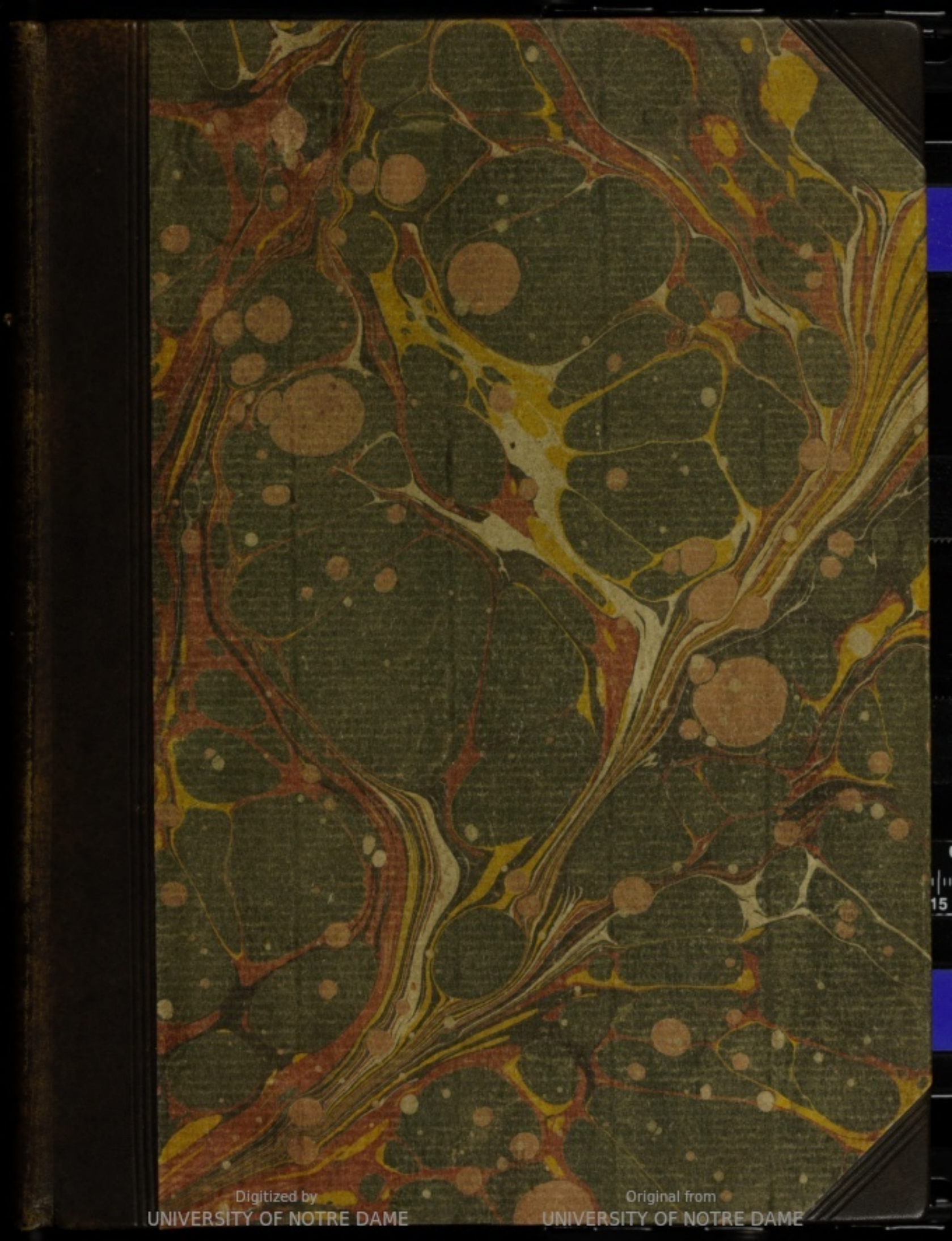
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bellion, and so frugally were the Affairs of that Kingdom managed, that this Duke was limited to keep up that Army but for three years.

About *Lammas* 1408. The Duke of *Lancaster* went into *Ireland* a second time, and narrowly escaped being killed by some of the Rebels. At his arrival there he compelled the Earl of *Kildare* to pay him 300 Marks for his Male-administration. *He had a Tallage granted him by the Parliament of* Ireland, and returned into *England* next *March* after his landing in *Ireland*. Whoever looks into the Troubles of this Kings Reign, will see that he could supply *Ireland* neither with Men nor Money.

*Hen.* V. was so fully taken up with his Conquests in *France*, that he minded *Ireland* no further *than to draw Supplies thence, which he did* Anno 1412. *under the Earl of* Ormond. *And in* 1417 *the Prior of* Kilmainham *with* 1600 *in Mail, with Darts and Skeyns, all tall nimble men, arrived at the Camp before* Rouen, *and joyfully accepted the most dangerous Post, wherein they so acquitted themselves, that our Writers tell us no men were more praised, nor did more harm to their Enemies: For by their Agility of Body, and swiftness of Foot, they did more mischief the Enemy, than their barded Horses did hurt to the nimble* Irish. *And in the seven years of his Reign, the* French *Historians tell us, that the* Irish *did over-run all the Isle of* France, *did innumerable damages to the* French, *and daily brought Victuals and Preys to the* English *Army*, which so terrified the *French* about *Paris*, that they fled and left the Country desolate. *The Parliament of* Ireland *granted this King* 1700 *Marks at several times towards the maintenance of his Wars.*

The *English* in *Ireland* being wasted with the Supplies they had yielded to *England* against *Scotland*, *Wales* and *France*, and the frequent Rebellions there, the Parliament there represented the ill Condition thereof in 1442, to *Hen.* VI. and that by reason thereof, the Publick Revenue was 1456 *l. per Annum* less than the necessary Charge.

The Cardinal of *Winchester*, the better to engross the King, and that he might rule at Pleasure, caused *Richard* Duke of *York*, Earl of *Ulster* to be sent Lord Lieutenant thither; to induce his Acceptance, he gained the King to promise the Duke all the certain and casual Revenue of *Ireland*, and 2666 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* for the first year ( to be paid out of of *England*, ) and 2000 *l.* sterling *per Annum* for seven years more; but this was ill paid. However he had several Successes against the Rebels, gained the Hearts of the *English*, made good Laws, and governed so worthily, That out of Gratitude and Inclination to him, he was assisted in his Pretentions to the Crown by *Kildare*, and several great Parties out of *Ireland*, as was the King by another Party thence under the Earl of *Ormond* in the 34*th* and 38*th* years. A great Party thence was

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cut off, and fell with him at the Battel of *Wakefield*, as many from *Ireland* did on the other side at *Mortimer's* Cross; these great Losses furnished the Natives with opportunities to enlarge their Borders, and streighten the *English*.

About *Anno* 1474. the 14*th* of *Edward* IV. The Parliament of *Ireland* erected the Fraternity of St. *George*, consisting of Thirteen Noblemen, who were yearly to chuse of themselves a Captain of the Brotherhood, who for his year was to command 120 Archers on Horseback, at 6 *d. per diem*, forty Horsemen at 5 *d. per diem*, forty Pages at four Marks *per annum*, to be paid out of a Subsidy of 12 *d. per* pound, laid on all Merchandize Imported or Exported. And these were all the standing Forces in pay at this time. Six years after, *Richard* Duke of *York* being Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of *Kildare* his Deputy *did undertake to keep that Kingdom in peace with eighty Archers, and twenty Spearmen all on Horseback for* 600 *l.* per annum.

The Infancy of *Edward* V. gave his unnatural Unkle the opportunity of Murthering him, together with his Brother in the Tower, whom he succeeded under the Title of *Richard* III. *Anno* 1483. but a period was put to his Tyranny, Usurpation and Life in 1485.

*Henry* VII. held himself under no obligation to do much for *Ireland*, because two walking Spectres thence, (*Lambert* and *Warbeck*) disquieted a great part of his Reign, yet in 1487. he sent over 500 Men under Sir *Richard Edgcomb*, (some write that he carried no Forces with him) and about fifty more *Anno* 1492. The next year after, the King by Act of Parliament there, resumed all the Crown Lands that had been granted away since the first of *Henry* VI.

In the Ninth year of his Reign, he sent over Sir *Edward Poyning* his Deputy, and with him 940 Men. He (by his Policy rather than force) did more Service to his Prince, and good to the *English* there, than any of his Predecessors, by gaining that Parliament to Enact, That all the Publick Statutes of *England*, made before that time, should be in force in *Ireland*, That no Parliament be held there until the Bills be first certified to the King under the great Seal there; and those Bills be affirmed by the King and his Council to be expedient for the Land, and Power be given under the great Seal of *England* to call a Parliament; and many other beneficial Statutes. *He gained the King a Tax of* 26 *s.* 8 *d. out of every* 120 *Acres Arable Land, in Lieu of Purveyance, and a Resumption of all Grants made since the first of* Edward III. *which in* Anno 1499. *was followed with a Subsidy of* 12 *d.* per *pound on Imported Commodities, and a Subsidy from the Clergy and Laity; and in* Anno 1508 *he had* 13 *s.* 4 *d. granted him out of every* 120 *Acres Arable Land.*

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In *Anno* 1515. The Parliament of *Ireland granted* Henry VIII. *a Subsidy*. In *Anno* 1520. The Earl of *Surry* was sent Lord Lieutenant with 200 Men, (some say 900 more) but whatever the number was, they all returned for *England* with him the next year. The Souldiers pay at this time was 4 *d per diem*.

In 1524. The Earl of *Kildare undertook the Government, and to defray the whole Charge of the Kingdom with its own Revenue*, which he and his Deputy held with little interruption for near ten years. *Anno* 1529. Sir *William Skeffington* carried over 200 Men, according to some 500. In 1534. he carried over 750 to suppress the Rebellion of the *Fitz-Geralds*; as did the Lord *Grey* 200 more the next year, who ended it; upon which, 750 of the Army was disbanded. This Rebellion is said to cost the King above 20000 *l*. The Revenue of the Kingdom by reason of that Rebellion being but 5000 *l. per annum*. To repay which, or prevent the like charge in future, *The King had the first Fruits, then the twentieth part of all Ecclesiastical Livings, then the first Fruits of all Abbeys, Priories and Colledges, in that Kingdom given him.* Kildares *Estate of* 893 *l.* per annum, *and many great Estates of those concerned in that Rebellion were all given to the King, as also all Lands belonging to all Abbeys, Priories and Colledges there. And the Estates of many Absentees.*

Hitherto the Wars in *Ireland* was mostly between the *English*, and Native *Irish*, on the Score of Civil Interest. But from the time of this Kings first Divorce, and *Kildares* Rebellion, the degenerate *English* joined with the *Irish*, and pretended Religion for their subsequent Rebellions, which thenceforth became more frequent, and more formidable, being fomented and abetted sometime by the Emperor, sometime by *France*, sometime by *Spain*, mostly by the Pope; especially from the time of the Kings assuming the Supremacy. Henceforward they have been no longer Loyal, than whilst they have been compelled to be so.

In 1539. Sir *William Brereton* carried over 250 Men. In 1542, the Parliament gave *Henry* VIII. the Title of King of *Ireland*, all his Predecessors having only had the Title of Lord thereof.

In *Anno* 1543. the *Irish* Revenue (besides Customs, first Fruits, Tributes ——— and some other particulars) amounted but to 8700 *l. per annum*, and the whole charge to but 10500 *l*. The Chief Governour upon all Warlike Expedition (by an antient usage in that Kingdom) did Tax each County with a certain Summ of Money to defray the charge thereof: So that it is not easie to apprehend that *Ireland* at this time could be a charge to *England*. The standing Army was but 375 Horse and 150 Foot. *In* 1544. 700 *Men were sent from* Ireland *into* France, *who greatly damnified the* French, *and by pretty Stratagems,*

 *contributed*

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*contributed to the ſupply of the Army with Proviſions. And in obedience to the Kings commands* 3000 *Men were ſent from* Ireland *againſt* Scotland.

In 1547. *Edward* VI. to ſecure that Kingdom (upon the Reformation of Religion) ſent thither 600 Horſe and 400 Foot under Sir *Edward Belingham*, who with the Forces there, ſubdued the *Demſeys*, *Connors*, and *Moores* then in Rebellion, *whereby* Offailie *and* Leixe *were forfeited to the Crown.*

This King being incumbred with Wars with *France*, and *Scotland*, and many Rebellions at Home, did (as *Haywood* tells us) *draw much people from* Ireland *to ſerve him in his Wars.* To repleniſh which, in the fourth year of his Reign, he ſent thither 400 men and 8000 *l.* *And the next year the* Engliſh *from* Ireland *Invaded the Iſles of* Scotland.

