his Application.

'TIS true, *my Lord*, that we have not been unmindful of our Tillage, even here; but if I may offer my Sentiments, (with the greatest Deference to those who have thought otherwise) we have taken our Measures somewhat amiss. Men may be allured by the Prospect of Gain into any Branch of Industry; but it will always be found difficult, at least imprudent, to compel them to it, until their own Wants and Necessities, have first pointed out the Way.

'TIS true, that the frequent Scarcities which we suffer'd in this poor unhappy Country, and the unkind Practice of wasting our Grounds, to picque our Clergy, might have appear'd to many, a sufficient Reason for a Coercive Clause; but we are now, I suppose, fully convinc'd, that the Livings of the Church, as well as the Estates of the Laity, may suffer by an over-grown Harvest, until such time

as we are provided either with Granaries to receive, or with *Premiums* to export it.

If that Law, *my Lord*, were rigourously executed, and had taken its full Effect, many Farmers would have been oblig'd to plow more Acres than they either had Occasion for, or could turn to account; and all Acres so plowed, would have been a sure and an unprofitable Expence to the Possessors, from which it would necessarily follow, that every prudent Farmer, in taking one Thousand Acres, would calculate with himself, how much he was like to lose by such an Industry, and would not give within so much, of what the Land would otherwise have been really worth.

THIS, as I humbly apprehend, would have been the Consequence of a full and effectual Execution of that Law, under the present Situation of our Affairs; but if we either had navigable Rivers to carry the Inland Corn to the Sea-Ports, Granaries in convenient Parts of every County, to take in our Superfluities, or *Premiums* to encourage the Exportation of it, 'tis highly probable, that it might set the Husbandmen quicker to work, and engage them at once, to what the sure and certain Gain, upon such a Change of our Affairs, would, perhaps, take a longer Time to effect.

I AM very sensible, *my Lord*, how much easier it is to contrive Schemes for the Good of our Country, than to have them passed into Laws: It is the Happiness of our Neighbours, that they may count upon, whatever passes both their Houses of Parliament; but with us it is not so; the Interest of

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another People is to be considered; and that only by a Reference to one or two Persons among them, who are but ill at Leisure to mind an *Irish* Bill, unprovided and uninforced, and who perhaps, upon the Representation of a single interested Merchant, lay it by, without ever doing it the Honour of a Perusal.

HERE is a Fault, *my Lord*, in our Management, a Fault within our own Power to redress. The Bills that we pass, are sent over to be approv'd of by the King and Council of *England*: They are referr'd to the Attorney General, and they commonly stand or fall by his Report. There it is, that indeed, they receive the Royal Assent: what passes here for that, is but a bare Form, a mere necessary Consequence of the other; and surely therefore it could be no Way below the Dignity of our Parliaments, to send a select Committee to wait of their Sovereign for his Assent to such Bills, as they judge necessary for the Honour of his Majesty, and for the Welfare of their Fellow Subjects? The Circumstances of the respective Countries are such, that there are but few Things which we can with Reason desire, that they ought not in Prudence to grant. An excessive Wealth, a pernicious Luxury and an unwieldly Burthen of Publick Taxes, have rendered them unfit for any Branch of foreign Commerce, but such as they can carry on with their own Growth, and that of their Plantations; this gives other Countries an Opportunity to run away with the Trade of the World, unless we who are free from most of those Incumbrances, are raised up to oppose them; and *England* has a sufficient

cient Inducement to put us to that Work, inasmuch, as all our Wealth is carry'd over again to them, by our Absentees, and Centers with them at last.

THUS, as we are united in Interest, so shou'd we really be united in Policy; and as it is our Business to support the Honour and Dignity of the Crown of *England*, from which we have so often had Relief and Assistance, so, is it really theirs, to enlage our Commerce, from whom, even Poor as we are, they receive upwards of a Million of Money yearly, and from whom they wou'd receive Ten, if we had it.

THESE, *my Lord*, are Arguments which, properly inforc'd, could never want their Weight with a thinking People, and I am fully perswaded, that we could scarce devise any Law upon this Plan, which they would not readily allow us.

IF, therefore, instead of giving large Sums of Money to private Persons, for being the Bearers of our Bills, we shou'd resolve, at some greater Expence, to send a Committee of our Commons (how small in Number soever) well instructed in the Interests of both Nations, to solicit and explain them, their very Name wou'd give them Figure and Weight, and they could not fail of Success, in every reasonable Application.

