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## FOUR

## L E T T E R S

TOTHE
EARL OF CARLISLE FROM

WILLIAM EDEN, Efq. 1st baron Auckland
On eertrin Peeverfions of Po- and the combined Powers of -xitical Rxasoning; Franciand Spain.
and on the Nature, Pro. On the Pualic Deats; on and and and Effet of PARgrefin, and Effect of PARr and of Pas TiEf.
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Tradi.
THETHIRD EDITIONof Congise
To which is added
A FIFTH LETGTE ET,
On Porulation; on certain Reveroswhomat Regulations connected with the Interemetrfof Commerce; and un Pubitic Ofconomy.

Epifio'am meam quod pervulgatam fribis effe, nan fero molefle. Ea enim et acciderunt, jam ot impendent, ut tefatum effic velim de republicá quid fen'erim. Crc. Ep. ad Att. 8.

## LONDON:

PRINTED FOR B, WHITE, IN FLEET-STREET; AND T. CADELL, IN THE STRAND.
MDCCLXXX.

I


Majorcs noftri, cum bellis afpervimis premerentar, cquis, viris, pecunia, nunquam defeffi funt armati de imperio certare. Non inopia crarii, non vis boftium, now ad.verja res, ingentem corum animum fubegit, quin, que virtute ceperant, fimul cum animá retinerent. Atque ea magis fortibns cunfiliis, quam bonis pracliis, patrata funt. ${ }^{\text {Ouippe apud illos una Refpublica erat, }}$ ci omnes confulebant; factio contra bofics parabatur: corpus atque ingenium, patria, wou fuce potentic, quifque cxcrcitabat.

Salluft. Orat. 2. de Rep. ordinandà.

afperrimis premerentar, an defifft funt armati de erarii, non vis boftium, um aximum fubegit, quin, 1 cum animâ retinerent. iis, quam bonis praliis, illos una Refpublica erat, contra boftes parabatur: -ia, won fua potentic,
. 2. de Rep. ordinandà.


Greenwich, Oetober 19th, 1719;

MY DEAR LORDI

IFrankly admit that a printed Anfwer to a private Letter is a mode of correfpondence at leaft unufual, and fuch as in its firt impresfions cannot fail of giving you an uneafy fenfa-tion.--But I fhall not offer any apology;-for the times are unhappily fuch, as to juftify much greater eccentricities of conduct wherever the intention is good.
Your Lordhip's letter from Cafte Howard found me at Tunbridge Wells, where I had been fome weeks endeavo rin? to divert lefs pleafant recollections, by wandering about a neighbourhood, which, at different periods of our hiftory, has been the feene of chivalry and ro-

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mance,

## [2]

mance, of Love and the Mufes, of royal diffipation and feftivity. Your reflections recalled me to times, in which romance and poetry and mirth are no more. They led me to look very ferioully into the fituation of our country, and to endeavour to form a juft eftimate of the publie difficulties and refources. Having defribed in חhort but comprehenfive terms, the clouds which darken our political horizon in every point of the compals, you exprefs your doubts, whether you may not fee matters blacker than they really are, under the circumflances of having lived fome time in retirement, and with little more intelligence than is to be collected from printed newfpapers.

With refpect to the want of all official information, I am at leaft on a par with your LordThip : unemployed in any active line of public bufinefs, I am in pofiefion only of fuch materials as are acceffible to every man in the kingdom, who has leifure and inclination to make ufe of them. But your Lordhip will permit me to exprefs" a "doubt, whether, even fo circumftanced,

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Aufes, of royal diffipareffections recalled me ance and poetry and ey led me to look very of our country, and At eftimate of the pub:es. Having deferibed ve terms, the clouds horizon in every point ofs your doubts, whetters blacker thàn they cumftainces of having ement, and with little - to be colleated from
nt of all official inforpar with your Lordy active line of públic n only of fuch materiy man in the kingdom, ination to make ufe of p will permit me to exeven fo circumitanced,

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we are not the more likely to fee the general profpects in a juft point of view.
On my return to this place, I covered my table with books of maps and gazettes of former wars; with lifts of fleets and armies ; with printed accounts of the public debt and interefts; with gbitracts of ammal fervices and of ways and uneans; with Excife compares and Cuftom-houfe returns: in thort, with all that furrago of dead letter and arithmetic, which is the beft fpecific againft the wanderings of the imagination. In plain words, I have tried earnefly, with the help of fuch imperfect infruments as are within my reach, to fee things as they are; for it is certain that all our hopes and fears rcfpecting the public interefts and the public fafety, are idle, and in fome degree mifchievous, unlefs we have previoufly ufed our beft diligence to appreciate the real circumftances of the nation, as far as they are refpectively open to us. This is however one of thofe barren truths, which feldom generate any effect : it is within the reach of every man's obfervation, but lies dormant and unproductive;

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## [4]

as it would poffibly have continued to do alfa in my mind, if your Lordfhip's letter had not awakened my attention to it.
Seeing now, from this enquiry, or believing that I fee, much folid ground for hope, and none for defpondency, I truft I thall find fome fatiffaction in flating the reafons of my belief. It has been already intimated, that thofe reafons are drawn from materials acceffible to all the world; they may perhaps receive fome colouring from a friendly intercourfe with men of all opinions and perfuafions; as well as from a difpofition to think better of mankind in general, and efpecially of our cotemporaries, than has of late years been fanionable.

In the courfe of this taik, which I have undertaken, it has been my intention to avow unrefervedly, and without reftraint, fuch general ideas as occur in the refult; and this I hall now do, not fecking the reputation of ability, for I know myfelf and the folly of fuch a purfuit too well; but becaufe it is my carneft wifh to fhew and to promote a difpofition towards candour

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continued to do alfa rdhhip's letter had nut , it.
enquiry, or believing und for hope, and none I thall find fome fatiffons of my belief. It d, that thofe reafons are effible to all the world; fome colouring from a nen of all opinions and from a difpofition to n general, and efpecially an has of late years been
ik, which I have underntention to avow unrcreftraint, fuch general It ; and this I mall now utation of ability, for I lly of fuch a purfuit too ny carneft wifh to thew fition towards candour and

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and moderation, which I conceive to be the moft important of all public virtues in the prefent inoment.
"That great empires are never overthrown " by fortune, and that the caufes of public ruin, " though often accelerated by external injury " and violence, always exit, in the firft inftance, " within the fociety itfelf, and may be traced in " its hiftory," is a pofition which we liave occafionally difcuffed with littie difference of opinion. The train of ideas to which the purfuit of that difculion will lead your Lordnip, is particularly favourabic to my prefent object ; for it will not only explain fome difficulties placed in the way of that juft effimate, which we wifh to form, of the public diffreffes, but will tend to give us a clearer intight into the main fprings and fources of them. It will alfo thew, that, though the general principles of political action and judgment are the fame among all mankind, there are fome clafies of character either peculiar to our countrymen, or which at leaft do not prevail to a fimilar degree in any other nation under Heayen.

## [6]

It is impoffible not to admire that benevolence, which, with a difpofition to promote the general interefts and happinefs of mankind, applies its firt and beft exertions to the benefit of that particular fociety, that has the neareft ciaim to them. But the undiftinguifhing benignity, which profeffes to think with equal affection, and to talk with equal philanthropy of all the world, and of every individual, is defervedly confidered either as a vicious affelation, or extreme weaknefs, or both.

On the other hand, the oppofite turn of character, though perhaps the vice of more active and ftronger minds, is not lefs fatal to true judgment : This is a difpofition to affume a tone of malignity, with certain pretenfions to fhrewdnefs; to fpeak ill of every public man, and ot every public incafure; and with an unbridled zeal of invective to overleap all bounds of moderation and candour.
There is a third principle of felf-deceit, which is lefs weak and more genuine than the firf that I have mentioned, as well as infinitely more amiable, though not lefs mifchievous than the

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lmire that benevolence, to promote the general mankind, applies its the benefit of that parneareft ciaim to them. benignity, which proaffection, and to talk f all the world, and of edly confidered either extreme weaknefs, or
oppofite turn of chae vice of more active lefs fatal to true judg$n$ to affume a tone of retenfions to fhrewdpublic man, and ot d with an unbridled , all bounds of mode-
: of felf-deceit, which ine than the firft that 11 as infinitely more nichievous than the fecond:

## [7]

fecond: Your Lordhhip will perhaps be aware, that I mean that perfonal predilection, that attachment to focial connections, which is natural, and perfectly virtuous, when kept within juft bounds; but the gentle dominion of the focial qualities over the breaits of men, which in private life forms one of the fineft effects in the whole view of nature, is apt, when applied to political action, to degenerate into an unrelenting tyranny. It is rarely found that confiderable bodies of men, who have acted long together in public, can be faid to be either ingenuous or candid. I do not recollect that either epithet has ever been applied in hiftory to any party; a - party-man is fure to be approved by his own fert for whatever promotes the common object of the day. Overbearing clamour, contempt of antagonifts, and a pertinacious adherence to arguments, a thoufand times repeated, and a thoufand times refuted, form the brilliant accomplifiments, the folid proofs of merit; and that delicacy of juft fentiment, which is the pleafantelt characteriftic of individuals, is foon lof amidet the applaufes of combined friends.

There

## [ 8 ]

There is a fourth vice in political difcuffion', which, whether founded in fome conflitutional pufillanimity, or in an acquired morofeners, or in a defire to flew ingenuity and forefight fuperior to that of the reft of mankind, produces a fingular effect. The men alluded to here, wreft every obfervation to prove, that their own country is, and in the natural courfe of things ought to be, ruined:-They undervalue her refources, and exaggerate thofe of her rivals; they are fo well perfuaded that the virtuous ftruggles of their countrymen are vain and fruitlefs, that they learn by degrees to confider them as weak, and even wicked; the optics of thefe men are fo Atrangely formed, that they fee every thing in a diftorted and frightful fhape; the joylefs regions of their imaginations are filled with " antres vaft " and cefarts idle;" they produce nothing but " gorgons, hydras, and chimeras dire;" a decreafe of population, a decline of commerce, a failure of naval force, a relaxation of national vigour, the lofs of our chief refources, and the impendirg hand of an angry Providence. They talk for ever omine inau/picato; they iearn alfo
e in political difcuffion, d in fome conflitutional acquired morofenefs, or enuity and forefight fuA of mankind, produces e men alluded to here, to prove, that their own natural courfe of things They undervalue her rethofe of her rivals; they $t$ the virtuous ftruggles of in and fruitlefs, that they fider them as weak, and cs of thefe men are fo they fee every thing in a rape ; the joylefs regions : filled with " antres vaft ley produce nothing but 1 chimeras dire;" a dedecline of commerce, a relaxation of national vichief refources, and the ngry Providence. They apicato; they iearn alfo


## [9]

to derive a fatisfaction and little triumph from every event that feems to confirm their doc trines; and if, in the various courfe of events, any one of the calamitics which they have announced, flould take place, they are from that moment like the Paris aftrologer, who having failed for fourteen years in an annual prediction of the death of Henry IV. pronounced himfelf infallible, becaufe his fifteenth prophecy was :rerified.
The reverfe of this fet of men are our optimifts in political faith-men who are determined to belicve that every poffible event is creditable to the Government, and beneficial to the State, under which they live. Having heard that the produce of commodities is in proportion to the confumption, they can believe that population is beft promoted by wars and emigrations: they can perfuade themfelves that a public debt is a public benefit; that it is an actual acceffion of fo much property to the kingdom, and a fund of circulation for the fupport of commerce and agriculture; that every new tax creates a new ability in the fubject to bear it, and that every increafe of na-

## [ 10 ]

tional burdens increafes proportionably the induifry of the people. They believe in the infallibility of a yyftem, without regard to circumfances; wherever that fyftem is concerned, they think perfeverance and fuccefs are fynonimous terms; and, in thort, can convince themfelves that the poffible lofs of many flourihing provinces is amply compenfated by the conqueft of a little peftilential illand.
Thefe gentlemen, being " bleft with a fet phrafe," courtly in their manner, plaufible in their do9rines, and difcourfing generally according to the wifhes and interefts of the circle in which they live, gain many profelytes to themfelves, and do much mifchief to the caule of truth.

There is another clafs of men who poffefs a fort of fate-empiriciin, and carry about with them a fpecific for every poffible diforder that the body politic can labour under.-They have all the confidence of undertaking projectors, and all the apathy of old practitioners.- They have an exclufive faith in their own panacea, and are fo intent in adminiftering it, that they never
think

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; proportionably the inThey believe in the infalthout regard to circumyftem is concerned, they fuccefs are fynonimous can convince themfelvcs f many flourihing profated by the conqueft of a
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is of men who poffefs a , and carry about with $y$ poffible diforder that the $r$ under.-They have all ertaking projectors, and ractitioners.-They have eir own panacea, and are ring it, that they never
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## [II]

think of diagnoftics, nor afk any queftions about the condition and circumftances of the patient.
I put totally out of the queftion a feventh fet of men, who enlift with and defert from all or any of thefe irregular corps of reafoners, as may beft fuit the interefts or object of the day; who are not defirous to believe what they enforce, but adopt the feveral languages of general benevolence, indifcriminate cenfure, focial honour, foreboding defpondency, ill-founded confidence, and political quackery, all in the fame breath; and can, from habit, enforce fophiftry and falfehood with more vehemence and ability, than they could difplay in the inveltigation and fupport of truth.
Leaft of all would I wilh to mention that heterogeneous clafs, who can profefs and apparently feel a joy in any calamity of their country, becaufe it may affect the fituation of fome individual whom they diflike; who are fullen therefore, and filent amidft the tidings of a victory, triumphant and noify upon the news of a defeat. The inftances of this kind are not uncommon. They are, however, a fort of fate monfters C 2
which

## [12]

which providentially have the curfe of all hufus. natura, and happily for the world do not propagate their fpecies.

It hould feem, that all thefe lines of aberration from true judgment are fufficiently difinct and obvious; and that every man might avoid them, who wifhes in political iffe neither to deceive hinnfelf nor to millead others; yet your Lordmip will find, through all the bufief and moft enlightened periods of our hiftory, that nine-tenths of the thinking part of the nation have generally addited themfelves to one or other of the fects which I have defribed.
Surely then it becomes every man who has made, or admits the truth of, this remark, to confider how far his own reafonings are free and unprejudiced; and accordingly the firt operation of the mind, towards framing a juft decifion upon the actual fituation of public affairs, fhould be, to diveft itfelf, if poffible, of all weakneffes derived from paft habits of intercourfe, and from the popular altercations of the day. Perhaps it would be no little help towards this end, to take any fubject of prefent controverfy, and
c the curfe of all hufus, he world do not propa-

11 thefe lines of aberra$t$ are fufficiently diftinct svery man might avoid olitical life neither to iflead others; yet your ugh all the bufieft and : of our hiftory, that ing part of the nation themfelves to one or have defcribed.
every man who has th of, this remark, to reafonings are friee and ingly the firft operation 1ming a juft decifion f public affairs, thould ible, of all weakneffes of intercourfe, and ons of the day. Perrelp towards this end, fent controverfy, and

## [ 13 ]

to examine how it is treated by its refpective abettors. We Mould next afk ourfelves, whe ther much, if not the whole, of their adverfe pofitions ought not to be rejected from all farther regard, as the language of idle fpleen, unbecoming paffion, or interefted falfehood, and as a mere refult of that licentioufnefs which will at all times more or lefs degrade the generous character of this country, and is, perhaps, the greatect misfortune that belongs to us as a people.

Let us for a moment fuppofe the poffible cafe of an Englifh gentleman, arriving in London, after thirty ycars refidence in the inland parts of China, totally ignorant of the prefent flate of his country, but anxious to inform himfelf: now, if among other matters he fhould wifh to attain a competent notion of the Minifters for the time being, and of their opponents; and if he fhould happen (which is alfo poffible) to have two near relations or friends of different fides in the fubject of his enquiry, he would be affured by the firft, with much heat and declamation;

> © That

## [14]

"That the affairs of the King and Country *are loofely, negligently, and treacheroufly
" managed; that the Minifters are an ignorant,
" mercenary, and abfurd cabal; ralh in refolv-

* ing, but flow in exccuting; variable in their
" principles, but uniform in their follies; unfeel-
" ing to all hame, but incurring daily difgraces;
" without fkill to recover a misfortune, and with-
"c out prefence of mind to make any ufe of an ad.
" vantage ; giddy with fuccefs, and helplefs in ca-
" lamity; wife after danger, and diftracted in it ;
". that they have brought usinto great wars, but
" have neglected all preparations at home and
" all alliances abroad; that the empire, under
"their management, is like an unwieldy gigantic
" body, which, being engaged with an active
ec combatant, receives twenty wounds, before it
"can return one.-That irrefolution, barren-
" nefs of invention, want of enterprife, conti-
" nual delay, defenfive councils, and long pro-
" tracted action, are the characteriftics of their
"war-fyftem.-That though the refources of
"the country are exlaufted by their floyenly
" profufion
the King and Country tly, and treacheroufly inifters are an ignorant, d cabal; rahh in refolvuting; variable in their in their follies; unfeelacurring daily difgraces; a misfortune, and witho make any ufe of an adcceff, and helplefs in cager, and diftracted in it; $t$ us into great wars, but :parations at home and that the empire, under like an unwieldy gigantic engaged with an active wenty wounds, before it lat irrefolution, barrenant of enterprife, conticouncils, and long proe characterifics of their hough the refources of aufted by their floyenly
" profufion


## [ 15 ]

" profufion of her treafure, they affert that their " occonomy is perfect, and that the public purfe " feels no decay.-That though the body politic " has all the figns of death upon it, they yet fay " all is well, and continue as arrogant and "affuming, as if they had faved the very people " whom their folly has in a manner ruined." That they are growing rich whilft their coun"' try becomes poor; are as carelefs of the public "s honour as of their own ; and, in Mort, that "fuch a Miniftry is a furer engine to deftroy " the State, than any that its enemies can bring " againft it."
On the other hand, it would be ftated with more gentlenefs of expreffion, but with an equal difregard of all candour;-
" That there is in this kingdom a party com" pofed of individuals of all defcriptions; that " many of them poffers high fanily pretenfions, " great perfonal virtues, and very extenfive " abilities; that, however, they are a motley "congregation of the divifions, fubdivifions, " rents and remnants of former parties, brought
" together

## [16]

ex together by the various calls of good and bad " ambition, by the freffulnefs of reafonable and " unreafonable purfuits, in fome inftances by " the unaccountable turns of natural temper, or " by the fuppofed importance of having their " names on fuch a mufter-roll:-That the lead-
" ing men of this party hate each other, as well
" from old recollection as from recent inter"courfe; that they are irreconcileable to cach "other in all their principles of government,
" and differ in all their purfuits, paft, prefent,
" and to come:-That in the long concoction
" and fermentation of fo ftrange a mafs, all the
" public zeal and public virtue have funk to the
" bottom, and qualities of a light and more ma-
" lignant fpirit have gained the afcendant:-
" That whatever might have been the original
" object of this party, it has long had the effects
" of a combination formed againft all good go-
" vernment:-That the nation, indeed, has at " times looked towards it, in the hope of hav-
" ing weighty Senators and refpectable Stater-
" men ; but that the hitherto has found in them
" all the littleneffes of mere adventurers in poli-

## [17]

alls of good and bad effs of reafonable and n fome inflances by of natural temper, or ance of having thcir oll :-That the leade each other, as well $s$ from recent interreconcileable to each ples of government, urfuits, paft, prefent, the long concootion trange a mafs, all the rtuc have funk to the a light and more maed the afcendant:we been the original as long had the effects againft all good gotioion, indeed, has at in the hope of havId refpectable Statefto has found in them e adventurers in poli-
" tics,
"tics, and of men whole fole drift is to gratify " perfonal animofities and private interefts:" That they exhibit a childih intemperance of " over-joy on any accidental appearance of ac" quiring frength and numbers, and a malig" nant rage on every fymptom of a contrary " kind; and that in each of thefe extremes, they " appear equally without feeling for the public " fafety, or the national honour: that they " grafp violently at power which they know not " how to hold, and are ready to fubvert that " flate which they are not allowed to govern:" That fometimes equivocal in their expreflions, " but ever clear in their defigns, they mifrepre" fent our fituation, undervalue our advantages, " and magnify our difficulties: that they rejoice " in the embarraffments of government, and " boaft of having contributed to them; that in " the frenzy of debate they can fupport rebel" Jion by juntifying its principles, and call for " foreign war by declaring that we are unable " to refift it : that building all their hopes on " the bad fortune or bad conduct of the flate, " they endeavour to increafe the diftreffes which D " they
"they themfelves firt occafioned, by expoofing " our weak parts, by forcing into public dif"cuffion our preparations, deligns, expeditions,
"and frength, in! "hus peonder themfelves, in "effect, the mont active ipies and intelligencers " that our cnemine" con have. And finally, that is in the continued difplay of a conduct fo un" dignified in refpect to themfelves, fo degrad" ing to the honour of their country, and fo " mifchievous in all its confequences, they have,
" indeed, fucceeded in forcing their country to
" the very brink of deftruction, but have loft
"all pretenfions to the confidence of a brave, " generous, and animated people."
The ftranger to whom thefe frothy declamations are addreffed, if he had any turn to obfervation in his younger days, would reply, " This, my friends! is an old ftory of forty " years ago; the fame things, in the fame lan" guage, were conftantly afferted and retorted " between the oppofite parties of that time, and " they occafionally made an impreffion on that " fpecies of hearers who liften only to one fide:
" But they were ever confidered, by all men of
ccafioned, by expofing orcing into public difs, defigns, expeditions, finder themfelves, in ipies and intelligencers ave. And finally, that y of a conduct fo unthemfelves, fo degradtheir country, and fo onfequences, they have, orcing their country to ruction, but have Jolt confidence of a brave, d people."
thefe frothy declamalad any turn to obr days, would reply, an old flory of forty uings, in the fame lanafferted and retorted urties of that time, and an impreflion on that liften only to one fide : ufidered, by all men of " cool

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" ccol reflection and candour, as fo much illi" beral and unbecoming impertinence, which " proved nothing but the interetied zeal, or "fcurrilous vehemence, of the petty retainers of " each party. It is, indeed, pollible that there " may at all times exift individuals of fome note " and importance in a ftate, who are wretched " enough to difregard the fafety and increafe of "any intereft but their own, and weak enough "to facrifice the moft facred objects of their "country to their own paffions; but that affo" ciations confifting of the firf men in a great " empire fhould come under fo filly and fo fordid " a predicament, is too grofs to impofe even on " the common fenfe of a Samojeide; and though " it has been the vulgar complaint in all ages and " places, it is not the more credible on that ac" count. But give me your proofs; give me " facts and circumftances; tell me what has " happened, and how it has happened !" Here would open a new and ample field for the combat of mifreprefentations, and the franger would, in the refult, find it neceflary to look for very different channels of intelligence.
$\ldots \quad \mathrm{D}_{2} \quad$ The

The truth is, and I am glad to let your Lord. thip undertand, that in this inftance I am a mere plagiarift; the charges above ftated are by no means of my manufacturing; they are felected with little trouble, and nearly verbatim, from the controverfies of 1695 , between the Whig Miniftry of William III. and the Tory Oppofition of that time. The fame expreffions croffed over into different lines of fervice, under the Tory Miniftry and the Whig Oppofition of the four laft years of Queen Anne. They were again in vogue under Sir Robert Walpole, and furnifhed the printing preffes with daily employment, and daily tautology, for the fpace of nineteen years. Similar, or much harfher, things were faid of the Minifter on the one hand, and his opponénts on the other, during the adminiftration immediately preceding the prefent. And the very fame invectives will be applied, in the fame manner, fourfcore years hence. If any adminiftration has efcaped them, we may fafely pronounce, that it has either been ftill-born, or has perifhed in its infancy,

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glad to let your Lord. is inftance I am a mere ove ftated are by no ing; they are felected rly verbatim, from the tween the Whig Mithe Tory Oppofition xpreflions croffed over vice, under the Tory Oppofition of the four , They were again in Talpole, and furnifhed aily employment, and race of nineteen years. things were faid of the and his opponents on iniftration immediately nd the very fame inin the fame manner, any adminiftration has ely pronounce, that it or has perifhed in its

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It is an old remark, that the feeds of party and of faction thrive moft in the richeft foils. They exift, indeed, but are unproductive, in defpotic governments; in a conftitution like ours, they n. aft and will prevail. Men have a natural propenfity to divide in opinion; and wherever the government of a country is fuch as to put no reftraint upon the avowal of fentiment, every tranfaction, and every meafure of public note and importance, has its refpective cenfurers and admirers. The individuals of each fide unite into parties for mutual fupport; and, whatever may be the predominant motive with each individual, whether intereft, paffion, principle, or focial affection, the progreffion is almoft invariably the fame. The over-active zeal of friends gradually raifes the like firit in antagonifts; reafon ceafes to be the counterpoife of paffion; refentments and antipathies take place; and the uncandid virulence of habitual diffenion forms itfelf into a fyftem. Thus it happens, that when the original caufe or pretence of difference has ceafed to be material, or even when that difference is totally
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exhaufted or forgotten, the diftinction furvives, and is even maintained with new warmth and obftinacy. Nor will there be lefs co-operation and concert in all party meafures, though it thould be evident and notorious that few of the leaders agree in the fame maxims of conduct, or even though the principles of a great proportion of the whole may have become more reconcileable to the fyftem of their antagonifts, than to that of their own friends. The party once formed becomes the receptacle for all the ill-humours of a fate, the point of union for difappointed expectations, fruftrated ambition, defperate circumftances, avowed and fecret refentments. Faction opens her arms to every acceffion of malignancy; and the fyftem being thus eftablifhed, the bufinefs of that fyftem goes forward of courfe, and with as little reffection as any other daily occupation. Every difputable fubject is the occafion of mutual invectives, which neither flow from the heart of thofe who ufe them, nor reach the feelings of thofe againft whom they are directed. "It is "6 unlucky that the adverfary has advanced what

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te diftinction furvives, h new warmth and ob: lefs co-operation and es, though it fhould be at few of the leaders $s$ of conduct, or even great proportion of the ore reconcileable to the , than to that of their once formed becomes 1-humours of a ftate, ppointed expectations, perate circumftances, rents. Faction opens of malignancy; and lifhed, the bulinefs of f courfe, and with as her daily occupation. he occafion of mutual low from the heart of reach the feelings of are directed. "It is ry has advanced what
" is

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" is right and fit; we muft oppofe it as well as "s we can; we muft not permit him to carry any " point unmolefted." Again, " We muft con" fefs, among ourfelves, that what we have ad" vanced is miftaken and milchievous; but we " muft fupport it; we muft never confefs that "we are baffled." Such is ever the language, or at leaft the conduct, of party; and thus it is, that oppofite parties will facrifice, in their turns, the caufe of truth and of the public.
Nor is this contradiction between fentiment and conduct, which in perfonal tranfactions would be deemed difingenuous and uncreditable, by any means a proof that the individuals of the party do not poffers all the large aind generous fentiments which do honour to human nature. Party conformity is a perverfion of mind, infenfibly acquired and formed into a habit, and in fome degree fanctified by hiftory; every man can whifper a plaufible apology for it to himfelf and to others, either by alleging fome peculiar confideration in his own cafe, to which he can give a flattering epithet, or by intimating, that the circumftances of the times make it neceflary

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ceffary to act implicitly with friends, in order to do good, and that the end muft witify the means.