In 1556. Queen *Mary* committed the Government of that Kingdom to the Earl of *Suſſex*, who carried Sir *Henry Sidney* with him, (and 25000 *l.* in Caſh) by whoſe aſſiſtance he finiſhed what *Belingham* had ſo worthily begun, in breaking the power of the *Demſeys*, *Connors*, *Moores*, *&c. whereby* Leixe *and* Offailie *were Veſted in the Crown*, and Engliſh Plantations ſettled in thoſe parts, now called the King's and Queen's Counties. *The* Iriſh *Parliament then gave the Queen a Subſidy of* 13 *s.* 4 *d. out of every Plough-Land for ten years*, which was a great addition to the Revenue. In 1558. This Earl had 500 men out of *England*, with whom and the Forces of that Kingdom, *he Invaded the Iſles of* Scotland, *took ſome, and ſacked ſeveral others of them*; the ſtanding Army there, in this Reign when moſt, was leſs than 1700. and ſometimes leſs than 1100.

In 1560. which was two years after Q. *Elizabeth*'s Acceſſion to the Crown, there was 500 Foot ſent into *Ireland* to recruit the Army.

In 1565. The Army in the Queens pay was but 1200 Horſe and Foot. The Charge of the Civil Liſt about 1500 *l. per annum. The Revenue of* Ireland *ſurmounted* 10000 *l.* per annum, *beſides large Summs frequently gained from the* Iriſh *Lords on their Submiſſions and Tribute impoſed on them, ſo that the Queens Charge could be but ſmall, conſidering that all the Freeholders on every occaſion of Marching the Army againſt any Rebels, were obliged to ſend certain numbers of Horſe and Foot, with Proviſions to attend the Chief Governour, or Commander in Chief of the Army.*

This Parſimonious Queen to avoid Expence, and the ſending men for *Ireland*, ordered that every Tenant there that paid her 40 *l. per annum* Rent, ſhould be obliged to find a Horſeman, and every one that paid 6 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d. per annum* a Footman, Armed for her Service, to be ready on all occaſions.

About this time *O Donnel* ſubmitted to the Queen, *and conditioned to pay* 200 *l. per annum, and to attend her Army on all occaſions with a number*

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*of Horſe and Foot; as did many others of the* Iriſh, *who ſubmitted on like conditions of Compoſitions, and Aſſiſtance*; which not only augmented the Revenue, and leſſened the Charge of the Army, but helped much towards paying for their Fetters. *This* O Donnel *five years after paid the Queen* 1200*l. for Delinquency and Arrears of his Compoſition.*

In 1565. The Valiant Captain *Randolph* Landed at *Derry* with a Troop of Horſe, and 700 Foot to ſettle a Plantation; he did great Service, although at laſt he loſt his Life in the Improvement of a memorable Victory which he obtained againſt the Rebels. In 1569. Captain *Ward* with 400 Souldiers were ſent into *Ireland*; he landed at *Cork*.

The Queens great Study was to inlarge and firm her Conqueſt in *Ireland*, without Charge. In order thereunto ſhe attempted to tread in the ſteps of *Henry* II. and ſeveral of his Succeſſors, who gained moſt of their Intereſt in that Kingdom, at the charge of a few of their Subjects, with little charge to the Crown or Kingdom of *England*: In order thereto, the Queen in 1572. incouraged Sir *Tho. Smith* at his own Charge to ſettle an Engliſh Colony in the *Ards*. She granted every Footman 120 Acres, and every Horſeman 240 Acres (which then was as much as 500 Acres in *England*) paying her one penny *per* Acre *per annum*. And the year following ſhe Lent the Earl of *Eſſex* 10000*l.* on a Mortgage, and gave him half the *Clandeboys*, on condition that he ſhould Plant 200 Horſe and 400 Foot; each Horſeman was to have 400 Acres, and each Footman 200 Acres, paying 2*d. per* Acre Quit-Rent. Where that Noble Lord did perform many brave Exploits, and had done much better had he not been countermined by the enmity and oppoſition of ſeveral Great Men both here and there.

In 1576. An Antient Tax called the Ceſs (of five Marks on each Plow-Land) which had been diſcretionarily levyed by the Chief Governours there, from *Edward* III's. time to this, (under pretence of Prerogative) had by this time been Arbitrarily ſtretched to eight or nine pounds a Plow-Land; being now complain'd of as a publick grievance, was reduced within its firſt Bounds. Yet notwithſtanding this, and other Regulations, the worthy Sir *Henry Sidney* who governed there, *augmented the Queen's Revenue* 11000*l.* per annum *above what he found it.*

Until this time (according to the beſt of our Writers) *England* gained and maintained its footing in *Ireland*, with very inconſiderable Charge to the Publick. But henceforward the Charge became much greater, moſtly occaſioned by the Queens great Parſimony, who always employed incompetent force for ſubduing the Rebellions that were raiſed, whereby they were lengthened to trebble the time and charge that would

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would else have served. I know not whether it ought to be reckoned as expended for the Conquest of that Kingdom (tho' that was the Issue of it) because the greatest part of it was occasioned by the King of *Spain*.

The Queen, to divert that King from attempting *England*, employed and fought him in the *Netherlands*, mostly at the cost of the *Dutch*, and he to divert her from assisting the *Dutch*, or Invading his Dominions, fomented Rebellions in *Ireland*, and assisted them with Men, and some Money, yet fought her mostly at the cost of the *Irish*.

In 1579. There was 600 Men sent out of *Devonshire* into *Ireland*, yet they made up the Army there in the Queens pay but 1100 Horse and Foot. But the Rebellion of *Desmond* and others, (and the *Spaniards* that joined them) did require the augmentation of the Army. To that end three Companies were sent from *Berwick*, and 150 Horse under Capt. *Norris*. And in 1580. Six Companies under Capt. *Berkley*, and 150 Horse under C. *Russel*, which in 1582. were followed with 400 under the Earl of *Ormond*. These with the *Militia* of that Countrey, killed *Desmond*, destroyed his Confederates in that Rebellion, expelled the *Spaniards*, and restored such measure of Peace to the Kingdom, that the publick Revenue of it for the year 1583. *amounted to about* 24000 *l.* and thenceforward it encreased mightily, by the firm Settlement of Estates, and Enlargement of Trade, insomuch that in 1584. the Lord Deputy proposed to the Queen, that if she would add but 50000 *l.* for three years to the *Irish* Revenue, he would engage with both to defray the whole Charge of the Kingdom, maintain 2000 Foot and 400 Horse, Wall Seven considerable Towns, Erect Seven great Bridges, and Build Seven strong Castles: But she comply'd not therewith.

However in 1585. In order to put that Kingdom into a good posture of Defence, and of little Charge to the Queen; the Lord Deputy appointed a gross Survey to be taken of the Province of *Conaught* and *Thomond*, whereby they were found to contain 8095. Plow-Lands profitable, the Proprietors of which agreed to pay the Queen *a chief Rent of about* 4000 *l. per Annum, and to find* 1254 *Foot, and* 264 *Horse for the Queens Service within that Province, and* 347 *Foot and* 108 *Horse at any time for* 40 *days in any part of* Ireland.

A Militia also was settled in *Munster* of 4500 Bill-Men and 900 Shot. *And the Queen being Intituled to near* 600000 *Acres of Land by the Forfeitures of Desmond and his Accomplices* (his particular Rents being above 7000 *l. per Annum*) *She granted those in* Kerry, Conilagh *and* Limerick, *together at* 2*d. per* Acre. *Those in* Waterford *and* Cork *at* 3*d. per* Acre per Annum *Quit-Rent. Every* 300 *Acres finding a Horseman, and every* 200 *Acres a Foot-Man Armed for her Service.*

A Militia being thus settled, the Queen in 1587. *Remanded* 1000 *Soldiers*

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*diers out of* Ireland, *which she sent into* Holland, and that Kingdom enjoyed a kind of tranquillity for above Twelve Years.

In 1597. *Tyrone* and others broke out into Rebellion: Whereupon General *Norris* with 3000 Men were sent thither. But the successes of the Rebels required greater Forces, so that 100 Horse and 2000 Foot more, were sent thither Three Years after.

In 1598. The Government of that Kingdom was committed to *Robert* Earl of *Essex*, with Power from *England* to encrease the Army there (which were about 8000 men) unto 20000 Horse and Foot. Yet this Brave, but Unfortunate Earl effected little.

The Lord *Mountjoy* succeeded in that Government, who with 15200 Horse and Foot that he found there; and 2000 Men that were sent him in 1601. from *England*; expelled the *Spaniards*, suppressed the most general and formidable Rebellion that untill then had happened in that Kingdom. And therewith finished the entire Conquest of that Kingdom, wherein this Queen imployed more Forces, and spent more Treasure than all her Progenitors: For we are told that it cost her Eleven Hundred Ninety one Thousand two Hundred Forty Eight Pounds *Sterling*, besides the Revenue of that Kingdom.

*Cambden* suggests, it was the ill choice of Officers, Lenity, and Parsimony of the Queen, and some about her, that occasioned her great Expence, for that had the work been effectually set upon with competent Force and Treasure, it might have been perfected with a quarter of the Charge.

The *English* in *Ireland* at this time being generally Papists, were very backward in granting Supplies against such as broke out into Rebellion. For tho' by the vigilance of the Government, many of them were awed, and hindred from joyning with those in open Rebellion, yet were their Hearts so much with them that they not only obstructed the granting of Money to the Queen, but parted with much to *Rome*, where they purchased Pardons for not Actually and Openly joyning with the Rebels. The Principles of that Religion, Teaching them, that it was Sin not to Rob, Murther and Rebel. However the chief Governour and *Protestant Party prevailed so far, as to gain their Parliaments in the Second of the Queens Reign, to grant her the First Fruits and Twentieth Part of all Ecclesiastical Livings. In her* 11th. *Year a subsidy, as also a Custom on Wines; and at several times many large Scopes of Lands on the Attainders of Arch-Rebels.* The chief Governour there indeed by Antient usage did on every March of the Army, *&c.* Cess the Country discretionarily for their support, which was some help.

*The Result of what hath been hitherto said is this.*

That *Strongbow* Conquered most of the Province of *Leinster*.

*Hugh*

*Hugh De Lacy* Conquered *Meath.*
*Cogan, Fitz-Stephens, Bruce* and *Poer*, the Province of *Munſter.*
*Bourke* and *De Claro*, part of *Conaught* and *Thomond.*
Sir *John De Courcy* Conquered much of *Ulſter.*

That all this was done with little or inconſiderable Charge to the Crown (for the firſt 400 Years, which reached to the middle of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign except in thoſe expeditions of *Henry* II. King *John*, and *Richard* II the laſt of whom only, carryed over an Army capable of doing any conſiderable Service.

The moſt part of that time, there was no ſtanding Army kept in that Kingdom (at the Charge of *England*) except what was paid by the *Iriſh* Revenue.

That when Armies were Raiſed, they ſeldom exceeded a Regiment or two, and were only kept up during the chief Governours being upon Service againſt ſome particular Rebels, for at his Return to *Dublin*, or in the beginning of Winter they were uſually Disbanded.

That the whole Charge of the Civil Liſt (of which I have the particulars) in *Edward* III. his time, was but 308 *l. per Annum.* Towards the latter end of whoſe Reign (in a time of Rebellion) when an Army was ſent thither, the whole Charge of both Civil and Military Liſts were but 11213 *l* 6 *s.* 8 *d. per Annum.*

That in 1442. That Kingdom being weakned, drained, and impoveriſhed by the ſupplies afforded thence to *England*; Their Parliament repreſented it to *Henry* VI. as a mighty evidence of the deplorable condition of that Kingdom: That the expence thereof (in that waſted condition) ſurmounted the Revenue 1456 *l per Annum.*

That in *Edward* IV. his time, that Kingdom was Defended only by the Fraternity of St. *George*, who were wholly paid out of the Cuſtoms there.

That in the latter end of that Kings Reign, the Earl of *Kildare* did undertake for 600 *l. per Annum* to keep the whole Kingdom in Peace.

