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A

L E T T E R

TO THE

EARL OF CARLISLE,

C_H FROM *C_G*

WILLIAM EDEN, Esq.

ON THE

REPRESENTATIONS OF IRELAND,

RESPECTING A

FREE TRADE.

*Sic nos in luce timeamus
Interdum, nihilo quæ sunt metuenda magis, quam
Quæ pueri in tenebris pavitant, finguntque futura.
Hunc igitur terrorem animi, tenebrasque necesse est,
Non radii solis, nec lucida tela diei
Discutiant, sed Naturæ species, ratioque.*

LUCRET. 6.

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1779

THE

TO THE

HOUSE OF COMMONS

WILLIAM EDWARDS

OF THE

REPRESENTATIONS OF IRELAND

BY

FRANK A. D. E.

DUBLIN:

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IN ROBERTS

A

LETTER, &c.

Greenwich, Nov. 4, 1779.

MY LORD,

HAVING had leisure to advert to the printed accounts of some occurrences which have lately engaged the public attention; I should think that I had very imperfectly executed my first proposition, of stating to your Lordship “the sincere sentiments of a plain mind upon things as they are,” if I were to keep back the first and genuine ideas which occur to me respecting the recent applications of the Irish Parliament for a free trade. I proceed, however, in this new task, more destitute of competent information, if possible, than your Lordship has thus far found me; but my pen will at least be guided by a similar anxiety to promote candid recollection, and fair enquiry.

And here too we must divest ourselves of all prejudices contracted from the popular altercations of the day; we must endeavour to enter upon the subject before us with as much benevolence, and as little partiality, as may be compatible with the just interests of the society to which we belong.—The wish, indeed, of all good and prudent men, both in Great Britain

and in Ireland, must be, to shun with abhorrence all the contagious delirium incident to national questions, and to promote only that constitutional warmth, which may act kindly, and with an invigorating influence, in both kingdoms.

It is not the strict policy of a former century, or the accidental distress of the present hour; it is not the supposed procrastination of a reasonable hope, or the harsh tone of a precipitate demand; it is not an imaginary neglect on the one hand, or an urgent eagerness on the other, which should call forth between two countries connected together by the ties of sovereignty, language, law, blood, interests, and situation, any unbecoming expression, or any ungenerous sentiment.—A kind and manly confidence in the equity and wisdom of Great Britain should regulate the expectations of Ireland; a due persuasion that Ireland is incapable of unworthy motives, or unreasonable wishes, should preside over the deliberations of Great Britain.—Hasty inferences, and decisive assertions, are fit only for disputants who do not seek fair discussion, and cannot or will not understand each other:—The respective interests of Great Britain and Ireland should be considered in a very different tone and temper; without passion, but with earnestness; without precipitation, but with all practicable dispatch. The distress of Ireland
(by

(by whatever circumstances occasioned) exists and operates ; Great Britain cannot hesitate to give relief ; the principle wing of her buildings is in danger ; it is for the safety and strength of the great center-edifice, that every part should be diligently examined, and sufficiently repaired.

It is an indisputable and undisputed fact, that there has prevailed through the times in which we live, a voluntary and warm-hearted anxiety in this country, to express her sense of the affectionate conduct of Ireland. It would be superfluous to refer your Lordship to the various acts of parliament, made in this disposition, during the last five years ; they were numerous, but have not had the beneficial effects which were meant :—

*Nam neque chorda sonum reddit, quem vult manus
et mens,*

Poscentique gravem persæpe remittit acutum.

The growing distresses of Ireland have overpowered the endeavours of Great Britain to avert them ; and we are now told that “nothing short of a free trade” can give relief !

It was wisdom in the Irish Parliament to chuse an undefined expression upon a subject so complicated and extensive in all its connections
and

and consequences. The whole consideration is now opened to both kingdoms, and it is the interest of both to come to an early, kind, and efficient conclusion.

It is possible that there may be many individuals in both kingdoms, who know as little of this subject as I do; and I freely own that the doubts and difficulties which the first view of it suggests to my mind, are such as preclude all farther reasonings without fuller information. The questions to be asked are indeed numerous, nice, and intricate. Theoretical deductions will not assist us; trading establishments, regulations of commerce, and the whole system of revenue, are involved in the proposition. A principal spring or wheel of a complicated clock-work may be deranged; but to turn the key round upon the instant with violence, would tend only to demolish all the component parts; if we value the machine, we should previously examine it.—When I state my reasonings to your Lordship, I shall be better understood.

I do not wish to carry back your attention to the days of Prince Fitz-Murchard or Earl Strongbow. It would give me little concern if the histories left by Giraldus Cambrensis, Hoveden, and even Matthew Paris, had been buried with the historians;—nor do I feel
anxious

anxious to bring to light the ancient statutes and ordinances of Henry the Third, Edward the First, and other early reigns, supposed to be made for the purpose of binding Ireland. The antiquated discussions upon the fact of conquest; at what particular point the rights of the conqueror are restricted by the laws of nature and reason; whether the principle of subjugation can extend to any exorbitancy of power; and whether implied acquiescence constitutes a positive acceptance; are questions little calculated at any period of our history to promote any good purpose to either kingdom.

It is a political truth more material to be known, that happiness and strength should be extended through the constituent parts of an empire, as far as wise and beneficent laws can operate to that effect. It would next be easy to shew, that public happiness and strength are diffused in proportion to the plenty and convenience with which not only the natural wants of a people are supplied, but such adventitious ones as are superinduced by universal habit and industry; when this end is not attained to a certain degree, an empire may indeed exist, and may increase in numbers, but it will grow, like an unwieldy body, liable to dangerous and acute humours.

Whatever

Whatever may have been the system of government adopted or accepted by Ireland, the recent and most interesting fact is, that she now complains of some distresses which she conceives to result from that system. Those distresses are possibly no more than may have resulted from temporary causes ;—from the late rebellion within the colonies, or from the calamities incident to war ; but we know perfectly, that the complaint is founded in real sufferings. The first inference which would arise from this fact in any mind reasoning kindly towards a part of the empire, and discreetly in respect to the whole, is, that the Irish, as fellow-subjects, are entitled to every relief compatible with the general interests. Still, however, we decide without precision, and must draw the circumstances of the two countries to a nearer comparison, if we mean to form any useful conclusion.