Amidt the humiliating weaknefes of our nature which I have defrribed, it is fome confolation to reflect, that to the divifions and civil contefts of eminent men we owe that confitution which was wont to be our happinefs and pride. The genuine ufe of fuch divifions is, to watch over the political rights of the people, and to check the irregularities of the exccutive power; for it muft never be forgotten amongf us, that government is the bufinefs both of thofe who are to govern, and of thofe whom the conftitution has inftituted to controul; nor is it too much to fay, that parties ftill continue to be falutary and beneficial, not only as a check, but as a fpur to executive government; except only when they maintain oppofite views; affecting the effentials of the conftitution; or when they act with intemperate animofity and eagernefs in times of foreign negociation and foreign wars. When the laft mentioned cafe arrives (and it is a calc which well deferves a
with friends, in orat the end muft intify
ing weaknefles of our cribed, it is fome conto the divifions and men we owe that conat to be our happinefs te ufe of fuch divifions political rights of the ne irregularities of the nuft never be forgotten aent is the bufinefs both n , and of thofe whom luted to controul; nor lat parties ftill continue eficial, not only as a executive government ; aintain oppofite views; $f$ the conflitution; or mperate animofity and reign negociation and re laft mentioned cafe which well deferves a

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full inveftigation), fuch divifions more or lefs impede every exertion of the country, and more or lefs accelerate every public difficulty and diftrefs, in proportion as the parties are compofed of men of rank, abilities, and perfonal importance. And though fuch men, by the advantages they enjoy in their country, are obvioufly mof interefted to promote its well-being, we find it one of the problems of hittory, that in every age and in every nation, the moft enlightened and honourable minds have been found capabite of counteracting, in times of public danger, the known and evident interefts both of their fellow-citizens and of themfelves. An emulation for well- earned honours, a rivalhip for public gratitude, the pre-eminence of intellectual faculties, the prefererice in wielding the national forces, are all objects which furnifh juft motives to the exertions of active and generous minds: But in countries where the fituations of power are open to the competition of all candidates, it generally happens that the contention is not who thall ferve beft, but whofe fervices mall be ufed exclufively of another:

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and, with refpect to this country, your Lordfhip will recollect, that confideroble parties have hung like mill-ftones round her neck in all her ftruggles with foreign powers, from the Revolution to the prefent hour. To allay the heat which mutual ftrivings have firred up, is ever the firft object in the commencement of our wars. "Peace at home, and War abroad," has, on fuch occafions, been the text, from Mr . Davenant down to the political Effayifts of our own times: recommendations of unanimity of courfe accompany the royal communications of the infult received: a coalition of parties is immediately the topic of each moderate and wellmeaning orator who moves the addrefs of thanks : the lullaby of faction is forthwith fung by the Poet Laureate; and the triumphs of united Britons are anticipated by others,
" Whom the fifters nine infpire
" With Pindar's rage, without his fire.".
It is generally found, however, in the refult, that the clamours of fation grow louder amidit the din of war.

That
s country, your Lordonfiderbble partics have und her neck in all her owers, from the Revour. To allay the heat lave flirred up, is ever commencement of our re, and War abroad," reen the text, from Mr. political Effayifts of our lations of unanimity of yyal communications of ralition of parties, is im:ach moderate and wellmoves the addrefs of faction is forthwith fung nd the triumphs of unitd by others,
nine infpire re, without his fire.".
however, in the refult, ction grow louder amidft

That

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That a flate may be fo circumftanced as to render it neither a wicked nor an unwife meafure in Minifters
" to bufy giddy minds
" With foreign quarrel,"
I will not haftily deny; but it is beyond difpute, that fuch a refinement of policy would, in moft inftances, be equally profligate and abfurd: and with refpect to this country it is proved, both by reafon and by uniform experience, that foreign wars never produce union among parties within the kingdom. It will indeed fometimes happen, that the favourable or finifter events of wars may reduce one of two exifting parties to an acquiefcence in the good will and pleafure of the other; but this is a very different confideration, and what no more refembles union, than conqueft refembles peace. If, for example, the governing party could enfure a feries of brilliant and uninterrupted fucceffes, their antagonifts for power might poffibly be beaten down in the triumph. A train of difgraces and calamities may, in like manner, produce the feceffion or -nnihilation of the governing party; but the

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events of a commencing war within an extended empire muft be checquered anci fluctuating ; thofe events which difpirit one party, animate the other; and whenever affairs are unfavourable, or even in fufpence, factions are moft powerful. War, therefore, does not naturally produce union ; in general it produces only the expectation of defeating rivals; and as foon as thofe expectations fail, the animofities are higher than ever. It is time only, and the fehool of adverfity, that can bring the parties of this country to hear of thofe conceffions, which muft be made, where new conduct is to be reconciled to old fyftems; where fome pretenfions are to be waved on both fides; and where many long fubfirting difficulties are to be fully reconciled. It is time only, and the fchool of adverlity, that can bring them to hearken to the voice of reafon and moderation; and, after having marred and weakened the common interefts, to feek thit repofe and reconciliation which it would have been happy for the public if they had eftablifhed peaceably from the beginning,
war within an extended ered anuं fluctuating: rit one party, animate - affairs are unfavource, factions are moft re, does not naturally al it produces only the ivals ; and as, foon as e animofities are higher nly, and the fchool of g the parties of this fe conceffions, which lew conduct is to be is; where fome pred on both fides; and g difficulties are to be ie only, and the fchool ng them to hearken to noderation ; and, after ened the common inofe and reconciliation n happy for the public ceably from the begin-
ning.

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ning. In the interval they will continue deaf to accommodation, deaf to the cries of their fellowcitizens, and will drown, in a perpetual clamour, the ftruggling groans of their country. That time will be fent in vain and endlefis debates, which fhould be employed in action and in execution. Old reproaches will be renewed; new ones will be difcovered or invented; every meafure taken will be feverely, examined; every meafure propofed will be thwarted; every meafure conjectured will be difcuffed and canvaffed; fuppofed weakneffes will be amplified; the public refources will be depreciated; and the fenfe and fpirit of the people will be perplexed and depreffed by thofe who have the ability to make the worfe appear the better reafon. In a word, the national interefts being fometimes facrificed, and always fubordinate, to the purpofes of party, there will be more folicitude to gain an advantage at home, than to reduce a foreign and dangerous enemy. Such an interval is indced cruel to that refpectable part of our countrymen, who love order and deteft faction; who, attached to no party, and hitherto happy in the independ-
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ence of their own fituations, are juftly anxious for the well-being of that empire in which their neareft and deareft interefts are lodged. There are many thoufands of this defeription, who fit at this moment in their homes, deploring the miferies into which the prevalence of party refentment has precipitated thefe kingdoms; and longing to fee the nation returned (according to the venerable and affecting expreffion of Lord Clarendon) to its primitive temper and integrity; to its old good manners, its old good humour, and its old good nature. It is indeed the nation, and not merely a party of public men, to whom fuch a return is become neceffary. Nothing is more true, thian that in popular affemblies, aling in times of general danger, the joint couricils of a few are often able to obftruct or fruftrate the good intentions of all the reft : but when thofe councils are compofed of a third or fourth part of the moft confiderable men in the kingdom, whofe weight, abilities, and activity, enable them to give the tone to a full proportion of their fellow fubjects, the evil does not confine itfelf to mutilating all the exertions of the fate; it goes much
ons, are juftly anxious empire in which their ts are lodged. There is deícription, who fit homes, deploring the revalence of party rethefe kingdoms ; and eturned (according to ing expreffion of Lord e temper and integrity ; its old good humour, It is indeed the nation, public men, to whom receflary. Nothing is pular affemblies, acting , the joint councils of Aruct or fruftrate the : reft : but when thofe t third or fourth part of in the kingdom, whofe ivity, enable them to jortion of their fellowconfine itfelf to mutiof the fate ; it goes much

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much farther; it may be faid of fuch parties as I have defcribed, quod plus cxemplo guam pectats nocent. They have a tendency to infect the whole body of the people, and to loofen all the bands of good government. Arguments and examples are furnihed by them to the capricious, the felfifh, and the luke-warm, for not taking their thare in the difficulties and fruggles of their country. The modeft perfeyerance, obedient patience, and habitual difcipline of the feveral profeffions, which afford to the fate its moft efficient principles of energy, all gradually wear off : a regular fubordination no longer prevails through the different ranks of life: every man of every degree, from the higheft to the lowef, becomes a political reafoner: loofe enquiry into mif-reported facts, hafty cenfure, and unbridled licenfe of language take place, with 2 contempt and difparagement of all fuperiors, and a prefumption in every man that he is fit for every thing. The good old lland then ceafes to be confidered with due affection and veneration; and the veil is torn from thofe facred and ufeful prejudices which were wont to fill the

3 hearts
hearts of Englifhmen with a generous warmth and enthufiaim.
There is a pofition, I believe in Machiavel, that a country fhould fometimes be witheut order, and over-run with all forts of calamities, that men of great genius may diftinguith themfelves by reftoring it. Now, we certainly fee a country fufficiently difordered and embarraffed to fatisfy any fpeculator in the utmoft wantonnefs of his imagination: I am perfuaded too, that we pofiefs many individuals of political talents and genius equal to any that the world ever faw :--but by what means they will attempt to change the narrow fpirit of faction into the diffufive firit of co-operation; by what palitical alchemy they will purge off the drofs of all partics, and reduce them all to the fame metal and flandard; fuch genius as theirs only can conceive, fuch talents as theirs only can deferibe. I have endeavoured to fhew the malignity of the difeafe, and confefs that it is not within the reach of my capacity to point out a method of cure. But I fee alfo, or think that I fee, in the
th a gencrous warmth
believe in Machiavel, retienes be without orall forts of calamities, may diftinguifh themw, we certainly fee a lered and embarraffed in the utmoft wantonI am perfuaded too, idividuals of political 0 any that the world reans they will attempt rit of faction into the ation; by what polirge off the drofs of all all to the fame metal us as theirs only can heirs only can defcribe. $w$ the malignity of the it is not within the point out a method of think that I fee, in the
crifis

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crifis of that malignancy, fome fymptoms which forbid defpondency.
In the firt place, and notwithflanding all our animofities, it does not appear that there is, at this moment, any divifion within the bulk of the people refpecting any aflignable point of political controverfy: whether there has been any fuch divifion in the origin and late progrefs of our calamities, would be an over-curious enquiry, equally invidious and ufelefs, as well as foreign to the temper and tendency of every word that I am now writing. Thofe calamities are at their height; they furround us, and cannot be fhunned by any retrofpect. The heavy wars in which we are engaged, are no longer confiderations of choice, of honour, or of expediency : they are wars of fad neceffity, in actual exiftence and progreffion. No thinking man doubts that they are fuch wars as will furnifh ample fcope for the co-operation of the fleadieft and beft councils, and of the braveft and moft unremitted exertions, that the colleeted wifdom and united valour of the nation

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can fupply. I may be told, indeed, and it may be true, that there are controveries within the bulk of the people, as to the merits and demerits of certain claffes of public men, or of certain individuals;-but fuch controverfies are limited and fhort-lived, and will change their object with the events of the day. When the bulk of the people have no grievance, either real or fuppofed, refpecting the great outlines and effentials of government; it is their difpofition, as it is their intereft, to give a cordial fupport and grateful affection to every public man who, in the hour of public danger, exerts himfelf with zeal and ability; even if that zeal and that ability fhould be repeatedly croffed by untoward circumftances, iffftead of leading to early and uninterrupted fucceffes. The bulk of the people neither regard, nor thould they wifh to regard, the wretched jumble of perfonal animofity and party craft which prevails among the different candidates for their confidence.

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told, indeed, and it are controverfies within s to the merits and deof public men, or of fuch controverfies are and will change their the day. When the = no grievance, either ing the great outlines nent; it is their difporeft, to give a cordial :tion to every public f public danger, exerts. ability; even if that fhould be repeated!y: umftances, ifftead of, ninterrupted fucceffes. = neither regard, nor: regard, the wretched nofity and party craft te different candidates.

## [35]

When fuch are the tone and temper of a country, and when the nature, extent, and fatal tendency of our internal difcords are within the obfervation of all men, and lie heavily on the hearts of all good men, we may perfuade without flattering ourfelves, that thofe difcords will foon expire; not perhaps by any union between the leading competitors; fuch an hope muf not be entertained, though the moment is come when every man fhould cheerfully devote his talents and his life, in whatfoever line, either civil or military, the voice of his King and Country may deem him fit to adt.-But fuch an hope is, I fear, chimerical. -The effect is more likely to be produced by a ceafing of the competition, which would equally be the confequence of the party in poffeffion finding that they can no longer, confiftently with their own honour, or the intereft of the State, conduat the public bufinels under the obftructions to which they are expofed; or of the party in expectation, fufpending all farther efforts, either from an acquiefcence in the eventual fucceffes of their antagonifts, or from a de, ference to the anxieties of the people.

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- In the next place, and whatever may be the probable fate of our difcords, whether union, extinetion, or even perfeverance, it is a comforting fymptom, that there is fill within the nation, and within the parties which we lament, an extraordinary fund of fine talents and geneyous feelings.

Of the firft we have ample proof in the extreme of our micchief, in that whole fyttem of parliamentary attack and defence which has fo long been carried on before our eyes. They are not the mufhroom politicians of every age, who could have raifed and fupported the florm which we fee; they are not fuch flatermen as may be drawn from behind every defk, who could have held the helm of government through fo long and fo fevere a tempet.
Of the fecond, we have a touching and glorious inftance in the alacrity with which our leading men of all defcriptions, difpofitions, and parties, have concurred, in calling forth the national force, in giving up the fweets of domeftic eafe, and in facrificing to the protection of their country, all the fecondary confiderations of felf-
intereft,

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d. whatever may be the fcords, whether union, verance, it is a comfortis Aill within the narties which we lament, f fine talents and gene-
ample proof in the exin that whole fyttem of d defence which has fo ore our ejes. They are cians of every age, who pported the form which ch fatefmen as may be ry defk, who could have nment through fo long
ve a touching and gloriity with which our leadtions, difpofitions, and , in calling forth the nap the fweets of ciomeftic - the protection of their ry confiderations of felf-
intereft,
interef, perfonal conftitution, and paft habits of life. We fee that, by the activity and perfeverance of their fpirit, they have formed an internal force for Great Britain, which in every refpect of appearance, difcipline, fpirit and effective Atrength, may challenge the completeft military eftablifhment, of equal numbers, that the world can produce. Such men will not reft fatisfied with having preven.ad the invafion of external enemies; they muft know, and will feel, that this country never can have a firm exiffence in time of war, but by the co-operation of all the force and abilities belonging to it, not faintly, but cordially ; and as well in councils as in camps.-They wiil not then permit any men, or any fet of men, of any party, who may be as blind as Samfon, to act like him in their rage, and to pulld down this noble edifice of our anceftors, though they fhould overwheim themfelves in its riuins. It is fill lefs in the nature of things for that edfice, with fuch fupports around it, to moulder away, and fiak piece-meal into ruins; guod $\mathfrak{f}$ erro, libenter trro:-It mutt and will be reftored

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reftored to all its extent (or at leaft to all its folidity), and ftand, the admiration and refpect of nations, till time fhall be no more.
Under thefe prefumptions, which, however, mutt be aided by a due confidence in that Providence hitherto found to watch over Great Britain in the hour of danger, we may hope once more so fee order, uniformity, dignity and effect reftored to all our councils and proceedings. Tho confequences of fuch a change upon the fipirit and difpofition of every rank of men within the kingdom, and its tendency to give equal glory and happinefs to the beft of fovereigns, are too obvious for farther detail.
I fhall now, therefore, quit a fubject, on which if I have dwelt too long, either the abundance of matter has deceived me, or I haye wanted fkill and time to abridge it.

It will be the object of my next Letter to fub. mit to your Lordfhip a few remarks on the nature of the war in which we are engaged, in the refult of which I Thall naturally be led to an exami--
nation
(or at leaft to all its fodmiration and refpect of e no more.
tions, which, however, :onfidence in that Proviwatch over Great Britain we may hope once more , dignity and effect reand proceedings. Tho change upon the fpirit rank of men within the ncy to give equal glory At of fovereigns, are tọ
e, quit a fubject, on - long, either the abuneceived me, or I have abridge it.
:my next Letter to fub: w remarks on the nature are engaged, in the rerally be led to an exami-
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nation of our refources.-In treating matters of fo much multiplicity, and of fome nicety, fagrante bello, ideas crowd towards the pen, and the chief difficulty lies in felecting them.

I am, \&cc.

Eifcifá gaudens vadit Difsordia pallá :
2uam cum fanguineo fiquitur Bellona fagello:
Virc. An. lib, viii.


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My prefent wifl (I repeat it) is to fee things as they are:-lt is not
"To mourn a mifchief that is paft and gone,"
nor to make any retrofpects, unlefs they can contribute to the two great objects, of union among ourflives, and offenfive war with our enemies.
The fame fentiments prevail filll fronger againft recurring to that more remote period of the clofe of the laft war againf the united Houfes of Bourbon, in order to enquire, whether on the one hand Great Britain, victorious in every quarter of the globe ; animated by her fucceffes, and eager to profecute them ; high in her credit, and flourifhing in her commerce; regardefs of her burdens, and poffeffing a naval and military force unexampled in the hiftory of any fingle empire ; ought not to have enforeed the war through two or three more campaigns, in order to crufth beyond recovery the moft dangerous nombination that ever was formed againft the interefts of Europe:-or on the contrary, whether the appearances of our greatnefs at that time, were not

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reat it) is to fee things
rat is paft and gone,"
pects, unlefs they can reat objects, of union offenfive war with our
prevail fill fronger : more remote period of gainft the united Houfes enquire, whether on the $n$, victorious in every imated by her fucceffes, rem ; high in her credit, ommerce ; regardlefs of ing a naval and military hiftory of any fingle emenforced the war through laigns, in order to crufh oft dangerous nombinad againt the interefts of ontrary, whether the ap. is at that time, were not
rather

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rather brilliant than folid; and whether, confidering the uncertainties and reverfes to which all wars are liable, the acquifitions ceded to us, as the price of peace, were not fuch as the honour and interelts of the kingdom called upon us to accept.
Cui bono? is the beft anfwer to fuch queftions whenever they are ftated for difcuffion:-They have no benelicial tendency; they are not the purfuits of any ufeful underftanding. If any man will fay that, neverthelefs, he now cordially re. grets our not having perfevered in the laft war, I can fay fo too, becaufe I feel as he does; but the difquifition will Atill be fruitlefs; nor will it apply fairly to the queftion, whether, under all circumfances known at the time, thofe minifters acted unwifely who advifed the peace of Paris,
. There are other repinings of a fimilar complexion :-fuch as, that by the mode of finifhing the laft war, we led a principal ally to confider us as unfriendly and even faithlefs; that we lave ever fince remained deflitute of alliances, though the urgent need of them was eafy to be forefeen; that the friendhips of foreign powers are courted G 4

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in vain by thofe who offer no reciprocal equivelent, and will not hazard any branch of commerce, any fubfidiary expence, or the contingency of incurring war ; that from thepeace of Paris, to the day of M. de Noajlles' departure, our fyftem of continental politics has been cramped by the narrow infulated operations of trading prejudices, and exchequer ceconomy; that we now fland friendlefs in the world, and that the occafions of being otherwife are loft, perhapa for ever.

Again :-That the malevolent intentions of France and Spain, during three years previous to the commencerrent of this war, were written in legible charaders upon ever, line of all foreign intelligence, and upon every foreign tranfaction official and extra-official ; that it ivas the extreme of weaknefs, therefore, in our Minifters to flatter themfelves that the reduction of the colonies (admitting their expectation of that event to have been reafonable) would defeat all other defigns meditated againft us, and re-eftablifh the general tranquillity:-That in their unwillingnefs to introduce the calanities and hazards of war into

Europe,
no reciprocal equiva1 any branch of comspence, or the continthat from thepeace of de Noajlles' departure, ntal polities has been infulated operations of chequer ceconomy ; that in the world, and that herwife are loft, perhaps
nalevolent intentions of ig three years previous f this war, were written $n$ ever, line of all foreign every foreign tranfaction ; that it ivas the extreme n our Minifters to flatter Etion of the colonies (adon of that event to have 1 defeat all other defigns id re-eftablifh the general their unwillingnefs to inand hazards of war into

Europe,

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Europe, they ought not to have lulled themselves and their country into the fleep of death ; but hould have difabled the Family Compad, by a fudden and general attack on the Bourbon fleets and poffefions.
Again :-That when France had acturily commencal the war, by a perfidious, indeed. but great attempt to furprife our fleets and armies in North America, the interval of a year, which we afterwards allowed to Spain, was fo much time given to her to place her own trade and poffeffions in fecurity, and to augment and colleat her frength, in order to Atrike us to the heart; and that we ought not to have been deceived by her overtures of mediation, but Chould have required her either to difarin, or to declare whilf the was lefa prepared for war ; \&ic.
In all this difplay of after-wifdom, we are obliged to take very difputable points for granted, in order to form every propofition; after which, we arrive at nothing better than an unproductive lamentation upon the prefent ftate of our affairs, -If, however, any of the above, or if any other great national meafures, either precautionary or preventive,

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preventive, were clearly wife and practicable, and if in any inftance fuch meafures have been culpably neglecied (fuppofitions which I am nowprepared either to admit or to refute), they are undoubtedly proper fubjects to exercife the juftice of the nation in a parliamentary enquiry.-Such an enquiry would probably commence with the old altercations, whether the accufers or the aceufed have done moft public mifchief, and what set of inen are fitteft to manage the future concerns of the nation; and this tirefome game of crofs-purpofes would, after a great wafte of paper and of language, end in a deftruction of much time and attention, that might be otherwife beftowed on the prefling concerns of the nation.

Without examining then, what may lave been the paft courfe of human contingencies; and without bufying myfelf as to what may be the future fate of particular perfons, of families, of different connections, or of parties; I look only to the importance, neceffity, and conduct of the was now exifting; to the advantages and difiadvantages of the nation in the prefent hour of trial ; to our practicable refources and probable
re and practicable, and afures have been culis which I am nowpre. refute), they are unto exercife the juftice entary enquiry.-Such $y$ commence with tho the accufers or the aclic mifchief, and what anage the future conthis tirefome game of a great watte of paper a deftruction of much night be otherwife becerns of the nation. n , what may have been in contingencies; and to what may be the fuons, of families, of difparties; I look only to and conduct of the advantages and difiadn the prefent hour of refources and probable exigencies :-

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exigencies:-and in thefe confiderations I Mare with your Lordhip an extreme anxiety, that the pre-eminence of Great Britain among nations may be delivered down unimpaired to our children's children, and to their pofterity for ever.
I am, in the private conviction of my own mind, fully fatisfied, that if France had not thrown away the fcabbard in the beginning of the laft year, your Lordhhip would have had the honour of announcing to this country the recovery of her colonies, and of every permanent and folid advantage that can be drawn from them. I alfo believe, that if Spain biad not declared very early in the prefent fummer, the colonies would ftill have been recovered in the courfe of this campaign, and France seduced to a fituation of difgrace and diftrefs below any period of the laft war. But though thefe opinions conneet themfelves with the operations of the prefent moment, and open a field of future fpeculation neither unpleafant nor unprofitable, I fhould not be anxious in the prefent ftate of the war to fupport them by arguments, if they were thought worth difputing. If any man chufes to believe that France, at the

## [ $4^{8}$ ]

clofe of the laft campaign, did not find, and by her conduct admit, her own incompecegnce to maintain the contef in which the had engaged, without other allies than the Rebel Congrefs, he is welcome to his own creed:-He will at leaft allow, that Spain, whether induced by Frencly intreaties or not, has now thrown her weight into the fcale of the war; and we will leave it to time to decide by what negociations, or other motives; this event has been brought about.
The morality of States certainly takes, and perhaps is intitled to, a much greater latitude than is allowed to the morality of individuals : but it would be too uncandid a treatment even of France and Spain, to fuppofe that the conduct which they have purfued was the refult of fyftem and pre-determination. We may even.put out of the queftion their own folemn and repeated affertions to us; for every afcertained circumfance of their management with the Rebel Agents previous to 177 , thews beyond a doubt, that they neither forefaw, nor meant, the confequences which have enfued.-Very deep reaches of policy exitt in the page of hiltory, much oftener.