That in 1543. The ſtanding Army *was but* 525 *Horſe and Foot, and the whole Charge of the Kingdom but* 10500 *l. per Annum. The certain Revenue thereof was then* 8700 *l. per Annum, beſides Cuſtoms, Firſt Fruits, Tributes,* &c. *which could not but make up the Revenue, ſo as to ſurmount that Charge.*

That conſidering the numerous and frequent Supplies of Men, Proviſions, and Money that our Kings from time to time received from *Ireland* againſt *France, Scotland* and *Wales*, it is not eaſie to determine whether *Ireland* received —— much more from *England*, than *England* received from the *Engliſh* Planters of *Ireland.*

That

That for a great part of the first 400 Years, the Revenues were great; that our *English* Land-Lords Yearly drew thence, for the Rents of the vast Scopes of Land that they were seized of in that Kingdom.

That *Ireland* being almost from the first Conquest to the end of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign in a State of War, was wholly supplied with all Commodities in a way of Trade from *England*, whereby this Kingdom received considerable advantages.

That if we Allow that the Government of *England* hath been at Ten Thousand Pounds *per Annum* Charge for the Support of *Ireland*, from the first Conquest thereof unto the time we are upon, (which no way appears probable) yet if the Kingdom did Annually give Fifty or one Hundred Thousand Pounds by Trade and Rent of Lands, (which our great Men were Seized of in *Ireland*;) *England* was however a considerable Gainer by *Ireland*.

*If upon the whole matter it doth not plainly appear, that* England *hath been profited by* Ireland, *yet I conceive it is evident that the Conquest of that Kingdom hath not cost* England *the Tenth part of what most imagine, and that through this whole Tract of time, the* English *there have readily, powerfully, and nobly assisted* England *against all its Enemies.*

Here I will conclude my Answer to your first Enquiry; in doing whereof I have Troden in an unbeaten Path, which rendred it the more troublesome and difficult. I have diligently searched, and faithfully set down all the Forces and Treasure that I find mentioned in any of our, or the *Irish* Writers to have been sent into *Ireland* from *Anno. Dom* 1170. to the Year 1602. which concluded the entire Conquest of that Kingdom, and the Life of the Famous Queen *Elizabeth*.

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*The Second Query is, In what Instances (if any) doth it appear, that* Ireland *is Beneficial or Necessary to the well-being of* England?

HEre, Because Generals prove little, or are liable to Cavils, I will for the clearer Illustration instance only in such particulars shall be undeniable.

I. Consider, that *England* being an Island, our outward strength for Defence against Invasion, for offence of our Enemies, and for security of our Trade, lies in the numbers of our Ships and Seamen. That Trade that employs, also enables the encrease of these, and is necessary to our well being.



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That Money that we gain purely for our Ships let to Fraight to Merchants of other Countries, is one of the cleareſt profits to the Kingdom, and as advantagious to the Publick as any other, not only in the foremention'd reſpects, but alſo for that we part with nothing in Lieu of this Money, but the Labour of our Men, and the Wear and Tear of our Ships; yet hereby at the Charge of others we encreaſe and employ our Shipping, breed and pay Seamen. Thus the Netherlanders by being the Carriers of Chriſtendom have in a great Meaſure raiſed themſelves to their preſent opulence.

Now that I may make it evident, that *Ireland* Contributes to our Strength, Security, the encreaſe of our Shipping and Seamen, and that we are yearly conſiderable Gainers in other reſpects alſo by that Kingdom; you muſt know that the People of *Ireland* have but few Ships of their own; That at leaſt two thirds of their Exportations and Importations are made in our Bottoms.

In the Year 1668. I was in that Kingdom, and did ſee a Computation that was delivered in to the Council of Trade there, by one of the Members thereof, who made it out, that tho' the Exportations of that Kingdom about that time amounted but to 450000 *l. per Annum* that yet moſt, or all their Commodities being Groſs or Bulkey, they paid for Fraight to Ships of *England* for the Exportation of them, and for Importing the Proceed thereof, 130000 *l. per Annum*, which ſeemed incredible to the other Members of that Society. Yet being ſtrictly examined, it was found to be near 10000 *l.* ſhort of what our Seamen received yearly thence.

But this Scale of Trade between this and that Kingdom, having ſuffered a conſiderable alteration by our Folly in Prohibiting their Cattle, and forcing them to carry ſeveral of their Commodities to Forreign Markets, and thence to ſupply themſelves with many things that till then they wholly derived from us, whereby they have encreaſed their Forreign Trade and Shipping, (yet ſo as that there is not Ten Ships belonging to *Dublin* their Metropolis.)

I will now preſent you with a ſmall Scheme of the Trade between *England* and *Ireland* as it ſtood about 1685. before the leſs-conſidering, ſcented the Game that was playing for 29 Years paſt for introducing *Popery* and *Arbitrary Government*, and drew in their Stocks from Trade. There was about that time and before conſtantly employed to and from *Ireland*, and uſually Fraighted by the Merchants of *Ireland* theſe Ships following, which belong to *England*.

Ships belonging to *London*, *Plimouth*, *Apſom*, or *Exceter* and *Cornwal*, and the Ports between theſe ——— } 15 Ships

Ships belonging to *Barnſtable, Biddiford, Combe, Minhead, Bridgwater, Briſtol, Forreſt of Dean* and the Ports between ——— 70
Ships belonging to *Swanſey, Milford*, all *South* and *North-Wales* —— 20
Ships belonging to *Cheſter, Dawpool, Neſſon* and *Moſſon* ——— 30
Ships belonging to *Liverpool-water* 150 of which employed in the Trade of *Ireland* ——— 110
All the Coaſt of *Lancaſhire* and *Carliſle* ——— 5
Ships belonging to *White-Haven* and *Workington* ——— 60

310

That you may the better comprehend the benefit we Annually receive by this Article of the *Iriſh* Trade, I will ſet before you how theſe Ships are uſually employed in, and by the Trade of *Ireland*; and will ſet down but one Voyage in a Year, for ſuch as they ſend to *America, Spain* and *France*, tho' to the two latter they frequently make two Voyages in a Year.

20 Sail employed yearly to *America*, one with another of 60 Tuns, beſides the Ships Store, at 5 *l. per* Tun, out and home is 300 *l. per* Ship ——— 6000 *l.*
20 Sail yearly to *Spain* of 60 Tuns, at 3 *l per* Tun, out and home 180 *per* Ship. ——— 3600
20 Sail yearly to *France*, of 60 Tuns at 2 *l. per* Tun, out and home 120 *l. per* Ship. ——— 2400

12000 *l.*

70 Sail of 50 Tuns each in the home Trade, out and home Paſſengers, theſe make 20 *s. per* Tun 50 *l. per* Voyage, theſe frequently make 8 Voyages in a Year, but I reckon but 6 that is 300 *l. per* Ship. —21000 *l.*

180 Sail are yearly employed in the Coal-Trade between *England* and *Ireland*, and that the Computation of this Article may be beyond contradiction, I will keep to an Eſtimate given in to the King and Council in *June* laſt, by the *White-Haven* and *Workington* Men, *viz.* That they have 60 Ships continually employed in the Coal-Trade to *Ireland*, from 70 to 150 Tuns, (but I reckon them at 80 Tuns one with another,) which for one Turn is 4800 Tuns, and for Eight Turns in a Year, is 38400 Tuns at 12 *s.* 6 *d. per* Tun is 24000 *l.*

They Alledge that they pay *Colliers, Carters, Porters, Carpenters, Rope-makers, Smiths, Seamen*, &c. *per Annum* ——— 7443 *l.* --1--8.
And I allow they pay otherways, ——— 2556--18--4.
Both which is 10000 *l.* which deducted from 24000 *l.* they receive 14000 *l. per Annum* Fraight for their 60 Sail, and reckoning proportionally for



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nufactures would be raiſed, and we ſhould thereby be in danger of loſeing our Forreign Markets for them.

IV. That Trade that furniſhes us with Commodities for Forreign Markets, which we cannot have elſewhere, is in ſome ſort neceſſary for us, both for employing our Stock, our Ships and our Sea-men. The chief way whereby the *Dutch* greatly enlarge their Trade, and augment their Wealth, is by buying up the Commodities of other Countries, and carrying them in their own Ships to proper Markets. *Ireland* furniſheth us with ſeveral Advantages of this kind; for our Merchants have had ſhipped off thence for their own Account in one year, 800 Tuns of Salmon, 700 Tuns of Pilchards, 12000 Barrels of Herrings, 120 Tuns of Eels, 900000 Hake-fiſh, 1040000 of Barrel, Hogs-head and Pipe-ſtaves, 3600 quarters of Rape-ſeed, 300000 yards of courſe narrow-bandle Wollen-cloth, 38000 *l.* weight of Butter, 1000 *l.* weight of Cheeſe, 43000 raw Hides, 800 douzen of Calf-Skins, 25000 Barrels of Beef, 1000 Barrels of Pork, beſides Leather, Caddows, Bacon, Corn, and ſeveral other Commodities, few of which, if any, could be ſupplyed them from any other part of the World, or at leaſt not ſo cheap, or ſo conveniently as from *Ireland*; for our Ships in their way to forreign Markets frequently touch, or call in *Ireland* for ſome of theſe Commodities to compleat the Cargoes of other Goods they carry hence, which is of much greater advantage to our Trade than is apprehended at firſt view.

V. We are gainers by *Ireland*, in that they take our Money and pay us Intereſt for it; Suppoſe we have but 40000 *l.* in Money at Intereſt in *Ireland*, (Intereſt there being 10 *per Cent.*) it yields us 4000 *l. per Annum*, continued there ten years, we have drawn thence 40000 *l.* for Intereſt, and at laſt we receive our entire Principal alſo. But conſidering that *Ireland* takes off more of our Commodities yearly than we do of theirs, they are obliged to ſend us Money, and we having the advantage of the Exchange, we receive in *Ireland* 106 *l.* or 108 *l.* for every hundred Pounds we part with in *England*: So that at 6 *per Cent.* for exchange, we part but with 37600 *l.* and yet receive 4000 *l. per Annum* Intereſt thence.

Of the ſame Nature and Advantage is the Rent that our Noblemen, Gentlemen and Merchants yearly receive for their Lands in *Ireland*, which are yearly tranſmitted thence hither. Inſtances of this kind are too many to be enumerated. I will ſet before you ſome conſiderable Inſtances of Profit that we receive from *Ireland*, and which that Kingdom particularly yields us in three Schedules.