THE want of this, *my Lord*, is what I call a Fault in our Management: A Fault to which we may charge the Loss of so many valuable Bills, as have, within our own Memory, miscarry'd there. And I will be confident to say, that until it is amended, we shall, from time to time, suffer the same, or perhaps greater Inconveniences.

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THE Misunderstanding between the two Nations, arises mostly from Prejudice. Our Predecessors have been in perpetual Wars and Enmity with the old *Irish*, who inhabited this Island: There were here frequent Rebellions and bloody Massacres, and in the last Struggles for their expiring Liberties, nothing was left undone which a desperate People could undertake, in Defence of the most valuable Blessings; this laid a strong and a lasting Foundation for Hatred and ill Blood, between the contending Parties, and it has taken so deep a Root in *England*, that they even forget how that People are no more, how we are here no longer their Enemies, but their Sons and their Brethren, and how we must ever be studious to support the Glory of that People, from whom we are every one of us descended, and from whom we derive the most valuable of our Rights and Possessions.

THIS, is one great Cause of that Prejudice which is so conspicuous in the Behaviour, and even in the Councils of our Neighbours of *Britain*: By our Migration into this Island we have acquired the Name of *Irish-Men*: The Sons have heard their Fathers tell of the barbarous Cruelties, and of the bloody Murthers committed upon their Friends in *Ireland*: This has begot a Prejudice in the Children against *Irish-Men* in general, and as we, by our Situation, have got that Name, the Prejudice is transfer'd to us, and tho' we are really the very People, of whose Sufferings, they have heard their Fathers complain, yet they, unaccountably lay to our Charge the Blame and the Infamy of the whole; not remembering that,

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as the Poet beautifully Expresses it, *Caelum non animi mutant qui transmare Currunt.*

BUT, *my Lord*, there is a Prejudice of another kind which they have also imbibed, and which tho' not of so extraordinary a Nature, is yet altogether as hurtful to us, I mean, *my Lord*, the Prejudice which has long prevail'd amongst them, against the *Irish Trade*.

It is a very great, but a very common Misfortune, that in all the Publick Deliberations wherein Trade is concern'd, Matters are transacted either by Persons little skill'd in the Manners and Laws of Commerce, or too greatly Interested in some particular Branches thereof, to deliver their Sentiments upon the Whole, with Openness and Candour; this occasions that too often indeed, a Spirit is kindled in a Country, against this or t'other particular Business, without any real or necessary Foundation for it, in the Publick Good.

THUS, *my Lord*, the whole People of *England*, were put in a Flame upon the Article of *Irish Beef*, to the great Loss of *England*, and to the more extraordinary Profit of the *French*, who at this very time, take most of our Beef, and export it by long and gainful Channels to *America*: This poor Country of ours, labouring under so many Disadvantages, that they have not a Stock left to carry on any Branch of Trade, upon their own proper Bottoms.

SUCH a private, designing, interested Spirit has prevail'd, in most of the Commercial Laws of *Great-Britain*, to the unspeakable Loss of that Nation, as well as of this; but a more unhappy Prejudice yet hasten

ken Root there, from the great Expence which our Neighbours have been at, for the Reduction of this Country, and the large Remittances, which they have been oblig'd in antient Times to make, for even the Support of the *Irish Establishment*, inasmuch, that I have often with Astonishment heard it said, by Men of otherwise very good Understandings, *That it had been happy for England, if Ireland had been sunk under the Sea.*

THE Principles which we first imbibe, are not without great Strength of Reason, easily remov'd; there has indeed been a Time, when *Ireland* was a dangerous Neighbour to *Britain*, a Time, when it was not only an Incumbrance, but when there was also a possibility of its falling into the Hands of the *French*; and in such a Situation it wou'd be better for *England*, that it had indeed been sunk under the Sea; but that time is long since past; the Difference in Religion, the little Liberty which we yet enjoy, in this poor Island, and a Thousand other Circumstances render it impossible for its taking such a Turn now; and the Wealth which we every Year pour into *Great-Britain*, have made us (far from being a Drain upon it) the most Profitable of its Dependances; so that now in Truth the Case is changed, and yet the old Notion remains: *England*, by reason of an incumber'd and an expensive Industry, has no means left to recover the foreign Trade, which they have lost but by setting us about it; and yet their Prejudice is so much Stronger than the Reason of Things, that they will not see it. They give themselves up to the old Maxims of their Ancestors, when the

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Circumstances (upon which they were founded) have no longer a Being; and when in reallity, the farther Observation of them, are hurtful and ruinous to their Country.