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did not find, and by own incompecepgce to nich the had engaged, lhe Rebel Congrefs, he reed :-He will at leant her induced by Frenclı thrown her weight into we will leave it to time tions, or other motives, ht about.
:s certainly takes, and much greater latitude orality of individuals ; adid $a$ treatment even of ippofe that the conduct was the refult of fyftem We may even put out in folemn and repeated ery afcertained circumment with the Rebel fhews beyond a doubt, ;, nor ineant; the confe-ed.-Very deep reaches of hiftory, much oftener.

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than in real councils: nations, like the individuals of which they are compofed, act generally either from pafiion, or from contingent circumftances; feldom from long forefight and preferibed fyttem.

It was indeed confiftent with all the workings of human nature, that the reputation and memory of our former viAfories over France and Spain, inftead of quieting for ever the reflefs fpirit of the Family Compact, fhould make thofe powers more alert than ever to injure us, and at the fame time more cautious.- They accordingly had; or conceived that they had, an intereft in making the rebellion of our Colonies tedious and expenfive to us. Every interference for this purpofe was forwarded; and in fome meafure protected, by the increafe of their naval eftablifhments ; nor were they without fome little degree of that fufpicion, of which they pretended fo much, that it might be the policy of Great Britain, on any fudden recovery of the Colonies, to turn her force againft nations which were giving her fo much. provocation.-Whatever might be the reafonings, the preparations on all

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fides were gradually increafed, and the ealamitous campaign of 1777 at length gave ideas to France, which the never before had ventured to entertain. -The circumftances which followed, are too recent in our memories to be repeated.
I give no harth names to the conduct of either of our enemies; -the caufe of our prefent war with them will foon be as much out of the queftion as the original principle of the American revolt :--in the mean time, it would be mere unmanly railing to apply, to what paffes between nations, any of thofe atti"i wee which would belong to fimilar tranfaction , \& 1 : vate life. The conduct of Spain was cerviai:ly lefs exceptionable than that of her ally, becaufe her profeffions of peace and amity towards us were lefs fervent and lefs frequent. - It is, however, no railing to add, that the minifters of both thefe powers exhibited a very undignified piece of mummery, in addreffing from their refpective courts, to all Eu rope, folemn and feparate appcals on the juftice of their caufe, and the pretended pravocation received from Great Britain.
fed, and the ealamitous th gave ideas to France, d ventured to entertain. hich followed, are too o be repeated.
to the conduct of either tufe of our prefent war e as much out of the principle of the Amerin time, it would be mere , to what paffes between ais tree which would be--vate life. The riain:ly lefs exceptionable beczufe her profeffions of $s$ us were lefs fervent and wever, no railing to add, th thefe powers exhibited e of mummery, in adcetive courts, to all Euate appeals on the juftice pretended pravocation reain.

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But thefe matters ought not to excite the parfionate feelings of any man who poffefies a moderate knowledge of the hiftory and nature of his fpecies:-fuch a man will know that fimilar events have happened in every period of the world. He will indeed fee with concern any wanton or wicked infringement of thofe principles which thould be kept facred between nations for their mutual utility. He will perhaps afk himfelf the ordina:y queitions, "What muit become of the world if " fuch practices become general? How can fo" cieties fublift under fuch diforders? If thefic " wild appetites for power are to have no re" Atraints, will not a perpetual war of all againt " all be the confequence?" He will wilh polfibiy that princes wantonly difturbing the peace of mankind may meet with exemplary lofs and difgrace. He will be glad to fee them branded in hiftory as violators of the rights of nations. But his earneft and urgent contemplation, if he loves his country, will be, in what manner the form gathering round him may beft be refifted.
The plain refult of our fituation (for we muft not cover any part of it from our own eyes) is
this :-

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this:-We are engaged in a war againg the united force of France and Spain, under many new and confiderable difadvantages.

1. North America, onee the frength of our loins, is nuw become our weaknefs ; and not negatively fo; the is actually and extenfively employed in the hands of our enemies to weigh us down. I avoid going into detail on this point; it would lead me too far.

2 The bitternefs of the above-mentioned circumftance was the lefs wanting to complete the cup of our misfortunes, when it is confidered, that we begin this war, alrealy fteeped in taxes to the very lips, and with a national debt of not lefs than 140 millions fterling, which abforbs almoft five millions fterling of our revenue for mere interef.
3. It has already been fated, that we are deftitute of allics.
4. It muft alfo be confeffed, that the united fleets of our enemies exceed in number, and in the aggregate of their apparent ftrength, any naval force that we are yet able to produce.
in a war againß the ind Spain, under many idvantages.
ice the ftrength of our weaknefs ; and not nedly and extenfively emur enemies to weigh uş to detail on this point;
e above-mentioned cirvanting to complete the , when it is confidered, alrealy fteeped in taxes h a national debt of not fterling, which abforbs ling of our revenue for
ftated, that we are defti-
nfeffed, that the united seed in number, and in apparent frength, any et able to produce.

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We are to examine, on the other hand, the favourable particulars, fuch as they are, and however indirect or indecifive.-For having contemplated the fhape and fize of our burden, it will be fair to confider the finews and ftrength which are to fupport it.
I. The natural circumflances of cur fituation firft prefent themfelves: they are familiar to us, becaufe every geograplical grammar defrites 'them, but they are not the lefs important; and they are what the combined powers cannot deprive us of, unlefs they can poffers themfelves of our inland, or (which I truft is equally probable) fink it in the ocean. The particular pofition of Great Britain upon the globe (in which too her derivative itrength from her fifter ifland and $\mathfrak{k}^{-} \mathrm{g}-$ dom well deferves obfervation, her extent, climate, thores, productions, and, above all, her ports and harbours, Éive her many advantages, as well in commerce as in war, which no other nation enjoys or can enjoy.
2. The eftablifhed honour and credit of her people in all pecuniary tranfactions with foreign-

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ers, the enterprifing and induftrious difpofition of her manufacturers, and the commercial fkill and firit of her merchants, enfure to her through 2 thoufand channels, both oftenfible and unfeen, a large and conftant influx of money, which is the fupport and iue of effective war.
3. The bravery and excellence of her mariners (of which 93,000 are at this day actually in the king's fervice) may, without any colouring of natic: :al preju lice, be called peculiar and unrivalled :-the rifing frength of her military eftablifhments is next to be obferved; and the late exertions towards completing and forming that ftrength, muft, at leaft, be admitted to have had the merit of fuccefs.-But above all, we may contemplate the magnitude of our fleets, and the general complete condition of the fhips which compofe them. From fleets fo conftructed, fo manned, and fo officered, as thefe are known to be, we have caufe for good expectation as to the iffue of this Aruggle, and might perhaps venture to caft anchor at this point of our hope.
induftrious difpofition ad the commercial fkill ts, enfure to her through th oftenfible and unfeen, lux of money, which is fective war.
excellence of her marire at this day actually in , without any colouring called peculiar and unngth of her military eftae obferved; and the late leting and forming that $t$, be admitted to have -But above all, we may ude of our fleets, and the ition of the Mips which fleets fo conftructed, fo d, as thefe are known to ood expectation as to the id might perhaps venture int of our hope.

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## [55]

In fpeaking of fleets and armies, I enter into r.o fpecification of numbers, which are increafing whilft my words are penning. The particulars of our force are generally and fufficiently known, both to us and to our enemies, for any purpofes either of confidence on the one hand, or of ferious reflection on the other.

- But in flating the effective ftrength of Great Britain, we fhould not overlook our privateers, which, whenever the nature of the k'ing's fervice ceafes to reftrain them, are in themfelves a powerful and active aid in war, and the means of bringing n oh wealth into our ports.

4. A... though it is true, that we begin this war under new and confiderable difadvantages, it would be eafy, if national fituations in different periods were capable o. any very fatisfactory comparifon, to hew, that our fituation in former wars has been fubject to cmbarraffments, different indeed from what we now experience, but not lefs prefling at the time. This, however, would be poor confolation at beft; and I might as reafonably remind your Lordfhip of the wars maintained with fuccefs by a few Dutch fifhing towrs

## [ $5^{6}$ ]

towns againft the whole Spanifh monarchy in the zenith of all its frength; and this at one time in circumftances fo low, that their flate was reprefented in their own medal by a thip without fails or rudder, with this infeription: "Insertum "quo fata ferant."

Confolations of that flamp are fit only for minds whish are verging towards defpondency: The refources and virtues of this country are to be called forth by arguments of a very different firit; by a manly and juft appreciation of the nature of this unprovoked war, its neceffity, and its importance.

And it will be found, that the eagernefs and animofities, which, in fome wars, feem to arraign our fpecies, and to give an unfavourable picture of mankind, are, in this war, conffent with the beft qualities of our nature, and furnifh a feene for every great and generous exertion.
The only queftion between us and our enemies is, whether we are to fubffit as a nation, poffeffing its own liberties, purfuing its own commerce, and obferving the rules of juftice to all the world? or whether we fhall be deprived of our depend-
encies,

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Spanifl monarchy in igth; and this at one w , that their fate was redal by a lhip without nfcription: "Intertum
tamp are fit only for towards defpondency. of this country are to nts of a very different oft appreciation of the war, its neceffity, and
that the eagernefs and te wars, feem to arraign n unfavourable pi¿ture var, confiftent with the re, and furnim a fcene ous exertion.
een us and our enemies fft as a nation, pofferfing its own commerce, juftice to all the world? prived of our dependencies,

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encies, be flript of our maritime power, become total and immediate bankrupts to all the world, and hold a crippled trade and commerce hereafter at the good will and compafion of the Houfe of Bourbon? The ftakes, involuntarily indeed depolited on our part, are our Colonics, our Iflands, all our commercial eftablifhments and diftant poffeffions, our navy, our foreign garrifons, the free entrance and ufe of the different feas, and all the various parts of that complicated machine of trade, credit and taxation, which forms our pofition anong the ftates of the world.
The declenfion of a ftate which has been great and flourihing in its agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, is much more terrible in all its circumftances, than the extreme habitual poverty of another nation that has never experienced better days.
If the fuperftructure of our greatnefs fhould give way, this gaudy fcene of natioi al fplendor and national happinefs, would foon be changed into a dreary pi¿̧ure of general wretchednefs and ruin.

1 Nor

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Nor would that downfall, melancholy as it is to contemplate, fill the meafure of our woes: we hitherto know little or nothing, within this ifland, of the calamities of war; but we fhould, from that hour, be open to thofe calamities 23 often as any neighbouring nation might think proper to bring them upon us. In Mort, we have more to lofe than any other nation under Heaven : what we have to gain, exclufive of the recovery of our Colonies, and the reduction of our enemies within due bounds, can be decided only in fumming up accounts and figning the pacification.
Such is the predicament in which we ftand:nor is the war which brings it on, a war of choice to us: moft wars deferving of that name, have proved fatal follies to the nations which have undertakent them. Yet it generally happens that wars are of choice to one of the combatants, and fometimes to both. The wifdom and the forefight, the bodily frength and polfible exertions of man, are confined by his nature to narrow linits; but under thefe humbling circumflances he conceives high thoughts; his difpofi-
all, melancholy as it is meafure of our woes: r nothing, within this of war; but we fhould, to thofe calamities as g nation might think on us. In hort, we any other nation under o gain, exclufive of the and the reduction of ounds, can be decided ounts and figning the
t in which we ftand:gs it on, a war of choice g of that name, have re nations which have t generally happens that ne of the combatants, The wifdom and the ogth and polfible exerd by his nature to narnefe humbling circumthoughts ; his difpofi-
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## [59]

tion is reflefs, his ambition boundlefs: filling in himfelf a narrow fpace, he can labour in his imagination to add dominion to dominion; and can exert his thort-lived faculties to frame remote and immortal defigns. If the accidents of birth or fituation in fociety give him a leading influence over multitudes, he can ufe that power as a fcourge to his fellow-creatures, and for the purpofe of freading devaftation over the earth. But Providence, in the precarious and complicated difficultics attending all wars, has contrived a falutary check to thefe airy elevations; turbulent ainbition generally defeats itfelf, and afpiring monarchies blindly work towards their own deftruction. It rarcly happens in modern wars, that any fucceffes, however brilliant, are weighty enough to counterbalance the mere expences which they occafion.
5. The natural firength, the commercial preeminence, and the naval and military fpirit of our country, are confiderations of great weight, when aided by a conviction of the unprovoked neceffity and effential importance of the war in which we are engaged. Here, then, we come, I 2
with

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with much advantage, to that point of our confislation and hope, which is to be found in the very circumftances of our finance and taxation, however unpromiling they may appear to the firft view.

The nature and neceflity of great military force, in modern flates, form too obvious and too trite a fubject to be infifted on. That neceffity, as well as the expence attending it, both increafe with the progrefs, advancement and riches of each particular fociety.

The fyftem of modern war, which fpins out contefts through feveral campaigns; the levying and preparation of armies for the field; the recruiting of thofe armies, which, in the civilization of prefent times, can only be effelled by drawing individuals from manufactures, agriculture, and other lucrative employments; the pay and fubfiftence of armies fo formed; their tranfport from place to place; their clothing, arms, camp equipage, ammunition and artillery, articles of great coft (to which, in the inflance of maritime fates, muft be added, the immenfe and complicated charge of naval force):-all thefe confider-
that point of our confos to be found in the very nce and taxation, hownay appear to the firft
eflity of great military form too obvious and infifted on. That nepence attending it, both reff, advancement and fociety. n war, which fins out campaigns; the levying es for the field; the re, which, in the civilizacan only be effelied by n manufactures, agricule employments ; the pay if fo formed; their tranf: ; their clothing, arms, nition and artillery, artiwhich, in the inflance of $e$ added, the immenfe and naval force) :-all thefe confider-

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confiderations united, have made the modern fcience of war a bufinefs of expence unknown to former times. Perhaps it would not be difficult to thew that it is become, in great meafure, a fcience of money; but it will be fufficient 5 . he prefent purpofe, to admit that there are grea* .ind evident advantages on that fide which is the moft opulent, and can b:f and longeft fupport the charge of a conteft.

It feems to be the plain and fettled policy of this country, in a war like the preient, to have a well regulated army properly ftationed fixs any purpofe of immediate defence againft furhwai invafion, and fufficiently large in deter an enemy from landing in force, in ord ts to make a fettlement or continued war. The old and favourite idea, of trufting chiefly to our wooden walls, will again be wife, when we are again decidedly in poffeffion of our old and favourite fuperiority at fea. At prefent, the predication for wooden walls would be a fatal difadvantage, if it led us to ufe them as if they were fixed into our coaft for its defence. The faying of De Witt, relative to one of our Kings, " Imperator Maris, "Terra

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"Terre Dominus," is wife only when properly conftrued. Fleets employed to cover a coaft, are not only precarious in their exertions, which defend much on winds, but are miferably confined as to all the effeels of naval war. . Thofe effects are only felt when our fleets can keep the fea, in order to protect our commerce, and annoy that of our enemies, as well as to defend our diftant poffeffions, and to cover defents and continual incurfions. Such objects, however, cannot be purfued, nor can we in wifdom hazard any thing, whenever the flate of our internal defence is fuch as to require the prefence of our fleets for the protection of our dock-yards, of our pects, and even of our metropolis.
It is for thefe reafons that the late efforts of this country, to make herfelf internally ftrong, afford very aufpicious hopes of the enfuing years (for years I fear it muft laft) of this war.-Cur fleets will hereafter have a full liberty of action and exertion.
In completing this fyftem of internal frength, it is, perhaps, to be regretted, that the original idea of our militia muft gradually wear off. A
recruit
fe only when properly ed to cover a coaft, are ir excrtions, which deut are miferably conof naval war. . Thofe our fleets can kecp the commerce, and annoy well as to defend our cover defcents and con,bjects, however, canwe in wifdom hazard tate of our internal dere the prefence of our our dock-yards, of our etropolis.
that the late efforts of erfelf internally ftrong, es of the enfuing years ut) of this war.-@ur a full liberty of action
m of internal frength, etted, that the original gradually wear off. A
recruit

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recruit for that body of men muft begin to mean the fame thing as a recruit for mere mercenary troops; and the militia itfelf will, in effect, become a difciplined and well exercifed flanding army; it will, however, retain the advantage of being fill officered by men who hold their fituations only from a difinterefted love to their country : nor would it be difficult, perhaps, to thew, that a militia degenerated from its original inftitution thus far and no farther, is the beft fpecies of military ftrength that an opulent and free country can have; being excepted from the ordinary jealoufies juftly annexed to ftanding armies, and compofing, at the fame time, a folid fupport againft foreign enemies.

The expences which this whole fyftem muft occafion are great; they are not greater, however, in any refpect than muft be incurred by our adverfaries, unlefs they will fubmit to the certainty of carrying on a lofing war. It rarely happens that wars ceafe for the want of mutual animofity in either party, or for the want of men to fight the quarrel; that fide muft firft quit the field whofe exchequer firf fails.-I do not mean

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to follow up this idea, by going into any detail of the finances of France and Spain; I am totally unequal to fuch an attempt: foreign revenue is an affair of continual fluctuation and fome myftery ; and thofe amongft us who are the beft informed on this fubject feel, I helieve, that they poffers very little precifion with regard to it. The beft accounts, which I have feen, lead me to believe, that fo late as the beginning of $\mathbf{1 7 7 8}$, the perpetual debt of France amounted to one hundred and twenty millions ferling, and about thirty millions fterling charged on life-rents and fontines; and that her annual income, even in times of peace, and under the maragement of an excellent financier, was not equal to her annual expenditure.-With regard to Spain, it is well known that the is fubject alfo to a large perpetual debt; that her ordinary revenue is about five millions fterling, and that her fyttem leads her, even in times of peace, to unftring every finew of the public ftrength, and to keep in a ftate of beggary that numerous clafs of fubjects from which alone any extraordinary aid is to be expected.

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going into any detail of nd Spain ; I am totally mpt : foreign revenue is fluctuation and fome igft us who are the beft feel, I helieve, that they with regard to it. The ave feen, lead me to bebeginning of 1778 , the amounted to one hunns fterling, and about arged on life-rents and nnual income, even in ler the maragement of vas not equal to her anregard to Spain, it is bject alfo to a large perdinary revenue is about d that her fyftem leads eace, to unftring every ngth, and to keep in a merous clafs of fubjects traordinary aid is to be expected.

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expected. I do not defire, however, to dwell upon a fubject, on which our reafonings would, perhaps, be imperfect and erroneous, even if our informations were better. The prefling otject is to afcertain that we are able to raife fupplies for many years of war, if our exigencies fhould require them:--a great public charge is neceflary; the great bufinefs is to contrive that it may be forthcoming, and as little burdenfome as poffible.

It is true that gur debts are now near fifty millions beyond what our flouteft Statefmen of forty years ago thought it poffible for us to bear.-And it was the affertion of our beft.political writers, prior to the late war, that our debt (then feventy two millions) had brought us to the brink of inevitable bankruptey: yct the debt was doubled in that war; and though our taxes were multiplied much beyond any dctail that can came within the compafs of thefe Letters, our fituation both in credit and in commerce was at the clofe of that war more flourinting than ever.
$\mathrm{K} \quad \mathrm{O}_{n}$

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Cy ne monte jamais $\beta$ baut que quand on ne fait pas où on va, faid Cromwell to the prefident de Bellievre. This idea may be applicable to our prefent debt and exertions; though we muft not indeed proceed with a carelefs fpeed, unfurpicious of confequences, and infenfible of the precipice towards which we are advancing. Our fituation obliges us to go on, we have only to ufe the beft caution that we can.-Means munt be found ; the choice only of thofe means, as far as there is any choice, is matter of deliberation. It would be a ftupid and wilful blindnefs not to fee the difficulties to which we are tending. But the queftion is, are thofe difficulties neceflary ? If they are neceffities, we muft meet them like neceffities. The exertions already made go far beyond what might have been thought practicable, if we had hefitated about the flate of our finance, and had not felt that we are contending for the fources frorn which that finance is drawn.
In the courfe of a war, it fometimes happeris that the original object becomes a purpofe of the
fecond

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baut que quand on ne scait awell to the prefident de nay be applicable to our ions; though we mult a carclefs fpeed, unfuf$s$, and infenfible of the we are advancing. Out go on, we bave only to at we can.-Means mu? only of thofe means, as ce, is matter of deliberaupid and wilful blindnefs es to which we are tendis, are thofe difficulties receflities, we muft meet The exertions already what might have been o had hefitated about the id had not felt that we ources frorn which that
r, it fometimes happens ecomes a purpofe of the
> fecond
lecond or third magnitude. The original great object of this war is the recovery of our colonies (and we fhould never lofe fight of that object); but our firft purpofe at prefent is to eftablifh our fuperiority at fea againft France and Spain. If by our naval exertions we can effedually protect our commerce, and preferve our carrying trade; our riches, the life of war, are as fafe as our fprings or rivers; and floods of treafure will flow into the kingdom with every tide.
In a wide extended empire like this, the occafional lofs of very valuable poffeffions and dependencies will be the fate of every contelt in which we are engaged; but thefe circumitances, though cruel to our feelings at the time, may be fet right at the clofe of a wa:: Our exertions muft not be checked by a daily dread of fich contingencies. If we are to wafte our frength in guarding againft rumours; and in protecting by our fleets every acceffible corner, we may reft affured that every wind will bring us an account of fome new. lofs. A war carried on by this country, mult be a war of enterprize,

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2ad not of defence; the advantages of the former are pecuiar to Creat Britain.-In the opening indeed of a uar, whilf the force of the country is forming, and whilft proper means are taking to ftrengthen the acceffible parts of the coaft, it may be the ht to keep our principal fleet within reach; becaufe it is always the wifdom of a flate so adapt its fituation to its circumftances; but we mult never forget that this is not our natural mode of making war.

No private man of moderate difcretion will attempt to enter into any fpecification of meafures to be purfued. If he is ill informed, his advice wil! be prefumptuous; if he happens to be right, which is unlikely except in very obvious inftances, his freculations may be mifchievous; thofe only who are fo fituated as to receive all informations, and who know the force to be fpared, together with the poffible combinations of that force in regard to other collateral objects, can decide what meafures are proper to be purfued. And it is happy when that decifion is repofed in able capacities, with.
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out which the application of wealth, of nätional vigour, and of the other refources of war, muft be of very uncertain avail.
The fuccefsful conduct of war is a bufinefs of invention as well as of' deliberation; it depends much on fudden, fecret, frequent, and well concerted enterprizes; varying the point of attack, and offen connected with and fupporting each other.
This fuccefs is alfo much promoted by infpiring a confidence in all employed, that merit will be rewarded, and mifconduat frially and feverely punilhed: the multitude love valour even when it is unfuccefsful, and it is the intereft of the State to fecond and fupport that fentiment.

It is farther the intereft of the State to eftablifh through its armies and navies, a firm perfuafion that the profeffional point of honour is a zeal for the public, fuperior not merely to perfonal difficulties (for perfonal courage, and the dificgard of perfonal hardhhips, are qualities which Englifhnen never wint), but alfo to

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all caprice, private paffion, and fudden difguft.
Laft of all, our exertions muft be unremitted and perfevering; we muft not be flartled by the untoward events of a day: if we mean to proceed with honour, and to end with fuccefs, we muft never in our actions or councils hefitate or 朖ink, as if we thought the bufinefs too weighty for us.
It is certainly to be regretted that we are deftitute of allies, but we muft not forget that intereft is the only efficient principle of alliance. Intereft indeed may act through very different mediums. It may be the intereft of neutral powers, not to fuffer the aggreffors in war to break unprovoked through all the ufages of good faith eftablifhed between nations, and to difturb the peace of the world, in order to aggrandife themfelves. Again, it may be their intereft not to permit the balance of power in Europe to be put in hazard: and though that balance in our times has had great changes, it is demonftrably the intereft of all the leading empires to maintain it in its prefent pofition. Again, it may become
ons muft be unremitted uft not be flartled by a day: if we mean to $\pm$ to end with fuccefs, ons or councils hefitate ught the bufinefs too
regretted that we are : muft not forget that nt principle of alliance. through very different he intereft of neutral e aggreffors in war to $h$ all the ufages of good nations, and to difturb in order to aggrandife ay be their intereft not power in Europe to be hh that balance in our res, it is demonftrably ng empires to maintain Again, it may become

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the intereft of a power bound to us by old treaty, to eftablifh an opinion of her own good faith; or it may be the intereft of a power to affit us me:cly from a recent or cuftomary interchange of friendfhip, or from confiderations of commerce: but all tiefe are interefts of which the particular nation concerned muft and can be the only judge.
Great Britain flands among nations, like an armed man amongt his fellow-creatures in the iron age of the world; the has fome menacing enemies, and many fpectators. If the calls for help, it will not be given to her till the has fhewn that the has ftrength and refolution, fuch as will make her an ufeful ally, rather than a dangerous friend. The great principle of alliance, the only folid and effective one, is a right refulting from a firm and dignified national cournge to afk other powers to become fharers in our Atrength, and not partners in our weaknefs. This right we thall foon acquire, if we entertain a juft fenfe of our own circumftances; thofe circumftances are critical, but they are the critical circumftances of a great and mighty nation.

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Having haid fo much frefs on the hope to be drawn from the power of this country to lipiport the expence of the war, I mean, in another Letter, to offer to your Lordfhip fome remarks refpecting our debt, credit, and fupplics.