The most obvious remark which presents itself is, that Ireland, possessing, on a smaller scale, nearly all the natural advantages of Great Britain, and having, besides, in point of commerce, some others peculiar to her situation towards the prevailing winds, has yet in all ages been comparatively poor and distressed.

The reasons why this phænomenon has so long existed, and why Ireland has not hitherto
availed

availed herself of the blessings which God and nature seem to hold forth with a liberal hand, are variously assigned ; and as they have generally received some colour from popular and occasional appearances, there is cause to suspect that they do not reach the origin of the evil.

I have seen it somewhere remarked, that the madness of Ajax, who took a flock of sheep for his enemies, would be the wisdom of Ireland ; and that a principal cause of the poverty of the latter was the system of her landlords, who, in defiance of the practice and prudence of all other nations, had preferred pasturage to tillage, and, by restraining the industry of the tenants, had reduced numberless families to the alternative of either leaving the kingdom or strolling about in beggary. Sir William Temple attributed the poverty and distress of Ireland to her plenty and superabundance. In another part of his works he takes notice, that the Dutch had turned over to the Danes the patriarchal trade of cow-keeping, for supplying them with lean cattle, and to the Polanders that of plowmen, for growing corn for their use, in order to reserve their own lands and their own people for better and more useful employments. Such, in fact, may be the situation of the nations alluded to, but perhaps it is less the work of policy than of local circumstances. At the same time, if we even

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should

should admit that a country which addicts itself chiefly to grazing, or even to grazing and agriculture, will generally be poor, we do not describe the case of Ireland: it has not been the system of the Irish merely to support herdsmen and shepherds by grazing, nor to raise cattle to be sent in flocks to distant countries; but they employ many useful citizens in a variety of manufactures, to which the simple occupations first alluded to furnish only the materials. It is still, however, to be remembered, that the mere necessities of life are raised by the labour of a very small proportion of people; artificial wants and habitual luxuries must be introduced, to occupy those in manufactures who are not engaged in agriculture, and to promote a general industry, interchange, and circulation through the state.

Dean Swift, who ascribed the poverty of his country to a multiplicity of causes, and amongst others, to a radical error in the whole system of Irish leases, to the avarice of landlords in drawing severe rents, and to the undue encouragement of grazing, admitted also that there was a want of an industrious disposition among the people; but he attributed that want to the restraints laid upon their commerce, and to the discouragement of manufactures, which had made them mere hewers of wood, and drawers of water, to their neighbours. Under this impression,

pression, he was wont to quote a verse from the book of Exodus :—" Ye are idle, ye are idle, " cried Pharaoh unto the children of Israel ; go " therefore now and work ; for there shall no " straw be given you, yet shall ye deliver the " tale of bricks."

It is a similar reasoning which has produced the application now before us. And if in our own days we were to state to an Irish gentleman the long continued poverty and idleness which have prevailed over so large a proportion of his countrymen, he would probably answer,

" All this may be true ; but the monopo-
 " lizing spirit of our Sister Kingdom is the
 " cause of it. That spirit exercising itself
 " upon Ireland in a very early state of her ci-
 " vilization, nipped her disposition to industry,
 " and indeed made it impossible for her to be-
 " come industrious. In the very infancy of
 " our country, and whilst we were contenting
 " ourselves with the exportations and sale of
 " our cattle, you made an act (b) to prohibit
 " those exportations. We next gave our at-
 " tention to the increase of our sheep, in order
 " to export wool ; but you forthwith (c) pro-
 " hibited the exportation of wool, and made it

(b) 8 Eliz. chap. 3.

(c) 13 and 14 Car. II. c. 18.

“ subject to forfeiture. We then endeavoured
 “ to employ and support ourselves by salting
 “ provisions for sale ; but you immediately (*d*)
 “ refused them admittance into England, in
 “ order to increase the rents of your lands,
 “ though you thereby increased the wages of
 “ your labourers. We next began a woollen
 “ manufacture ; but it was no sooner established
 “ than destroyed ; for you prohibited (*e*) the
 “ exportation of manufactured woollens to any
 “ other place than England and Wales : and
 “ this prohibition alone is reported to have
 “ forced 20,000 manufacturers out of the
 “ kingdom.

“ The navigation Act (*f*) had unwittingly
 “ but kindly permitted all commodities to be
 “ imported into Ireland, upon the same terms
 “ as into England : but by an act (*g*) passed
 “ three years afterwards, the exportation of
 “ any goods from Ireland into any of the Plan-
 “ tations was prohibited : and as if that had
 “ not sufficiently crippled the benefits given
 “ by the Navigation Act, we were soon (*h*) after-

(*d*) 18 Car. II. cap. 2.

(*e*) 10 and 11 William III. cap. 10.

(*f*) 12 Car. II. cap. 18. (*g*) 15 Car. II. cap. 7.

(*h*) 2 Car. II. cap. 26.

“wards forbid to import any of the enume-
 “rated commodities from the Plantations in-
 “to Ireland. This restriction too was much
 “enforced by subsequent acts, and the list of
 “enumerated goods was much increased.—I
 “say nothing of your regulations respecting
 “glafs, hops, fail-cloth, &c. and other infe-
 “rior barriers, and obstructions to our com-
 “merce: we subsisted under all this, and
 “under a drain also, which has gradually in-
 “creased upon us, by remittances to our own
 “absentees, English mortgagees, government
 “annuitants, and other extra-commercial
 “purposes, to the amount of half a million
 “sterling annually. And though we retained
 “no trade but in linen and provisions, the
 “latter has been under a three years prohibi-
 “tion, during which period we lost the prin-
 “cipal market for our own beef, though three-
 “fourths of our people were graziers. Many
 “of us indeed carried on a clandestine trade,
 “and it was essential to our support; but that
 “too has been lately checked, first by the re-
 “volt of the Colonies, and now by the war
 “with France and Spain.