Firſt,

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First, by Rent of Lands in *Ireland*, belonging to Persons that wholly or for the most part live in *England*, and are therefore frequently transmitted hither.

| | per Ann. |
|---|---|
| Rents of the Lands possessed by the Duke of *York* the late K. | 7000 *l.* |
| City of *London*, and the 12 Companies | 6000 *l.* |
| *Erasmus Smith* | 2400 *l.* |
| Ald. *John Smith* deceased | 400 *l.* |
| Sir *Charles Lloyd* | 0800 *l.* |
| Sir *Wil. Barker*, *Brewen* and others | 2500 *l.* |
| *Maurice Thomson* | 400 *l.* |
| Several Adventurers | 5000 *l.* |
| Sir *Will Temples* Estate and Office | 1400 *l.* |
| Heirs of Earl of *Essex* | 1200 *l.* |
| Sir *Will. Courtney* | 2000 *l.* |
| Lord *Fitz-Harding* | 1000 *l.* |
| Lord *Berkely* | 800 *l.* |
| Lord *Arlington*, &c. | 2000 *l.* |
| Earl *Anglesey* | 4000 *l.* |
| | 36900 *l.* |

| | per Ann. |
|---|---|
| Earl *Strafford* | 1800 *l.* |
| *Darcy* of *Platton* | 700 *l.* |
| D. *Albemarl* | 1500 *l.* |
| Lord *Conway* | 2000 *l.* |
| D. *Buckingham* | 2500 *l.* |
| Sir *Wandesford* | 1200 *l.* |
| Mr. *Pugh* | 250 *l.* |
| D. *Ormond* | 17000 *l.* |
| Lord *Ranelagh* and Lady *Dowager* | 3000 *l.* |
| Sir *James Shane* | 500 *l.* |
| Lord *Lisburne* | 2000 *l.* |
| Earl *Thomond* | 3500 *l.* |
| Sir *Edward Scot* | 300 *l.* |
| Earl *Cork* | 14000 *l.* |
| Earl *Londonderry* | 1000 *l.* |
| Earl of *Kildare* | 3500 *l.* |
| | 54750 *l.* |
| | 36900 *l.* |
| | 91650 *l.* |

The second List of Persons resident in *England*, that did receive Pensions out of the Revenue in *Ireland* in 1685. and since.

| | per Ann. |
|---|---|
| Lord *Lisburn* | 300 *l.* |
| Earl *Sunderland* | 5000 *l.* |
| Lady *Fr. Keightly* | 400 *l.* |
| Countess of *Portland* | 500 *l.* |
| Mrs. *Hublethorn* | 100 *l.* |
| Earl of *Rochester* | 1600 *l.* |
| Earl *Dorset* and *Tho. Felton* | 800 *l.* |
| Sir *Edward Scot* | 500 *l.* |

| | per Ann. |
|---|---|
| *Tho. Sheridan* | 550 *l.* |
| *Cha. Laburn* | 100 *l.* |
| Capt. *Beversham* | 117 *l.* |
| Mrs. *Knight* | 200 *l.* |
| Mrs. *Cusels* | 200 *l.* |
| | 10367 *l.* |

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The third List is of other Advantages that we receive by that Kingdom.

| | per Ann. |
|---|---|
| For Students that come thence to the Universities and Inns of Court | 8000 *l.* |
| Attendants and Expectants at Court, and Travellers hither | 8000 *l* |
| Profit made by the Chief Governours that are sent hence thither, above their Expence | 6000 *l.* |
| We usually have three Commissioners of the Revenue there, that are sent hence at 1000 *l. per Annum* each, allowing 1000 *l.* for their Expence | 2000 *l.* |
| Profit by the Post-Office | 6000 *l.* |
| Interest of 40000 *l.* that is put out by our People, in *Ireland* | 4000 *l.* |
| | 34000 *l.* |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| The Revenue there in 1686 was in the total | 334575 *l.* | 17 *s.* 6 *d.* |
| Allow for Insolvencies | 10912 *l.* | 11 *s.* 3 *d.* |
| | 323663 *l.* | 6 *s.* 3 *d.* |

| | |
|---|---|
| Total of the Establishment, *viz.* the Charge of that Kingdom | 243663 *l.* 6 *s.* 3 *d.* |
| Remains | 80000 *l.* |

This overplus was transmittable to *England*.

| | |
|---|---|
| The overplus for *Anno* 1683. was but 40000 *l.* Insolvencies allowed as above in *Anno* 84. and 85. but 60000 *l.* I will therefore reckon it *communibus Annis* but | 40000 *l.* |
| Brought from above | 34000 *l.* |
| | 74000 *l.* |

If in the first List the Estate of any man be over-valued, 'tis most certain that many of the others are under-valued; and that there are several Persons of less quality not named, whose Estates are in *Ireland*, and that spend them in *England*. I have not wilfully erred. I have a List of Particulars in my Hands drawn up by the Council of Trade in *Ireland* in 1672. whereby the Absentees Estates then living in *England*, are valued to 116040 *l. per Annum*. Nor is this a late Advantage that *England* reaps by *Ireland*, for both the Histories and Laws of this and that Kingdom

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dom do complain, That from the first Conqueſt they have been impoveriſhed by their Nobility, and Gentry's, ſpending their Eſtates in *England*.

As to the Second Liſt of Penſioners, I do not find that there hath leſs than 10000 *l. per annum* been paid for many years paſt to Perſons in *England*. Upon the Eſtabliſhment *Anno* 1676. The Penſions then payable to Perſons in *England* was 10500 *l. per annum*. All the Perſons mentioned in this Liſt but three, were certainly in *England*, and I am informed the other three were reſident here alſo. However the Summ payable to thoſe three amounts but unto 500 *l.* in all.

As to the Third Liſt, it depends on Eſtimates, wherein as to the two firſt Articles, and the fourth, fifth and ſixth, I have been careful to keep much within what they really are. As to the third Article 'tis certain that the Annual Profits our Noblemen make of that Government doth much exceed what I have ſet down.

And as to the laſt which concerns the Surpluſages of the Revenue, whoever conſults the Eſtabliſhment of that Kingdom, will find, that for many years paſt there has been an Article in it appointing a conſiderable Summ to be returned Annually into *England*. In 1676. it was but 20000 *l. per annum*.

In *Charles* II. time, there was great Summs raiſed in that Kingdom, that never came into the Exchequer there; nor as I am informed is there any account how they were diſpoſed. Whether they were diſtributed to *Iriſh* Rebels as a reward for cutting Proteſtants Throats in 1641, or tranſmitted for *England*, I cannot ſay, but poſſibly it may one day prove worth his preſent Majeſties Enquiry, when once that Kingdom tends towards a Settlement, if he thinks good, to have a retroſpect ſo far. Here I am likewiſe to take notice, that when Forces have been ſent from *Ireland* hither, or to *Tangier*, they have conſtantly been paid thence.

By the particulars of this laſt inſtance, it is evident, That we not only reap the common advantages uſually made in the courſe of Trade between one Kingdom and another; but that we alſo make many other conſiderable ones by *Ireland*, which that Kingdom peculiarly yields us, and is like yet to do to a greater degree, if we put it into a better condition of Trade and Improvement, which I ſhall hereafter make out.

The three Liſts I have ſet down before you do ſhew, That we receive 176017. *l. per annum*, in thoſe particulars, 75000 *l.* that they pay us annually for Fraight of our Ships, which makes 245017. enough of it ſelf for ever to Cure us of our Jealouſie, That that Kingdom will be prejudicial to us in point of Trade, for theſe very Out-lets of their



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Treasure will infallibly keep them low. And the very encrease of their Trade and Consumption will encrease the Revenue there, and make them liable to send so much more as that shall happen to be, annually to *England*, which helps to support our Charge and Enrich us. For whatsoever the Revenue of *Ireland* amounts to yearly above the Charge of that Kingdom, hath been, and will be transmitted into *England*, and is so much clear profit to the King and this Kingdom.

They are yearly liable to us for more than we receive in Commodity thence; and therefore much of what their Merchants send to *France*, *Spain*, &c. on their own proper Accounts is returned by Exchange, or brought in Forreign Coyns into *England*, so that they seem to subsist by Miracle. However they were in a thriving condition when King *James* II. Ascended the Throne.

Nor is the advantage small to *England*, nor to our Nobility and Gentry, that whilst the elder Brothers, Gentlemen of Estates here, justle and scuffle for Offices and Preferments, and think all too little for them, That their younger Brothers have *Ireland* to repair unto in Shoals (on every change of Government there, which usually happens every three or four years) where they meet with Offices, Employments and Preferments both of Honour and Profit, Ecclesiastical, Civil, and Military; and frequently arrive at considerable Estates, or a way of Livelihood, whereby they live as plentifully and contentedly (though perhaps not so splendidly) as their Elder Brothers here.

Nor is this advantage limited to the Nobility and Gentry only: For *England* breeds more Mechanicks, than it can maintain. The Surcharge of these, that by their stay here would but impoverish the rest, find Work and Livelihood in *Ireland*. As do many decayed Families that repair thither yearly for Bread, and are received there with great Humanity, and Kindness.

It is Ignorance, Envy, *French* Gold, or Wicked and Treacherous Designs that put Men upon Quarrelling with the Trade, Situation or Improvement of *Ireland* as prejudicial, or inconvenient to *England*, for the fair, spacious, and safe Harbours on the South, and South-West Coast of *Ireland*, furnish our Merchant Ships in their Voyages to *Asia*, *Africa*, and return from *America*, and most part of *Europe*, not only with commodious shelter and refreshments in Storms, Tempests, and other Extremities at Sea, but also retreat, refuge, and security from Pyrates, and Enemies in times of War.

And *Ireland* by its Situation lyes conveniently, not only for Security and Advice for our Merchant Fleets in time of War, but also to intercept and interrupt the Trade of our Enemies.



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And how lightly ſoever theſe advantages may be paſt over by thoſe that poſſibly for French-gold, would cut, untwiſt, or weaken our Threefold Cord, yet they are obvious enough to all conſidering, unbyaſſed States-men, Merchants and Navigators.

For let it be conſidered, That the great currant of Trade runs between *England* and *France*, and that were the Ports of *Ireland* and *France* in one hand, or both in War with us; That either, much more both, would ſhut up, and damage, if not ruine our Trade, in that in the latter caſe, it might be done meerly by Privateers without the Expence of a great and chargeable Fleet, as our Merchants already find in part to their great coſt and loſs.

Thus you ſee that *Ireland* is beneficial to *England*, by employing above 300 Sail of Ships conſtantly, together with the Hands and Trades that depend on them. That it takes off conſiderable quantities of our natural Products, of our Manufactures, and of our Imported Commodities, which yields Employment to our People, contributes to keep up the Rents of our Lands, and Enrich our Merchants.

That almoſt all the Commodities we receive thence, are not only uſeful, but neceſſary to us, to enable our Manufacturers, and employ multitudes of our People.

That our Forreign Trade is encreaſed by the Commodities our Merchants Ship off from *Ireland* which they can have no where elſe, and lyes there conveniently for our Ships to take in in their way to their proper Markets.

That we receive thence yearly above 240000 *l.* beſides many other advantages.

That many younger Brothers, and ſupernumerary Artizans, and Families that fall to decay, and that cannot ſubſiſt here, are received and entertained with kindneſs in *Ireland*, where they grow Rich, or at leaſt Subſiſt.

That the Situation of that Kingdom is ſo far from being prejudicial to *England*, That it is commodious for the ſhelter, ſecurity and enlargement of our Trade.

That were there no ſuch place, we ſhould want Employment for at leaſt 300000 of our People, and Sale for a good part of our Products and Manufactures.

That ſhould *Ireland* continue in the hands of our Enemies, many of our People would be beggared, moſt of our Forreign Trade be greatly indangered and obſtructed, if not ruined.

So that without further conſideration of this matter, I do conclude, That as *Ireland* is the antienteſt, ſo it is the moſt noble, and profitable Acquiſition that ever *England* made, though it is but little more than



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twenty years ſince the ſtanding Revenue of that Kingdom did conſiderably ſurmount the Charge of it; yet our Kings ever ſince King *John*'s time have drawn large Supplies not only of Men, but alſo of Money, from *Ireland*. K. *James* and K. *Charles* the Firſt received ſeveral Summs of Money thence, which with the advantages by Trade, and moſt of the fore-mentioned particulars have rendred *Ireland* conſiderable to *England* for near 500 years paſt.

You take notice that our Nobility, Clergy and Gentry have imbibed a Notion, that the abatement of the Rents of Lands in *England* for twenty ſix years paſt have been occaſioned by the Improvements of *Ireland* in that time: And thence you raiſe your

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Third Query, *Whether the Improvement of* Ireland *was not the cauſe of the Abatement of Rents of Lands in* England *? Or whence elſe hath it come that Rents of Lands have fallen one Fifth part ſince the Year* 1662.

TO ſet you right in this matter, it's expedient that I lay before you the true ſtate of that Kingdom and its Trade, whereby you will be able to ſee the folly of our ſuſpicions, and the difficulty, if not impoſſibility of receiving prejudice by the Improvement of *Ireland*, at leaſt in this or the next Age, unleſs we enforce it by bearing too hard on them, as we did in the buſineſs of Cattel, and compel them to better Husbandry at home, and to more Forreign Trade, than they are any way diſpoſed to, or prepar'd for. And then I will ſhew you whence it is, that our Lands have fallen ſo much in their Rents.

*Ireland* is indeed an Iſland, that for extent of Acres, richneſs of Soyl, ſalubrity of Air, numerouſneſs of good Rivers and Havens, variety of Fiſhings, native Products, and materials fit to be improved into Manufactures, Scituation for Trade, *&c.* comes behind few Iſlands in the World. Yet it hath hitherto advanced but very little in Trade, Riches or Improvement. Although it hath for 518 years owned Subjection to *England*, and been in great meaſure Inhabited by *Brittains*, to that degree, That three fourths of the preſent Papiſts there, are of *Britiſh* Extraction, who yet by the influence of that pernicious Religion, are as much diſpoſed to Miſchief and Barbarity, as the native *Iriſh*; yet I ſay the Trade and Improvements thereof are inconſiderable. The Cauſes whereof I apprehend to be theſe.