THESE are the Prejudices which stand in our way, upon every Application for an Encouragement of our Commerce, and these in particular are the Reasons why we have so long solicited among other things, for proper Laws for the Encouragement of our Tillage: But, *my Lord*, if this Matter were by some able hand laid in a proper Light before them: If they were shewn how impossible it is for them to come to foreign Markets on a Level with Strangers without our Assistance, and if they were made sensible how much it is really their Interest, not only to set us upon acquiring a Wealth, which must necessarily flow into *England*; but of saving also upon every Article of our foreign Expence, which in as much as it makes us less able to make Remittances to that Country, is a sure and irretrievable Loss to themselves: If, I say, they were once convinc'd of these Truths, it is impossible that a wise Nation disengaged from Prejudice, should any longer remain Blind to the Interests of their Country, and defer to raise us up into such a Station in Trade, as without breaking in upon their own Business, wou'd enable us to recover (for them) the Commerce which they have lost, and to furnish them with a Treasure, which until that is done, must remain a Wealth and a Power in the Hands of their Enemies.

Now, *my Lord*, I most humbly apprehend, that nothing could contribute more to this great and necessary

fary End, than fuch a Method as I have juft now mention'd, of deputing a Committee of the Commons, well skill'd in the real Interests of both Countries, to wait on his Majesty with our Bills. One good Law, one little Enlargement to our Trade and Business, wou'd be highly worth the Expence; and I am (humbly still) of Oppinion, that by fuch a Change in our Management we could not fail of many.

I BEG Pardon for leading your Grace fo far, by this Digreffion, from the Purpose in hand; but as the Attorney General and Council of *England*, have given fome Reason to imagin, that it may prove a difficult Matter to have a well regulated and ufeul Tillage Bill pafs'd into a Law, I thought it not improper or unfeafonable to offer to your Grace the foregoing Confiderations, on a Method that might in a great Measure remove the Obftacle; and now it remains to confider what fort of a Law, would moft effectually ferve us in that point.

I MUST beg leave to agree with your Grace, that nothing can poffibly prove fo ufeul to this Country, and to *Britain* as publick Granaries. 'Tis true, that by the Tillage Laws of *England*, the Home Markets are very well defended from being inhanc'd by Foreigners and the *Premium* on the Exportation of cheap Corn being, in plentiful Years, equal to the Difference of Expence, between the Home and the foreign Tillage, the *Engliſh* Exporter is in fuch Years enabled to come to foreign Markets on a Level with Strangers; but as foon as this *Premium* ceafes, and the Husbandman can no longer have that

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Aid from the Publick, the Expensive *English* Labour falls immediately on his Back: The very Corn which he sold out under the *Premium*, is return'd upon him again, out of the foreign Granaries, in which it was stored, and he is oblig'd to pay, sometimes, double the Price for which he sold it.

WE must observe, *my Lord*, that the *Dutch* are constantly upon the watch for a Penny; the *English* (they know) give a *Premium* for the Exportation of Corn: This Enables the Exporter to sell by so much the cheaper, and they, on these Occasions, lay up in Granaries vast Loads of cheap Corn, for the Necessities of those about them: Thus, they Profit by our Folly, who make no Reserve for a bad Season, but Pay our Merchants for giving a good Penny-worth to others, as if, like *Fountenell's* Farmer, we had taken a Lease of the Weather, and expected plentiful Seasons for ever.

How different would the Case be, if publick Granaries were erected in proper Places throughout the Kingdom, and if no Exporter should be Intitled to his *Premium* until the Granary of that Sea-port had refused to take it in at the establish'd Price.

IN the present Situation of Affairs, there is no Hoard reserv'd whereon to Live in a bad Season: The *Premium* sets all Hands to Work, and by the time that the Price is up to the Standard, there is not a Stock left in the Nation to Defend themselves from Want, in Case a bad Harvest should ensue; but sure, *my Lord*, it would be otherways, if publick Granaries were erected at the Sea-ports, and if no Exporter should be Intitled to a *Premium* until
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the Granaries refused to take it in at the Standard Price.