I cannct, however, relinquifh this fubject without obferving, that the popular jealoufy refpecting the due difburfement of treafure given for carrying on the public fervices, is equally natural and commendable. The truth is, that war and ceconomy are not enfily reconciled :the exigencies of war are extenfive and various; and thofe who fupply them have, in all wars, been accufed of regarding the wealth of the nation as inexhauttible. Living amidft profution, they have been faid to grow carelefs of any expence that could be brought to account; and though it might be harth and unjuft to infer that they had learnt to make up accounts with dexterity, the fufpicion was at all tines the lefs unreafonable, as it has been found, from uniform experience, that the annual charge of our wars increafed every year of their continuance,

Atrefs on the hope to ver of this country to the war, I mean, in to your Lordhip fome debt, credit, and fup-
relinquifh this fubject the popular jealoufy fement of treafure given blic fervices, is equally le. The truth is, that 1ot cafily reconciled :e extenfive and various; hem have, in all wars, iilg the wealth of the Living amidft profaid to grow carcelefs of be brought to account; harth and unjuft to int to make up accounts cion was at all tines the has been found, from hat the annual charge very year of their continuance,

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tinuance, beyond any apparent increafe of fervices performed;-exclufive alfo of arrears accumulating by feamen's wages, army extraordinaries, tranfport bills, ordnaiice debentures, \&c. The delay, too, in fettling public accounts, has always bcen very great; and the manner in which fome of confiderable magnitude are ftated, is not obvious to every capacity.

But on the other hand, oconomy in war is often a moft hort-fighted virtue; and when it tends to parfimony, or a defalcation from ufeful fervices, it becumes a wretched management, for which the nation in the event pays twenty-fold.

I am, \&c.

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Famque nocens ferrum. farrogue nocentins aurum Prodirrat, prodit bellum quod pugnar nerroquc, Sanguiveâgue manu cropiçantia concutit arma.

Ovid. Met. 1. ו.

forrogue nocertius aurum quod pugnat utrogwe, pifantia concutit arma. Ovid. Met: I. I:

Greenwich, Oct. 19, 3779.
NOTHING being more ealy than a defultory progrefs of the imagination over the open fields of domeftic diffenfion and foreign: war, I have advanced thus far in the propofed plan of my Letters to your Lordßhip, perhaps in lefs time, and I fear with much lefs reflection, than ought to have been allotted to fubjects of fuch importance. The truth is, in adhering frialy to my firf idea of avowing honefly the patural and current reafonings of 2 plain mind, upon circumftances known to every man in the kingdom, I have puithed forwards without fear or wit, and am now brought to recolleation by finding myfelf at a point where the mere refult of firft impreffions muft not be hazarded; and whence it will be difficult to advance without much better aids than any that I poffers.
The multitude of objects which the confiderations now before me embrace; the comparifons

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and combinations to which they lead; and the meceffity which will arife in every page, of forming opinions upon difputable and unfettled points of finance; make this part of my undertaking a matter of much anxiety : I mult befpeak more than ordinary indulgence for the execution of it; and I feel my claim to that indulgenee the more reafonable, becaufe I do not mean to entrench myfelf behind a parade of accounts with which the parliamentary Journals, and fome more ufeful books, would furnin me : ftill lefs fhall F enter into any of thofe difcuffions which feem calculated rather to perplex the underfanding, than to fimplify the fubject : I Gall gain my purpofe, if, without deep refearches (which I leave to ftronger minds), I can fee reafon to reft perfuaded, that under all the known circumftances of the public debts and their confequences, we atill poffers' ample war-refources, without materially affecting the flouriming ftate of our manufactures, commerce, and agriculture, any farther than war muft affect them, in all countries. and at all times.
ich they lead ; and the in every page, of formble and unfettled points rt of my undertaking a : I mult befpeak more for the execution of it; hat indulgenee the more not mean to entrench of accounts with which ds, and fome more ufea me: ftill lefs fhall I difcuffions which feem slex the underfanding, ct : I Mall gain my purfearches (which I leave a fee reafon to reft per: known circuḿftances their confequences, we fources, without matehing ftate of our manud agriculture, any farthem, in all countries.

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The firit of trade, which has been fo fortunate for this country in its operations and effects, has not always been kindly difpofed towards the true and liberal principles either of commerce or taxation; and it muft be confeffed, that the prefent fyftem of our trade and revenue laws, thouglt in appearance lefs burdenfome, and in fact more productive, than the fytem of any other nation, is, when analyfed, in fome of iss parts, a very motley mixture of political œeconomy and popular prejudice. The intricate queftions and confiderations neceffarily fpringing from fubjects of fuch extent, nicety, and variety, have been rendered more intricate by the induffry of different writers, fome of whom have adapted all their reafonings to fupport the flate-financier of the. day, whilf others have been equally anxious to reprefent his meafures as replete with danger and ruin, either to trade, or agriculture, or popula-: tion, according to the object in difpute. Much. error and obfcurity has alfo been imported from France, and manufactured too at home, by men who come under the oppofite defcription of thallow thinkers and abftrufe thinkers, and who,
without

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without any unfair or interefted view, have been, perhaps, equally fucceffful in deceiving themfelves and perplexing others. There infinuations, however, are in no degree applicable to the immediate writers of our own time, who are making a very rapid progrefs in deftroying the abfurdities and explaining the fallacies of their predeceffors: and though eminent men ftill differ on important points of political ucconomy, we are beginning, at laft, to comprehend all the juft caufes of our wealth and profperity, about the time that ruin and wretchednefs are fuppofed (even by fome of our beft inftructors) to be ftaring us in the face.

Thefe alarming phantoms are created cliefly by the ftate of the pubic debts (amongft other lefs general caufes) ; and in order to bring before our eyes a juft idea of thofe debts, and of their rife and progrefs, it will be neceffary to call to mind, in the fewelt words poflthe, the different objects of naticnal expence.
The religious eftablifhment hould be firft mentioned, and is likely to have engaged due attention in the earlieft infancy of focieties. In
addition
terefted view, have cceffful in deceiving others. Thefe infino degree applicable - our own time, who trefs in deftroying the the fallacies of their ninent men ftill differ litical aconomy, we mpreliend all the juft profperity, about the jednefs are fuppofed it infructors) to be
as are created chiefly debts (amonglt other order to bring before fe debts, and of their e neceffary to call to pofflbe, the different
ent hould be firt have engaged due atancy of focieties. In addition

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addition to the exclufive poffeffions fecured in this country from the public to the church, the tythes have been confidered by fome as a feecies of appropriated taxes. It is perhaps juft matter of regret, that an equivalent fupport has not been furnifhed in fome mode more favourable to agriculture and improvements.

The fupport of the fovereign dignity is another branch of public expence. Formerly in this country the expenditure of the fovereign included all the charges of civil and military government : -the revenue of the crown was only aided by the people when the emergency grew great, and they were difpofed to give their aid. But from the nature of the conflitution, and the increafing progrefs of public expence, this fyftem became a matter of conftant uneafinefs both to the prince and people, and a feparate private revenue, now called the Civil Liff, was affigned to the crown.

The expence of juilice next prefents itfelf. No flate, or large fociety of men, ever exifted without an eftablifhment of judicial authority, which has, however, in its firt in?itution been always very imperfet. In our own hifory, the tribunals

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nais of juftice were for fome centuries a fource of revenue, and the judges refembled tax-gatherers. In the evolution of our conftitutional liberty, the judicial potur was made, in great meafure, independent of the executive;-and the fupport of our judges became an object of national regard. But the expence is inconfiderable, and bears no proportion to the advantage refulting from the wifdom, dignity, and purity of thofe who are the objects of it.

There are other objects of public expence, fuch as public works, public inftitutions, roads, bridges, ports, Scc, but many of thefe, from their general utility, have very early been converted into fources of revenue.

But the great occafion of expence is the national defence. In the early ftate of civilization, when incurfions between neighbouring focieties were either to be attempted or refifted, the fervice was fo thort, and the general danger fo preffing, that it was eafy for the parties to fupport themfelves, and natural for them to ferve without pay. In the early periods of our own hiftory, it was ufual for the great men of the kingdom to
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me centuries a fource of : refernbled tax-gatherof our conftitutional lior was made, in great the executive ;-and the came an object of naapence is inconfiderable, to :he advantage refultdignity, and purity of of it .
Cts of public expence, blic inftitutions, roads, many of thefe, from e very early been conenue.
of expence is the naarly ftate of civifization, 1 neighbouring focieties ted or refifted, the ferthe general danger fo for the parties to fupport or them to ferve without is of our own hiftory, it nen of the kingdom to attend

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attend the fovecteignt during hic wars; in perfon, with their vaflais; antid to fupport them alfo in the field. This; however', teine in iterf a purial fpecies of texationg; and often extitmely feveres was foon other dxehanged for money, or; where continued im any degros, was, among other feudat hardmips, a eaufe of much heart-burnling. In the progrefs of arts, that of war unidetwerit perhaps the groateft change, and the revolution made in the fyttent of waffare induced ahorher' int that of military eftablifhments: the att of war from ant occdfonal oceupation' beeane $x$ : twade. And it was found a matter not of niere equiny Bit of neecefitity' that thofe who underfook the military duties of the flate fould be maintuined in their abferice by thẹr fellow-citizehs; who ftaìd af home, and retained the peaceable' advantages of agriculture and manufactures.
It is unneceflary to purfue this fubject of enquiry through all its progrefs and improvements; the refult is, that in all modern' focietics; a proportion of the people who do not ferve in the wars, but purfue productive labour at home; muft, exclufive of their own maintenance, main-

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tain thofe who are employed in the defence of the country, and alfo all individuals in other profeffions and fituations, who produce nothing to the common ftock. Subject to this obfervation, it has been commonly calculated, that it is certain ruin to a country to employ more than the one hundredth part of its people in military fervice (which of courfe includes fhips of war):this;' however, muft be received as applicable only to the general fyftem of a country, and not to times of emergency. Our armies and navy in the prefent year employ in actual fervice at leaft one-fiftieth past of all the iuhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland-taken upon the large computation of ten millions. I fhall not entor into the difputed queftion upon the proportion in which the national ftock is diminithed by expence of fleets and armies, and how far that proaortion is affected by the different circumftances of the expence being at home or abroad: but it muft bo admitted, that the long abience of one-fiftieth part of all our inhabitants from productive labour, which is the fource of commerce and re:venue, would much impoverifh the fate, and
tend
loyed in the defence of individuals in other prowho produce nothing to jeed to this obfervationy alculated, that it is ceremploy more than the ts people in military fercludes hips of war) :: received as applicable n of a country, and not Our armies and nayy in in actual fervice at leaft re iuhabitants of Great en upon the large comI hall not enter into the he proportion in which inifhed by expence of wfar that precoortion is ircumfances of the exbroad: but it muft be ablence of onc--fiftieth ts from productive lat of commerce and te:overifh the fate, and
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tend to its ruin:-and I have fepped out of $m y$ way to bring forward this remark, as one inducement to us to obviate that ruin by accep lerating our exertions.

The feveral objects of public expence aboye mentioned, imply the neceffity of a public revenue belonging either to the fovereign or to the ftate, or to be drawn by contributions or taxes from the people,

It was the practice of antiquity to make provifion of public treafure in time of peace, as the inftrument either of conqueft or defence; and this was neceflary, as there was little confidence in the fate in general, and efpecially in times of danger and confufion. But as it does not hapren, in the progrefs of luxury and expence, that there is in modern ftates a public revenue either in land or ftock, or any public hoard in iffelf fufficient to fupply the expence in war, as well as in peace, the deficiency mutt be made up by the contribution of private revenue for public purpofes. The enemy threatens, and is in motion: an army muft be augmented, and all the charges belonging to it are to be provided for; fleets muft be fitted $\mathrm{M}_{2}$ sut ;

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out; fortifications muat be repaired, and garrifons fupplied.-But the coffers of the fate are found empty. Here then commences the art of finance, which is to draw from individual fuperabundance what is abfolutely necellary for general relief.

This art of drawing money from the pocketa of the people, when once introduced into a country, adyances moft rapidly. There is a promptitude in all fatefmen to improve it, and to adopt alfo with the utmoft liberality of fentiment, and without local prejudice, the rifing improvemonts of other countries. On the other hand, there is an univerfal difpofition in mankind to fet themfelves as much as poffible pgainft this fpecies of dexterity.

The reluetance of individuals to be taxed opesrates certainly as a check on the alacrity of Minifters to tax them: but it is this reluctance which firf fuggefts to a Minifter the idea of running a country into debt; and it alfo induces the people to acquiefce in his loading pofterity with a burden, if the machine can for the prefent go the lighter for it.
be repaired, and gar-- coffers of the ftate are $n$ commences the art of aw from individual fufolutely neceflary for ge-
noney from the pocketio nee introduced into a rapidly. There is a men to improve it, and moft liberality of fential prejudice, the rifing r countries. On the univerfal difpofition in es as much as pofible terity
viduals to be taxed opeK on the alacrity of Miit it is this reluctance Minifter the idea of ebt ; and it alfo induces in his loading pofterity achine can for the pre-

Befides,

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Beides, in the urgent expences of a com, mencing war, the produce of taxes comes in too nlow. It is an obvious meafure, then, to borrow on the credit of the fate, and when that is pearly exhautted, to help it forward by afignments of accruing taxes, the produce of, which is ascordingly anticipated. In all commercial free ftates there are lenders fufficient, becaufe merchants have at all times a proportion of their capital, and of the average returns of trade, within their reach. Their natural confidence in the ftate where their property is lodged, leads them to truft that ftate; but if they think that there is any unufual rifk, the collateral advan*ages whiph they exact will be raifed in proporfior. As they may foon want to ufe their money in the progrefs of their trade, they of courfe require the obligation from the flate to be transferrable; and by the transfer which the firf creditors make, the trial of the confidence repofed in the fate growa more general. The readiaefs to Jend increafes the difpofition to borrow, and the facility of geting money leffens the anxiety to Guve. Taxes, at firt pledg-
ed for a limited time, are now mortgaged for farther loans and longer periods, and at length are converted into perpetual annuittes.
This mode of raifing money is the leaft unpleafing to the people, becaufe large fums are obtained for fmall annual taxes; and even when thofe annual taxes are multiplied, the expenditure of the fums raifed upon them furnifhes occupations which benefit the mals of the people, and is a fource of great and interefting events, which amufe and fill their imaginations, even when the events, upon the whole, are unfavourable to the public interefts. The contingencies of a great war are the caparifons and bells, which by their fhow and jingle induce a poor animal to jog on cheerfully under a great load.

On the ceafing of a war, it may happen that the produce of the taxes is high enough to make fome progrefs towards the reduction of the debt incurred; but even in times of peace fome untoward event will arife, or fome favourite expence is to be incurred; and in either cafe it is more pleafant; both to the minifters and the

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re now mortgaged for periods, and at length tal annuittes. noney is the leaft unbecaufe large fums are taxes ; and even when ultiplied, the expendiupon them furnifhes : the mals of the people, and interefting events, reir imagtinations, eveni t the whole, are un: interefts. The conare the caparifons and ow and jingle induce a heerfully under a great
rar, It may happen that is high enough to make $e$ reduction of the debr nes of peace fome unor fome favourite exand in either cafe it is the minifters and the people,

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people, to leave the debt undiminifhed than to call for a new contribution.
Thus the progrefs is thort and plain. The borrowing commenced on the faith and fecurity of the fove on or ftate; when that pledge was fir as it would go, the old ree fource $L \quad$ ad other countries was to ladge pa - dingly Henry III. gave to the Archbihop of York potefatem impignorandi jocalia Regis ubicunque in Anglia pro pecunia perquirende; and there are many fimilar and much later inftances. When this expedient was exhaufted, recourfe was had to the people, and it was not unufual for a King of England to addrefs his fubjects in the following ftrain: "Paut"por fum omni defitutus thefauro, neceffe babeo " ut me juvetis, nec aliquid exigo nifi per gratiam." In the progrefs of hiftory, the defence of the kingdom became the joint concern of the Parhiament with their Sovereign, and large revenues were raifed for the public expenditure. The practice of anticipating was next introduced, and the income of particular taxes was affigned to difcharge the debt within $\$$ Atipulated term.

But

But as it grew convenient to furcharge thefe ants ticipations, and to poftpone all payment of the principal debt, the affigntments wero protenged, and at length made perpeturals.
But the failure of fome taxes thus mortyaseds the furplus of others; and the complicated miat nagement of them all, made it an objedt of conpenience to throw feveral claffes of the public debes into one; which completed the fytem of funding.
I truft that your Lordmip will think this aecount of the whole bufiriefs more natural, and therefore more probable, than the refinements which aftribed the introduction of this fyftem, foon after the Revolution, firf, to political forefight and defign, in order ro fecure the attachment of individuals to government, from the dependence of theit property on its fupport and fecurity ; fecondly, to a difoofition in minifters to multiply places, and gain patronare ; thirdly, which is a mere abfurdity, to the view of increaf:
*ing the capital property of the kingdom.
This fyftem of large and continued anticipsfions was carried to a confiderable extent in Spain,

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IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (MT-3)


Photographic Sciences


# CIHM/ICMH Microfiche Series. 

> CIHM/ICMH Collection de microfiches.

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Spain, by Philip II. in the fixteenth century ; and towards the eñ of the feventeenth century was flated by Mr. Davenant to this country, as the principal caufe which had contributed to fink the Spanifh monarchy. But he foretold indeed at the fame time, that trade murt languifh here till the annual burdens could be reduced below four millions.
Funding began in France about a century later than in Spain, and Mr. Colbert is faid to have remonftrated ftrongly againft it.
From the firf commencement of this practice in England, it was a fubject of perpetua! lamentation with well-meaning writers; and anticipations of our yuin attended every anticipation of the revenue, till 1717 , when the increaied produce of taxes, the falling of the market-rate of interef, and the expiration of annuitios, having combined to create a large annual furplus, Sir Robert Walpole inftituted the finking fund. Nor thould it pals unnoticed, that this wife and falutary inftitution was a fubject of ridicule and farcafon to a connfiderable party, then acting is oppofition to the Minifter.

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## [90]

It is beyond a doubt, that if the finking fand liad always been facredly appropriated according to its firf inftitution, the aggregate effects of fuch a fyftem would have been of that ftupendous importance which Dr. Price has demonftrated. But it fhould not efcape remark, that if this plan had been adopted, all the exifting taxes muft have been continued; and all new exigencies of war, as well as the deficiencies of the peace eftablifhment (the latter atone amounting to about a million fferling, for many years, above the ordinary unappropriated revenue), muft have been defrayed and made good, either by fupplies raifed within the year, or by funds to be fecured by new and perpetual taxes. It is obvious to fee in this cafe, what immenfe burdens, additional to what were aetually laid, the country mult have borne from 1717 to this time.
Dr. Price has, howeve" hewn in a very friking point of view, the effive confequences of accumulating intereft; and though the prefent is rather an inaufpicious moment to difcuifs fchemes fal :aying the national debt, there can be no doubt that much good might reifilt to the

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that if the finking fand appropriated according le aggregate effects of e been of that ftupenDr. Price has demonot efcape remark, that lopted, all the exifting ntinued; and all new. 11 as the deficiencies of he latter alone amounterling, for many years, opriated revenue), muft made good, either by year, or by funds to be etual taxes. It is obwhat immenfe burdens, Aually laid, the country 17 to this time.

- hevin in a very frik'effive confequences and though the prefent is moment to difcuis ational debt, there can od might reijult to the kingdom,


## [98]

kingdom, if, even now, a certain proportion of the annual produce of the finking fund were vefted in parliamentary directors, having perperual fucceffion, and fubject to proper cautions and fecurities for the purpofe of difcharging certain portions of the public debt, at fuch time, and in fuch manner, as they might find moft convenient; this fund to accumulate by the appropriation of the intereft of the debts diccharged. If fuch a truft were well adminiftered, it would comprehend all the advantages of an afual faving and compound interef, and would either check the depreciation of public fecurity; or turn it to the public profit.

It was foon difcovered that a finking fund, however well calculated to pay old debts, was, at leaft, equally well fuited to facilitate the contracting new ones; being always at hand, as a fubfidiary mortgage to new taxes of doubtful pro-duce:-nor would this mirchief have been great, but it was alfo difcovered, that the produce of the finking fund itfelf was an object of much convenience in times either of imaginary or real emergency, by preventing the neceflity of fomo

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\text { N } 2 \quad \text { taxes }_{9}
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taxes, and evading, confequently, the feelingt and obfervation of the people.

Great incroachments were accordingly made upon the finking fund, in time of peace, and a total alienation of it in time of war, And it has not, I believe, in the courfe of fixty-two years, been applied towards paying more than twentythree millions of the public debts. To relieve the prefent exigency, is the object of fatefmen, who feel themfelves in duty bound to confult the eafe of their cotemporaries, in preference to the eventual convenience of a remote porterity, which they will never fee, or the tacit approbation of a few feeculative men.

Our public debt, which began in the nine years war immediately following the Revolution, was about fourteen millions fterling at thẹ death of King William. At the death of Queen Anne it amounted to fifty millions. In i722, it was fifty-five millions; 1726 , it was fifty-twa mil. lions; 1739, after feventeen years peace, it was forty-feven millions; from which period I beg leave to refer your Lordfhip to the following note: I do not recollea whence it is drawn, but
nfequently, the feelingt :ople.
were accordingly made in time of peace, and a me of war. And it has urfe of fixty-two years, ing more than twentyblic debts. To relieve the object of fatefmen, uty bound to confult the es, in preference to the remote pofterity, which e tacit approbation of a xich began in the nine Hllowing the Revolution, ons fterling at the death he death of Queen Anne llions. In 1722, it wak ;, it was fifty-twa milo cen years peace, it was om which period I beg dhip to the following whence it is drawn, but

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it is at leaft fufficiently accurate to anfwer the general purpofes before us.

1740 £. 46,382,650 Debt. $31,784,256$ increafe during the war.
1749. 78,166,906 Debt.

3,089,641 decreafe during the peace.
175\$ 75,077,26s Debt.
$71,505,580$ increafe during the war.
1763 146,582,845 Debt,
10, $639,77^{4} 4$ decreafe during the peace.
1775 85,943,06i Debt,
The refult of all this is, that by the burdens inherited from our anceftors, we are obliged, including the expence of collecting, to pay in time of profound peace near twelve millions fterling annually; and if the mortgaged part of that revenue were free, we thould poffefs fupplies atually raifed within the year, nearly adequate to the fupport of a very vigorgus war, though not indeed fo extenfive as that of $i_{7} 61$, when the public expence amounted to nineteen millions ferling, It is an obfervation rather of curiofity than of ufe; but your Lordhip will find, I bo:
lieve,

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lieve, that all the fums levied upon the fubjecte of this kingdom in nipety years (being from the Revolution to the prefent time), for public fervices, have ampunted to about feven hundred millions fterling, of which about two hundred millions have actually been paid for the intereft of public debts.

In confidering our actual fituation, the effeots of fuch a debt as I have defcribed certainly deferve attention.