“Our annual remittances and debts to
 “Great Britain now increase with our dis-
 “tresses; our subscriptions for loans have
 “been lately filled from Great Britain; our
 “estates, when sold, are purchased by Eng-
 “lishmen;

“lishmen; our leases, when they expire, are
 “raised by absentees; the drain is become
 “greater than all our means can supply; our
 “manufacturers find little demand for their
 “work, the farmers sell their produce with
 “difficulty; our land rents indeed are esti-
 “mated at near three millions sterling, but our
 “land-holders will soon be obliged to reduce
 “them. We allow that several of your re-
 “strictions upon us have lately been much
 “softened or modified, but the want of an
 “annual profit in our intercourse with Great
 “Britain equal to our remittances still pre-
 “vails, and is every hour more felt. By the
 “unfortunate situation of the Colonies, we
 “have lost even our old refuge in emigrations.
 “—After having for many years taken British
 “manufactures, to the annual amount of per-
 “haps two millions sterling, we are for the
 “present reduced to non-importation agree-
 “ments, as a measure, not of expediency, but
 “of necessity. It would have suited the
 “generosity of our feelings, and the affec-
 “tion which we bear towards you, to have
 “made our representations in better and
 “more peaceable times; but you see that
 “our circumstances are urgent, and that your
 “recent indulgencies are insufficient. We
 “desire therefore a free trade, otherwise our
 “distresses must, if possible, increase, and the
 “conveniency of our ports will continue of
 “no

“ no more use to us, than a beautiful prospect
 “ to a man shut up in a dungeon.”

There is nothing in the imaginary detail here offered to your Lordship, which has not been stated to you in better words, as often as you have had occasion to converse with friends who wish warmly towards Ireland, and are moderately acquainted with the principal features in her situation; and as every complaint of human hardship is entitled either to a refutation, or to some redress, we are next to consider what answer might be given to the allegations now before us.

Believing, as I do, that in these days of general science and liberal disquisition, the respectable and leading men in this kingdom (of which description there is a large proportion), are unlikely to inclose themselves within the rusty and rugged armour of Monopoly, I think it possible that their first impressions might be to the following effect:

“ Many of the regulations here complained
 “ of relate to England’s internal commerce,
 “ and may be matters of regret to Ireland,
 “ but cannot afford any just cause of com-
 “ plaint:—other circumstances may be admit-
 “ ted, to the extent stated; but we should hesi-
 “ tate before we admit the causes to which
 “ they

“ they are ascribed : we might examine, for
 “ instance, merely as a question of commerce,
 “ whether before and during the late embargo
 “ on the usual exports of provisions to France
 “ and Spain in time of peace, more extensive,
 “ safe, and profitable markets were not opened
 “ and encouraged; by which the price of the
 “ commodity, and freight, and the quantity
 “ of specie were increased.—The emigrations
 “ too which are alluded to, as well as some
 “ other effects of national distress, were occa-
 “ sioned, perhaps, by the increase and injudi-
 “ cious modes of land-rents, which were
 “ thought grievous sixty years ago, and have
 “ been generally advanced near one-third
 “ since.—With respect to the larger question;
 “ we will neither criminate nor justify the
 “ system of our ancestors. The fact is, that,
 “ aided by their general system and progressive
 “ industry, the commerce of Great Britain has
 “ flourished, and continues to flourish. We
 “ are sorry that her Sister Kingdom has not
 “ kept pace with her. That she has not done
 “ so, is perhaps owing chiefly to the frequent
 “ interference of civil distractions, and to
 “ other causes so forcibly described by Dean
 “ Swift, as bearing hard on the industry of
 “ the middle and lower classes of the people.
 “ We have already given proofs of our con-
 “ viction, that our interests are in a great de-
 “ gree mutual. We wish that Ireland may be
 “ assisted,

“ assisted, but we desire, that before proceed-
 “ ings are adopted to reverse all the system pur-
 “ sued by wise statesmen during two centuries,
 “ due information may be obtained, and due
 “ discretion exercised. In the general anxiety
 “ to assist Ireland, it must appear to be as little
 “ her interest as ours, to give any sudden shock
 “ or precipitate revulsion to the course of
 “ British trade, commerce, and revenue. Let
 “ the legislatures of the two countries act with
 “ dispatch, but let that dispatch be guided by
 “ a previous and competent knowledge of all
 “ the operative and interesting circumstances !

“ It is not possible, in the nature of com-
 “ merce, to decide, without a full investiga-
 “ tion of the subject, what can be meant, or
 “ ought to be meant, by a free trade ; and till
 “ the proposition has been discussed and ascer-
 “ tained, between well informed and well in-
 “ tentioned men of the respective countries, it
 “ must vary in every point of view that we can
 “ place it.

“ 1. Do the people of Ireland understand,
 “ by what they ask, the power of exporting
 “ their own produce to any foreign country,
 “ wherever they can find the best market, ex-
 “ cept only the countries which may at any
 “ time be at war with their Sovereign ?

“ 2. Do they imply the power of drawing
“ such goods and consumable commodities as
“ they may want, from any country where
“ they may best purchase them ?

“ 3. Do they wish to be allowed a com-
“ merce to North America, the West Indies,
“ and Africa, free from the restraints to which
“ it was left subject when the 18th of his pre-
“ sent Majesty extended their power of export-
“ ation ?

“ 4. Do they mean to ask a free trade to
“ Great Britain, their manufactures and pro-
“ duce, when imported into this country, be-
“ ing subject to no other duties than the like
“ manufactures and produce of our own ?

“ 5. Do they mean a repeal of particular
“ restrictions, which the relative circumstances
“ of the two countries may, in their opinion,
“ no longer make requisite ?

“ Under all or any of these propositions,
“ there are many points of nice and difficult
“ consideration. What regulations or burdens
“ are meant to be proposed, analogous to
“ what now prevail, in regard to the manu-
“ factures, imports, and exports of Great
“ Britain ? What prohibitions respecting the
“ export of certain raw materials ? What ar-
“ rangements

"rangements in respect to our distant posses-
 "sions and factories? Other subjects of dis-
 "cussion will arise, and some upon nice and
 "intricate points of commerce, involved as it
 "happens to be, in considerations of revenue,
 "and in the maintenance of the public ex-
 "pence. We do not know, that emulation
 "among manufacturers and merchants is mis-
 "chievous either to them or to the state: We
 "do not know that the enterprising industry
 "and increasing wealth of Lancashire have
 "tended to obstruct, instead of promoting,
 "those of Yorkshire: We do not know that
 "the flourishing of Glasgow in her commerce,
 "is any detriment either to Liverpool or
 "Bristol: We do not know that the prosperity
 "of the staple manufacture of Ireland has
 "lessened the advantages of a similar manu-
 "facture in Scotland. We admit at least that
 "such competitions furnish employment, pro-
 "duce riches, and encourage population for
 "the general happiness and strength of the
 "empire; and we trust that there will be de-
 "mand and trade enough in the world for the
 "industry of us all: But we must repeat, that
 "if unadvised measures are adopted, they are
 "likely to affect the prosperity of the British
 "commerce, without promoting that of Ire-
 "land."