HERE, *my Lord*, the Farmer at the same time, that he is defended from Want, would still be tempted to follow the Plow, by a constant and reasonable Price; for on the one Hand, the Fruit of his Labour (far from enabling other Countries to Profit by our bad Harvests) would, for so much as the Granaries could hold, be treasured up at home to defend him from their Extortions, in the Day of Want. And on the other Hand, the *Premium* arising to the Exporter, would, as soon as they were fill'd, Encourage and Enable him to send the Surplus to foreign Markets, and to make his Returns in Money.

Now, *my Lord*, let us apply this Way of Reasoning to our own Country, and we shall find, that no Nation in *Europe* wants such a Regulation more than this, or could with greater Ease have it put in Practice.

OUR Country is surrounded by the Sea, and opens every where into beautiful and safe Harbours; of the 32 Counties of which it consists, 19 are Maritime, so that there are but 13 which do not immediately lie upon the Sea, and these are washed by a Number of fine Rivers, that empty themselves into it, and will, in a very few Years, no doubt (under the Conduct of the worthy Commissioners, appointed for that Purpose) be made navigable up to their very Sources.

MANY Counties too are so Situated, that one Granary may serve for two Counties, as *Westmeath* and

and *Roscommon*, which might both be well Accommodated by one, upon the beautiful River *Shannon*, at *Atkhone*, and so of others.

BUT before we enter farther upon the Subject, it would first be proper, *my Lord*, to see what Force there is in the Objection which is made to our Climate; some say, that it is too moist for Granaries, and that Corn can only be kept here in the Sheafe, or in the Ear. Others allow, that it may be kept in our Granaries for a long time, but that it always heats at Sea. And others again insist, that it will bear the Sea, provided it be first Kill-dried. But I am pretty well assured, that the different Opinions arise from the Want of being Experienced in the Business, and that Corn would keep as well in Granaries here, with proper Care, as it would either at *Dantzick*, or *Amsterdam*: Why else should it Succeed with some amongst us, and not with others? Why should Corn keep very well in one Part of this City, and not in another? Why, *my Lord*? but that the same Care is not employ'd in all Places.

'Tis true, we lie far *North*, but there is not so great a Difference between the Situation of *Dublin* and *Amsterdam*, as could Cause the Misfortune: *Dantzick* is by some Degrees farther *North*, yet Corn keeps there very well; so that whatever may be Apprehended amiss in our Climate, the Fault must really be in the Management; but at the very worst, and supposing that the Air of this Country is really moister than either that of *Holland*, or *Dantzick*, that can only require so much the more Care in the
Grana-

Granary ; and as Matters are managed at *Amsterdam*, by certain Engines which they Employ in that Business, the Expence of this additional Care wou'd scarce be any Incumbrance, considering the Difference, in Value, between our respective Labour.

BUT I find it universally allow'd, that Kill-dried Corn will bear the Storing and the Sea. If so, then there can be no longer a doubt upon that Head, and the Expence of a Kiln, to every Granary, will be no great Incumbrance upon the general Undertaking.

SOME indeed, object, that kill-drying the Corn may give it a disagreeable Taste ; but if these Gentlemen will but give themselves the Trouble to consult the Bakers of this City, they will find, that there is scarce a Parcel of Wheat bought by any of them, but they dry upon a Kiln before they lay it up ; and I am perswaded, that the Bread of this City is as free from any Taint, or bad Taste on that Account, as that made either at *Amsterdam*, or *Dantzick*.

'Tis true, indeed, that the Poverty of this unhappy Country may make such an Undertaking, at this Juncture, seem too great for our Strength and Ability. But it is a sure Way to remain so for ever, to attempt nothing for a Change.

No doubt, the extream Poverty of the Country requires the utmost Caution, in the Imposition of new Taxes, but I humbly apprehend, however, that a Provision might be made for Building a sufficient Number of Granaries, even here, in less than Seven Years,

Years, without adding one Farthing to the Publick Expence.