1. That

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1. That the Popiſh Religion is retained by about five ſixth parts of the Inhabitants; which not only enjoins about 26 Idle or Holy-days more in a year than our Church; by expence on which, the loſs of ſo much time, and of what might be gained therein, the ill habits, and indiſpoſition to labour contracted by ſuch Idleneſs, and the ſpungings of their Clergy, by which, and the diſpleaſure of God on that Religion, (being that abomination that cauſeth deſolation) they are kept Poor. *Hereby they are liable yearly to ſend much Money to* Rome *to purchaſe Abſolutions, Pardons, &c. and they actually do ſo; And are alſo at the Charge of training up their Youth at St.* Omers, Doway, Valadolid, *and the Jeſuites Colledges in* France, *(which is a real drain to their Treaſure) where they are fitted for all Villany, and inſtructed how to trouble Church and State.* And by Gods juſt Judgment for permitting that Religion, (whilſt without compulſion it is ſo eaſie to reform them;) they are made Thorns in our ſides. Theſe (I ſay) make up one cauſe of the Poverty of that Kingdom, and will remain ſo, as long as their Idolatry is connived at.

2. The Second Cauſe of the Poverty of that Kingdom, is, the paucity of the Inhabitants, the whole number being reckoned to be but 1200000 Souls, whereof 300000 are Children, many by their quality exempt from Labour, and the reſt are few enough for Tillage and Husbandry, there being Ten Acres, of Land *Engliſh* meaſure profitable, and five unprofitable in that Kingdom for each Soul in it. Hence it is, that in the Fiſhing Seaſon, the Merchants of that Kingdom pay 20000 *l. per Annum*, to *Scotch* Fiſher-men, that go from *Scotland* to take the Herrings and other Fiſh, that preſent themſelves to their Netts in the *Iriſh* Harbours. To which may be added, the poor and mean way wherein above three fourths of them live, their Food, (tho' they live the midſt of plenty) being moſtly Milk and Potatoes; their Cloathing, Courſe Bandle Cloath and Linnen, both of their own making. A Pot, a Griddle whereon to Bake their Bread, a little Snuff, Salt, and Iron for their Plows, being almoſt all that they trouble the Merchant or Shop-keeper for. A little Hut, or Cabbin to Lodge in, is all that the generality of them ſeek, or have Ambition for.

3. A third Cauſe of their Poverty (which is alſo an evidence of it,) is, the Raw and Unmanufactured condition of the Commodities they Export. The Bulk of their Exportations beſides Fiſh; is Wool, Raw-Hides, Flax, Linnen-Yarn, Cony-Skins, Sheep-Skins, Pelts, Hogs-heads and Barrel Staves, *&c.* Add hereunto the few Markets that they have for theſe. They are Prohibited, carrying their Wool and Yarn to any Market but *England*. The *Carribbe* Iſlands were their beſt Market for Beef, Pork, and Proviſions, which tho' we have left them Freedom to carry thither, together with Servants and Horſes, yet 'tis under

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ſuch hard conditions, that they are in a manner wholly cut off from that Trade. Theſe being ſo Bulkey, and of ſo little Value, that it requires two or three Cargoes of them to Lade one Ship back with Plantation Commodities. And we have Prohibited them to carry any of their Manufactures ( which would have help'd in this Caſe ) thither, except they enter, and pay the Duty for them in *England*, which on ſome Goods is twice, on others the whole value of the firſt coſt.

4. The ſmall quantity of Coin that is in that Kingdom, and the great diſproportion between that and the Payments of the Kingdom. To clear this, I will give you a rough, yet near and probable computation, what the Rents, publick Payments and Trade there doth require, or of what Money is neceſſary to put that Kingdom barely into a thriving condition.

1. There ought to be in it as much Money, as one Years Rent of near Eight Millions of Acres profitable Land which are in that Kingdom, and the Houſes doth amount unto, which ſuppoſe to be 1100000 *l.* This is the Land-Lord and Tennants ſhare of the Caſh of the Kingdom.

2. It is neceſſary there be alſo ſo much Coin as one Years value of the Natural Products of the Kingdom does amount unto, at leaſt as the Commodities Exported in that time do come to. This is the Merchants and Trades mens ſhare of the Money, and in *Ireland* ſhould be about 500000 *l.*

3. So much Money as one Years Revenue and Taxes does amount unto ; which in *Ireland* is about 300000 *l.* or at leaſt ſo much as is the Charge of the Kingdom, which including Penſions was 243663 *l.*

4. So much Caſh as the Tythes and Church Livings amount unto, which for 27 Biſhopricks, Deanries, *&c.* and about 2200 Pariſhes ; I'll reckon 200000 *l. per Annum.*

5. It's needful that there be Manufactures in a Kingdom to employ the Indigent, and keep them from Rapin and Violence ; and if ſo, it's neceſſary there ſhould be ſo much Mony for that uſe as one Years Manufacture doth amount unto ; for which ( becauſe they are ſo few in kind, and little in quantity ) we'll reckon but 40000 *l.*

Theſe five make up a neceſſary Capital of two Millions and 83663 *l.* Now did the Caſh of the Kingdom equal theſe requirements, Rents, Taxes and Tythes might be well and duely paid, the Scale of Trade move nimbly, and ſome Manufactures be carried on.

But where the Caſh of a Kingdom doth not exceed the firſt, third, fourth forementioned uſes, ſuch Kingdom is incapacitated to advance de, Shipping, Manufactures or Improvements.

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cannot perfect them ſo as to be able to Sell them at any Tolerable price in the ſame Market with ours.

A pregnant Inſtance whereof we had a few Years ſince. Some of our Merchants thought to make conſiderable advantage by Buying Bayes (like thoſe of *Colcheſter*) in *Ireland*, and gave Commiſſion for large quantities which were bought up, whereupon there was a great ſpurt of Trade for that Commodity for a little time. But notwithſtanding *Colcheſter* Bayes is the eaſieſt part of the Woollen Manufacture to be made, imitated and perfected, yet when thoſe made in *Ireland* came to be compared with the true *Colcheſter* Bayes in *Spain*, they differed ſo much for the worſe, that on a ſudden the *Iriſh* Weavers loſt their Trade, and ſome of them were Ruined by thoſe that were left on their hands, not being able to find a Market for them. Here you alſo ſee one reaſon why they Export moſt part of their Commodities Raw and Unmanufactured.

6. A ſixth Cauſe of *Irelands* Poverty, is, the Cheapneſs of Lands in that Kingdom, and eaſineſs to ſubſiſt, with the difficulties that attend Trade there, which makes their Merchants turn Purchaſers as ſoon as they have gotten as much as will maintain their Families; whereby the ſtock in Trade there is ſmall. For it's obſerved, that tho' many there gain a Livelihood by Trade, yet very few of the Merchants of that Kingdom have acquired conſiderable, or competent Eſtates, for the reaſons before mentioned, and becauſe of the many Cloggs that lie on this Trade, which will herein after be obſerved.

7. Add to theſe their improvidence, the prodigality and exceſs of the *Engliſh* there, in the Conſumption of Forreign wares, moſtly ſuperfluities which they might well be without. As fine Cloath, Stuffs, Silks, Laces, Haberdaſhery, and the reſt that I have before enumerated, which they derive wholly from *England*. As alſo ſome that they have from other Countries: Above 3000 Tuns of Wine and Brandy have been Imported and Conſumed in that Kingdom in one Year. Some Vices and ſome Vertues ſeem to adhere to the Soil of moſt Countries, however the Inhabitants are changed. Thus Luxury and Hoſpitality to moſt plentiful Countries; and ſo to *Ireland*, eſpecially in Houſekeeping, wherein they exceed us as far as we do the Frugal *Dutch*, and ſo are no Savers by the great Plenty of the Country.

8. The unintereſſed (and frequent change) of the chief Governors who are moſtly ſent them from *England*, who tranſmit all that they get above their neceſſary Expence into *England*.

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9. The frequency of Rebellions in that Kingdom ( which discourages and destroys all Improvements ) occasioned by the folly and negligence of *England*, and the influence the Papists have always had on our Councils; so that on their reduction they have constantly found such Favour as to be left in Condition to renew their Rebellions at Pleasure.

10. Cause of *Irelands* Poverty is the Clogs and Restraints on their Trade, partly by *England*, partly by their own Parliament, who, by a perpetual Law, have incapacitated the growth or increase of their Trade, especially so as that it cannot interfere with the Trade of *England*.

The Truth is, both Parliaments have been imposed on, partly by some Commissioners of the Customs here; who to fix themselves the better in their Seats, and at once to ingratiate themselves at Court, and with the *English* Merchants that deal to the Plantations, pretended they could greatly encrease that branch of the Revenue by imposing hard things on *Ireland*. Partly by two sets of Men who designed the farming of the Customs and Excise in both Kingdoms; and actually did Farm part of them here. These by their Creatures in that Parliament, wherein were some Pensionaries; under pretence of advancing Trade, and the Rents of Lands in *England*, *&c.* gained several Acts to be passed very disadvantagious to *Ireland*, and the Plantations, and of little or no advantage to *England*. Particularly those that bar the People of *Ireland* from carrying any *Asian*, *African*, or *European* Commodities to any of the Plantations, but Provision, Servants and Horses, except they be brought into, entred, and pay Custom in *England*, and be bound to return hither with the proceed likewise.

As the Plantations heavily complain of these Acts, so do the People of *Ireland*. I have seen certain Reasons drawn up in *Ireland* against those Acts, too many and too long to be here inserted. Yet being they fall in with the present Subject, I will mention some of them, *viz.*

That as *Ireland* is the Antientest and noblest, so is it the most beneficial Acquisition of *England*. Not only by taking off annually great Proportions of the natural and artificial Commodities thereof: But also of *Asian* and *African* Commodities; ( two thirds of the Importations of *Ireland* being from *England* ) by employing considerable numbers of *English* Ships, by the yearly Rents of the Estates of such as live in *England*, and of Absentees transmitted hither, by the Charge of Students at the Universities and Inns of Court, Income of the Post-Office; Summs carried away by chief Governours, the surplussage of the Revenue, *&c.* much of all which is carried into *England* in Cash.

That the Commodities exported from *Ireland* to *England* are all necessary or useful to *England*. But that the Commodities imported thither from *England*, are superfluous, and such as *Ireland* may, or must be

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without, ( to the prejudice of *England* ) except there be a relaxation of the preſent Severities put on that Kingdom.

That *Ireland* being planted with *Engliſh*, or thoſe of *Engliſh* Extraction, under the ſame Sovereign, under almoſt all the ſame Laws with *England*, in ſome reſpect under the ſame Legiſlative Power, ( for Laws made in *England*, wherein *Ireland* is named, bind *Ireland*, *&c.* ) *Ireland* is by theſe, and ſeveral other ways in a manner Incorporated, and become one Body with *England*.

In thoſe Acts they note two things; the ends of them, and the reaſons of them.

The ends of them are, to keep the Plantations in a firm Dependance on *England*, to appropriate the Trade to, and from them to *England*. And that *England* may be a ſtaple for the Plantation Commodities. They ſay all theſe Ends ( ſave in one little particular of ſmall moment to *England*, but of great Importance to *Ireland* ) are infallibly ſecured to *England* without theſe Acts of Reſtraint, *&c.*

As to the firſt, they ſay, That the Merchants of *Ireland* are generally *Engliſh*, or of *Engliſh* Extraction; and having many Plantations in theſe Iſlands, are part Proprietors; that it cannot be imagined that their Trade and yearly ſending many of his Majeſties Subjects thither, can weaken, but rather firm their Dependance on *England*, which confeſſedly in thoſe Acts cannot be ſupplyed from, or not without great Prejudice to *England*. And which elſe muſt be ſupplyed with more *Negroes*, to the Hazard, if not Ruin and loſs of thoſe Plantations.