If it should be the disposition of the respectable and leading men of Great Britain to feel such sentiments and to hold such language, it is beyond a doubt that much farther information might be collected from them ; and it seems impracticable to advance without their aid and advice.

There are many theorems of trade which are plausible on paper, yet it may be impossible for trading nations to adopt them. Maxims being too narrow to embrace all the combinations of human events, political operations must often be influenced by circumstances.

It is an old, but not the less fallible principle of state-policy, that whoever is the cause of another's advancement, contributes to his own diminution. The opposite position is oftner applicable to the respective situations of merchants and mercantile bodies, or of commercial nations. It is now well understood that the flourishing of neighbouring nations in their trade is to our advantage, and that if we could extinguish their industry and manufactures, our own would languish from the want of emulation and interchange. This reasoning is, or ought to be, still better understood with respect to different parts of the same empire.

If

If we are capable of looking beyond the extent of a single shop-board, we cannot consider the Irish as rivals in interest, even though they should become our associates in lucrative pursuits. Mr. Davenant, who had some jealousies respecting their progress in particular branches of trade, and who, in the close of the last century, recommended the bill to prevent the export of their woollen manufactures, was still extremely doubtful as to his own reasonings, and appears to have admitted a position current in the speculations of those days, “ that the *“ lucrum cessans* of Ireland is the *damnum* *“ emergens* of England.” Sir M. Decker, who wrote in a subsequent period, and upon some points with singular ability, was clearly of opinion, that the restraints on the Irish woollens contributed, in their effect, to diminish the foreign trade of Great Britain. He describes monopolies as a species of trade-tyranny, whereby the many are oppressed for the gain and good pleasure of a few :——

“ Never yet (he observes) was a monopoly extended to the degree of a free one.” —— “ We, in our abundant wisdom, pay nearly all the charges of Government, whilst large classes of our fellow-subjects are made unable to contribute more than a trifle to the general support.” ——

“ They exist, indeed, under the protection of
“ fleets

“ fleets which cost them not a doit ; we con-
 “ trive to starve them without expence, and our-
 “ selves with expence ; we drive one part of our
 “ people out of trade by monopolies, and the
 “ other by taxes. We bleed ourselves almost
 “ to death, and think to recruit our spirits by
 “ devouring millions of famished fellow-sub-
 “ jects : thus, by excess of cunning, we make
 “ the ruin general.”

There is a modern anecdote of a Dutchman,
 who was employed to settle the woollen manu-
 facture at Abbeville, and stipulated that no
 work of the same kind should be carried on
 within thirty leagues. This might help to in-
 troduce and give stability to an useful and ex-
 pensive manufacture, such as in the event that
 of Abbeville has proved. When, however, the
 advantages are once settled, and the art in
 question generally known, such a monopoly
 may indeed give a personal advantage, but it
 must operate to the detriment of the whole cir-
 cle which is swept by its radius. Particular
 merchants or manufacturers, as well as parti-
 cular districts, may, as in the instance just men-
 tioned, derive a reasonable advantage from the
 exclusive possession of new branches of trade ;
 but when those branches have fairly taken root,
 such advantages bear hard on other merchants,
 manufacturers,

manufacturers, and districts, and operate powerfully against general emulation, and the interests both of commerce and of the state. It seems demonstrable, that the export of native manufactured commodities from any one part of the King's dominions, must be advantageous to the whole, whenever the burdens and duties are so regulated as to leave no exclusive advantage; for that again would operate as a monopoly.

Subject to the last remark, it is farther demonstrable, that Great Britain loses whenever Ireland is deprived of any reasonable gain.— And with respect to the situation of the latter for the western navigation, we know that it is the interest of a dominion to carry on her commerce, from whatever corner she can conduct it to the best advantage; and it would be thought a gross absurdity in the City of London, if because Bristol is so situated as to have an advantage in the Irish trade, the former should desire to have the port of the latter shut up.

In all these reasonings, the commercial and political interests are inseparably blended. When the liberty of commerce is unequally enjoyed, one part of an empire may be in danger of becoming a burden to the other. An increase of support in aid of the common exertions, might
in

in course of time result to Ireland from the advancement of her trade, and from the produce of duties, analagous to those of Great Britain.

It is sometimes found, that a liberty to export manufactures, increases the produce of raw materials beyond the demand of the particular manufacture; and from the experience of the linen trade, it might be doubted whether less woollen yarn would be exported to Great Britain by Ireland, if the export of manufactured woollens were less restrained; in which case the smuggling of raw wool to the continent of Europe might be checked. It is said that, the wool of the southern nations being tender, and that of the northern countries being harsh, it is of great importance to both to obtain British or Irish wool, which, like a middle quality, unites equally with the two extremes, and produces an excellent cloth, that rivals our own.—It is the computation of many disinterested writers on this subject, that one pack of Irish wool works up two packs of French wool, which would not otherwise be saleable; and Sir M. Decker labours much to shew that the benefit resulting to England, by every pack of wool manufactured in Ireland, instead of being run to France, amounts to fifty-six pounds sterling; which indeed he founds upon an estimate, that one-third of what Ireland gets centers at last in
Great

Great Britain. It must still be observed, that no extent of the woollen manufacture can be expected to prevent entirely the exportation of the raw materials, the demand for which is such as to elude all the contrivances of law, and all the vigilance of coast-officers even in Great Britain; and this is analogous to a remark of Mr. Locke's, that "it is death in Spain to export money, and yet they who furnish all the world with gold and silver, have least of it among themselves; trade fetches it away from that lazy and indigent people, notwithstanding all their artificial and forced contrivances to keep it there; it follows trade against the rigour of their laws, and their want of foreign commodities makes it openly be carried out at noon day."