I HAVE lately looked over the Publick Accounts of the County, where I spent the last Summer, and I find, including Prisoners Bread, and some small necessary Charges, that that County, the poor County of *Mayo*, I mean, has paid for Eight or Nine Years last past, an immense Sum of Money. I have now by me the Presentments for the Year, Ending *August* 1729, and the Cess of that Year amounted to 762 l. 8 s. *Sterl.* and was levy'd at the Rate of 9 s. and 10 d. $\frac{1}{2}$ *per* every 128 Acres; of which the necessary Expence of the Goals and Publick Officers was but a very inconsiderable Part; so that the Money levied on Pretence of Repairs and High Ways (tho' in reality for the Support or Gratification of the little Hangers-on of Power) amounted in that Year to near one Penny *per* Acre, rough and smooth, Plantation Measure.

Now, *my Lord*, if we can Suppose that the Governing Gentlemen of all the rest of the Counties in *Ireland*, are but as tender of the People they preside over, this Fund will produce upwards of 30,000 l. *per Annum*, besides the necessary Expence of Goals and Sallaries; and that in Three or Four Years will effectually do the Work we require.

BUT a Question will necessarily arise upon this Method of Supply: How shall the Highways be kept in Order, if this Fund is taken away? Surely, *my Lord*, after the Levy of such an exorbitant annual Sum, for upwards of

D

twenty

twenty Years past, the Roads may be supposed to be in such a Condition, that by the Help of the six Days Labour, properly Imploy'd, and carefully Manag'd, or by Turnpikes, where that is not sufficient, they may be kept up for four or five Years, without any other Expence.

HERE then is a Fund for the Work without any new Incumbrance on the People: A Fund which will be Chearfully and Gladly paid by them, when they see, that instead of being apply'd as usually, to the Support of their petty Oppressors, it is put into a useful Channel, which in Return, must necessarily bring them Plenty and Riches.

I HAVE endeavour'd, *my Lord*, in the foregoing Pages, to remove those Objections which are generally made to such an Undertaking, and I have shewed, that it is the Interest of *England* to Protect and Encourage our Tillage, that there is no Defending the Country from a Want, nor the Farmer from a Clog (which are the two Things principally to be considered in Tillage Laws) without Granaries, that the Air and Climate, and Situation of the Country are fit for such a Business, and that a Fund may be had for the Purpose in this Kingdom, poor as it is, without adding any new Taxes to the insupportable Burthen under which it already Labours. In the following, *my Lord*, I shall offer a Scheme for publick Granaries, and endeavour to shew, that nothing can more effectually retrieve our Affairs, and add to the Wealth and Grandeur of all Orders and Degrees of Men, any ways interested in the Welfare of *Ireland*. As

As for the Architecture, Contrivance, Situation, and Number of the Granaries, the airing of the Corn, and working in them, I do not apprehend that it is to Purpose to trouble your Grace: It will be time enough to think of these Things, when we have the good Fortune to convince the Men in Power, that the Scheme, in general, is good and useful.

I shall therefore proceed, with the greatest Defe-
 rence to your Grace's Opinion, to offer you a Scheme
 for the Government and Support of such an Un-
 dertaking, whenever it may please the Wisdom of
 our Legislature to set themselves about it.

I HUMBLY propose, therefore, *my Lord*, that eve-
 ry Granary shall have three Directors, of at least
 500*l.* a piece, real Estate, chosen by the Free-
 holders of the County, or District, to which they
 belong: That these Three shall continue in their
 Office, jointly, for three Years; at the Expiration
 whereof, that Two of the Three should be
 ballotted out, and two new Members, properly qua-
 lified, elected into their Place: That at the End
 of the second Three Years, the Power of the
 old Director, who continued over on the second
 Election, for the Information of the new Ones,
 shall cease, to make Way for one of the Two to
 be next elected: That one of the last chosen shou'd
 be ballotted out, to make Way for the other, and
 that this Body of Directors, shall be perpetuated
 by like triennial Election.

THAT the other Directors shall, from Time to
 Time, transmit to those of the *Dublin* Granary, in
 order to be by them laid in a summary Manner be-
 fore

fore the Council, a State of the Country, with Respect to the Plenty, or Scarcity, of Grain, the Prospect of a good, or bad Harvest, and the Condition of foreign Markets, with Respect to Corn; and that the Council shall thereupon, once every Year, at the proper Season, agree upon such a Price, for all Sorts of Grain, as may neither be too dear for the Consumer, or the foreign Market, nor too cheap for the Farmer: That such Price shall be according to the Weight of the Corn, and that the Price so agreed upon, shall be, for that Year, the fix'd Price, at which the several Sorts of Grain shall be received at the Granaries.