1. It is fome inconvenience that we are made tributary to foreign nations, by the obligation to pay to them a large fum annually, tor the intereft of their property lodged in our funds. Opinion differ much as to the amount of thia intereft, but it cannot be eftimated at lefs than one million Aterling.-And fo large a drain would turn the exchange too perceptibly againt $u_{s}$, if the $\mathrm{fa}_{r}$ vourable balance of our trade, by whatever mode effected, did not operate to reftore the level.
Having mentioned this circumftance of exchange, I thall digrefs for a moment to obferve, that the courfe of exchange is at this day (2gth Oetober) more in our favour with Cadiz, Lifw
evied upon the fubjectes $y$ years (being from the It time), for public fer-- about feven hundred ich about two hundred en paid for the intereft
sal fituation, the effects defcribed certainly de-
nience that we are made ns, by the obligation to nnually, ior t'se intereft 1 our funds. Opinions ount of this intereft, but : lefs than one million drain would turn the r againf us, if the far ade, by whatever mode to reftore the level. a circumftance of exr a moment to obferve, ge is at this day (2gth vour with Cadiz, Lifu bon,

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bon, Genoa, and Leghorn refpectively, than it was in a medium eftimate which was printed for the year 1770. With Amfterdam and Hamburgh it is much lefs againft us now than it was then; with Paris and Venice it is now nearly at par, but in 1770 was much againft us.
To men who confider the courfe of exclange as a eriterion of national commerce and riches, this account muft appear highly favourable to us ; and the prefumption, as far as it goes, certainly is fo. It muft be confefied, however, that no decifive conclufions are to be drawn from the courfe of exchange; which is madeirregular by transfers of ftocks, receipts of dividends, and mercantile combinations for the purpofe of drawing and re-drawing through different parts of Europe, as well as from various other more mi. nute circumftances. The exchange, if not counteracted by other tranfactions and fpeculations of merchants, fhould evidently be in our favour whenever our export trade flourifhes; becaufe the balance muft be remitted to us: but it may alfo be in our favour, even when certain branches of our commerce, both outwards and

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homewards, are fuffering much, and nearly in 2 flate of flagnation, becaufe there may be large balances in courfe of remittance to Englifh Merchants ; as in the prefent inflance of Cadiz and Madrid, where the price of exchange is at $36 \frac{1}{5}$, and the par at 43. Here it is only a fymptom that a tide is fetting in, which may foon ebb with equal or greater velocity to fome other part of the world. And in all other infances, the courfe of exchange between any two fpecified places is liable to be raifed or lowered by the dealings and interchange of both with many other countries.
The price of bullion (which, however, bears alfo a favourable appearance at prefent) is Atill lefs a certain thermometer of commerce than the courfe of exchange; for it is equally a fubject of mercantite fpeculations and fineffe, and is alfo Liable to be affected by the ftate of any particular manufaftures ufing the precious metale; by the arrival in Europe of a Spanith or Portuguefo fota; by wass in Ruffia and in the interior part of Germany, both diftant from the center of diAribution; by the flate of remittances of bullion to or from the Eaf Indies; and by the various
$g$ much, and nearly in a aufe there may be large xittance to Englifh Merit inffance of Cadiz and e of exchange is at $36 \frac{1}{3}$ e it is only a fymptom which may foon ebb with to fome other part of ther infances, the courfe y two fpecified places is ered by the denlings and a many other countries. (which, however, bears unce at prefent) is fill lefs of commerce than the it is equally a fubject of and fineffe, and is alfo he fate of any particular precious metals; by the Spanifh or Portuguefe $a$ and in the interior part int from the center of diof remittances of bullion lies; and by the various

## [97]

other contingencies of trade which affeet the vae lue of that commodity in the market.
But though thefe points of obfervation do not prove much as to commerce, nor decifively as to the quantity of money in a country, they afford at leaft a fair prefumption, that the national wealth is not diminifhed.
2. Another principal inconvenience of the public debts is to be feen in all the tranfactions of public borrowing. There is of courfe a great competition of lenders, becaufe there is a general expectation of certain gain. If the fum to be borrowed is very large, a proportion of the money to furnifh it will be drawn either from channels of productive labour, which are accordingly impeded, or from the holders of public ftock, which is confequently depreciated. The general sule of intereft to be paid for money is indifferent to the fubfribers of a public loan ; becaufe whatever it is, they are to enhance upon the public; and the advantages, or douceurs (for moneylenders in their exertions againft France make good ufe of her language), are at all times intrinfically worth more than what is computed 0
and

## [98]

and ftated topa:liament; and though, from the ordinary modes of fubfrctiption, 'ofe advantages (in whatever form given) are much divided by transfers within forty-eight hours after the bargatin is declared, the expence of the nation is the fame, whether the firft fubferibers or the fubfequent fock-holders receive the benefit. This tendeticy of public borrowings to raife the intereft of money through the country, has extenfive and bad effects in refpect to trades agriculture, and the value of land; and it tends alro to depreciate the public funds, much beyond the operation of any. doubts or uneafinefs as to thes fate or fafety.
It is, in our days, clearly underfood, that the intereft given for money is not regulated by the proportion of gold or filver actually exifting within the country; but by the demand for borrowing, and the fate of commerce and induftry which regulate the competition for lending.
And though, at prefent, we in truth borrow at a rate fully equal to 5 per cent.; confidering the advantages above defcribed, and perhiaps at a higher rate of intereft than in any period of the
and though, from the iption, 'ofe advantages ) are much divided by ght hours after the barence of the nation is the fubferibers or the fubfeive the benefit. This wings to raife the intethe country, has exten. fpect to trades agriculid; and it tends alfo to ids, much beyond the or uneafinefs as to the'-
ty underfood, that the is not tegulated by the fiver altually exifting oy the demand for borcommetce and induftry tition for lending. t, we in truth borrow or cont., confidering the ed, and perhaps at a n in any period of the
two laft wars ; yet this is fo little the effeet of a fearcity of moncy, or of a want of confidence in the ability of the nation, that the contrary is the fact, and was proved by the continued rife of flock above the price flated at the laft loan; as well as by the great prenium, at which it is known to have been current before any transfers were actually made to under-purchafers; and allo by fo great a proportion of the whole loan as near. fiye millions being paid in the firft two, months, at a difcqunt at the rate of 3 per cent. per ann, Mr. Hỵme has thewn, beyond difpute? that intereff is a true barometer pf the ftate; and the lownefs of intereft is an infallible lign of a flourihing people: but he did not mean to apply that remark indifcriminately to all the occafional fituationa of a ftate. In periods of particular. emergency, where there is an extreme preffurf for money, the intereft may be high, and the people fill fouriming. And though it is true, that low intereft and plenty of money are, in fact, generally concomitant; it is equally true, that the fudden influx of money may, for a time, lower intereft without introducing a plenty: $\mathrm{O}_{2}$ and

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and it is alfo true, that a great demand for money will raife the intereft, without implying any fcarcity. It is demonftrable that, , in time of peace, a kingdom would fuffer little if half its money were annihilated, or locked up in the coffers of the ftate: prices of labour, and its produce, would be lowered; other countries would be underfold : the level would be reftored, and the prices would gradually rife again. In time of peace, too, there may be lefs coin and more paper in circulation; but the quantity of circulating calh in time of war is of the utmoft importance; and therefore I have been the more folicitous to offer to your Lordhip thefe remarks on the prefent rate of intereft.
The inconveniences above mentioned are very poorly compenfated by the bare corifideration that the funds are an eafy and profitable fecurity to mercartile people in general, and particularly to the merchants who refide in the metropolis, and who having a mortgage for fuch part of their property as: they can fpare, bearing interef and transferrible in an hour, by fepping fifty yards from their counting-houfe, can afford to fell

## 100 ]

ita great demand for money without implying any fcarable that, 'in time of peace, Iffer little if half its money locked up in the coffers of our, and its produce, would untries would be underfold ; Pored, and the prices would In time of peace, too, there more paper in circulation; circulating calh in time of mportance; and therefore I folicitous to offer to your es on the prefent rate of in.
s above mentioned are very the bare corfidideration that , and profitable fecurity to general, and particularly to fide in the metropolis, and age for fuch part of their fapare, bearing intereft and our, by ftepping fifty yards houfe, can afford to fell their
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their commodities cheaper. In other refpests; the eafy transference of fock is no comprehenfible benefit to the nation; and it is remarked by a very eminent writer on this fubject, that the political michief to this kingdom would be very inconfiderable, if Change-alley and all its inhabitants were for ever buried in the ocean.
3. I have feen it defribed as one bad confequence of the public debts, that the creditors of the public are maintained by the contributions of the poor, and the labour of the induftrious. This, however, is only a melancholy way of flating, that when poor men owe money, it is inconvenient to them to pay it.
There is mure folidity in the objection to the f:nds, as giving too much influence to the crown: the incriafe of taxes being ever attended with an augmentation in the profits, or with ant increafe in the number of revenue-officers.
4. But the great inconvenience of the funding fytem, refults from the complication and weight of the taxes which it has occafioned.

- Our friend Mr. Adam Smith, whom political feience may reckon a great benefactor, has dif. cuffed


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cuffed this fubject fo fully, that it is hardly poffible to fay any thing new upon it; but it is, neverthelefs, material to confider how the eftablifhed principles of taxation apply to the fituation in which we find ourfelves.
The equality of taxation confifts in the obliging every individual to contribute in proportion to the revenue which he enjoys within the fate; the taxes laid for this purpofe fhould be certain, and as convenient as they can be made with refpect to the time, manner, and quantum of the contribution. They fhould keep as little out of the pockets of the people as poffible; they fhould not bear hard upon any branch of induftry; and they thould feer c'sar of all oppreffion.
The revenue on which they are to operate re? fults from rent, profit, or wages. With refpect to the firft, it is for the benefit of agriculture that the taxes on land miould be according to fome fixed regulation or fettled eftimate (as in Eng, land), and not variable according to the progrefs or declenfion of the value of each landed eftate; for fuch variations amount to a bounty on bad hufbandry,
illy, that it is hardly ; new upon it; but it $o$ confider how the eftaon apply to the fituation confifts in the obliging ibute in proportion to jys within the fate; ofe thould be certain, ey can be made with iner, and quantum of hould keep as little out ople as pooffible; they on any branch of infteer c'ear of all op-
they are to operate re? wages. With refpect sefit of agriculture that be according to fome eftimate (as in Eng n cording to the progrefs of each landed eftate ; to a bounty on bad hurbandry,

## [103].

Hufbiandry, and a penal law againft improvement。 The amount of capital ftock, though in fome des gree affeffed in England, is difficult to be regu* larly taxed; becaufe a ftate, and efpecially a mereantile ftate, thould avoid any fevere inquifition into the circumftances of individuals.
The wages of labour thould in no cafe be made an object of direct taxation.
Taxes on confumable commodities include a harge extent of objects; and, though they operate, in general, according to the voluntary humour of the individual, reach all the three fources of revenue, the rent of land, the profits of fock, and the wages of labour.
In felecting confumable commodities for taxes, fuxuries thould invariably be preferred to the neceflaries of life, and to the raw materials of manufacture. It is admirably contrived by Nature, that every thing uffeful to the life of man arifes from the ground, but few things in that degree of ufefulnefs of which they are capable; and the. fame idea applying frongly to many articles of luxury, there is, between the firf exiftence of confumable

## [ 104 ]

confumable conmodities, and the time of their confumption, an extenfive field to engage the ingenuity and vigilance of financiers. Yet taxes on confumable commodities will never be productive of a very confiderable income to the ftate, unlefs they extend to luxuries of general ufe; the aggregate confumption of the inferior ranks of people being much greater, both in quantity and in value, than that of the opulent, who form, in every ftate, a very fmall proportion of the whole number:-at the fame time it fould be obferved, that to the happinefs and affluence of the lower claffes, comparatively with the fame claffes in other nations, we are to look for the real health and frength of the kingdom.

It is difficult, however, to draw a frict line between luxuries and neceffities; many articles of clothing, furniture, and provifion, being rendered neceffary to the individual by the ufages of his country and the opinion of his equals. A due diftinction can only be made by the difeernment and good temper of the ftate; which fhould ever remember, that taxes directly friking at the
actual
s, and the time of their e field to engage the inf financiers. Yet taxes dities will never be prorable income to the ftate, uries of general ufe; the of the inferior ranks of er, both in quantity and the opulent, who form, rimall proportion of the fame time it Mould be spinefs and aflluence of aratively with the fame we are to look for the of the kingdom.
r, to draw a ftrict line eceffities ; many articles nd provifion, being renlividual by the ufages of nion of his equals. A be made by the difcernf the ftate, which fhould es directiy Itriking at the actual

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aetual neceffiries of life, aperate like the barrennefs of the earth, or the inclemency of the heavens.

Some proportion Mould be oblerved in throwing the burdens between the owners of laud and of capital frock, the great fources of revenue; otherwife the one will ceafe to improve agriculture, or the other will be difpofed to re, move his capital from trade. The various phjects of taxation, which do not come friclly under the defeription either of land-taxes of duties on confumable commodities, will farnifh a wife Legiflature with fufficient means to attain this end,

There are cafes in taxation where we may cut off the roots in attempting to extend the branches. It thould not efcape remark, that an enhancement of a particular duty frequently operates to leffen the produce of the antecedent duty, and that the new produce will fometimes -be lefs than the prodyce of the old tax ;-according to Dean Swift's maxim, that in the -Cuftom-houfe arithmetic, two and two do not always make four. In the well-known inftances P

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of augmenting the duties on gum fenegal, and reducing thofe on teas, the confequences were, that the increafed rate diminihed, and the lowered rates increafed the produce of the refpective taxes.

The freedom of exportation flould be kept facred, and be untouched by taxes, except in very few articles, when it may be found expedient to make a tax operate in the nature of a prohibition, or to favour fome particular manufacture.
It is to a certain degree true, that taxes impel labour; and if it were poffible for this country to pay all her debts, a reafonable doubt might arife, whether it would be expedient for her to reduce her taxes, farther than a few exceptionable ones which affect the neceflaries of life, and the materials of manufacture.

Whilf taxes amount only to a deduction from the conveniencies of the individual for the public fervice, they may be extended, without fcruple, as far as the public exigency requires: but there is a certain point where they begin to
es on gum fenegal; and the confequences were, e diminifhed, and the the produce of the re-
rtation fhould be kept ed by taxes, except in it may be found expeate in the nature of a ar fome particular ma-
ree true, that taxes imwere poffible for this or debts, a reafonable her it would be expeher taxes, farther than s which affect the nematerials of manufac-
only to a deduction from the individual for the be extended, without ublic exigency requires : nt where they begin to

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be exorbitant and deftroy induftry, by producing defpair in the induftrious. To toil inceffantly in want, is too hard a condition for human nature to bear; yet an induffrious country may long continue rich under fevere taxes, as a ftrong and active body may enjoy health under unwholefome diet and hard labour.
It would anfwer little purpofe to enter here into a deduction of our contributions and taxes from their origin, and to ftate to your Lordhhip the danegeldts, efcuages, carucages, tallages, purveyances, ranfoms of Jews, difmes, quinziemes, and benevolences.-The progrefs towards any liberal notions of taxation was flow; fo late as the 3 Ift Henry VI, taxes were laid on every Atranger abiding fix weeks in England; in the reign of Edward VI, there was a poll-tax on Theep; under the ufurpation of Cromwell, a weekly meal was a favourite contribution; and even under William III, there was a regular act of parliament to levy a tax on all marriages. Principles of commerce feem not, to have engaged the parliamentary attention before the æra of the Rebellion, and articles of export trade

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P_{2} \quad \text { were }
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## [108]

Were to a late period a principal branch of the Cuftoms. Our trade regulations, including the various detail of prohibitions drawbacks and bounties, are fince become extrenely voluminous, and by the daily acceffions of a century, have certainly contrasted many defects, and much intricacy; nor is there a doubt but that they might be fimplified and revifed with much advantage both to cominerce and revenue.

For the prefent, however, it feems fufficient to obferve, that our. fyftem of taxation, though obliged to comprehend fo large a variety of objects, and drawing fuch iminenfe fums from the people, is in general guided by juft principles of political deconomy, and lias been found thus far apparently compatible with the indufry, affluence, and profperity of the State. Our principal taxes on neceffaries are on falt, keather, foap, and cardles, which produce on the annual average near 200,0001 . each; they are all to a certain degree detrimental to the induftrious poor, and raife the wages of labour; but they have a gradual operation which much foftens their tendency, and they are not hitherto found

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príncipal branch of the egulations, including the ibitions drawbacks and ome extremely volumiacceffions of a century, ed many defects, and there a doubt but that 1 and revifed with much lerce and revenue.
wever, it feems fufficien em of taxation, though fo large a variety of obh iminenfe fums from guided by juft principles ad has been found thus e with the indufry, af of the State. Our prines are on falt, leather, h produce on the annuil each; they are all to a tal to the induftrious es of labour; but they n which much foftens are not hitherto found
to cramp the maintenance and fupport of the lower clafs, fo as to diminith the ufeful popular tion of the country.
We fhould not derive much advantage from an enquiry into the taxation of other States, ber caufe regulations which are wife in one country, may be quite inapplicable to another; yet fome comparative fatisfaction may refult to an Englifhman, from recollecting the dutics in Holland on the confunption of bread, fihh, and fruit, \&xc.; the excifes upon butchers meat, and the chief neceffaries of life, in many of the Italian States ; the Spanifh alcavala of fix per cent. upon every fale of any property moveable or immoveable; the French capitation, their corvees, Farmers General, depreciations of coin, taxations of the public debt, and above all the perfonal taille, which contrues every thew of improvement into a propf of wealth, and taxes is accordr ingly.

In the refult, France raifes lefs than fifteen millions fterling, and with much diftrefs and difficulty, upon three times the number of inhabitants frotn which Great Britain ralifs above

## [110]

ten millions; and yet this ifland, thank God, does not, under all her burdens, yet exhibit any fymptom of internal decay : the univerfal luxury of her inhabitants, though a thefis for moral cenfure, is a decifive proof of her opulence.Her Excife and Cuftoms * have rifen in the prefent year, even beyond their ufual level, and by thewing the extent of home-confumption, imply an increafing produce, and quick circulation; every known criterion, and every external appearance, concur in proving the quan-

- The grofe produce of the Excife for the year 1778 , ending 5 th July, amounted to -_

Ditto for 1779, - L. s. $d_{0}$

The grofs receipt of the Cultoms for the whole year 1777, amounted to


The net payments of Cuftoms into the Exchequer for Lady-Day, Midfummer, and Michaelmas 1778, a, mounted to - - 3,656,5x3 8 4 Ditto for 3779, $\rightarrow \infty$ 3,818,769 82 118
his ifland, thank God, burdens, yet exhibit any ay : the univerfal luxury ough a thefis for moral oof of her opulence. * have rifen in the preI their ufual level, and of home-confumption, duce, and quick circuriterion, and every exir in proving the quan-

## Excif

th July, f. s. d.

- 5,754,076 ○ 3,859,08s 187

Cuthe nountec

3,293,200 ○ ○ 3,538,040 - -
y, Mid.
1778,
$3,656,5438$ it $2,888,769$ is 134

## [1:1]

rity of money within the country to be unufually great.
The next confideration is, how to derive from fuch appearances the folid affiftance which our emergencies require; and this tafk, after a few curfory remarks, I thall chearfully leave to thofe who have financial ability, and will employ it on the refources and fpirit of the nation.
It is a paradox without ingenuity, an extravagance without fancy, to ftate that burdens create powers, and that this country is become proportionably affluent by the increafe of her incumbrances; but it is a plain truth, that though the incumbrances are great, her trade and commerce are ftill flourihing. It has, in former times, been made an argument for adding to the public burdens, that their bulk has not yet overwhelmed us: at prefent we want no argument beyond the iron one of neceffity. We have no choice:-great and vigorous exertions both of fivance and force are become effential to the maintenance of our rank among nations, our credit, and our cominerce.

## $[112$ ]

Some refpectable individuals have propofed, on the prefent emergency, to fufpend the practice of borrowing, and to call upon every fubject in the kingdom, for a diredt aid equal to the public wants; that aid to be proportioned either to real capital, or to income--It is impoffible not to treat with the utmoft deference and regard, any propofal originating in that firit of public virtue, which ought to guide the whole country through the ftorm in which fhe is fruggling. Yet it may be doubted whether fuch an idea would be in any degree practicable; and if it were, whethep it would be expedient.

Suppofing the general income of the kinglom to be 100 millions, or the total capital to be 1000 millions (which however are polnts at beft very conjectural), it is indifputably clear that $7 \frac{1}{3}$ pir (ent. collected on the one, or $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. collected on the other, muft produce 7 millions and a half, which if raifed in ferling money within the year, might well be applied towards the fupport of the war.

The different adopters of thefe ways and means, do not quite agree whether they, would
iduals have propofed, on to fufpend the practice II upon every fubject in a aid equal to the public oportioned either to real -It is impoffible not to ference and regard, any rat fpirit of public virtue, e whole country throwe, h Ifruggling. Yet it may ch an idea would be in and if it were, whethep
income of the kingdom re total capital to be 1000 or are points at beft very utably clear that $7 \frac{1}{2}$ pir le, or 系 per cent. collected oduce 7 millions and a n fterling money within : applied towards the fup-
ers of thefe ways and gree whether they would draw

## [113]

draw for this fupply in the capital of the kingdom, or on the revenue; but they concur, and with an ability which indeed warms thecimeginations, and expands the bearts of thelr meaderrs, in fating what in fimpler words amounds eq'00 mor than alir, that there is a bertain quantum of property within the ifland, weerthin proportion of which amountsito a certain fumb, which will be a very convenient affiflance, if Prulinament can coutrive :0 get it.
So far, however, as the practicability is in queftion, the corner-ftone of the whole expectation is to be laid in the airy regions of fentiment, and in that unanimous concurrence, generofity, and public zeal, of eight millions of people, which is to lead them with one heart, and one haad, to fate and to give accurately and ferupuloully their refpective proportions.
There is, indeed, a precedent of fuch exertions in Holland, where a per cent. was fuppofed to be faithfully paid by voluntary contribution; but the exigency was of the moft urgent kind, as it operated upon a people sollected within a fmall territory, and engaged in a general infurQ. rection.

## [114]

reaion, At Hamburgh alfo, it is a frequent practice to obtrin a confcientious payment of $\frac{\pi}{4}$ pir cent. on the whole property of the inhabitante, and it is delivered into a public coffer, without declaration of the amount of each contribution; but this is a very inconfiderable impoft, levied too within a fingle city, and not more remarkable than a Briftol fubfeription to any objed of popular regard.
It is not likely that any great difificulty would arife here from the fum being too large for our proportion of circulating calh. If it were poffible to infure into every breaft a quantum fufficil of public enthufiafm, there can be little doubt that feven millions and a half extraordinary might be drawn together in this way, as practicably as by 2 loan on new taxes. - We know that there is within the kingdom above twenty millions fterling of gold currency; for above fixteen millions of guineas actually appeared upon the falutary operation of reforming the gold coin; an operation which cannot be mentioned, without a wifh to fee it extended to our filver coinage, both for

## 114

urgh alfo, it is a frequent confcientious payment of $\frac{3}{4}$ le property of the inhabitrered into a public coffer, If the amount of each cona 2 very inconfiderable imhin a fingle city, and not on a Briftol fubfreription to regard.
$t$ any great difficulty would im being too large for our ting cafh. If it were poffible breaft a quantum fuffici of here can be little doubt that half extraordinary might be is way, as practicably as by -We know that there is above twenty millions fterfor above fixteen millions appeared upon the falutary ig the gold coin; an operamentioned, without a wifh our filver coinage, both for the

## [115]

the beriefit of trade, and for the prevention of a capital crime which is become very frequent!
The truth is, that a contribution, which in order to be effective muft be fo general as to extend even to the daily fcrapings of halfpence from the hands of peafants, cannot be the voluntary meafure of an extenfive empire.-We know that opulent and zealous fubjects can exclude the rays of the fun from their houfs, in order to thut out a window-tax ; we fee wearied coachhorfes frained twenty miles extraordinary, to fave two-pence per mile on pof-horfes; and yet we are to expect feven millions fterling, as a voluntary benẹvolence ! Difinterefted enthufiafm is 2 rare and chort-lived plant, and not of a rampant growth : It is of the fenfitive kind too, and Ihrinks when touched by the hand of a taxgatherer. If the propofed contribution were fecret, it would fall hard on the beft and warmefthearted fubjects of the flate, but would bring more blanks than a guinea lottery from individuals of another decription. If it were open, it would be oppreflive and odious; nor would the firit or tranfactions of a mercantile country bear Q:
th univerfal publicietion of every man's circumflances; ;umatd firther; as the declarations of perfohall proferty would in eneneral be much contriated within their teal value, the difference would fall oh land-owners and men having oftenfible poffefions.
Happily, however, this idea is not praticable, for it cerrainly would not be expedient. Few people could make the requifte exertion, without enctoaching more or ters on their elpinal: and this general effect would operate as a fatal blow to our manufactures and agriculture, which not only ruife and diftribute a competent pointion of maintenance to everry part of the nation, but furninh the fund to all the fupplies of the year:The fuperior ranks in the State would reduce their domeftic eftablifhments; the lower claftes .would curtail their expences; the feverat venders of fuperfluities would fuffer ; the farmers markets would be leftened; the gencral decay of trade would occafion a decreale of the public revenué and the deficiency muft either fall on the finking fund, or be made up by frech taxes. And though a proportion of the money voluritarlly contributed,

## i16

m of every man's circumans the foelarations of perin seneral be much conreal value, the difference hers and men having often. this idea is not practicable, 1 not be expedient. Few requifite exertion, withor tefs on their cepital: $t$ would operate as a fatal res and agriculture, which ibute a competent portion y part of the nation, but the Jupplies of the year.the State would redure hments; the lower clamts ences; the feveral venders fer; ; the farmers markets e general decay of trade re of the public revenue; either fall on the finking by frech taxes. And If the moneiey voluitarilly contributed,
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contributed, and thus diverted from taxed objects of expence, would in a courfe of time return to circulation, and be again productive to the State, the prefent object would not be atmined.
In if20, Mr. A. Hutchinfon fated in the Houle of Commons, and afterwards publihed in his Treatifes, a fcheme for the payment of the public debts. He propofed that every individual thould charge himfelf with his proporionable share of thafe debts, and contribute that fhare for the entire difcharge of all our funds and public mortgages. The idea was magnificent, and filled the mind; but every man who reafoned upon it agreed, that fuch a ccheme (fuppofing it praticable) would fall partially and heavily on yifible porfeffions of lands and houfes, and that. every other fpecies of property capable of concealment would be concealed.
It might poffibly become expedient to colleet from individuals as much as they would give. An extrenity too might arrive, in which, under a choies of noceflary evils, it might be the beft alteraative to raife fupplies upon the ordinary up- .
appro-

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appropriated revenue, or upon the produce of the finking fund, which together would afford an intereft equal to about ono hundred and thirty millions fterling.

But I truft again and again, that the times are very far from wanting fuch affiftance and fuch aids.
There is every reafon to hope, that under the four confiderations of new taxes, increafe of particular fubfifting taxes, improvements in the prefent modes of collecting, and appropriations of public claims, poffefions, and contingencies, there are ample, eafy, and fafe refources for many years :

1. Under the head of luxuries there remain many objects to affit revenue, and new ones daily arife to exercife the talents of, a financier. It is an old-fafhioned witticifm, that of all mines of public revenue vanity is the moft inexhauftible, and the eafieft to be worked.
"To catch the manners living as they rife,"
is an ufeful art in taxation; it muft be exercifed, however, with gentlenefs; nor muft it bear hard
or upon the produce of ich together would afford put ono hundred and thirty
d again, that the times are 3 fuch affitance and fuch
$n$ to hope, that under the new taxes, increafe of par$s$, improvements in the ecting, and appropriations fions, and contingencies, , and fafe refources for
of luxuries there remain revenue, and new ones he talents of, a financier. nitticifm, that of all mines is the moft inexhauftible, rked.
ers living as they rife,;
ion; it muft be exercied, ff ; nor mult it bear hard

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upon objects, which exilt rather in the caprice than in the convenience of the confumer, and which, from their intri: sic value, cannot bear any confiderable impoft. In $1767,1,500,0 c o l$. was borrowed on 2 duty upon ladies chip hats; the duty was made large in proportion to the value, that it might be productive $;$ the confe. quence was, that chip hats were difcontinued, and the tax produced nothing.