I must however again observe to your Lordship, that all these theorems of trade, however plausible they may appear on paper, must be received subject to much previous examination, and a diligent discussion of all collateral circumstances. We are not to proceed with that short-sighted wisdom which may enable us to shun the mere difficulty of a day; still less are we, upon a sudden outcry, which like other commercial complaints may be fallacious or ill-founded, to make a sudden revolution in all the practical system of our trade; and upon the spur of a moment to overturn a plan of commerce and revenue which has been the work of ages.

We are to proceed upon the principle, that what we are to give shall be for the good of the whole : Ireland is a jewel to our crown, and not a thorn in our side. The point is, to know what solid assistance can be given, and in what form it can best be given. When men talk of an union to be completed between two great nations, as the cure of all their ills, they talk rashly, and like the state empiric described to your Lordship in my first letter. The case of Scotland was different in every point of view, and the benefits resulting to her by the act of union do not apply to the present consideration. There can be little doubt, that, in the present instance, the separate legislatures of the two countries are fully equal to all the difficulty :—we shall sufficiently know, from a cordial and temperate communication with Ireland herself, what specific measures will be of service to her : we shall know too, from the information to be collected at home, what measures may be adopted with a due regard to the general interests of commerce. We are not to subject ourselves to the remark left by Dean Swift, who says, that in his time, when any thing kind had been intended towards Ireland, she was invariably treated like a sick lady, who has physic sent by doctors at a distance, strangers to her constitution and the nature of her disease.

It may even deserve enquiry, whether the unqualified grant of every thing that human ingenuity can bring within the description of a free

free trade, would have the effects expected, or convey the relief which is wanted and intended. It was once supposed, that because the importation of Irish cattle into England had been prohibited, with a view to advance the rents of English landlords, and the interests of the feeding countries, the suspension of that measure might be of use to Ireland: this was accordingly tried (and nearly within our memory); but it was a matter of great offence to many of the Irish inhabitants, who resisted the exportation; few cattle, therefore, were brought to Great Britain, and those were chiefly lean.

We should recollect, that though Ireland has at all times had full liberty to manufacture goods for her own consumption, the consumers have hitherto found it easier to purchase from England many articles both of luxury and convenience, than to make them at home. That jealousy must be very lively indeed, which, contemplating this circumstance, can derive disquietude from such reasonings, as that a people should suddenly run away with an extensive commerce, because they are admitted to a participation of its advantages.

The change is more difficult from indolence to industry, than it is from labour to ease; and it is forcibly observed by Mr. Hume, that “when
 “one nation has got the start of another in a
 “trade, it is very difficult for the latter to gain
 “the ground which she has lost, because of the
 “superior industry and skill of the former, and
 “the

“ the greater stock of which its merchants are
 “ possessed, and which enables them to trade
 “ for so much smaller profits.”

Amidst the difficulties which time, and the fostering attention of this country, alone can enable Ireland to overcome, it deserves remark, that she has little coal, is ill provided with wood, and is also without inland navigations.—In short, the constitution and establishment of a flourishing commerce imply a well-regulated order through the nation, a steady and effective police, habits of docility and industry, skill in manufactures, and large capitals in trade; all which can be the result only of a continued and gradual progress, aided by a combination of other favouring circumstances.

No prudent man, however sure of his principles, will venture to issue, prophecies upon the course of human events; but I see much solid ground to hope that an amicable discussion between the two kingdoms, promoted with activity, moderated by temper, and guided by discretion, may tend to convey essential benefits to Ireland, without any permanent disadvantage to Great Britain. I am unwilling to think, for a moment, that the salutary effects of such a discussion may be frustrated by popular impatience and precipitation.

I shall subjoin * to this Letter a Table of
 English

English Acts, respecting the trade to and from Ireland; and also an account of some particulars respecting the Course of Exchange between Dublin and London, the estates of absentees, and the revenue and expences of the Irish Government. I happen to have these papers in my possession, and they seem at least sufficiently accurate to be of some assistance to your Lordship in the consideration now before you.

I am, my dear LORD,

Respectfully and affectionately, &c.

W. EDEN.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Respectfully and affectionately,
 Geo. W. Brown

A P P E N D I X.

No. I.

ACTS made in ENGLAND, restraining TRADE to and from IRELAND.

Sheep, Wool, &c.

PROHIBITS the exportation of rams, ^{8 Eliz. c. 8.}
sheep, or lambs alive, from England
or Ireland.

Prohibit the exportation of sheep-wool, ^{12 Car. II. c. 32.}
wool-fells, mortlings, shortlings, yarn ^{13 & 14 Car. II. c. 18.}
made of wool, wool-flocks, fullers-earth,
and fulling-clay, from England or Ire-
land.

Prohibits also the exportation of tobacco-^{Se^{ct.} 8.}
pipe clay.

Tobacco-pipe clay not to be exported from ^{9 & 10 W. III. c. 40.}
Great Britain into Ireland. ^{sect. 2.}

Prohibit the exportation of wool, wool-^{10 & 11 W. III. c. 10.}
fells, &c. ; and also worsted-yarn wool-^{5 Geo. I. c. 11. sect. 21.}
len-yarn, cloth, serge, bays, kerseys, says, ^{5 Geo. II. c. 21.}
frizes, druggetts, cloth-serges, shalloons,
or other drapery stuffs, or woollen-ma-
nufactures from Ireland, *except to Great*
Britain, as by list No. II.

Extends the prohibition to coverlids, wad-^{12 Geo. II. c. 21. sect.}
dings, or other manufactures made of^{9.}
wool, slightly stitched or worked toge-
ther,

ther, so as to be reduced to wool again, and to matrasles and beds, stuffed with combed wool, or wool fit for combing.

sect. 11. The above articles are not to be laden on board any ship bound to foreign parts, or be laden or carried coastwise from one part of Great Britain or Ireland to another, without a license from the commissioners or officers of the customs, and security given to land accordingly.

Navigation and Plantations.

12 Car. II. c. 18.

sect. 18.

22 & 23 Car. II. c. 26.

sect. 10 & 11.

7 & 8 W. III. c. 22.

sect. 14 & 15.

3 & 4 Ann, c. 5.

sect. 12.

3 & 4 Ann, c. 10.