THAT for every Parcel of Corn above the Value of Twenty Shillings, (it being of little Account to receive any under) the Directors shall issue their Promissary Note, payable in three or four Months, to Bearer, for Value received in Corn.

THAT Three and a half or Four *per Cent. per Ann.* be allow'd to some of the Bankers of this City, for circulating the Corn Bills: That this Money be paid out of the *Concordatum*; and that the Privy Council may fix the Rate at which they shall be circulated, and the Persons who shall be entrusted with such Circulation.

THAT it shall be at the Election of the Proprietors of Corn Bills to demand Cash, either at the Granaries issuing the same, or the Bankers concerned in the Circulation; and that in Case Money falls short at the Granaries, a Bill from them upon the circulating Bankers be taken as Cash.

THAT the Directors shall, from Time to Time, hold Correspondence Abroad, and apprise themselves of

of the Rate of Grain in foreign Markets; and that they shall take Care to send their superfluous Grain timely, and in good Order, to those Parts of *Europe*, where it is most wanting.

THAT in Order to prevent a Clogg at foreign Markets, the Directors of all Granaries at Sea-ports shall hold a constant Correspondence with each other; and never send more to any Place beyond Sea, than they may have a Probability to sell with Profit.

THAT in Order to prevent any Loss to the Publick from the Dangers of the Sea, the Directors shall be oblig'd, under the severest Penalties, to insure all such Corn as they export.

THAT the Directors of all the other Granaries, shall annually, on every 25th of *March*, make up their Accounts of Loss and Gain, upon the Exportation of their Corn, and transmit the same to the Directors of the *Dublin* Granary: That these make proper Abstracts from the Whole, to be laid before the Council; and that the Gain thereon appearing, shall remain in their Hands, as a Fund for the Encouragement of Tillage, and for *Premiums* to the Directors themselves, or other Exporters of Corn, in Seasons of too great a Plenty, when they cannot otherwise sell to profit Abroad.

THAT when the Granaries are once finish'd, the one Half-penny *per Acre*, or half the Charge which the People at present pay, on Pretence of publick Money, may raise a Sum of 15000 *l. per Ann.* which will be sufficient to defray the Sallaries of the Directors, and the other publick Officers employ'd in the Granaries; and that the other Half, together with
th

the fix Days Labour, and Turn-pikes where that is not sufficient, carefully managed, will effectually answer all the publick Occasions of the respective Counties, such as the making or repairing Highways, Bridges, and publick Buildings, the Payment of necessary Sallaries to Goalers, &c. and the furnishing Money for Prisoners Bread.

THAT some new Laws shall be made more effectually, to prevent the Embezzlement of publick Money; such as, that it should be a Forfeiture of Goods and Chattles, in the Jurors who sign Presentments for private Uses, as Gratuities for Sheriffs, Clerks of the Crown, &c. That it should be Felony in the Persons receiving the same; and that the Informer shou'd, in the easiest Manner, be intitled to recover all such Sums of Money, as he shall discover to be so levy'd, and shall prosecute to Effect, or some such strict and necessary Law, to prevent the Embezzlement of the County Cesses, and the Oppression of the People by unnecessary Taxes.

THAT all Corn Bills shall be sign'd by one of the Directors at least; and that it shall be Felony in any Director to issue a Corn Bill, without receiving its Value in Corn.

THAT any Bond, or Mortgage, or other Security whatsoever, given to any Director, or to any Person in Trust for a Director, for any Part of the Corn Money, or for any Corn Bill fraudulently issued, shall be *ipso facto* void and null; and that the Person discovering the same, shall be intitled to recover the Value of such Bill, so fraudently issued out of the Effects of the Director, who signs or issues the

THAT

THAT no Director, or Person in Trust for a Director, shall, on any Account (deal during his being a Director) in Corn, but for the Use of the Granary to which he is Director.

THAT in Order the more effectually to prevent any Dangers, either to the Publick, or to Particulars, no Director, or Person in Trust for a Director, shall on any Account, deal in Exchange, or in the Bankers Trade.