The articles of luxury, which are not of mere vanity, but of general utility, are extremely nus. merous in a rich and populous country like this. And though it mutt be confeffed that this.field of taxation, which is highly productive in its nature, has been reaped with great induftry, there are feveral good gleanings fill to be collected from it. A tax on all faddle-horfes might, perhaps, be laid and levied much in the fame manner as the late tax upon fervants: fuch a tax would certainly be produetive; and if it Should operate in any degree as a difcouragement to that fpecies of expence, it would not be unfavourable to agriculture; the retrenching of individuals in this article would operate in favour of others
more
more beneficial to the revenue; and the impors tation of foreign oats, which is at prefent confiderable, would be reduced. A moderate taxis however, wouid not occafion any check or revulfion in the prefent fyltem of expence; and if fuch a tax were extended to the coach and chaife horfes of private perfons, it would give fome little collateral fupport to the prefent tax on poft horfes. The laft-mentioned tax being at 33 t per cint, is thought by, fome too high, and to have given a fudden check to that mode of expence. This may be fo in fome degrecs; but we muft alfo take into the account the difpofition which men feel to evade the operation of every new tax; and alfo the prefent circumftance of the eamps, which prevent much of the general intercourfe at other times going forwands through the kingdom; and it is more feverely felt by the innkeepers, becaufe they are, at the fame time, expofed to great loffes and hardhips from the frequent marchings and quarterings of troops for the public. fervice.-There can be little doubt but that the pofting bufinefs will gradually reco: ver its tone. In the mean time this tax, though

## 1201

revenue ; and the impors which is at prefent conduced. A moderase tax jecafion any check or refyftem of expence; and if ed to the coach and chaife s , it would give fome litte he prefent tax on poft $\rightarrow$ tioned tax being at 334 'fome too high, and to heck to that mode of exo in fome degree; but we e account the difpofition de the operation of every prefent circumftance of ent much of the general s going forwands. through more feverely felt by the $y$ are, at the fame time. and hardhips from the quarterings of troops for here can be little doubt inefs will gradually reco: an time this tax, though

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it may in fome degree lower the produce of the wheel duty, and indirectly of other minuter taxes, is very productive; and it will be much improved whenever the door is clofed againft fome frauds, to which the prefent mode of collection is open, and which have alfo crept in througli the exemptions given by the act of parliament.

Printed pamphlets and hand bills are not unfair nor unpromifing objects for a fmall ftamptax. Nor would learning fuffer, or its productions be difcouraged, if books were moderately taxed. Bills of entrance, clearances, cockets, and other formal papers ured in commercial tranfacions, are certainly numerous enough to make a fmall ftamp-duty very productive; thefe, however, are objects which require caution and previous enquiry. A new ftamp-duty on certificates to be given to all perfons qualifying themfelves for lucrative offices and employments, might be laid with much lefs fcruple.
Public places of amufement are with fome a favourite object for a flight impoft. But this meafure would, perhaps, be grating to the feel-

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\boldsymbol{R} \quad \text { ings }
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ings of the people, beyond other more productive taxes, and, if it operated as a difcouragement to public amurements, would collaterally affel other fources of revenue.
The vicefima bareditatum of the Romans has long been adopted by the Dutch, in regard to all collateral fucceffions of property ; and fome of the Dutch regulations might be borrowed with advantage, if any inflitution of the fame kind were attempted here. Many fucceffive Englifh Minifters have had it in contemplation, but have always found it liable to difficulty, and open to much evafion, from the nature of Britifh property both real and perfonal, and from the various effablifhed modes of trutts and mansfers. Such a tax, if eftablifhed, would in many cafes be paid with perfect cheerfulnefs to a confiderable amount, and in others would contribute towards drawing fomeching to the revenue from long minorities, where there is much property hoarding and increafing under the protection of the public, without paying any proportion towards the public expence.
ond other more producperated as a difcouragements, would collaterally evenue.
ztum of the Romans has he Dutch, in regard to all f property; and fome of might be borrowed with itution of the fame kind Many fucceffive Englifh a contemplation, but have o difficulty, and open to ne nature of Britifh prorfonal, and from the variof trufts and transfers. hed; would in many cafes heerfulnefs to a confiderothers, would contribute hing to the revenue from : there is much property $g$ under the protection of aying any proportion toce.
2. The

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2. The augmentation of fubfifing taxes is a moft ufeful expedient, wherever the commodity to be taxed will bear the additional impoft; becaufe there is a probable foreknowiedge of the produce, and little expence in the collection. It has hitherto been found in moft inftances, that our general confumption has gained ground under the preffure of increaied taxes; but there is a point beyond which particular duties cannot advance, without the hazard of a fall, from which they may never rife again. Indigo was a principal product of Jamaica, and flourifhed much under the old duties; but when the leginature impofed three fhillings and fixpence per pound on it, the planters dropped the cultivation entirely; and though the Parliament repealed the tax, the people were either unable or unwilling to recover the manufacture, which in 1747 revived in the Carolinas, and was fupported by a Britith bounty.

There is no doubt that ftamp-duties might be increafed with advantage in many cafes, according to the value of the fums or property to be fecured or transferred. A fmall duty of regiftra-

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$[124]$
tion might alfo be required on the transfer of fome particular fpecies of property; fuch a duty, however, would fall frequently upon the feller, under fuch circumftances as to operate in aggra:vation of ciffrefs. A confiderable tramp-duty on the probates of wills, on letters of adminiftra. tion, and on the copies of all wills, was granted by an act of the laft feffion; but the proving of vills was not at the fume time futriciently en. forced:
The entire abolition of franks would undoubtedly be attended with an adscitional revenue, which might moderately be eftimated at 80,0001. a year; many aukward and expenfivé arrangements muft however be fubtituted in refpeet to correfipondence on parliamentary and official bufineffes. Dublic expediency may in due time require fụch a meafure; it would, however, be matter of fome regret to fee Parliar ment deprived of an old, and not unreafonable diftinction.
Some refpectable writers have propofed as a good meafure to equalize the land-tax, I may poffibly be milled by a partiality towards our own
ired on the transfer of property; fuch a duty, juently upon the feller, as to operate in aggrafiderable ftamp-duty on letters of adminiftra. f all wills, was granted in; but the proving of le time futūciently en.
of franks would unith an adstitional reveerately be eftimated at lukward and expenfive ever be fubitituted in on parliamentary and ce expediency may in meafure ; it would, ne regret to fee Parliar and not unreafonable
rs have propofed as a the land-tax. I may iality towards our own

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part of England; but I conceive fuch an iden to be replete with objections. It is always dangerous to clange the eftablifhed courfe of a very productive tax: It would in this inftance be unjuft, becaufe the proprietors of low rated eftates have, in many infances, purchafed them upon the faith of a fettled and permanent tax:-It would be inexpedient, becaufe it would operate as a punith ment on late improvements, and would ruin many lundiords now in a courfe of beneficial cultivation. It has hitherto been deemed the beft feature of our land-tax, that it is not fubject to variations. It may be true that the rent of lands alone amounts to twenty millions ferling; and that the land tax, taken at one-fifth not only of all the land rents, but of all houfe rents, and of the intereft of all capital fock, produces a fum equal to one-tenth only of twenty millions : but a dry dedudion of arithmetic is no juft argument for a forcible and violent operation of revenue. The more plaufible arrangement of levelling the whole prefent duty to two Millings, in order to colleet it upon a néw furvey and equal valuation, iṣ expofed to all the faune objections. It might; bowever,

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however, be lefs unfair, if a fift thilling were ever to be granted, to take that addition upon a new valuation.
It is the opinion of fome credible and well informed men, that the bounties paid on corn operate litele with the farmer, either direaly or indireelly, as an encouragement to that branch of agriculture; that they accrue to the benefit chiefly of artful factors, are fometimes fraudulently managed and received upon corn, which is aetually brought back to the kingdom even without quitting our coafts; and that, admitting thofe bounties to have hitherto had the falutary effect arcribed to them (which however is difputable); they are at prefent a fource of much unavailing expence to the kingdom. I undertand the fubjeet too imperfecly to fay more than that, in faed, the expence is fometimes near 150,000 l. a year, and that the annual faving of that fum, would be equal to the intereft of a loan of five millians.

There are other exifting bounties which may deferve an enquiry; and it is a common fufpicion too, that many frauds have crept into the whole bufinefs
if a fifth blilling were ko that addition upon a
ne credible and well in. unties paid on corn ope$r$, either direcily or inoment to that branch of :rue to the benefit chiefly ecimes fraudulently macorn, which is aftually kingdom even without d that, admitting thofo o had the falutary effect h however is difputable), uree of much unavailing 1 undertand the fub$y$ more than that, in fact, a near 150,000l. a year, ing of that fum, would $t$ of a loan of five mil-
ing bounties which may It is a common fufpicion pave crept into the whole
bufinefs

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bufinefs of drawbacks, as well by the re-exportation of foreign goods, which are afterwards relanded for home confumption, as by favourable certificates on manufactured materials, and by other modes, to the difadvantage of fair trade, and to the great derriment of the revenue.
3. Nor is there any doubt that the income of the public might be greatly increafed, and commerce at the fame time be benefited, by improvements in the prefent modes of collect. ing.

In articles which muft remain fubject to a Cuftom-houfe duty, much improvément may be made by a liquidation of the duties, and a revifal of the book of rates.-New taxes having been added and fuperadded to the old from time to time, it is become a matter of fcience to know, and an occupation of great dexterity to compute :them. For example, a pound of nutmegs is charged with nine different duties, is. 8 di $\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{6}$ It, \&ec. \&c. \&ec. This method, or rather want of method, is embarraffing to commerce; for it taket up time, which is valuable to the merchant, and muft be paid for; it creates an addi-
tional

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tional expence in management, and it makes the attendants about the Cuftom-houre the agents of the importers: which circumftance is either burdenfome to the merchant, or has a manifeft bad tendency to the revenue. The duty, likewife, by thefe fmall fractional additions, has, at laft, in many inflances, been raifed too high, and the article is then either fmuggled or debafed. By a liquidation of duties, the expence of collection might be much diminifhed; and the payment being made eafier, and confequently lefs chargeable to the merchant, his temptations to clandeftine trade would be leffened, and the revenue would gain.

How far it might be expedient to convert the liquidated duties into duties ad valerem, may be a matter of fome doubts and would well deferve a previous enquiry and confideration: The prevalent fyftem of fixed duties has the important merit of long acquiefcence and experience in its favour. Nor would it be eafy to obviate the frauds ufed in fixing the value, though improvement might certainly be made in that refpect, if a confiderable part of the Caftoms were fo
charged.
sement, and it makes the Zuftom-houfe the agents th circumftance is either chant, or has a manifeft venue. The duty, liketional additions, has, at been raifed too high, and ter fmuggled or debafed. ties, the expence of coldiminifhed; and the pay$r$, and confequently lefs :hant, his temptations to be leffened, and the re-
expedient to convert the uties ad valorem, may be and would well deferve confideration: The preduties has the important nce and experience in its : be eafy to obviate the : value, though improvee made in that refpect, if the Cuftoms were fo charged.

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charged. At prê̈̀ent, the duties ad valorem ref upon an additional article in the book of rates, directing that when any goids are imported not already rated in that book, they are to pay 25 per cent. on their value according to the oath of the importer.
The advantage of laying different taxes on a commodity, through the feveral ftages of its progrefs towards the confumer, in preference to collecting the whole upon one of the flages, confifts in dividing the temptation to fraud through the different individuals: but this idea has been thought by fome to be carried too fat. It is fuppofed, for example; that a confiderable adivantage would refult both to the revenie and to confumers, if the different taxes upon beer were all laid on the malt, it being much eafier to defrand the revenue in a brewery than in a malt-houfe; and fuch a duty would reach private breweries, which at prefent have a partial advantage. The objection, that this plan would lay toc great a load upon the maleter, is in forto degree weakened, by, obferving that the whole is at prefent paid, with all farther additions, by the

## [ $\mathrm{I}_{3}$ ]

brewer.-In nther inftances, it is thought that the revenue fuffers by the duty being paid in the firft ftage. Sugar, for example, is charged with a duty on importation; the Weft India merchant pays that duty; the fugar-refiner repays him with intereft and commiffion; the grocer repays the refiner in like manner, and is repaid by the confumer.
A charge of intereft and commiffion upon the fum advanced for the duty, certainly arifes upon 2 taxed commodity every time that it is fold before its confumption; and this confideration, ard d d to the time and expence of tranfacting bufinefs at the Cuftom-houfe, has led fome to fuppofe, that, in all articles which do not pafs direaly from the importer to the confumer, the fum added to the price, on account of the duty, may be computed at one-third above the duty. This is one reafon why excifes are more productive than Cuftoms, and preferable in a mere queftion of revenue.

It certainly appears too, from experience, that the Excife lawis confound the oprations of the fimugglers much more than thofe of the

Cuftoms,
nces, $i t$ is thought that ne duty being paid in the xample, is charged with the Weft India merchant r-refiner repays him with ; the grocer repays the and is repaid by the con-
and commifion upon the aty, certainly arifes upon y time that it is fold beand this • confideration, kpence of tranfacting buufe, has led fome to fupes which do not pafs dier to the confumer, the on account of the duty, re-third above the duty. $y$ excifes are more proand preferable in a mere
too, from experience, infound the oprations of nore than thofe of the Cuftoms,

## [: 13 I ]

Cuftoms, and that the nearer the latter, without vexation to the people, can be made to approximate, to the former, the more productive they will be. There are many articles of great and valuable confumption, where the goods might be warehoufed and pals by permit. It is evident, that the Excife laws might be applied to the duty on wine, without any danger to popular liberties, and with great benefit to the general health. Tea is fo portable and fo valuable an article, that it is the favourite object of fmugglers, by which the revenue is defrauded to a great amount; and large fums, for this clandeftine trade, are fent annually out of the kingdom into the continent. It has, been eftimated, that above eight millions of pounds of adulterąted, unwholefome, : and fmuggied tea, are annually confumed within Greaf Britain, It is this article too which bears the expence of many fmuggling veffels, and fupports them in bringing other objects of clandeftine trade. If it were practicable to fubject tea to $a$ general excife, the duty might, perhaps, be lowered, fo as to leave this commodity at twothirds of the prefent price to the confumers, and

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S \text { : yet }
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## [132]

yet to paife a much larger duty to the. State. In Holland, a tax is levied on each perfon for a licenfe to drink tea. This, on individuals, would amount to a capitation; upon families, it would be a mere houfe-tax; and in either cafe; would lofe the advantage of a tax an cenfumable commodities; which thould operate according to the volumtary confumption.
The expence of levying the Cuftoms, in the Glary of officers, and other incidents, including quarantine, cruizers, \&c. amounts to ten per rent. that of the Excife to about five and a half por cont.

Duties at firft are frequently impofed as experiments, and there is great excufe for the makers of the feveral revenue laws, however confured and ill contrived they may appear. But after fo many years experience gained, it is furprifing that no perfon has had the public fipirit to form a plan for making the collection of the revenue more fimple, and of courfe more productive. Many individuals have knowledge enough in the management, myteries, and intricacies of trade, to reduce fuch a reform to practice; and the
refpectable

## $32]$

r duty to the State. In I on each perfon for a lijs, an individuals, would upon families, it would nd in either cafe; would tax on confumable com. operate according to the
ing the Cuftoms, in the ther incidents, including cc. amounts to ten par to about five and a half
uently impofed as expeeat excure for the makers laws, however confured ay appear. But after fo gained, it is furprifing the public fpirit to form collection of the revenue ourfe more productive. enowledge enough in the and intricacies of trade, m to pratice; and the refpectable

## [133]

iefpectable merchants of England would zease loufly affift.-It is an unfortunate, but generally received opinion, that great fchemes of reformacion muft have quiet times to give them birth and effect. The reverfe of this is perhaps the truth; for when affairs go fmoothly on, idenefis and felf-indulgence are gencrally an over-match for public fpirit; and men are not eafily prevailed upōn to quit the beaten road. But times of difficulty naturally and forcibly call forth activity and exertions.
4. In the appropriation of public claims, pofferfions, and contingencies, there are various great refaurces accruing to the public.
Some individuals have built higin expectations on the crown lands ; others have taken poffeffion of all the public tolls and turnpikes; and otheri again have looked into the poor-houfes for a large fupply of revenue. Without reprobatings or even difputing the notions of refpectable men, whofe fpirit and abilities are exemplary, and ufeful to the public, I ain content to call your Lordhip's attention to matters more obvious.

In 1781, nineteen millions fterling will fall from an intereft of 4 per cent, to 3 per cent. In 1, 82,4 millions and $\frac{3}{7}$ will fall from $3 \frac{1}{2}$ to 3 per cent. ; and the faving in thefe inflances alone will furnifh a fund for the intereft of feven millions, There are feveral acceffions alfo annually accruing to the public from the expiration of life annuities.
But the Eaft-India Company alone prefent great and ample refources. In their approaching application for a renewal of their charter, there can be no doubt that the foftering attention and tendernefs which was fhewn to them on a late occafion, will be continued to an eftablifhment, from which this empire has derived, and continues to derive fo large a branch of its commerce and revenue. On the other hand, it is as little to be doubted that the Company will be fenfible of the conftitutional right (and perhaps the equity) of the claim to their territorial asquifitions; and that, in the arrangement of thefe great confiderations, they will, in return for the continuance of their fortunate moncpoly, be able
llions flerling will fall cent. to 3 per cent. In 11 fall from $3 \frac{1}{3}$ to 3 per efé inflances alone will ereff of feven millions, ons allo annually acthe expiration of life
ompany alone prefent In their approaching of their charter, there foftering attention and wn to them on a lato d to an eftablifhment, has derived, and conbranch of its commerce zer hand, it is as little mpany will be fenfible ght (and perhaps the heir territorial acquifiarrangement of thefe will, in return for the nate moncpoly, be able
not

## [135]

not only to furnin a confiderable affiftance to this country in money, but an ample income from their acquifitions, to be employed as a farther and permanent refource.
Here I thall clofe this fubject; and if in the candid confideration of our difficulties and refources, I have been fortunate enough to impart any thare of that confidence which has grown upon me through the whole progrefs of this enquiry, or to invite better reafonings to a fimilar effect, I fhall feel fatisfied with the facrifice of a leifure in other refpects of little confequence.

Sic nos in luec timemas Pbiordum, nibilo qua funt metuenda magis, quam 2) pweri in tenebris pavitant, finguntgus futura. Hunc igitur terrorem animi, tenebrafque necefe off, Non radii folis, nec Iucida tela diai Difrutiant, fed Natura /pecies, ratiogue.

Lugret. 6.

## [132]

Creenwich, Nov. 4, 19790 UPON clofing the preceding Letters, I have had leifure to advert to the printed accounts of occurrences which have lately engaged the public attention; and I mould think that I had very imperfectly executed my firt propofition, of fating to your Lordhip " the fincere fenti" ments of a plain mind upon things as they " are," if I were to keep back the firt and genuine ideas which occur to me refpecting the recent applications of the Irim Parliament for a free trade. I proceed, however, in this new tafk, more defitute of competent information, if poffible, than your Lordfhip has thus far found me; but my pen will at leaft be guided by a fimilar anxiety to promote candiá recollection, and fair enquiry.
And here too we muft diveft ourrelves of ali prejudices contracted from the popular altercaT tions

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tions of the day; we mut endeavour to enter upon the fubject before us with as much benevolence, and as little partiality, as may be compatible with the junt interefts of the fociety to which we belong.-The wifh, indeed, of all good and prudent men, both in Great Britain and in Ireland, muft be, to thun with abhorrence all the contagious delirium incident to national queftions; and to promote only that conflitutional warmth, which may act kindly, and with an invigorating influence, in both kingdoms.
It is not the ftrict policy of a former century, or the aecidental diftrefs of the prefent hour ; it is not the fuppofed procraftination of a reafonable hope, or the harh tone of a precipitate demand ; it is not an imaginary neglect on the one hand; or an urgent eagernefs on the other, which fhould call forth between two countries connected together by the ties of fovereignty, language, law, blood, interefts, and fituation, any unbecoming exprefion, or any ungenerous fenti-ment.-A kind and manly confidence in the equity and wifdom of Great Britain Thould regulate the expectations of Ireland; a due perfua-

Gon


## [ 139 ]

fion that Ireland is incapable of unworthy motives, or unreafonable wifhes, thould prefide over the deliberations of Great Britain.-Hafty inferences, and decifive affertions, are fit only for difputants who do not feek fair difcuffion, and cannot or will not undertand each other:-The refpeetive interefts of Great Britain and Ireland Thould be confidered in a very different tone and temper; without paffion, but with earnefnefs! without precipitation, but with all practicable difpatch. The diftrefs of Ireland, by whatever circumftances occafioned, exifts and operates s Great Britain cannot hefitate to give relief; the principal wing of her buildings is in danger; it is for he fafety and Atrength of the great center-ecifice, that every part thould be diligently examined, and fufficiently repaired.
It is an indifputable and undifputed fact, that there has prevailed through the times in which we live, a voluntary and warm-hearted anxiety in this country, to exprefs her fenfe of the affectionate conduct of Ireland. It would be fuper. fluous to refer your Lordhhip to the various acts of parliament, made in this difpofition, during

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the laft five years; they were numerous, but have not had the beneficial effects which were meant :

Nam neque chorda fonum reddit, quem vult manues of melle,
Pofcentique gravem perfepe remittit acutum.
The growing diftreffer of Ireland have averpowered the endeavours of Great Britain to avert them; and we are now told that " nothing fhort " of a free trade" can give relief!

It was wifdom in the Irifh Parliament, to chufe an undefined expreffion upon 2 fubjeat fo complicased and extenfive in all its connections and confequences. The whole confideration is now opened to both kingdoms, and it is the intereft of both to come to an early, kind, and efficient conclufion.
It is pofible that there may be many individuals in both kingdoms, who know as little of this fubject as I do; and I will freely own the doubrs and difficulties which the firt view of it fuggefts to my mind. The queftions to be afked are indeed numerous, nice, and intricate. Theoretical deductions will not alfift us; trad-

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were numerous, but cial effects which were
reddit, quen valts menum
pe remittit acutum.
of Ircland have averof Great Britain to avert dd that " nothing hort ve relief!
e Irih Parliament, to :ffion upon a fubjeet so e in all its connettions whole confideration is doms, and it is the into an early, kind, and
re may be many indins, who know as litule and I will freely own which the firt view
The queftions to be us, nice, and intricate. will not altiff us ; irad-
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ing eftablifhments, regulations of commerce, and the whole fytem of revenue, are involved in the propofition, A principal fpring or wheel of - complicared clock-work may be deranged s but to turn the key round upon the infant with violence, would tend only to demolifh all the component parts if we value the machine, we thould previoully examine it.-When I fate my reafonings to your Lordhlip, I hall be better underftood.
I do not wifh to carry back your attention to the days of Prince Fitz-Murchard or Earl Strongbow. It would give ine little concern if the hiftories left by Giraldus Cambrenfis, Hoveden, and even Mathew Paris, had been buried with the hiltorians;-nor do I feel anxious to oring to light the ancient ftatures and ordinances of Henry the Third, Edward the Firft, and other early reigns, fuppofed ta be made for the purpofe of binding Ireland. The antiquated difcuffions upon the fact of conquelt; at. what particular point the rights of the conqueror are reftricted by the laws of nature and reafon; whether the principle of fubjugation can extend

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to any exorbitancy of power ; and whether implied acquiefcence conftitutes a pofitive acceptance ; are queftions little calculated at any period of our hiftory to promote any good purpofe to either kingdom.
It is a political truth more material to be known, that happinefs and ftrength chould be extended through the conftituent parts of an empire, as far as wife and beneficent laws can operate to that effect. It would next be eafy to thew, that public happinefs and frength are diffufed in proportion to the plenty and convenience with which not only the natural wants of a people are fupplied, but fuch adventitious ones as are fuperinduced by univerfal habit and induftry : when this end is not attained to a certain degree, an empire may indeed exift, and may increafe in numbers, but it will grow, like an unwieldy body, liable to dangerous and acute humours.
Whatever may have been the fyftem of goveriment adopted or a:cepted by Ireland, the recent and moft interefting fact is, that the now eomplains of fome diftrefles which the con-
ceives
ower ; and whether imtutes a pofitive accepte calculated at any period te any good purpofe to
$h$ more material to be and frength fhould be nflituent parts of an emad beneficent laws can It would next be eafy pinefs and firength are to the plenty and con: only the natural. wantes 1, but fuch adventitious ced by univeral habit send is not attained to upire may indeed exift, nbers, but it will grow, liable to dangerous and
been the fyftem of go:cepted by Ireland, the ng faet is, that the now reffes which the con-
ceives

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ceives to refult from that fyftem. Thofe diftrefles are poffibly no more than may have refulted from temporary caufes;-from the late rebellion within the colonies, or from the calamities incident to war; but we know perfectly, that the complaint is founded in real fufferings. The firft inference which would arife from this fact in any mind reafoning kindly towards a part of the empire, and difcreetly in refpect to the whole, is, that the Irifh, as fellow-fubjects, are entitled to every relief compatible with the general interefts. Still, however, we decide without precifion, and muft draw the circumftances of the two countries to a ncarer comparion, if we mean to form any ufeful conclufion.
The moft obvious remark which prefents itfelf is, that Ireland, pofferfing, on a fmaller fcale, nearly all the natural advantages of Great Britain, and having, befides, in point of commerce, fome others peculiar to her fituation towards the prevailing. winds, has yet in all ages been comparatively poor and diftreffed.
The reafons why this phanomenon has fo long exifted, and why Ireland has not lituerto