As to another End, which is, That *England* may ſupply thoſe Plantations with all *Aſian*, *African*, and *European* Commodities. They ſay that *Ireland* hath not been accuſtomed to ſend any of theſe, except thoſe of the Growth, or Manufacture of *Ireland* to the Plantations, *nor can they ſend any other if they had full Liberty. For by the Act of Cuſtoms in* Ireland, *all Wines, Tobacco, wrought Silks, all Haberdaſhery Wares, and all ſorts of Grocery Wares imported into* Ireland, *pay a great Cuſtom, and draw back no part of that Duty on Exportation. The Law there denying the Merchant that Priviledge.* By which Clauſe *England* is ſecured that the Merchants of *Ireland* cannot ſupply the Plantations with any Wines, Silks, Haberdaſhery, or Grocery. *And by another Clauſe in that Act, the Merchants of* Ireland *are rendred uncapable to ſupply the Plantations — or any other part of the World with any Commodities whatſoever, which is once Imported into that Kingdom*; The Clauſe is this; " That all Forreign Com-
" modities, except Wines and Tobacco, and thoſe of the *Engliſh* Plan-
" tations imported into *Ireland* by a Denizon from any the Parts or Pla-
" ces beyond the Seas, other than *England* or *Wales*, ſhall for ever pay
" one third more in Subſidy over and above the Subſidy payable for the
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" ſame according to the Book of Rates, and every Stranger double, *&c.* It is to be noted, That moſt Commodities but what *Ireland* conſtantly derives, or are ſupplyed with from *England*, are valued in the *Iriſh* book of Rates, at a higher value than the ſame Commodities are valued in the book of Rates in *England*. *So that according to the intrinſick value of the Commodities, all Forreign Goods pay almoſt* 10 per Cent. *Cuſtom on Importation into* Ireland, except what they have from *England*. Therefore, ſay they, he that reads the Acts for Cuſtoms and Exciſe in *Ireland*, will imagine that the Parliament of *Ireland* was in the Conſpiracy to ruin the Trade of that Kingdom. For though it is known, that theſe and other ſevere Clauſes in thoſe Acts were added in *England* when the Bills were ſent into *England* for Approbation; yet they were allowed and paſſed into Acts by the Parliament of *Ireland*. *So that upon the whole, they conceive it clear as the light at Noon-day, That* England *can furniſh the Plantations, and all the World, with* Aſian, African, *and* European *Commodities, 6 if not* 8 per Cent. *cheaper than 'tis poſſible for the Merchants of* Ireland *to do it*; which is a full ſecurity of that Trade to *England*.

As to the third End of thoſe Acts in *England*, that barr their Trade to the Plantations, which is, That *England* may be a Staple to all the World for the Plantation Commodities.

The Merchants of *Ireland* ſay, this alſo is infallibly aſſured to *England*, though Liberty ſhould be allowed them to trade to the Plantations. As to all the World, *Ireland* only excepted; Not only for ſome of the reaſons given under the former head, which take Place likewiſe here; but alſo becauſe, although Plantation Commodities (ſince the additional Duties were added) pay a higher duty on Importation into *England*, than they pay on Importation into *Ireland*. Yet on Exportation out of *Ireland*, they leave much more of the Duty behind, than they do on Exportation from *England*. To inſtance only in two of them. Ginger on Importation into *Ireland* pays 12 *d. per* hundred weight Cuſtom, and on Exportation draws back no part of that duty. Ginger exported out of *England* leaves behind.

Tobacco (which is the moſt conſiderable of all the Plantation Commodities) Imported into *Ireland*, and again exported thence, leaves in the Kings hands one penny *per* pound behind; but exported out of *England*, it leaves but a half penny behind, which is the eighth or tenth part of the value of that Commodity. *So that* England *will certainly remain a Staple for theſe Commmodities to all the World, except* Ireland, *notwithſtanding full liberty of Trade to the Plantations ſhould be allowed the Merchants of* Ireland. For that the *Engliſh* Merchants can ſell Tobacco 10 or 12 *per Cent.* at leaſt, and Ginger *per Cent.* cheaper than the Merchants of *Ireland*, and ſo likewiſe all other Plantation Commodities.



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The ſecond thing they note in thoſe Acts, that prohibite the Merchants of *Ireland* to trade to the Plantations, but through *England*, *&c.* is the reaſon of them, which forms the Equity of them, *viz.* That the Plantations are Peopled with his Majeſties Subjects of *England*, and that *England* hath and doth daily ſuffer great Prejudice by tranſporting great numbers to thoſe Plantations for the Peopling of them.

To this the Merchants of *Ireland* ſay, That in Fact it is moſt certain, that a full Moiety or near it, of all the working Whites, and many of the Proprietors in all the *Caribbe* Iſlands, and at leaſt three fourths of the Whites on *Montſerat* are of the People of *Ireland*.

And that if thoſe Plantations had not for many years been ſupplyed with People, cheriſhed and furniſhed with Victuals at low Rates from *Ireland*, they had periſhed, or not come to what they are. For had they been neceſſitated to have paid *Engliſh* Rates for Food, they could not have ſubſiſted. So that, (ſay they) If *Ireland* hath not only in a great meaſure ſuſtained them, but alſo are part Proprietors, and have in a great meaſure Peopled them, and are daily ſending People thither, where they are needed; then *Ireland* is within the Reaſon of thoſe Acts, and (as they conceive) ought not to be debarred Commerce with them, at leaſt for their own Products, and Manufacture, which is all that they deſire Liberty for.

They ſay, it ſeems to be a great Severity, (being they are of the People of *England*) that they ſhould be treated as Forreigners: And were the Tables turned, and their Brethren of *England* in *Ireland*, the Legiſlators would think the Laws at leaſt unkind.

*That it ſeems hard, that an* Engliſh man, *becauſe he goes to inhabit in* Ireland, *or is ſent thither to help to ſecure that Conqueſt to* England, *ſhould therefore loſe a great part of the Priviledge of an* Engliſh man, *and be treated as a Forreigner.*

*That theſe Reſtraints tend towards untwiſting or weakning our threefold Cord, by alienating (if it were poſſible) the Hearts of the People from* England, *and ſeem rather to be deſigned by* France, *than to flow from the generous temper of an* Engliſh *Parliament.*

That the ſame Parliament that Enacted thoſe Laws, were ſo ſenſible of the Advantages *England* reaps by *Ireland*, and that it is the Intereſt of this Kingdom to cheriſh That, that they comprehended *Ireland* in the Act of Navigation; and allowed the People and Ships thereof the ſame Priviledges as to the People and Ships of *England*. As an acknowledgment whereof, the Parliament of *Ireland* by their Act of Navigation, granted all the like Priviledges to the People and Ships of *England* as to their own.

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That as to the *Virginia* Trade, which brings greateſt Advantage to his Majeſty, the Merchants of *Ireland* are in a manner wholly cut off from that Trade, except they will drive it to the utter Ruin of the Kingdom. (which they reſolve not to do) For neither Proviſion, nor Horſes will go off at *Virginia*, nor are Servants to be had to ſuch numbers as to enable that Trade; And the Export of their Manufacture is prohibited. So that if they will drive that Trade, they muſt do it with Caſh, and turn all the little Money they have into Smoak, or be at the exceſſive charge, double hazard and expence of time, to come unto, and return through *England* with that (as all other Plantation Commodities) which hath occaſioned frequent loſs of Seaſons, and of Ships and Cargo's to the loſs of the Duty to his Majeſty, and Ruin of many Merchants, as they made appear in very many deplorable Inſtances, too long to be here inſerted.

They ſay, That whereas by an Act of the 25. *Car.* 2. For better ſecuring the Plantation Trade, It is Enacted, That if any Ship or Veſſel, which by Law may Trade in any of the Plantations, ſhall come to take on board any Plantation Commodities, and that Bond ſhall not be firſt given, with ſufficient Surety to bring them to *England*, *Wales*, or *Barwick*, That there ſhall be paid there on white Sugars 5 *s. per Cent.* on *Muſcovados* 8 *d. per Cent.* on Tobacco 1 *d. per* Pound, *&c.* which afforded ſome eaſe to the diſtreſſed Merchants of *Ireland* in returning, without being neceſſitated to come to *England* to enter. *Yet that door alſo hath been ſhut againſt* Ireland *by the Artifice of the Arbitrary Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms in* England. *For contrary to the plain Import of that Law, There was a Ship of* England *which paid that Duty in the Plantations, ſeized and condemned, under pretence that that Act was only intended for the Trade between Plantation and Plantation, although there is nothing in the Act that gives Countenance to that Conſtruction.*

That tho' the Manufactures of *Ireland* are few, and that the moſt conſiderable of them is Linnen, which interferes not with the Manufacture of *England*, and that the quantity exported in times of Free Trade to the Plantations was but ſmall, yet the Suſtenance of a good number of the moſt neceſſitous of their People depended wholly on that little, and that they cannot ſubſiſt barely by Air, more than the People of *England*.

That by reaſon of the eaſineſs to ſubſiſt in *Ireland*, the Reſtraints on Trade, the difficulty, if not impoſſibility (now) to grow rich by Trade, and the cheapneſs of Land; Merchants are inclined to purchaſe rather than Trade. That from hence, and the mean way of living of the Natives, paucity of Inhabitants, little demand of the Native Commodities in Forreign Markets, the want of any peculiar Commodity,

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as Tinn is to *England*, *&c.* It appears there is little reaſon why the Gentry and Merchants of *England* ſhould be ſo jealous as they are of the Improvement of *Ireland*, or the growth of its Trade, and leſs why they ſhould bear ſo hard on it.

That albeit Liberty is granted to the Merchants of *Ireland*, to ſend Proviſions, Servants and Horſes to the Plantations; yet Proviſions and Horſes being of great ſtowage, and ſmall value, It requires two Cargoes of them to lade one Ship home. And it is not to be expected that the whole proceed ſhould in the ſame Voyage be turned into Commodity for return. Hence it becomes abſolutely neceſſary for them to carry ſome ſmall parcels of the Manufacture of *Ireland* with Proviſions, Servants and Horſes, to enable a Cargo for the Ships return, or to return half or one third empty, which doubles the Charge of Fraight, and Charge on the Commodities returned. Or if they will not do this, they muſt carry Money to *England* to buy, and take in ſome Manufacture there, which doubles the hazard and charge, and by loſs of time, and contrary Winds occaſion loſs of Seaſons, and often of Ships and Goods. And if any of the Woollen Manufacture of *Ireland* be brought to enter here (in order to ſend them to the Plantations) the half duty on them in *England*, is in ſome the whole, in others the half of their firſt Coſt. Which how hard ſoever, yet they muſt not (as the caſe ſtands) upon any eaſier terms trade to thoſe parts, tho' part of the Dominions of their natural Prince, and in a great meaſure peopled and ſupported by themſelves.

*That ſince the Prohibition of Cattle to* England, *and as an effect thereof, the Merchants of* Ireland *have in return for Beef, Tallow, Hides, &c. ſupplyed that Kingdom with many Commodities from Forreign Parts, which before that Prohibition, were brought only from* England. *And that if the reſtraint be continued on their Manufactures to the Plantations, They will be neceſſitated to truck their Manufactures in* Spain, Portugal, &c *for Plantation and other Commodities which they uſed to have from the Plantations, and from* England. *Where if once their Manufactures be brought into demand, the prejudice to* England *will be a thouſand times greater than can ariſe from their carrying ſmall quantities of them to the Plantations.*

That the Condition of *Ireland* in the forementioned reſpects is very deplorable. For notwithſtanding the *Engliſh* there are liable annually to *England* for thoſe vaſt Summs before mentioned, yet they are prohibited to ſend their Sheep, Cattle, Beef, Pork or Butter (the product of their Land) hither. Nor can they ſend their Manufacture, the only Employment of their People hither, nor to any of the Plantations, no, not ſo much as Cloaths for their Servants. If they ſend Servants, they muſt not ſend Cloaths with them for one year, nor ſo much as handſom-

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ly to recommend them to a Market; nor Brandy sufficient for their Voyage, lest any should be left at their Arrival. If they send Horses they must not send a new Bridle. If they do in any of these Cases transgress, they are sure to be ruined by the Commanders of the Ships of *England* that watch that Trade, as many have been. They are by *England* prohibited to Plant Tobacco to employ their Lands at Home that is laid waste. *All which (say they) renders* Ireland *and the Merchants thereof fit Objects of his Majesty and the Parliaments Compassion, which they hope will in due time be extended to them, the hard Circumstances in which they are being once understood by their Brethren of* England.

It is some Relief to those that imagine themselves under pressures to be permitted to utter their Complaints. Thus I have (out of their own Mouths) given you part of the anxious reasonings of the Merchants of *Ireland*, about the Cloggs laid on the Trade of that Kingdom by *England*. Whereunto I shall add one more, which by reason of the weight and importance of it to *England*, I am not willing to omit; and it is this.