THAT besides the annual Accounts, the Directors of the *Dublin* Granary, shall, once every Session of Parliament, lay before the House, a full and fair Account of all the Bills issued for Corn, of what Quantities of Corn are laid up in the Granaries, of how much they have exported, and to what Places, what Profit or Loss has accrued upon such Exports, how much Money remains in their Hands, and what the Ballance is upon all their Dealings.

AND, lastly, that a Vote of the House of Commons, or some publick Resolution, should be pass'd to give a better Sanction to the Corn Bills, and to gain for them a freer and better Currency in the Country.

Now, *my Lord*, I am far from thinking, that this Scheme is perfect; I have only ventured to lay down some Rules for the Regulation of publick Granaries, to show that when abler Heads shall think fit to go about the Matter, it will not be so difficult a Thing to fix upon a Method, and a Fund; and I shall now proceed to show in what Manner, all Orders and Degrees of Men, any Ways interested in the Affairs of *Ireland*, may probably be affected by such a Scheme.

IN

IN the first Place, therefore, as to our Neighbours of *England*, I hope there will not be Need of many Words to convince them, that it is their Interest to put us upon all the Ways and Means possible, to enable us to undersell Strangers at foreign Markets, in all those Goods, which by Reason of an excessive Load of Taxes, and an over-grown Luxury, they are not themselves able to deal in. This, *my Lord*, is too plain a Case, especially when they consider, that if the *Spanish* Galleons had delivered all their annual Treasures here, it wou'd center with them at last. It remains only, therefore, to show them, that this Encouragement to our Tillage, will, in no Way, break in upon their own.

I HAVE already observed, that the Climate and the Soil are so much the same in these Islands, that there very seldom happens a Scarcity in one, when there is a Plenty in the other. The good Seasons, and the bad, have equal Influences on both; and this occasions, that when we want Corn in *Ireland*, they have but little to spare in *England*; so that our Wants soon raise their Markets too high to entitle the Exporter to his *Premium*: The *English* Corn deprived of that Assistance, becomes too dear for us, and (it being the Interest of all Particulars to buy cheap) we immediately quit the dear Market, and resort to *Holland*, to *Italy*, to *New England*, and even to *Ægypt* itself for that Bread, which we might have in Abundance at home, if proper Care were taken of our Tillage.

BUT what is the Consequence of such a Management? Why, truly a few *West Country*, and *Welsh* Far-

Farmers, dispose of four or five Thousand Pounds worth of their Corn (perhaps) to the Citizens of *Dublin*; and *Ireland* is forced to scatter into all Parts of the World a hundred Thousand Pounds more of her Money, to preserve herself from Starving.

HERE then is 4000 l. gained by *England*, on the Article of Corn exported from the *West* for *Ireland*; but here is a hundred Thousand Pounds lost to her, by so much Money sent out of *Ireland*, into foreign Parts, which would undoubtedly have come to her, by our Absentees, and that, perhaps, in the very same Year.

LET our Neighbours now Ballance the Account, and they will really, and *bona fide*, discover, that they are vastly Losers by our Neglect of, or rather our present Incapacity to follow, the Plow.

NAY, *my Lord*, I appeal to the Outlyers themselves (who may now, I hope, be dispos'd to believe a Truth which they wou'd not hear from me some Years ago) if their Rents are not very much worse paid this Year than ever they were; if they have not actually had less Money remitted to them (nay even by that 100,000 l. which we sent out for Corn) than they had for some Years past; and if they are not universally threaten'd with a worse Prospect.

IF this be the Case then, *my Lord*, on the Article of Corn alone, what must it be on the great Scarcity of Money, and on the exorbitant Usury which is consequent of it.

ONE *per Cent.* makes a prodigious Difference upon the Merchant's Profit, on the bare Purchase

chase of his Exports. How miserable then must be the State of our unhappy Country, Loaded as it is in every Article of its Business, not with one *per Cent.* but with a legal Interest of three *per Cent.* more than any other Trading Nation in the World, and with an Usury of fifty times as much?