8 Geo. I. c. 15. sect. 24.

8 Geo. I. c. 18. sect. 22.

4 Geo. II. c. 15.

4 Geo. III. c. 15.

sect. 27.

5 Geo. III. c. 37.

sect. 4.

By these acts, the following articles being the growth, product, or manufacture of any British Plantation in Africa, Asia, or America, cannot be imported into or landed in Ireland, except they are first landed in Great Britain, *viz.* sugar, tobacco, cotton-wool, indigo, ginger, fustic, or other dying wood, Specle or Jamaica wood, rice, melasses, tar, pitch, turpentine, masts, yards and bowsprits, beaver-skins, and other furs, copper ore, coffee, pimento, cocoa-nuts, whale-fins, raw silk, hides and skins, pot and pearl-shes, and gum senega.

4 Geo. II. c. 15.

7 Geo. III. c. 2.

But all other goods (except hops) of the growth, product, or manufacture of the Plantations, may be imported from thence into Ireland, in British shipping, whereof the master, and three-fourths of the mariners are British.

15 Car. II. c. 7. sect. 6.

7 & 8 W. III. c. 22.

sect. 2.

Goods the product of Europe, cannot be imported into any British Plantation, unless

lels shipped in Great Britain, and carried directly from thence in British-built shipping.

Except salt for the fisheries. Horses and victual and linen cloth from Ireland, by 3 & 4 Ann, c. 8. and 3 Geo. I. c. 21. Provisions, and implements for the fisheries, by 15 Geo. III. c. 31. sect. 5. Clothing and accoutrements for the army, by 15 Geo. III. c. 45. and other articles of Irish manufacture permitted to be exported directly from thence into the British Plantations, by 18 Geo. III. c. 55. *Vide* No. II.

Salt.

Salt, of or from Ireland, not to be imported into Great Britain, except necessary provisions for the ship, or for curing fish. 2 & 3 Ann, c. 14.

Hops.

Hops not to be imported into Ireland, except from Great Britain only, and of British growth. 9 Ann, c. 12. sect. 27. 5 Geo. II. c. 9. 7 Geo. II. c. 19.

Hops of British growth, exported to Ireland, not to drawback the duty. 6 Geo. I. c. 11. sect. 39.

East India Goods.

Wrought silks, bengals and stuffs mixed with silk, and herba muslins and other calicoes of the manufacture of Persia, China, or East India, are not to be imported into Ireland, except from Great Britain. 5 Geo. I. c. 11. sect. 12.

E

No

7 Geo. I. c. 21. sect. 9. No commodity of the growth, product, or manufacture of the East Indies, and other places beyond the Cape of Good Hope, is to be imported into Ireland, except from Great Britain, in ships navigated according to law.

Rum, Spirits, and Sugar, &c.

6 Geo. II. c. 13. sect. 4. Sugars, panelles, syrups, or melasses, of the growth, product, or manufacture of any colonies in America, and rum or spirits of America (except of the growth or manufacture of the British sugar colonies there), are not to be imported into Ireland, unless shipped in Great Britain, in ships navigated according to law.

Confirmed, as to sugar, by 12 Geo. II. c. 30. sect. 16. and by 4 Geo. III. c. 15. sect. 19.

5 Geo. III. c. 43.
sect. 30.

Brandy, rum, or other spirits, not to be exported from Ireland in ships under 100 tons burthen.

12 Geo. III. c. 55.
sect. 1.

Rum, sugar, coffee, or any goods which are by law prohibited to be imported from Ireland into Great Britain, are not to be exported, or entered for exportation, from Ireland to Great Britain.

Sect. 5. Rum or spirits of the British Colonies or Plantations in America, are not to be imported into Ireland in any ship under 70 tons burthen, either from the Colonies or from Great Britain; and foreign Brandy, or other spirits, from any other place
whatsoever,

whatsoever, are not to be imported in ships under 100 tons.

No part of the old subsidy to be drawn back for any sugars of the growth, produce, or manufacture of any foreign Colony, or Plantation not under the dominion of his Majesty, which shall be exported from Great Britain to Ireland. ^{12 Geo. III. c. 69. sect. 6.}

Glass.

No glass of any kind or denomination, other than the manufacture of Great Britain, may be imported into Ireland. ^{19 Geo. II. c. 12. sect. 22.}

No glass of any kind may be exported from Ireland, or laden on any horse, carriage or vessel, with intent to be so exported. ^{Sect. 24.}

Sail-cloth.

An additional duty was laid upon all canvas or sail-cloth, the manufacture of Ireland, imported into Great Britain during the continuance of a bounty granted in Ireland, by an act 19 Geo. II. upon the exportation of sail-cloth from that kingdom, viz. for sail-cloth of the value of 14 d. per yard, and upwards, 4 d. per yard. Of 10d. and under 14d. per yard, 2 d. ^{23 Geo. II. c. 22. sect. 1.}

Corn.

Corn exported from Great Britain or Ireland, to the Isle of Man, not to be allowed any bounty. ^{5 Geo. III. c. 30. sect. 11.}

Cambricks

Cambricks or Lawns.

7 Geo. III. c. 43.
sect. 5.

No cambrick or lawn whatsoever to be imported from Ireland into any part of Great Britain, until the importation of Cambricks and French lawns into Ireland shall be prohibited by law.

Tobacco.

19 Geo. III. c. 35.
sect. 2.

Tobacco, the growth, product, or manufacture of Ireland, not to be exported from thence to any place except Great Britain.

Duties.

12 Car. II. c. 4.

By the book of rates and subsequent acts, all goods imported into Great Britain from Ireland, unless in particular cases where Ireland is expressly excepted (*Vide* No. II.), are liable to the same duties as the like goods are chargeable with if imported from other foreign parts.

The following articles may be imported from Ireland, but are subject to duties which are equal to a prohibition, *viz.*

The duty.

Woollen cloths,	I	12	$8\frac{1}{2}\frac{4}{5}$	<i>per yard.</i>
— — — — — stuffs,	O	4	9	<i>per yard.</i>
Tallow candles,	I	4	$1\frac{3}{20}$	<i>per cwt.</i>
Sope, - - -	I	13	$9\frac{6}{20}$	<i>per cwt.</i>

No. II.