*That if these Restraints be intended to compel them to take off more Commodities from* England, *or that they should Trade only with* England, *They are ill designed: For that according to the State, into which* England *hath brought the Trade of that Kingdom, (as is before set forth) it is impossible for the people of* Ireland *to enlarge their Trade with* England. *For should they buy more of* England *than they do, and have done for five years past, they are (by these Prohibitions) rendred uncapable to pay for it. But on the contrary,* England *hath (by these Restraints) laid an absolute necessity on* Ireland *to take off less of the Product and Manufacturies of* England *than they have formerly taken off. For when they enjoyed liberty to carry their Manufactures, as well as Provisions to the Plantations, they usually brought the Product of them into* England, *which they Trucked for* English *Commodities, or therewith paid their Debts here; or if they paid Duty, and Exported them to* Holland, *&c. they returned the proceed of them into* England, *and applyed it to the uses before-mentioned. But seeing* England *hath not only shut, but fast lockt this Door also against them, they must now (though with much regret) to the prejudice of* England, *necessarily seek new Trade, and supply themselves for future from Places where they can vend their Native Products, and Manufactures.*

Whatever there is in their former reasonings, I am of Opinion, that this last deserves due consideration, as being of importance to the Trade of *England*. But here I'll put an end to the exercise of your patience as to that particular.

As to the Cloggs laid on their Trade by their own Parliament, they have fallen in, and been mentioned with those laid on them by *England*,

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*Land*, the moſt conſiderable being that Clauſe in the Act of Cuſtoms, which impoſeth one third more Subſidy on all Commodities Imported into *Ireland*, except thoſe Imported from *England* or the Plantations. This they ſay was added to the Bill in *England*. However it was paſſed by their own Parliament, and is in effect, or was intended by thoſe which added it, as a Prohibition of their Trade with any part of the World, but *England*.

Another diſcouragement which they alledge, is the exorbitant Fines in the Act for Exciſe in *Ireland*, as loſs of Franchiſes, Impriſonment, and the Barbarous Corporal Puniſhments to be inflicted thereby, *&c.* which are ſuch, That Merchant and Slave in *Ireland* are convertible terms; and had indeed been fitter to have been impoſed on Slaves at *Algier* than on Free-born *Engliſh* Men.

If the view I have given you of the Trade and Condition of *Ireland* hath not ſatisfied you, that it is not the Improvement of that Kingdom that hath leſſened the Rents of Lands in *England*, I preſume the anſwer to the ſecond part of the Inquiry we are upon will fully do it.

The ſecond part of the Query, is, *What have been the Cauſes that have occaſioned the Rents of Lands to have abated or fallen one fifth part, or conſiderably ſince the year* 1662 *?*

This Query ſuppoſeth, That Lands generally throughout *England* did in 1662. or thereabout, yield conſiderably more Rent than now they do. I was deſirous to inform my ſelf as to the certainty of it, leſt this unhappineſs ſhould have been only particular to your ſelf and ſome few about you, I had the curioſity to inquire in *Surrey* ( fifteen Miles from *London* ) whether like Abatements had hapned there as in your parts of the Countrey ; and I had many Inſtances given me where ſeveral parcels of Land which in 1662. and 1663. yielded 30 *l. per annum*, are now ſet ( upon the Rack-rent ) at 22 *l. per annum*, and ſo proportionably for greater and leſs quantities of Land : So that being confirmed in the Truth of the matter of Fact, I have therefore the more ſtudiouſly enquired into the cauſes thereof.

To reſolve this Query to ſatisfaction, it is neceſſary that we retroſpect the Condition of *England* unto the time when Lands were at a very low and mean value as to the Rents of them ; and if we can find what it was that raiſed them to thoſe high Rents they yielded about 1662. it is probable that that will direct or help us to find the true cauſes of their Abatement.

To go no further back than the Reign of *Edward* III. we ſhall find, That *England* had no Manufactures, few Ships, little or no Exportation but a little Leather, beſides Wool, and Wool-fells, of which ſometimes 30000, at other times 10000 Sacks was Annually Exported ( for

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*tion, the moderate men, though of their own perſwaſion, muſt go to Pot. Having gained the Sole Direction of* Philip *the Second of* Spain, *they had as it were both Swords put into their Hands; and the World hath ſeen how they uſed them. They put thoſe Provinces into ſuch Convulſions as enfeebled the Monarchy of* Spain, *which from that time may date its Declenſion.* Theſe Right Reverend Fathers appointed Duke *D' Alva* Governour General of the *Netherlands*, a Man of a fierce, cruel, bloody inflexible Temper, (a fit Servant for ſuch Maſters) yet they thought it too great an Honour for him being a Lay-man, ſolely to engroſs ſo great a Stock of Merit as was to be acquired by the Ruin and Murder of ſuch Multitudes, as were then to be Sacrificed to the *Roman* Cruelty. To Sanctifie the Villany, the Clergy muſt ſhare in it. "They therefore appointed fif-
"teen new Biſhops to be ſet up in the *Netherlands*, who ſhould be free
"from all Secular Power and Juriſdiction, even in caſe of Trea-
"ſon.

"That all Commerce, Negotiations, Liberties and Priviledges ſhould
"be overthrown. That all (in the *Netherlands*) ſhould be reduced
"to extream Poverty, that thereby that Countrey ſhould be aſſured
"to them, and to *Spain*.

"That no Man of all thoſe Countreys (except of their Faction) ſhould
"be held worthy to live: And finally all to be rooted out, and all
"Poſſeſſions, Arts and Trades, and all Orders to be taken away, until
"there ſhould be a new Realm and Nation.

"That none Suſpected be Employed (tho' of the Blood-Royal) but
"to be removed and diſpatched.

"That no Contracts, Rights, Promiſes, Oaths, Priviledges and ſo-
"lemn Grants made to the *Netherlands*, ſhall be of any Force for the
"Inhabitants as being guilty of High Treaſon.

"Theſe things will cauſe the Subjects to Revolt and move Sedi-
"tion.

"Thieves and Spoilers of Churches and Images ſhould be hired, and
"ſent among them whoſe Offences ſhould be imputed to the Re-
"bels.

Theſe were part of the Inſtructions given by the Holy Fathers to Duke *D' Alva* and the new Biſhops, who acted their parts to purpoſe in this Tragedy, for on *D' Alva*'s return into *Spain*, he boaſted that he having done the beſt he could to root out all Hereſie, *he cauſed* 18000 *perſons to be put to death in Six years by the ordinary Miniſters of Juſtice*, beſides numbers that had been cut off by the Souldiers.

It had been happy for theſe Kingdoms if theſe Inſtructions had been confined to thoſe Provinces, and had not in part been copied, and followed here, as well as in the *Netherlands*. I will not intermeddle with

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with the direful effects of these Ecclesiastical Politiques further, than as to the influence they had on the *Netherlands*, which were the greatest Seat of Trade and Manufacture in the whole World.

*As soon as the peaceable Merchants and Manufacturers began to be tost and teased between the Ecclesiastical and Civil Courts, when once the ingenuous industrious Artizans and Traders could no longer quietly enjoy the fruits of their Labours, nor (as much as by connivance) be permitted to serve God according to his own Command and Will, nor yet (though they continued Idolaters) be safe, except they would be active and instrumental in plucking up the Foundations of Liberty and Property, to set up a Tyrannical and Exorbitant power in Church and State, they thought it high time to remove; and this Persecution in the* Netherlands *happening about* Anno 1566. *and contemporizing with the Establishment of the Protestant Religion in* England, *and the Liberty given in the beginning of Q.* Elizabeth's *Reign; very many Manufactures were thereby allured over into* England, *and settled in several parts of the Kingdom, as* London, Canterbury, Norwich, Colchester, *&c. where both* French, Walloons *and* Dutch *had several Priviledges granted them, were allowed Churches, with Liberty to serve God in their own way, according to the Primitive Simplicity.*

A great part of them removed into *Holland*, and the other United Provinces, when once they undertook the defence of their just Liberties and Priviledges, and allowed Men to serve God without the imposing of Ceremonies, *&c.* Others that were of the Popish Religion removed, some into *Italy, but most into* France, *and laid the Foundation of the Wealth and Greatness of that Monarchy: For from that time that Kingdom has mightily encreased in Manufacturies*, but *England* much more, because we had store of good Wool and Matter for them to work up, of which *France* was in a manner destitute.

From this time forward all the Cities and Towns in *England*, where these new Manufacturers seated themselves began to be enlarged, and regulated in their Buildings, and Rents of Houses and Lands advanced. The Prosperity of this sort of People, and the Liberty and Immunities that were granted them, allured many more of them over to us, and as their Servants and Apprentices grow up to be Masters, the new Manufactures spread into several parts of the Kingdom, and where-ever they seated themselves, they furnished multitudes of the poorer sort with Work, and comfortable Subsistence; they grew rich themselves, and enriched their Neighbours, greatly lessened the Importations, and augmented the Exportations of the Kingdom, and added to its Wealth abundantly.

*Thus Persecution greatly impoverished the* Spanish *Netherlands, and gave the first Blow to the greatness of the* Spanish *Monarchy; and Liberty enriched*

*several*

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*several parts of* Europe, *but* England *especially*: The Gospel spread, the Church flourished, and the Trade and Wealth of the Kingdom continued on the Encrease, until there sprung up a generation of Men in the Nation very zealous for the observance of Forms and Ceremonies, not so much regarding the necessary Duties of Religion, as Love and Charity, who too much favoured the Spirit of Persecution. *In all Ages, and amongst all Parties, those men that have violently, and rigidly been for Imposing particular External Modes and Forms in Religion, have least advanced the Power of it, and run most counter to the Civil Interest of the Kingdom.*

In *Edward* the 6th time, the Worthy Pious Bishops that first departed from *Rome*, differed about the degrees of distance they were to go off from the Mother of Abominations; some of them (upon Political considerations) that the change might be less sensible, and in hopes of alluring the common people, were for retaining the less Gross part of the Ceremonies, and the most plausible passages of their Liturgy, Canons, and the way of ordering Priests and Deacons. Others of the Bishops were for casting off *Rome*, and all her Ceremonies at once, and for returning to the Primitive Simplicity of Worship instituted and practised by Christ and his Apostles, as several Forreign Churches had done with good success. But reason of State (with a good meaning and honest design) prevailed; yet those that were for retaining those Ceremonies, seemed to intend them but for a time, and only until (as they say in the Preface to the Commination against Sinners, *&c.*) That the Godly Discipline used in the Primitive Church, could be restored. But what these first Reformers retained, or admitted meerly by way of Expedience, (judging the things indifferent in their own nature) their Successors some time after Imposed with more rigour and strictness than the observance and practice of necessary Duties; as if they thought the Canon of the Scripture incompleat, and that Christ and his Apostles had not sufficiently directed or instructed the Church how to worship God, and that the Christian Religion was deficient without this supplement of new Institutions.

Arch-Bishop *Whitgift* was the first that began to Impose these about 1583. By doing whereof, he disgusted and disquieted the generality of the Pious Divines and Communicants of the Church of *England* at that time, who disrelished them as unwarrantable, and uncharitable, gave a check to the Trade, and a stop to the Manufacturers who were flocking into the Kingdom from all parts.

To come to the matter in hand; *these Impositions, and the Severities afterwards used by A. B.* Laud, *put the Church into terrible Convulsions, and the State into a Bloody Civil War, expelled multitudes of our sober wealthy people.*

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*people, some to* New-England, *some to* Germany, *some to* Holland, *many chose rather to live in desolate howling Wildernesses; others in strange Lands, among people whose Languages they understood not, with Liberty to serve God, than to live in* England *their Native Country, and be exposed to hardships at home, and to be fleeced and flayed by a set of——Tormentors. Nor was this all, but besides, many of our Industrious Manufacturers were driven into* Germany, Holland, *and other of the United Provinces, insomuch that (as was evidenced to the Parliament in* 1643.) *The Clothiers, who (for Liberty of Conscience, removed hence, and) setled in* Holland, *made there in one year* 36000 *pieces of Broad-cloth, to the unspeakable loss of this Kingdom; for hereupon Trade greatly decayed, and the Rents of Houses and Lands abated sensibly.*

And that I may help you a little to estimate the Advantage the Kingdom reaps by these Manufacturers, and the great Damage sustained by their Expulsion; I will give one Instance of the vast numbers of people they employ, which are mostly of the poorer sort, and another of what the Kingdom lost by having those 36000 pieces of Broad-Cloth made beyond Sea.