How is it possible, *my Lord*, in such a Scarcity of Money, that there should be any Life or Spirit in our Manufactures? The Master, he perhaps being a Man of Credit, may get Money at Ten or Twelve *per Cent.* to buy the *Primum* whereon to work; that *Primum* has been produced by the poorer Sort of People, perhaps, with a Stock which they have borrow'd at Fifty *per Cent.* Usury: This added to the Master's Twelve, inhances the Reckoning upon him: He goes to Work: Change is so scarce that he can not pay his Workmen above once a Fortnight perhaps, and that by giving a Moydore between two or three: The poor Workmen, like so many *Craesus's*, have now got their Golden Wish, but they may starve before they can make Use of it: All the While, they live on Usury, of at least *Cent. per Cent.* and are at last very glad to pay a Shilling for changing it into Silver, and another for Drink on the Division of it amongst themselves; all this lights upon the Manufacture, and becomes to the *Irish* Industry, as heavy a Burthen as the *English* Luxury and Taxes put together are to theirs: They are now no longer able to trade upon a Level with Strangers; and *England* is losing a Blessing, which any wise Country in *Europe*, but herself, would have taken the greatest Care to cherish and preserve.

BUT

BUT, what shall become of *England*, if we are once reduced? What shall they do if they neither can gain upon Trade themselves, nor have us to do it for them? The Consequences are in Sight: There is no Need to explain them: They must see them, and feel their Weight too, unless some Measures are speedily taken to relieve our Wants, and to put us in a Condition to come at foreign Markets, on a Level with others.

Now, *my Lord*, I humbly conceive, that such a Scheme as I here propose, wou'd in a great Measure remove those Difficulties, and put us in a Way to prosecute our Industry with Chearfulness.

THE Landlord (as well the Absentee as the Resider) would have his Rent punctually, and well paid him, in Corn Bills, which would be convertible into Money with as much Ease and Certainty, as the Bankers Notes at present.

THE Tenant wou'd have always a sure Vent for his Grain, he could never be distress'd by the Landlord, he wou'd have always Reason to bless God for his Plenty, and wou'd prosecute his Industry with Chearfulness.

THE Clergy wou'd see the Tillage of their Country thrive and flourish, to the great Increase and Security of their Tyths, the Inlargement of their Income, and the Establishment of their Families.

THE Manufacturer wou'd no longer be distressed by Usurers, the Corn Bills wou'd soon acquire such a Credit in the Country, that Men wou'd grow fond of them, and prefer them to Money: This wou'd soon occasion such a Plenty, as wou'd reduce the Interest

Interest of Money to five *per Cent.* and effectually destroy that pernicious and gain consuming Practice of Usury in this Kingdom,

BUT, *my Lord*, when the Manufacturers and Artizans of all Sorts, should be once free'd from the Load of Interest and Usury under which they at present Labour, all the produce of Art, Labour, and Industry wou'd become cheap; we should be thoroughly enabled to under-sell Strangers at all foreign Markets: Even *England* would have our Linnens, and our Yarn, and our Wool cheaper by 20 *per Cent.* than they have them at present; the Estates of our Absentees would rise in Value; and many more of our Gentlemen by their growing Rent-rolls, being enabled to reside at *London*, that Inlet of Treasure would also increase, and *England* would in a short Time find *Ireland* of double the Profit to it, that ever it has yet been.

Now, *my Lord*, I am sure I have tired your Grace's Patience; but the Regard which you always have for, and the Countenance which you always shew to those who employ their Thoughts in the Service of their Country, makes me hope for your Excuse, on the Length of my Letter. I wish I might be as secure of your Forgiveness for this my Address to you.

'Tis true, *my Lord*, you Labour with a distinguished Assiduity, the Interest of your Poor Country; but it is true, that were it possible, to conceal a Virtue so shining, you wou'd have done it: This is it, *my Lord*, which makes me almost despair of your Forgiveness for so Publick an Address, at a Time when I am actually in the same City, when I have

have the Honour to Converſe with you ; and when, not withſtanding all this, I have not communicated to your Grace my Intentions on this my Application.

BUT, *my Lord*, the ſame Zeal which makes you give up ſo much of your own Eaſe and Quiet for the Welfare of your Country, obliges me to run the Riſque of your Diſpleaſure, rather than be prevented by your Commands from ſhewing the World, that ſuch a Publick Spirit is in the deſired Eſteem, and ought to be in the moſt conſpicuous Light amongſt Us.

I am,

My Lord,

Your Grace's moſt

devoted Servant,

JOHN BROWNE.

Dawſon's-Street, Off.

11th, 1731.



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