ACTS made in ENGLAND in favour
of TRADE to and from IRELAND.*Wool, Woollen, and other Manufactures.*

PERMITS the importation of woollen³ Edw. IV. c. 4.
cloths, woollen caps, andirons, and a
great variety of enumerated manufactures
in leather, iron, steel, &c. to be sold in
this kingdom, if made and wrought in
Ireland; which are prohibited to be so
imported from other parts.

Permits the importation of woollen and¹² Geo. II. c. 21.
bay-yarn into Great Britain from Ireland,
duty-free.
^{sect. 1.}

And several subsequent acts permitted the¹ W. & M. c. 32.
exportation of raw and manufactured^{sect. 6.}
wool from particular ports in Ireland to^{7 & 8} W. III. c. 28.
particular ports in England, enumerated^{sect. 5.}
in the acts upon the security to land it^{10 & 11} W. III. c. 10.
accordingly, and other regulations pre-
scribed by the 10 & 11 W. III. c. 10.—
but,

Permits wool, woollen, or bay-yarn, wool-²⁶ Geo. II. c. 11.
fells, shortlings, mortlings, wool-flocks,
and worsted-yarn, to be exported from
any port in Ireland to any port in Great
Britain, under the security and regulations
prescribed

prescribed by 10 & 11 W. III. c. 10. for the former articles.

15 Geo. III. c. 45.

Clothing and accoutrements, the produce of Great Britain or Ireland, for the use of his Majesty's forces abroad, paid in part out of the Irish revenue, may be exported from Ireland.

Navigation and Plantations.

12 Car. II. c. 18.

7 & 8 W. III. c. 22.

Ships built in Ireland, navigated with the people thereof, are deemed British, and qualified to trade to and from the British Plantations.

12 Car. II. c. 18. sect. 7.

13 & 14 Car. II. c. 11.
sect. 6.

Ships built in Ireland, and navigated with his Majesty's subjects of Ireland, are intitled to the same abatement and privileges to which importers or exporters of goods in British-built ships are intitled by the book of rates.

18 Geo. III. c. 55.
sect. 9.

Ships built in Ireland and owned by his Majesty's subjects residing in any part of the British dominions in Europe, to be deemed British built, and intitled to the like privileges and advantages in all respects, as ships built in Great Britain; and

Ships belonging to any of his Majesty's subjects residing in Ireland, and not British built, are to be intitled to the same privileges and advantages in all parts of his Majesty's dominions, as ships belonging to his Majesty's subjects residing in Great Britain, and not British or Irish built, are intitled to.

Permits

Permits the exportation of servants, horses, ^{15 Car. II. c. 7. sect. 7.} and victual from Ireland to the British Plantations.

Permit the importation of linen cloth of ^{3 & 4 Ann, c. 8.} and from Ireland, into the British Planta- ^{3 Geo. I. c. 21. sect. 1.} tions.

Makes it lawful to export, under certain re- ^{18 Geo. III. c. 55. sect. 1.} gulations, directly from Ireland, into the British Plantations in America or the West Indies, or any British settlement on the coast of Africa,

Any goods the produce or manufacture of Ireland, except wool and woollen-manufactures, cotton-manufactures;

Hats, glafs, hops, gunpowder and coals;

And all goods of the growth, product, or manufacture of Great Britain, legally imported from thence into Ireland, except woollen-manufactures and glafs;

And all foreign certificate goods, legally imported from Great Britain into Ireland;

But not to extend to foreign linen painted, &c. in Ireland,

Nor to bar-iron, iron slit or rolled, plated or tinned, nor any manufactured iron-ware, till a duty is imposed thereon in Ireland;

Nor to any such articles, if a bounty or premium is allowed thereon :

And not to take place with respect to goods the manufacture of Ireland, except and until they are chargeable with duties to as great an amount as the like goods are charged

charged with an exportation from Great Britain.

4 Geo. II. c. 15.

5 Geo. II. c. 9.

7 Geo. III. c. 2.

Permit the importation of all non-enumerated goods (except hops) of the growth, product, or manufacture of the British Plantations, directly from thence into Ireland.

Hemp, Flax, Linen, and Cotton.

7 & 8 W. III. c. 39.

16 Geo. II. c. 26.

sect. 6.

Hemp and flax, and any manufacture made thereof in Ireland, may be imported into Great Britain from thence, free of all duties, upon certificate verifying the manufacture, &c.

3 Geo. I. c. 21. sect. 2.

All linen made in Ireland, and imported into Great Britain, may be again exported to any British Plantation in America, without payment of any duty whatsoever.

18 Geo. III. c. 56.

Cotton yarn, the manufacture of Ireland, may be imported into Great Britain duty free.

Other Articles which are permitted to be imported into Great Britain from Ireland, or exported duty-free, viz.

6 Geo. III. c. 46.

sect. 5.

Gum fenega, or gum arabic; 30 tons may be exported annually from Great Britain to Ireland duty-free, by licence from the Treasury, to be used in the linen manufactures of that kingdom.

9 Geo. III. c. 39.

14 Geo. III. c. 86.

Raw hides of steers, cows, or any other cattle (except horses, mares, or geldings), and calve skins, or goat skins, raw or undressed, may be imported into Great Britain from Ireland, duty-free.

Rape

Rape seed and rape cakes, may be imported 15 Geo. III. c. 34.
into Great Britain from Ireland, duty free.

Salted beef, pork, bacon, and butter, and 16 Geo. III. c. 8.
cattle, the laws permitting the importation
from Ireland into Great Britain duty-free,
are made perpetual.

Permit the importation of tallow, hog's lard, 7 Geo. III. c. 12.
and grease, duty-free, till the 25th March continued by
1782, from any place. 19 Geo. III. c. 22.
sect. 4.

Tea.

Tea exported to Ireland as merchandize, to 17 Geo. III. c. 27.
drawback the whole customs, subject to
the regulations prescribed by 12 Geo. III.
c. 60. and 16 Geo. III. c. 51.

Bounties granted and payable in Great Britain, for encouraging the Linen Manufactures.

Grant the same bounty on Irish linen made 29 Geo. II. c. 15.
of hemp or flax, exported from Great Bri- 19 Geo. III. c. 27.
tain, as is allowed on British linen ex-
ported, viz.