## [144]

ivailed herfelf of the bleffings which naturs feems to hold forth with a liberal hand, are varioufly afligned; and as they have generally received fome colour from popular and occafionat appearances, there is caufe to fufpeet that they do not reach the origin of the evil.
I have feen it fomewhere remarked, that the madnefs of Ajax; who took a flock of theep for his enemies, would be the wifdom of Ireland s and that a principal caufe of the poverty of the Irifh was the fyftem of their landlords, who, in defiance of the practice and prudence of all other nations, had preferred pafturage to tillage, and, by reftraining the induftry of the tenants, had reduced numberlefs families to the aiternative of either leaving the kingdom or Atrolling about in beggary. Sir William Temple attributed the poverty and diftrefs of Ireland to her plenty and faperabundance. . In anotier part of his works he takes notice, that the Dutch had turned over to the Danes the patriarchal trade of cow-keeping, for fupplying them with lean cattle, and to the Polanders that of plowmen, for growing corn for their ufe, in order to referve their own
lands

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effings which nature liberal hand, are varirey have generally repopular and occafionat to furpect that they do evil.
ere remarked, that the k a flock of heep for re wifdom of Ireland : of the poverty of the eir landlords, who, in $d$ prudence of all other turage to tillage, and, of the tenants, had es to the aliternative of $n$ or ftrolling about in Cemple attributed the and to her plenty and her part of his works Jutch had turned over tal trade of cow-keep. ith lean cattle, and to lowmen, for growing er to referve their own lands

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lands and their own people for better and more ufeful employments. Such, in fact, may be the fituation of the nations alluded to, but perhaps it is lefs the work of policy than of local. circumftances. At the fame time, if we even. fhould admit that a country which addicts itfelf, cliefly to grazing, or even to grazing and agriculture, will generally be poor, we do not deferibe the cafe of Ireland: it has not beers the. fyitem of the Irifh merely to fupport herdfmen. and Thepherds by grazing, nor to raife cattle to be fent in focks to diffant countries; but they. employ $n$ :, nufacture: , wshich the fimple occupations firft. alluded to furnith only the materials. It is fill, however, to be remembered, that the mere neceffaries of life are raifed by the labour of a very. fmall proportion of a people; artificial wants and habitual luxuries muft be introduced, to occupy, thofe in manufactures who are not engaged in agriculture, and to promote a general induftry, interchange, and circulation through the flate.
SA U Dean

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Dean Swift, who afcribed the poverty of his country to a multiplicity of caures, and amongft others, to a radical error in the whole fyttem of Irih leafes, to the avarice of landlorcio ind drawing fevere rents, and to the undue encouragement of grazing, admitted alfo that there was a want of an induftrious difpofition among the people; but he attributed that want to the reftraints laid upon their commerce, and to the difcouragement of manufactures, which had made them mere hewers of wood, and drawers of water, to their neighbours. Under this impreffion, he was wont to quote a verfe from the Book of Exodus: -" Ye are idle, ye are idle, cried Pharaoh unto " the children of Ifrael; go therefore now and " work; for there fhall no ftraw be given you, " yet fhall ye deliver the tale of bricks.""
It is 2 fimilar reafoning which has produced the application now before us. And if in our own days we were to fate to an Irifh gentleman the long continued poverty and idlenefs which have prevailed over fo large a proportion of his countrymen, he would probably anfwer,

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cribed the poverty of his y ofi caules, and amonght or in the whole fyitem of :e of landlorisio i. drawing te undue encouragement o that there was a want fition among the people; vant to the reftraints laid nd to the difcouragement had made them mere awers of water, to their is impreflion, he was m the Book of Exodus : idle, cried Pharaoh unto ; go therefore now and no fraw be given you, tale of bricks."
ng which has produced ore us. And if in our te to an Irifh genteman erty and idenefs which arge a proportion of his robably anfwer,

All

## [ 147 ]

" All this may be true ; but the monopolizing " fpirit of our Sifter Kingdom is the caufe of it. " That fpirit exercifing itfelf upon Ireland in a 6: very early ftate of her civilization, nipped her " difpofition to induftry, and indeed made it - impoffible for her to become induftrious. In - he very infancy of our country, and whilft " we were contenting ourfelves with the expor" tations and fale of our cattle, you made an act " (b) to prohibit thofe exportations. We next "s gave our attention to the increafe of our hheep, "c in order to export wool ; but you forthwith (c) " prohibited the exportation of wool, and made " it fubject to forfeiture. We then endeavoured "to employ and fupport ourfelves by falting " prowifions for fale; but you imenediately (d) "refufed them admittance into England, in " order to increafe the rents of your lands, " though you thereby increafed the wages of " your tabourers. We next began a woollen " manufacture ; but it was no fooner eftablifhed
(b) 8 gliz. cap. 3. (c) 13 and 14 Car. II. c. 18. (d) 18 Car. II. cap. 2.
$\mathrm{U}_{2}$
" than

## [ 148 ]

"r than deftroyed; for you prohibited (e) the ex-
"fortation of manufactured woollens to any
"other place than England and Wales: and
" this prohibition alone is reported to have
" forced 20,000 manufaciurers out of the kir.g-
" dom.
" The Navigation Act ( $f$ ) had unwittingly
" but kindly rermitted all commodities to be im-
" ported into Ireland, upon the fame terms as
" into England: but by an act (g) paffed three
" years afterwards, the exportation of any goods
" from Ireland into any of the Plantations was
" prohibited : and as if that had not fufficiently
" crippled the benefits given by the Navigation
" ACt, we were foon ( $b$ ) afterwards forbid to im-
" port any of the enumerated commodities from
" the Plantations into Ireland. This reftriction
"t too was much enforced by fublequent acts, and
" the lift of enumerated goods wa: much in-
" creafed.-I 'ay nothing of your regulations re-
"f fecting glafs, hops, fail-cloth, \&c. and
(e) 10 and 11 William III. cap. 10.
(f) 12 Car. II. cap. 18 . (g) is Car. II. cap. 7.
(b) 22 Car. II. cap. 26.
" other

## 8 ]

u prohibited (e) the exAured woollens to any yland and Wales : and $e$ is reported to have Courcrs out of the kirg-
at (f) had unwittingly all commodities to be inupon the fame terms as y an ast $(g)$ pafied three exportation of any goods $y$ of the Plantations was that had not fufficiently given by the Navigation ) afterwards forbid to imerated commodities from reland. This reftriction ed by fubfequent acts, and ied goods was much inng of your regulations reps, fail-cloth, \&c. and
III. cap. 10.
(g) is Car. II. cap. 7.
" other
[ 149 ]
" other inferior barriers and obfructions to our "commerce: we fubfifted under all this, and " under a drain alfo, which has gradually in" creafed upon us, by remittances to our own "abentees, Engliih mortgagees, governinent " annuitants, and other extra-commercial pur" pofes, to the amount of half a million ferling " annually. And though we retained no trade " but in linen and provifions, the latter has " been under a three years prohibition, during " which period we loft the principal market for " our own beef, though three-fourtis of our " people werc graziers. Many of us indeed c.
"' ried on a clandeftine trade, and it was effen" tial to our fupport ; but that too has been lately " checked, firf by the revolt of the Colonics, " and now by the war will France and Spain.
" Our annual remittances and debts to Great " Britain now increafe with our diftrefies; our " fubicriptions for loans have been lately filled " from Great Britain; our effates, when fold, " are purchafed by Englifhmen; our leafes, " when they expire, are raifed by abentees; the " drain is becone greater than all our means can
" fapply;

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" fupply; our manufacturers find little demand
" for their work, the farmers fell their produce
:6 with difficulty ; our land rents indeed are efti-
" mated at near three millions fterling, but our
" landholders will foon be obliged to reduce
" them. We allow that feveral of your reftric-
" tions upon us have lately been much foftened
" or modified, but the want of an amual
" profit in our intercourfe with Great Britain
"e equal to our remittances ftill prevails, and is
" every hour more felt. By the unfortunate
" fituation of the Colonies, we have loft even
" our old refuge in emigrations.-After hav-
" ing for many years taken Britifh manufac-
" tures, to the annual amount of perhaps two
" millions fterling, we are for the prefent re-
"duced to non-importation agreements, as a
" meafure, not of expediency, but of neceflity.
" It would have fuited the generofity of our feel-
" ings, and the affection which we bear towards
" you, to have made our reprefentations in bet-
" ter and more peaceable times; but you fee that
" our circumftances are urgent, and that your
" recent indulgencies are infufficient. We de-
urers find little demand mers fell their produce ad rents indeed are eftiillions fterling, but our be obliged to reduce : fcveral of your reffricely been much foftened e want of an amual urfe with Great Britain cs fill prevails, and is
By the unfortunate nies, we have loft even nigrations.-Aftcr havaken Britifh manufacamount of perhaps two are for the prefent reation agreements, as a liency, but of neceflity. 1e generofity of our feelwhich we bear towards $r$ reprefentations in bet: times ; but you fee that urgent, and that your e infufficient. We de-
" fire

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" fire therefore a free trade, otherwife our di" Atreffes muft, if poffible, increafe, and the " conveniency of our ports will continue of no " more ufe to us, than a beautiful profpect to a " man thut up in a dungeon."
There is nothing in the imaginary detail here offered to your Lordihip, which has not been flated to you in better words, as often as you have had occafion to converfe with friends who wifh warmly towards Ireland, and are moderately acquainted with the principal features in her fituation; and as every complaint of human hardKip is entitled either to a refutation, or to fome redrefs, we are next to confider what anfwer might be given to the allegations now before us.
Believing, as I do, that in thefe days of general fcience and liberal difquifition, the refpectable and leading men in this kingdom (of which defcription there is a large proportion) are unlikely to inclofe themfelves within the rufty and rugged armour of Monopoly, I think it poflible that their firt impreflions might be to the following effect:
" Many

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" Many of the regulations here complained of " relate to England's internal commerce, and " may be matters of regret to Ireland, but can" not afford any juft caufe of complaint :-other
" circumftances may be admitted, to the extent
" ftated; but we fhould hefitate before we ad-
" mit the caufes to which they are afcribed: we
" might examine, for inflance, merely as a
" queftion of commerce, whether before and
"during the late embargo on the ufual exports
" of provifions to France and Spain in time of " peace, more extenfive, fafe, and profitable
" markets were not opened and encouraged; by
" which the price of the commodity, and freight,
" and the quantity of fpecie were increafed.
" The emigrations too which are alluded to, " as well as fome other effects of national di-
" ftrefs, were occafioned, perhaps, by the in-
" creafe and injudicious modes of land-rents,
" which were thought grievous fixty years ago,
" 6 and have been generally advanced near one-
" third fince.-With refpect to the larger quef-
" tion, we will neither criminate nor juftify the
" fyltem of our anceftors. The fact is, that,
" aided
tions here complained of nterial commerce, and ret to Ireland, but canre of complaint :-other admitted, to the extent hefitate before we adin they are alcribed: we inflance, merely as a $e$, whether before and rgo on the ufual exports ee and Spain in time of $e$, fafe, and profitable ned and encouraged $;$ by commodity, and freight, fpecie were increafed.which are alluded to, $r$ effects of national did, perhaps, by the in$s$ modes of land-rents, grievous fixty years ago, ally advanced near oneefpect to the larger quefcriminate nor juftify the ors. The fact is, that,
" aided

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" aided by their general fyttem and progreffive " induftry, the cominerce of Great Britain has " flourihed, and continues to flourifh. We are "forry that her Silier Kingdom has not kept "s pace with her. That the has not done fo, is "perhaps owing chiefly to the frequent inter" ference of civil difractions, and to other "caufes fo forcibly deferibed by Dean 8 wift, as "6 bearing hard on the induftry of the middle and " lower claffes of the people. We have already ${ }^{66}$ given proofs of our conviction, that our inte"6 refts are in a great degree mutual. We wifh "that Ireland may be aflifted, but we defire, sf that before proceedings are adopted to reverfe ". all the fyftem purfued by wife flatefmen during " two centuries, due information may be ob${ }^{68}$ tained, and due difcretion exercifed. In the as general anxiety to affift lreland, it muft appear "t to be as little her intereft as ours, to give any " fudden fhock or precipitate, revulfion to the ac courfe of Britifh trade, commerce, and reve${ }^{56}$ nue. Let the legiflatures of the two countries " act with difpatch, but let that difpatch be *6 guided by a previous and competent know-

$$
\mathrm{X} \quad \text { " Jedge }
$$

## [154]

" Jedge of all the operative and interefting cir" cumflances!
" It is not poffible, in the nature of com-
" merce, to decide, without a full inveftigation
" of the fubject, what can be meant, or ought
" to be meant, by a free trade; and till the pro-
" pofition has been difcuffed and afcertained,
" between well informed and well intentioned
" men of the refpeciive countries, it muft vary

- in every point of view that we can place it. " 1. Do the people of Ircland underfiond, by " what they afk, the power of exporting their
"c own produce to any foreign country, wherever
e" they can find the beft market, except only the
"countries which may at any time be at war " with their Sovereign ?
" 2. Do they imply the power of drawing
" fuch goods and confumable commodities as
© they may want, from any country where they " may beft purchafe them?
" 3. Do they wifh to be allowed a commerce "6 to North America, the Weft Indies, and " Africa, free from the reftraints to which it os was left fubject when the 18 th of his pre$\because$ Sens


## [4]

tive and interefting cirin the nature of comhout a full inveftigation ian be meant, or ought trades and till the prot cuffed and afcertained, d and well intentioned countries, it muft vary that we can place it. Ireland underfinnd, by wer of exporting their eign country, wherevet narket, except only the at any time be at war
the power of drawing mable commodities as uny country where they a?
e allowed a commerce he Weft Indies, and reftraints to which it the 18 th of his pre-
$\because$ fens
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"fent Majefty extended their power of export"s ation ?
P1 4. Do they mean to afk a free trade to "Great Britain, their manufactures and pro"d duce, when imported into this country, being " fubject to no other duties than the like ma" nufactures and produce of our own ?
" 5. Do they mean a repeal of particular re" Arietions, which the relative circumftances of " the two countries may, in their opiniun, no " longer make requifite ?
"Under all or any of thefe propofitions, ${ }^{6}$ there are many points of nice and difficult "confideration. What regulations or burdens " are meant to be propofed, analogous to what " now prevail, in regard to the manufatures, " imports, and exports of Great Britain? What " prohibitions refpecting the export of certain
"raw materials" What arrangements in refpect
" to our diftant poffeffions and factories! Other
" fubjects of difcuffion will arife, and fome upon
" nice and intricate points of commerce, in-
" volved as it happens to be, in confiderations of
"revenue, and in the maintenance of the public
$\mathbf{X}$ ? is expence,

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"s expence. We do not know, that emulation
" among manufaçurers and merchants is mifo
"s chievous either to them of to the flate: We
" do not know that the entefprifing induffry and
" increafing wealth of Lancalliire have tended to
.s obfruct, inftead of promoting thofe of York-
" chire: We do not know that the flourifhing of
"Glargow in her commerce, is any detriment
" either to Liverpool or Briftol: We do not
(4e know that the proferity of the ftaple manu-
" facture of Ireland has leffened the advantages
" of a fimilar manufactire in Scotland. We
" admit at leaft that fuch competitions furnifh
"empioyment, produce riches; and encourage
"population for the general happinefs and
${ }^{6}$ ftrength of the empire; and we truft that there
" will be demand and trade enough in the world
tso for the induftry of us all: But we muft repeat,
"that if unadvifed meatures are adopted, they

* are likely to affect the profperity of the Britinh
commerce, without promoting that of Ire-
it land."
If it thould be the difpoftion of the refpectable and leading men of Great Britain to feel fuch
fentiments

1ot know; that emulation rs and merchants is mifo hem of to the fate: We e enterprifing indưftry and Lancallire have tended to promoting thofe of Yorknow that tlie flourifhing of nmerce, is any detriment or Briftol:' We do not perity of the ftaplé mànuus leffened the advantages a cture in Scoiland. We fuch competitions furnifh re riches, and encourage general happinés and re; and we truft that there trade enough in the world is all: But we mult repeat, cafures are adopted, they tie profperity of the Britifh t promoting that of Ire-
ifpofition of the refpectable freat Britain to feel fuch
fentiments

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fentiments and to hold fuch language; it is beyond a doubt that much farther information might be collected from them; and it feems impracticable to advance without their aid and advice.
There are many theorems of trade whicis are plaufible on paper, yet it may be impoffible for trading nations to adopt them. Maxims being too narrow to embrace all the combinations of human events, political operations muft often be influenced by circumftances.
It is an old, but not the lefs fallible principle of ftate-policy, that whoever is the caufe of another's advancement, contributes to his own diminution. The oppofite pofition is oftener ap= plicable to the refpective fituations of merchants and mercantile bodies, or of commercial nations. It is now well underfood that the flourifhing of neighbouring nations in their trade is to our advantage, and that if we could extinguifh their induftry and manufactures, our own would lan= guifh from the want of emulation and interchange. This reafoning is, or sught to be, fill better underftood with refpect to different parts of

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the fame empire. If we are capable of looking beyond the extent of a fingle thop-board, we cannot confider the Irim as rivals in intereft, even though they fhould become our affociates in lucrative purfuits. Mr. Davenant, who had fome jealoufies refpecting their progrefs in particular branches of trade, and who, in the clofe of the Jaft century, recommended the bill to prevent the export of their woollen manufa@ures, was till extremely doubtful as to his own reafonings, and appears to have.admitted a pofition current in the fpeculation of thofe days, " that the " lucrum ceffans of Ireland is the damnum emergens " of England." Sir M. Decker, who wrote in a fubfequent period, and upon fome points with fingular ability, was clearly of opinion, that the reftraints on the Irifh woollens contributed, in their effect, to diminith the foreign trade of Great Britain. He defrribes monopolies as a fpecies of trade-tyranny, whereby the many are oppreffed for the gain and good pleafure of a few: $\qquad$ " Never yet (he obferves) was a mo" nopolized trade extended to the degree of a " frees one."- "We, in our abundant wifdom,
are capable of looking fingle fhop-board, we as rivals in intereft, even ne our affociates in luavenant, who had fome r progrefs in particular ho, in the clofe of the ded the bill to prevent llen manufactures, was $s$ to his own reafonings, itted a pofition current lofe days, "t that the is the damnum emergens Decker, who wrote in upon fome points with ly of opinion, that the qollens contributed, in the foreign trade of ribes monopolies as a whereby the many are nd good pleafure of a he obferves) was a moled to the degrec of a our abundant wifdom,
${ }^{6}$ pay

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"pay nearly all the charges of Covernment, " whilft large claffes of our fellow-fubjects are " made unable to contribute more than a triffe to "t the general fupport."-" They exift, indeed, "under the protection of fleets :which coft them " not a doit; we contrive to flarve them without "expence, and ourfelves with; we drive one " part of our people out of trade by monopolies, " and the other by taxes. We bleed ourfelves " almoft to death, and think to recruit our fpi" rits by devouring millions of famifhed fellow. " fubjeets: thius, by excer- of cunning, we make "the ruin general."
There is a modern anecdote of a Dutchmant, who was employec to fettle the woollen manufacture at Abbeville, and Atipulated that no work of the fame kind fhould be carried on within thirty leagues. This might help to introduce and give ftability to an ufeful and expenfive manufacture, fuch as in the event that of Abbeville has proved. Wheri, however, the advantages are once fettled, and the art in queftion generally known, fuch a monopoly may indeed give a perFonal advantage, but it muft operate to the detri-

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mient of the whole circle which is fu ppt by its tadius. Particular merchants nr manufacturecrs, as well as particular dititicts, may, as in the infance juft mentioned, derive a realonable advantage from the exclufive poffelion of new brarches of trade; but when thofo branches have fairly taken root, fuch advantages bear hard on other merchants, manufaeturers, and diftricts, and operate powerfully againft general emulation, and the interefts both of commerce and af the ftate. It feems demonfrable, that the export of native manufactured commodities from any one part of the King's dominions, muft be advaptageous to the whole, wher,ever the burdens and duties are fo regulated as to leave no exclufiye advantage; for that again would operate as a monopoly.

Subject to the laft remark, it is farther demesftrable, that Great Britain lofes whenever Ireland is deprived of ny reafonable gain.-And with refpect to the fituation of the latter for the weftern navigation, we know that it is the intereft of a dominion to carry on her commerce, from whatever corner the can conduct it to the
le which is $f u$-pt by its :hants or manufacturers, dets, may, as in the inderive a realonable adufive poffetion of new when thofe branches have advantages bear hard on ufaeturers, and diftricts, rgainft general epmulation, of commerce and of the trable, that the export of mmodities from any one inions, mult be advaptaher.ever the burdens and is to leave no exclufiye adwould operate as a mono-
nark, it is farther demos ain lofes whenever Ireland fonable gain.-And with n of the latter for the e know that it is the incarry on her commerce, the can conduct it to the
beft

## [16:]

beft advantage; and it would be thought a grofs abfurdity in the City of London, if becaufe Briftol is fo fituated as to have an advantage in the Irif trade, the former fhould defire to have the port of the latter mut up.
In all thefe reafonings, the commercial and political interefts are infeparably blended. When the liberty of commerce is unequally enjoyed, one part of an empise may bc in danger of becoming a burden to the other. An increafe of fupport in aid of the common exertions, might in courfe of time refult to Ireland from the advancement of her trade, and from the produce of duties, analogous to thofe of Great Britain.
It is fornetimes found, that a liberty to export manufactures, increafes the produce of raw materials beyond the demand of the particular manufacture; and from the experience of the linen trade, it might be doubted whether iefs woollen yarn would be expertied to Grear Britain by Ireland, if the export of manufactured woollens were lefs reftrained; in which cafe the fmuggling of raw wool to the continent of Europe might be checked. It is faid that, the wool of the fouthern nations being tender, and that of the $\mathbf{Y}$ northern
northern countries being harft, it is of great ins:portance to both to obtein Brixiin or Irifh wool, which, like a middle quality, unites equally with the two extremes, 20.1 produces an excellent cloth, that rivals our own.-It is the com.. putation of many difinterefted writers on th: fubject, that one pack of Irilh woul woiks up two packs of French wool, which would not otherwife be fale: ble; and Sir M. $\mathrm{D} \odot$ -. er labours much to fhew thai the benefir refulting to EngJand, by every pack of wool manufactured in Ireland, inftead of being run to France, amounts to fifty-fix pounds fterling; which indeed he founds upon an eftimate, that onc-third of what Ireland gets centers at laft in Great Britain. It muft fill be obferved, that no extent of the woollen manufacture can be expected to prevent entirely the exportation of the raw materials, the demand for which is fuch as to elude all the contrivances of law, and all the vigilance of coaftofficers even in Great Britain; and this is analogous to a remark of Mr. Locke's, that " it is " death in Spain to export money, and yet they
"s who furnifh all the world with gold and filver,
" have leaft of it among themfelves; trade
harf, it is of great isyin Britiin or Irihh vant, quality, unites equally 2r.d produces an excet$r$ own. -It is the com. erefled writers on th: of Irilh wool wo:ks up oul, which would not d Sir M. $\mathrm{D} \leftarrow$ N.er labours renefir vefulting to Engwool manufactured in run to France, amounts ing; which indeed he that one-third of what At in Great Britain. It that no extent of the be expected to prevent f the raw materials, the as to elude all the conthe vigilance of coafttain ; and this is analo$\therefore$ Locke's, that "it is rt money, and yet they Id with gold and filver, ong themfelves; trade
" fetches

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" fetcles it away from that lazy and indigent " people, notwithftanding all their artificial and " forced contrivances to keep it there; it follows " trade againft the rigour of their laws, and " their want of foreign commodities makes it " openily be carried out at noon-day."
I muft however again obferve to your Lordflip, that all thefe theorems of trade, however plaufible they may appear on paper, muft be received fubject to much previous examination, and a diligent difcuffion of all collateral circumflances: We are not to proceed with that hortfighted wifdom which may enable us to thun the mere difficulty of a day; ftill lefs are we, upon a fudden outcry, which like other commercial complaints may be fallacious or ill-founded, to make a fudden revolution in all the practical fyttem of our trade; and upon the fpur of a moment to overturn a plan of commerce and revenue which has been the work of ages.
We are to proceed upon the principle, that what we are to give fhall be for the good of the whole : Ireland is a jewel to our crown, and not a thorn in our fide. The point is, to know What folid affifance can be given, and in what

$$
Y_{2} \quad \text { form }
$$

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form it can beft be given. When men talk of an union to be completed between two great nations, as the cure of all their ills, they talk rafhly , and like the ftate empiric defcribed to your Lordhip in my firt letter. The cafe of Scotland was different in every point of view, and the benefits refulting to her by the act of union do not apply to the prefent confideration. There can be little doubt, that, in the prefent inflance, the feparate legifatures of the two countries are fully equal to all the difficulty :-we fhall fufficiently know, from a cordial and temperate communication with Ireland herfelf, what fpecific meafures will be of fervice to her: we fhall know too, from the information to be collected at home, what meafures may be adopted with a due regard to the general interefts of commerce. We are not to fubject ourfelves to the remark left by Dean Swift, who fays, that in his time, when any thing kind had been intended towards Ireland, the was invariably treated like a fick lady, who has phyfic fent by doctors at a diftance, ftrangers to her conflitution and the nature of her difeafe,

## $64]$

en. When men talk of d between two great natheir ills, they talk rafhnpiric deferibed to your ter. The cafe of Scotvery point of view, and her by the ack of union nt confideration. There , in the prefent inflance, of the two countries are iculty :-we fhall fufficidial and temperate comd herfelf, what fpecific rvice to her: we thall ormation to be collected ss may be adopted with eneral interefts of com, fubject ourfelves to the iwift, who fays, that in ig kind had been intende was invariably treated : phyfic fent by doetors at her conflitution and the

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It may even deferve cnquiry, whether the unqualified grant of every thing that human ingenuity can bring within the defription of a free trade, would have the effects expected, or convey the relief which is wanted and intended. It was once fuppofed, that becaufe the importation of Irilh cattle into Eugland liad been prohibited, with a view to advance the rents of Englifh landlords, and the interefts of the feeding countries, the fufpention of that meafure might be of ufe to Ireland: this was accordingly tried, and nearly within our memory; but it was a matter of great offence to many of the Irifh inhabitants, who refifted the exportation; few cattle, therefore, were brought to Great Britain, and thofe were chiefly lean.
We thould recolleet, that though Ireland has at ali times had fuill liberty to manufacture goods for her own confumption, the confumers have hitherto found it eafier to purchafe from England many articles both of luxury and convenience, than to make them at home. That jealoufy muft be very lively indeed, which, contemplating this circumfance, can derive difquietude from fuch reafonings, as that a peoplo Mhould

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fhould fuddenly run away with an extenfive commerce, becaufe they are admitted to a participation of its advantages.
The change is more difificult from indolence to induftry, than it is from labour to eafe; and it is forcibly obferved by Mr. Hume, that " when one nation has got the flart of another " in a trade, it is very difficult for the later to "g gain the ground which the has loft, becaufe " of the fuperior induftry and kill of the former, " and the greater flock of which its merchants " are poffefed, and which enables them to trade " for fo much fmaller profits."