As to the numbers of people employed in our Manufactures; take the Instance from Q. *Elizabeth*'s Reign, who being informed, (that in a time of Dearth and Scarcity) several Clothiers in *Gloucestershire* were fallen to decay, whereby the Poor wanted Work; she required their condition to be reported to her; and I find part of the return to the effect following; *viz.* That in the six Hundreds of *Berkly*, *Cumbalash*, *Thornbury*, *Longtree*, *Whitstone* and *Bistely*, there inhabited 40 Clothiers, who employed 338 Looms; to each of which Looms did pertain eight persons; *viz.* Weavers, Winders, Dyers, Dressers, Warpers, *&c.* which was (to the whole) 2704, besides 4500 Spinners; so that by the decay of these 40 Clothiers, 7204 persons in that small Circuit were left without Work and Sustenance.

As to the Instance which respects our Profit, you must know, that particularly in White Clothes, all that we make of them above the cost of the Wooll and Oyl, is raised upon the Labour of our People, and is clear Profit to the Kingdom. As suppose the Wooll and Oyl for one piece of Cloth cost 3 *l.* and that the Cloth yields 13 *l.* then 10 *l.* is raised by the Labour and Workmanship of the Manufacturers, *&c.* The Wooll of some Cloths cost much more (but then the Cloth will yield a better price, *&c.*) But I pitch upon that price as a mean Rate: According to which value, this Kingdom lost 360 thousand pounds sterling, which it had gained if those Cloths had been made in it, and sold hence. And about 13000 of our People were thereby deprived of the Work and Wages that the making those Cloths would have furnished them with.

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In this ſingle Inſtance you ſee the Kingdom loſt 360000 *l. per annum* in the old Drapery, and the loſs could not be leſs than double ſo much in the new Drapery, *&c.* and all this for thoſe Trumperies; a mighty loſs indeed to the Kingdom! Yet, had the Church gained thereby, there had been ſome pretence for retaining and impoſing them; but inſtead of promoting the Edification, Peace, or Unity thereof, they have ſerved only to rend and divide it.

The fifth ſtep towards the advance of the Rents of Lands, *was the Liberty of Conſcience granted by the Long, or Rump Parliament, and* Oliver *from* 1642. *to* 1660. *or* 62. during which time all Proſecutions for non-obſervance of uninſtituted Ceremonies, *&c.* were ſuſpended.

*Indeed, never was there a more pregnant Inſtance of the Benefits which Liberty of Conſcience, and Encouragements to Manufacturers brings to a Kingdom, than what that ſhort ſpace of time furniſhed. For notwithſtanding Civil-Wars in the bowels of theſe three Kingdoms for a great part of that time, whereby multitudes of the Inhabitants were cut off; yet Trade, and the Rent of Lands encreaſed, and advanced even miraculouſly.*

*I deny not but the removal, and taking off of all Monopolies, the bringing down Intereſt of Money to 6 l.* per Cent. *and the Act of Navigation, (which were alſo Acts of that Parliament) were concurrent cauſes of the encreaſe of the Wealth of the Kingdom. The firſt took off thoſe Reſtraints that were on Trade. The ſecond enabled the greater Emprovements of our Land, and making our Manufactures cheaper than before. And the laſt encouraged and encreaſed our Shipping and Sea-men, and ſaved great Sums of Money to the Kingdom, which the* Hollanders *were accuſtomed annually to carry from* England *for their Ships let us to freight. Yet the chief cauſe hereof was the Liberty given to People to ſerve God according to his own Word. For this Liberty invited multitudes to return with their Families and Stocks from* New-England, Germany, Holland, *&c. but eſpecially many of our Manufacturers, (who had been driven away by Arch-Biſhop* Laud's *Perſecution,* &c.) tho too many of them (by Purchaſes and Marriages that they had made in thoſe places) were detained to the unſpeakable damage of the Kingdom. However, the return of the reſt greatly encreaſed the Home-conſumption of Proviſions, our Manufactures and Trade, and employed our Poor, which together advanced Lands in Purchaſe and Rent to that great height they were at about 1660, and 1662.

*Thus I have faithfully ſet down the means and ſteps by which* England *arrived at that high pitch of Wealth and Strength, which rendred her the Terrour and Envy of all* Europe. *And having done that, it will be eaſie to anſwer the Query, to aſſign the true Cauſes of its Declenſion, and the abatements of Rents,* &c. *ſince* 1662. The moſt material I conceive to be theſe that follow; *viz.*



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If againſt what hath been propoſed, the favourers of the *French* and Popiſh Intereſt do object, That ſuch Severity toward the *Iriſh*, will diſoblige the Catholick Princes of the Confederacy.

I anſwer; That the chief end of the Confederacy is to retrench the Power of the *French* King and his Adherents, as Enemies to all the reſt of *Europe*. That the Papiſts in theſe Kingdoms having above all others contributed to that Kings preſent Greatneſs (all the *Iriſh*, and many of the *Engliſh*, and *Scotch* Papiſts being actually in Rebellion, and in Conjunction with his Forces) Their dependance being on him, and expectations from him; it is as much the Intereſt of the Confederates, that they be rooted out or baniſhed, as was the taking of *Mentz* or *Bonne*. That thoſe Princes are very ſenſible that theſe are they which have diverted His Majeſties Arms from their Aſſiſtance the two laſt Campaigns, and that they will do ſo for the future, if their Power be not broken. That there cannot therefore be the leaſt danger of diſobliging them, by the Baniſhment or Extirpation of the afore-mentioned Parties; eſpecially being it is of ſervice to them, upon Reaſons of State, and is done for the quiet and ſecurity of His Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects, *&c.* and becauſe they are Rebels, Incendiaries, and of Party with *France*, and not becauſe they are Papiſts.—In a word, *Lenity to the* Iriſh *who have been in Arms, is down-right Cruelty to the Proteſtants of* Ireland *and their Poſterity.*

2. *As Reſtraints on the Papiſts are neceſſary to the quiet of* Ireland, *and the other ends propoſed; ſo is Freedom and Immunities in Corporations to all Proteſtants that ſhall go to inhabit there, with Liberty of Conſcience to Proteſtants of all Perſwaſions that are there, or that ſhall go thither to abide.* There being five Papiſts for every Proteſtant in that Kingdom, it is the Intereſt of the latter in point of Security, to add to their number as much as may be. If to the Cheapneſs of Land there be added Civil and Religious Liberties, they will together probably allure Forreign Proteſtants to tranſplant thither.

The Proteſtants until about 1670. kept the Papiſts out of Corporations, by tendering them the Oath of Supremacy, when they claimed admittance, but there being a Clauſe in the Act of Settlement or Explanation, which impowered the Chief Governour and Council in *Ireland* to make Laws or Rules for Regulation of Corporations, and that the Rules ſo made ſhould be of the ſame force as if they had been enacted by Parliament, *&c.* under colour thereof ſome well-wiſhers to Popery and Arbitrary Government, framed certain Rules and Orders which *Charles* II. cauſed the Lord Lieutenant and Council to paſs into an Act of Council, and to enjoyn them on all the Corporations of that Kingdom, *&c.* one of which Rules requires all Officers of Corporations

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Our Trade with *France* being the greateſt out-let of our Money, and *France* being the only Kingdom of the World capable of Annoying us; We ought long ſince to have ſtopt that yearly Drain. But it hath been our infelicity, that during the two laſt Reigns, our Councils being Influenced by *France*, we ran Counter to our Intereſt in Trade, as well as Politicks: For inſtead of regulating our Forreign Trade, in preſerving, and gaining more Markets for our Natural Products, and Manufactures; the hindring and abating the Importation of unneceſſary Commodities, and encouraging our Manufacturers (which are the induſtrious Bees of the Nation;) we have been put upon driving the latter from us, and reſtraining the Intercourſe and Commerce between us and *Ireland*, and the Plantations and *Ireland*; to the advantage of a few, but great detriment to the Publick, not to ſay oppreſſion of our own People abroad, while we have given *France* the opportunity of drawing away our Money, and to run away with a conſiderable part of our Trade; and have thereby paid his Penſioners amongſt us at our own coſt. But his Preſent Majeſty being come to deliver us from ſuch *Malevolent* Councellors, it is to be hoped he will not by imploying the Inſtruments of our paſt Calamities, furniſh them with freſh opportunities to Betray the Kingdom, or Ruin himſelf.

It is the endeavour of almoſt all the Princes of *Europe*, to Retrench the Power of the *French* King; and 'tis no leſs the concern of *England*. And if I miſtake not, the preſent conjuncture of Affairs doth furniſh us with ſome ſpecial advantages above the reſt to that end.

*It is certain that in times of open Trade* France *did yearly Gain one or two Millions* Sterling *by Trade with* England, *which was ſo much clear loſs to this Kingdom. Neither was that all, but we did thereby yearly ſtrengthen and inrich our mortal Enemies.* To give ſome evidence to this: I find by a Ballance of one Years Trade between *England* and *France*, ſaid to be drawn out of our Cuſtom-Houſe Books, for the Houſe of Commons about *October* 1675. That by the certain Ballance thereof, we Imported from *France* 969105 *l.* 2 *s.* 8*d.* Sterling more in Commodities than we Exported thither; but by the ſuppoſed or probable Ballance 2105255 *l.* 6 *s.* 8*d.*

I find likewiſe that about 1676 or 77. That King having ſome thoughts to Prohibit all our *Engliſh* Manufactures from being carried into *France*, the Ballance of Trade between both Kingdoms being laid before him, it did thereby appear that the yearly Exportations of *France* to *England* was 2640000 *l. Sterling*, and that the Importations from *England* to *France*, did not exceed one Million. So that by their own ſhewing, *France* Gained 1640 Thouſand Pounds *Sterling* by *England*, which being the over-Ballance of Trade, went out in Caſh. Amongſt the particulars (in this laſt Ballance of Trade) ſaid to be Imported into *England*

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greater Consumption of Liquors, Tobacco, &c. the *Irish* being a People that spend freely when they have wherewithal.

Secondly, To *England*, In begetting a greater intercourse of Trade between the two Kingdoms. The *Irish* are naturally prodigal, and love Gaities, and were they enabled, they would soon be induced to take off more of our Manufactures and natural Products; so that there would be no need of parting with our Money in Specie to *Ireland*, as now we do to *France*. And whatever advance it would occasion of the Revenue above the charge of that Kingdom, it would be transmitted hither to lessen the Taxes in *England*, and yearly add to the Capital Stock of the Kingdom.

Thirdly, It would be advantagious both to the King and Kingdom, in lessening the Revenue of the *French* King, and impoverishing his Subjects.

As the Manufactures of *England* have enriched it, and yielded a great Revenue to the Crown to enable the keeping a powerful Navy at Sea; so the vast quantities of Manufactures which is yearly exported out of *France* into many parts of the World, and especially to *England*, do as well by the Duty paid out of them, enable that King to keep up several formidable Armies, &c. as imploy and inrich his Subjects, and enable them to pay other Taxes. *Now so far as we divest* France *of its Manufactures, and lessen the Exportations, so far do we abate its Power, and disable the keeping up of such powerful Armies*, &c. *The Events and difficulties of War are great and uncertain; but this is a sure way to weaken any Prince, and to bring any Country into a languishing Condition.*

If to what hath been here proposed any shall say, That it will be more the advantage of *England* to have this Linnen Manufacture set up here than in *Ireland*. I answer,

That the other Manufactures before mentioned, with which we are supplyed from *France*, will much more profitably and agreeably imploy our People than the spinning of Linnen, which in this case must be done at a very cheap rate, or it will not prevent the bringing of them from *France*. And *Ireland* in the forementioned respects seems much more proper for that purpose than *England*. And if we would prevent their growing into the Wollen Manufacture, it is but just they should be encouraged in some other which may imploy and maintain them: for they can no more than our People, live only on Air, though they are content to work cheaper, and fare harder.

To avoid Prolixity, I forbear to set down the proper way in which the Linnen Manufacture may be set up, and the Improvements which may be made of the distinct Branches of their Majesties present Revenue in *Ireland*.



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