For every yard, 25 inches broad, and under the value of 5d. per yard,	-	0	0	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Of the value of 5d. and under 6d. per yard,	-	0	0	1
Of the value of 6d. and not exceeding 1s. 6d. per yard,	-	0	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$

Grant an additional bounty of 5s. per hogf- 15 Geo. III. c. 45.
head upon flax-seed imported into Ire- sect. 3.
land, for which a bounty is allowed in that 16 Geo. III. c. 41.
kingdom, by acts made there in the third
and sixteenth years of his Majesty.

29 Geo. III. c. 37.

Grants the following bounties on hemp, the growth of Ireland, imported from thence into Great Britain.

From { 24 June 1779 } to { 24 June 1786, 8l. } per
 { 24 June 1786 } { 24 June 1793, 6l. } Ton.
 { 24 June 1793 } { 24 June 1800, 4l. }

Bounties, &c. for the Encouragement of the Fisheries.

15 Geo. III. c. 31. sect. 1.

British-built ships, owned by his Majesty's subjects residing in Great Britain or Ireland, &c. catching a certain number of fish on the Banks of Newfoundland, and arriving with the same at Newfoundland, under the regulations prescribed in the Act, are to be allowed,

To the 25 vessels first arriving, 40l. each } annually, for
 100 next arriving, - 20l. each } 11 years.
 100 next arriving, - 10l. each }

Sect. 3.

British-built ships owned by his Majesty's subjects, residing in Great Britain or Ireland, proceeding from thence and killing one whale, at least, in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, or on the coast of Labrador, Newfoundland, or in any seas to the southward of the Greenland seas and Davis Straights, and returning within the same year to some port in England with the oil of such whales so taken, are to be allowed for five ships, viz.

For the ship arriving
 with the greatest quantity £. 500
 with the next Do. - 400
 with the next - 300
 with the next - 200
 with the next - 100
 And the oil to be landed free of duty.

Grants

Grants the same bounties to whales so taken in the seas to the southward of the latitude of forty-four degrees North. 16 Geo. III. c. 47.

Ships fitted out from Ireland in the whale fishery, to the Greenland seas, Davis Straights, and the adjacent seas, under the regulations prescribed, are to be allowed, on their return to some port in Great Britain, 15 Geo. III. c. 31. sect. 21.

From $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 25 \text{ Dec. } 1775 \\ 25 \text{ Dec. } 1776 \\ 25 \text{ Dec. } 1781 \end{array} \right\}$ to $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 25 \text{ Dec. } 1776, 40s. \\ 25 \text{ Dec. } 1781, 30s. \\ 25 \text{ Dec. } 1786, 20s. \end{array} \right\}$ per Ton.

The above-mentioned bounties for ships employed in the whale fisheries are to be allowed, although the whole and entire property of the ships doth not belong to some of his Majesty's subjects residing in that part of his Majesty's dominions from whence the ship is fitted and cleared out. 18 Geo. III. c. 55. sect. 8.

His Majesty's subjects residing in Ireland may transport, directly from thence to Newfoundland, or to any part of America where the fishery is carried on, provisions, hooks, lines, netting, or other tools or implements necessary for the fishery, being the product and manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland. 15 Geo. III. c. 31. sect. 5.

Oil, blubber, or whale fins, taken in any part of the ocean by, and imported in any ship belonging to, his Majesty's subjects of Great Britain or Ireland, to be imported duty-free. Sect. 9.

Seal skins, raw and undressed, caught by the crew of any vessel belonging to, and fitted out from, Great Britain or Ireland, may be imported duty-free. Sect. 10.

Tobacco.

Tobacco.

6 Geo. I. c. 21, sect. 48. Tobacco exported to Ireland, if less appears to be landed than shipped in Great Britain, an allowance not exceeding Two per cent. may be made for waste during the voyage.

19 Geo. III. c. 35. Repeals the Acts 12 and 15 Car. II. and any other Act which prohibits or restrains the setting, planting, or improving, to grow, making, or curing tobacco, either in seed, plant, or otherwise, in Ireland.

No. III.

Course of Exchange.

THE par between London and Dublin is $8\frac{1}{3}$ per cent.—100*l.* British, being worth 108*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Irish.

During the years 1778 and 1779, the Exchange of Dublin on London has varied from $5\frac{1}{4}$ to $9\frac{1}{8}$ —October 27, 1779, it was at $6\frac{1}{4}$:

This is remarkably low; and the following causes are assigned for its being so much in favour of Ireland:

1. A large importation of specie, by the loans negotiated with monied people, &c. in England, and by the late remittance to Ireland for the public service.

2. The non-payment of rents, which has kept within Ireland much money, that would otherwise have been remitted to absentees.

3. The non-importation agreements, and the large exports in the provision trade, and in the linens.

Prices of Bullion.

Gold, in October 1779, was at 4*l.* per ounce in Dublin. The usual price had been from 4*l.* 1*s.* to 4*l.* 2*s.* The fall is imputed to the exchange, which sufficiently accounts for it.

Silver, in October 1779, was at 5*s.* 6*d.* per ounce. The medium price had been 5*s.* 10*d.* This is imputed to the selling more old plate, and to the manufacturing less new plate, than usual.

No. IV.

According to an abstract of a list of the estates of absentees, published in January 1769,

The estates of those who live constantly abroad, and are seldom or never in Ireland, amount to 371,900*l*.

And the estates of those who live generally abroad, and visit Ireland occasionally, amount to 117,800*l*.

No. V.

A Two years average estimate of the revenue, and expence of the Irish Government, according to late experience.

Hereditary Revenue, gross—about	£. 1,200,000
Old additional Duties—about	380,000
New additional Duties—about	140,000
Stamp Duties—about	40,000
Vice-Treasurers, and Pells, ancient Fees and Salaries—about	40,000
	<u>£. 1,800,000</u>

Deduct

Expence of Management—about	483,000
Drawbacks, &c.—about	3,000
Expence attending Stamp Duties—about	14,000
	<u>500,000</u>

Nett Produce £. 1,300,000

Expences.

Civil List—about	330,000
Military Establishment—about	938,000
Extraordinary Expences—about	432,000
	<u></u>

Total Expence £. 1,700,000

F I N I S.

Houses of the Oireachtas