Amidft the dificulties which time, and the foftering attention of this country, alone can enable Ireland to overcome, it deferves remark, that the has little coal, is ill provided with wood, and is nearly without inland navigations. -In fhort, the conftitution and eftablifhment of a flourifhing commerce imply a well regulated order through the nation, a feady and effective police, habits of docility and induftry, fkill in manufactures, and large capitals in trade; all which can be the refult only of a continued and gradual progrefs, aided by a combination of other favouring circumftances.
with an extenfive comadmitted to a participa-
lificult from indolence in labour to eafe ; and by Mr. Hume, that ot the flart of another ifficult for the latter to 1 fhe has loft, becaufe and fkill of the former, of which its merchants 1 enables them to trade fits."
which time, and the s country, alone can re, it deferves remark, is ill provided with ut inland navigations. ion and eftablifhment : imply a well regulatm , a tready and effectlity and induftry, kkill ge capitals in trade; $t$ only of a continued $d$ by a combination of dees.

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No prudent man, however fure of his principles, will venture to iffue prophecies upon the courfe of human events; but I fee much folid ground to hope that an amicable difcuffion between the two kingdums, promoted with activity, moderated by temper, and guided by difcretion, may tend to convey effential benefits to Ireland, without any permanent difadvantage to Great Britain. I am unwilling to think, for a moment, that the falutary effects of fuch a difcuffion may be fruftrated by popular impatience and precipitation.
I fhall fubjoin* to thefe Letters a Table of Englifin Acts, refpecting the trade to and from Ireland; and alfo an account of fone particulars refpecting the Courfe of Exchange between Dublin and London, the effates of abfentees, the debt of Ireland, and the revenue and expences of the Irifh Government. I happen to have thefe papers in my poffeffion, and they feem at leaft fufficiently accurate to be of fome affiftance to your Lordfhip in the confideration now before you. 1 am, \&c.

- Appendix, No. I, II, III, IV, V.


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Greenwich, Jan. 37th, 1780.

SEEIN G occafion to make fome additions to the preceding Letters, I have once more the honour of addrefling myfelf to your Lordfhip; and Thall proceed, without regard to formal method, or other connection than that in which the Remarks to be fubmitted to you prefent themelves to my mind.

When an Englifhman fubmits himfeff by name to the public obfervation, as a writer on the prevailing weakneffes and inherent virtues, the apparent embarraffments and poffible exertions, the misfortunes and refources of his country and his cotemporaries; he ought to be aware, that he is ftepping out of his ordinary fphere into a perilous path:-He ought to know, that integrity of motives, though a good protection in the wilds of poetry againft wolves and lions, is a very vulngrable armour in the field of politics. -He mult know, if he Z
knows

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knows any thing, that, amidft the various characters of which a free, active, and enlightened nation is compofed; amidtt the multiplicity of purfuits, caprices, concurrences, and difconnections, by which thofe characters are influenced, every public effort ftands expofed to much public mifconftruction.-I have fome. where feen an account of a Moagall chief, who was fo defirous to attract obfervation, that he built a large bridge on the fummit of a mountain, near the road leading from Petertburg to Pekin, in the hope that all paffengers would ank the name of fo ftrange an architect.-The ambition was innocent, and might probably be gratified in Mongalia, without producing a fingle witticifm, or one mortifying remark.-Buti, at this end of Europe, names are not fo cheaply circulated; and it muft be fome better motive than mere vanity, which can induce any prudent man to obtrude himfelf even into a' 0 title-page. He may wifh to fupport the of thofe, who have attempted, at dif riods, to refcue political difcuffions frc ${ }^{15}$ mous licentioufnefs; his motives ancu'l.
amidft the various chat active, and en lightened nidtt the multiplicity of currences, and difconfe characters are influffort flands expofed to uction.-I have fomef a Moagall chief, who ift obfervation, that he the fummit of a mounling from Peterburg to all paffengers would ank n architect.-The amnd might probably be ithout producing a finortifying remark.-Bút, amès are not fo cheaply be fome better motive 1 can induce any prurelf even into a'ر to fupport the mpted, at difi difcuffions fr(18 motives anc 1 .

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of action may be the defire of public approbation directed to the end of public profperity; but he muft forthwith be prepared either to encounter, or to bear, all the conftitutional petulance, fplenetic difparagement, and malevolentinvectives, as well of thofe who cannot, as of thofe who will not, underfand him.
There are fome men, who think that the ceremonies fubfequent to conviction are the only important and enviable part of a judge's office: -The truth is, their faculties, incompetent to any rational or argumentative deductions, naturally lead them rather to decide than to examine: and they pronounce judgment, therefore, without fcruple, though they are utterly unable to go through the preliminaries of a trial. Thefe men are gentle readers, and mercilefs critics.

Others agair are fo formed, that their favourite fubjects in painting are, the flaying of Marfphei if plague at Athens, the maffacre of the knows and the martyrdom of St. Law. protecil


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"- The furly firit Melancholy
"Curdles their blood, and makes it heavy
" thick:"

- when men of this difpofition apply themfelves to political fubjects, they receive every cheering communication with an auftere coldnefs bordering on difguft, and treat every inventory of profperous or promifing circumftances as the fiction of an irregular brain.

Laft, and leaft worthy to be mentioned, there will be fome characters, in the mafs of mankind, fo incurably perverted, fo inveterately warped (whether from natural defect, or by their own induftry, is immaterial), that they rcject even all femblance of candour, and every pretenfion to moderation. Eftimating others by themfelves, they afrribe all generous exertions to interefted motives, and confrue the language of plain fenfe into the inventions of a defigning heart: holding themelves forward in all the glaring parade of affumed, and perhaps real, fupcriority of talents, they can twift and torture their faculties, in order to bear down the honeft
efforts
y firitit Melancholy , and makes it heavy
lifpofition apply themts, they receive every with an auftere coldft , and treat every inor promifing circumn irregular brain. to be mentioned, there in the mafs of manverted, fo inveterately natural defect, or by material), that they reof candour, and every - Eftimating others by all generous éxertions d conftrue the language ventions of a defigning ves forward in all the d , and perhaps real, fucan twift and torture to bear down the honeft
efforts

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efforts of humbler minds. Thefe men are governed by a firit of political intolerance, and will bear no creed of national falvation, unlefs the bulle, which preferibes it, is iffued by themfelves. With a bigotted and proferiptive fpirit, they can conftrue every overture of union into an act of hoftility ; with a folcinn and pompous plaufibility, they can convert every demonftration of refource into an admiffion of diftrefs. It is their fytem to cover the naked fimplicity of truth under mreds and patches of borrowed declamation; to fubfitute filly farcafms in the place of folid reafoning; and to convert public difcuffions into mean perfonalities.

Such were the feculations of my mind when I firft launched this publication into the world; and I now feel a pleafure in confefling that they have proved groundlefs, or at moft have been verified in inflances, either fo infignificant, or fo explicable, that they do not merit to be farther me:tiuncd or regarded. -I feel a pride too in recollecting, that I have told ferious and unflatering truths to my cotemporaries of every party and denomination; that thofe truths have

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had a quick and extenfive circulation, both in Great Britain and in Ireland; and that they have been received with general candour, and with an indulgence much beyond what I could have claimed in juftice, or even in favour. The impreffion of what I have farther faid inay, and perhaps ought, to be perifhable and tran-fient:-Before, however, is is configned to oblivion, and whilht it continues to draw an exiftence from the interefts of the day, 1 wifh to avail myfelf of fuggeftions, received both through public and private channels, which deferve refpectand attention.-It was frictly true, that I wrote without the advantage of official intercourfe or official information.-The intelligent and liberal communications, as well of friends, as of others whom I am not fortunate enough to call by that. name, will now enable me to explain and enforce fome material points; and this I fhall do, without any mixture of controverfy, which, in every thape and fenfe, I defire to avoid.

It is related of the Spartan Cleomenes, that, on fome occafion of a long and laboured 5 fpeech
e circulation, both in eland; and that they general candour, and a beyond what I could or even in favour.have farther faid may, perifhable and tranit is configned to obnues to draw an exift$f$ the day, 1 wifh to ions, received both channels, which de--It was frictly true, advantage of official rmation.-The intelnications, as well of I am not fortunate ime, will now enable fome material points; lout any mixture of ery fhape and fenfe,
tan Cleomenes, that, long and laboured fpeech

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fpeech being addreffed to him, in order to enigage his concurrence in a grêat war, he gave this anfwer: "The exordium entirely efcaped " my :ttention; nor have I any recollection of " the reafonings which followed it; and as for " the conclufion, I feel no difpofition to adopt " it."-I feared, and indeed forefaw, that the firft Letter in this collection would meet with a fimilar face on the part of thofe to whom it relates.-In iamenting the predominancy of party firit, and the difunion of able men, it was the honeft wifh of my mind to enforce the importance of joining the compacted weight of national talents, and national virtues, to the velocity and energy of the exccutive power:But it requircd only a fuperficial view of the age and country in which we live, to know, that when popular divifions act and operate with a certain degree of permanence and effect, there muft have been found and folid materials in the firt compofition of each; and that thofe materials mult have cemented by habit and the courfe of years. Oppofite bodies of men, practifed in Atruggles and competitions, may become at

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length fo utterly irreconcileabie in their views, paffions, fentiments, and whole fyftem of conduct, that though a preffure of circumftances may difperfe or annililate the one or both, no poffible event can unite them to each other.

If, however, there is reafon to lament, that the exertions of this country muft ftill continue, from the want of a general co-operation, to be in fome degree retarded in their courfe and weakened in their effect; there is, on the other hand, good reafon to hope, that the war, which called for that co-operation, is, in the progrefs of events, become lefs formidable. The truth is, the contentions of empires, and the tranfactions of extenfive wars, exhibit, only on a larger theatre, all the reverfes, difappointments, and uncertainties, which are feen among individuals at a gaming-table. The houfe of Bqurbon feized the hour of our embarrafinents, and came upon us like an armed man in the night, in the hope of crulhing us for ever: they came with all the greatnefs of collected ftrengtin, with the confidence of certain victory, with the fortafte of an early triumph. We were for

> a time

## $6]$

rileabie in their views, $d$ whole fyitem of coneffure of circumftances te the one or both, no hem to each other. eafon to lament, that the ry muft ftill continue, eral co-operation, to be ed in their courfe and ; there is, on the other pe, that the war, which tion, is, in the progrefs cormidable. The truth empires, and the tranfars, exlibit, only on a verfes, difappointments, $h$ are feen among indie. The houfe of Bourour embarrafinents, and rmed man in the night, ig us for ever: they efs of collected ftrengti, $f$ certain victory, with triumph. We were for

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a time in the erifis fo well defcribed by the Roman Poet;

Ad configendum vienientious andigac Patenis, Omnia quum belli trcpido concufoa tumultiu Horrida contremuere fub altis atheris auris; In dubioque fuit fub atrorum regina cadendum Omnibus bumanis effit terraque marique.

But the balance of power (hitherto the perpetuum mobile of politics) ftill remains furpended; it is ftill a doubt whether the combined enterprize of France and Spain will, in the refult, enable them to pafs the juft and proper boundaries of their ambition. The faith of nations, indeed, has fuftained a frock, which is hereafter likely to introduce the dangerous and doftructive fyftem of ant armed peace throughout Europe: nor is it poffible that a conduct fo baneful to the general interefts of mankind, Shpuld not, in due feafon, draw the attention and interfererice of other eftablifhed empites.In the mean time, the events of the war are thus fat glorious to Great Britain, and in the whole not favourable to hes encmies. Thiat proviA $a$
dence,

## [ 178 ]

dence, which over-rules human machinations by fecret and undifeovered fprings, does not always give the race to the fwift, nor the battle to the ftrong: Its beffings, however, conveyed as they are through fecond and fubordinate infruments, are to be fought by the diligent ufe of our own faculties; and we are to expect the divine protection only in proportion as we exert ourfelves, in a juft caufe, to deferve it.

Under thefe, or fimilar impreffions, I offered, in my fecond Letterto your Lordfhip, every confideration tiat occurred to me upon the circumftances and confuct of this war. I do not now wifh to recract, nor am I able to enforce any thing therein fated.-But, as the exertions to be made, depend, both for their extent and duration, on the national refources, which form the fubject of the third Letter; and as that Letter goes into the difcuffion of ponderous and complicated interefts and accounts, I thall here avail myfelf of fuch farther information as I may poffers. Nor can it be caule of fevere reprehenfion, if in fuch variety of matter I hould have fallen into fome inaccuracies, both of ex-

## $8]$

human machinations by frings, does not alhe fwift, nor the battle s , however, conveyed as and fubordinate infru-- by the diligent ufe of I we are to expect the n proportion as we exulfe, to delerve it. impreffions, I offered, in Lordhip, every confidere upon the circumftances r. I do not now wihh le to enforce any thing is the exertions to be or their extent and durefources, which form rd Letter; and as that uffion of ponderous and id accounts, I hall here arther information as I it be caufe of fevere reariety of matter I hould naccuracies, both of expreffion

## [179]

preffion and of fact;-fo far as I am aware of any fuch, I now mean to correct them.
When I flated ( $a$ ) that our taxes are not hitherto found to cramp the maintenance of the poorer clafs, fo as to diminifh the ufeful population of the country, and that this ifland, under all her burthens, does not exhibit any fymptom of internal decay; I confefs that I confidered the notion of any progrelfive decreafe in the numbers of the people as a phantom (b), which has in all ages haunted the joylefs imaginations of fome fpeculative men, but which has not at prefent any folid exiftence.-And accordingly, I founded feveral other remarks (c) upon the old-fafhioned eftimate of eight millions of inhabitants within Great Britain.-Dr. Price's Obfervations on the Populoufnefs of England and Wale: taci at this time efcaped my notice; but, like his other works, it deferves the ferious attention of every man, who wifhes to examine the circumftances of thefe kingdoms, though he may neither ad-

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { (a) P. 109, } 1 \text { so. (b) P. 8. } \\
& \text { (c) P. 82. 109. } 113 \text {, \&c. } \\
& \text { A a } 2
\end{aligned}
$$

## [80]

mit all the premifes, nor sunitquently adopt all the conclufions.

Queftions refpecting the populoufnefs of different diffricts of the earth, at different periods of time, may lead to endlefs refearches of curiofity and amufement; but they are valuable only in proportion as they produce difcultions to afcertain the caufes of the decreafe and increafe of the fpecies, that mankind in general may de: rive profit from the intelligence; or fo far as they enable particular nations to form a due eftimate of their own actual fituation, and the virtues or defects of their government.-With regard to natural caufes, it is not found that there has been any univerfal difference difcernible among the human fpecies in the hiftery or experience of ages fubfequent to the deluge. But particular national caufes, fo far as they can be fuppofed to operate, afford fome prefumptions in favour of modern population.-This country has not been afflicted by peftilence within the memory of man; and the difcovery of inoculation has averted the malignity of another
difeafe,
sunfequently adopt all
e populoufners of dif1, at different periods lefs refearches of curiut they are valuable produce difcuffions to decreafe and increafe ind in general may de-: lligence; or fo far as ons to form ? due efsal fituation, and the r government,-With :is not found that there difference difcemible ss in the hiftery or exit to the deluge. But s, fo far as they can afford fome prefumpern population.-This ated by peftilence withand the difcovery of ie malignity of another difeafe,

## [181]

difeafe, which was fometimes nearly as fatal as a peftilence.
We are to look then to another clafs of caufes, which operate very differently in different focicties. Thefe are, the conftitution and circumflances of the refpective government, the manners of the people, war, and emigration. Bur after having fatigued ourfelves with difquifit under each of thefe heads, we thall find, tha like many other queftions of general policy, they may be fupported by plaufible arguments either way, and even by contradictory examples drawn from the fuppofed experience, and pretended records of nations. On the one hand, it will not be difputed, that civil liberty is favourable to induftry and to agriculture, to marriage and increafe. On the other, it may be afferted, that the populoufnefs of France, and of other monarchics, appears to advance in larger proportions than that of freer nations; and the defpotic empires of China or'Japan may be pivinted out as the moft populous diftricts in the known world.-Again, it may be faid, that fimplicity of living, few inequalities of proper-

## [182]

ty, fmallnefs of farms, and cheapnefs of provifions, are favourable to population:-But to this it may be anfwered, that, though thefe apparent advantages exitt only in the firt rudiments of fociety; yet they are amply compenfated in the advanced ftages of civilization, when the aggrandizement of individuals, and the active and refined demands of luxury draw forth the exertions of ingenuity and induftry; and promote that facility of fubfiftence, by which the increafe of mankind is beft encou: raged.-It may indeed be true, that large and crouded cities occafion an annual wafte and confumption of mankind, and exact a contlnual recruit from the country; but it will be flated, as fome compenfation, that the neighbourhood of fuch devouring citics is always well peopled, anid poffibly more productive than in proportion to the demand.-Still it may be faid, that the increafe of public debts and of taxes, by occafioning an extreme difficulty of fubfiftence, may alone prefs fatally on the populoufnefs of the freeft country under heaven; but we might fairly reply, that a poffible caufe does not imply

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## [ 183 ]

an exifting effect ; and that the particular effects here alluded to certainly do not exift. Whilft we fee, in every corner of the kingdom, the progreffive improvements of barren waftes into productive fields, it may be prefumed, that more food being raifed, there are more people to confume it. - Even wars and emigrations, though caufing the actual expenditure of a certain number taken from the particular fociety, may be argued not to depopulate in proportion to that expenditure. For here too there is infenfibly fome reproduction created by the demand.-It is known from hiftory that particular nations, under a regular and conflant wafte of war, regularly increafed and multiplied. And, with refpect to emigrations, we are affured, that thofe provinces in Spain, which fend the largett numbers of their people to South America, continue the moft populous;-nor can it efcape notice, in other ftates, that many, who emigrate, would have perifhed unproductive in the parent foil, though they profper with little exertion in another country, and become fources of new commerce, wealth, and popu-

## [184]

lation to the world. - In fhort, the compenfat tions of fuppofed difadvantages, in every human predicament, as well of nations as of individuals, are mixed and manifold; and thus it is, that firf. appearances, in great branches of political science, are often fo deceitful, and always fo difputable, that it is impoffible to trun to the conclufions, which ingenuity and acutenefs may find in general caufes and abfract reafonings. The lights are fo fcattered, that 2 well intentioned mind may naturally take either fide, or at leaft will check all hafly determination.
Enquiries then concerning the caufes of popuhation muft not rafhly be admitted to prove any thing, farther than they are fupported by faets. It is a fag of no decifive confequence, which mews only, that a particular tillage, diftriet, or even a whole country, is inore thinly soopled than heretofore. It may be anfwered, dhat the inhabitants of towns in getreral appear to have increafed in a greater proportion, than thofe of villages and cottages have decreafed; it may be fhewn, that emigrations from one part of the kingdom to the other, are often the

In fhort, the compenfas ntages, in every human lations as of individuals; 1 ; and thus it is, that at branches of political sceitful, and always fo ipofible to trun to the puity and acutenefs may ind abfirat reafonings. ered, that 2 well intenly take either fide, or at determination.
ing the caufes of popube admitted to prove they are fupported by o decifive confequence, it a particular tillage, country, is inore thinly It may be anfwered, rowns in general appear reater proportion, than ottages have decreafed; emigrations from one the other, are often the
fore-

## [ 285 ]

fore-runners of population to the whole country. We fee wattes grow into villages, other villages into towns, and towns exceeding the boundaries of cities; and thefe again flourithing, and augmenting in frength, people, and opuience. We are not then to infer a general depopulation from partial inftances. The mof decifive fact would be an actual enumeration of the whole people at flated periods; but, as enumerations are perhaps impracticable in greatftates, and in truth have not been attempted with regard to the country and periods now in queftion, recourfe muft be had to inductions from the comparifon of collateral circumftances at different times : It is with this view probably that Dr. Price, tho gh he lays much ftrefs at the fame time on many of the general reafonings above mentioned, ftates upon inferences drawn from Davenarit's account of the Hearth Books, that the number of hnufes in England and Wales has decreafed near one fourth fince the Revolution; whence he concludes, that the decreafe of inhabitants has been proportionable, and profeffes to fhew, that it has made a rapid progrefs during the laft twenty years.

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\text { B b } \quad \text { Thefe }
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Thefe pofitions are maintained by other remarks felected from the bills of mortality and the excife books, which apparcntly afford prefumptive arguments in favour of the point to which they are brought, but which, I am perfuaded, would have been ftated with much more hefitation, if there had been competent and fuller information within reach; I fhall attempt at leaft to fhew, among other matters in the feparate note (d) annexed, that the feecection of different periods from the fame documents would equally imply an increafed and progreffive population.
The exifting ftrength of a nation does not fo much depend on the multitude of its inhabitants, as on the manner in which they are employed; yet it furely is of confequence not to admit, except on manifeft proof, that the popiloufnefs cf Great Britain is rapidly approaching to the level of that of Naples; and therefore I have been tempted to dwell upon a fubject, which, however dry, cannot be unimportant.-I fhould not indeed have faid fo much in reference to a writer of lefs eminence than Dr. Price; but his
(d) See Appendix, No. VI.
conclufions,
ntained by other remarks f mortality and the excife y afford prefumptive arthe point to which they I am perfuaded, would nuch more hefitation, if nt and fuller information ttempt at leaft to hew, $n$ the feparate note ( $d$ ) tion of different periods nts would equally imply Tive population.
of a nation does not fo altitude of its inhabitants, aich they are employed; fequence not to admit, ff, that the populoufnefs idly approaching to the ; and therefore I have upon a fubject, which, unimportant.-I thould , much in reference to a than Dr. Price ; but hiṣ pendix, No. VI.
conclufions,
[187]
tonclufions, even when drawn from à mifaps prehenfion or mifinformation, are fo ingenioufly ftated, that they make an impreffion, which in fuch a cafe he cerrtainly would not wifh. Having rendered this due acknowledgment to his abilities," I owe a farther tribute to that liberality of mind with which he has communicated to me the knowledge of fome of my own errors, at the fame time that he difiered from me, as to the principal pofitions, which I had wifhed to eftablifh.
Much remains to be faid refpecting the fate of our population, and the prefumptions to be collected from all the circumftances of our apparent ftrength and real exertions. But this would draw me from other confiderations, and is in truth a fubject, with refpect to which mankind have differed, and will continue to differ in every period and in every country, where they have no actual eriumerations to put an end to uncertainty and to force affert. We have feen, In our own time, a very able and learned difpute . between Mr. Hume and Mr. Wallace on the populoufnefs af ancient nations. The difpofition of men has generally inclined towards the melan-. Bba . choly

## [ 188 ]

choly fide of the queftion. Diodorus Siculus, who wrote in the age of Julius Cxfar, obferves, that we muft not form a notion of the populoufnefs of ancient times from the defolation and emptinefs which, in his days, prevailed in the world; and Montefquieu, fpeaking of Gaul from Cafar's Commentaries, and of the fuppofed populoufnefs of Rome, and other places, according to claffical accounts, concludes. with a remark, that in our days the world has hardly a tenth part of the number of inhabitants, which it formerly had. Mr. Hume, in quoting the firt of thefe paflages, oblerves, that " the humour " of blaming the prefent and admiring the paft " is ftrongly rooted in human nature, and has "6 an influence even on perfons endued with the "profoundeft judgment and moit extenfive " learning."
In thefe times an empire is certainly not to be peopled, like the fields of Pyrrha or of Cadmus, with pebbles and dragons teeth. The populat tion of modern ftates depends much on national virtues and wifeinflitutions; and though we fhould avoid the extravagant and vifionary profperity of sthe Athenian, who perfuaded himfelf, that every.

Mip,

## $38]$

on. Diodorus Siculua, Julius Cxar, obferves, notion of the populourrom the defolation and days, prevailed in the eu, fpeaking of Gaul ries, and of the fuppofed nd other places, accord, concludes with a rethe world has hardly a of inhabitants, which ume, in quoting the firt es, that " the humour s and admiring the paft uuman nature, and has verfons endued with the and mof extenfive
re is certainly not to be Pyrrha or of Cadmus, ns teeth. The populat ends much on national s ; and though we fhould I vifionary profperity of aded himfelf, that every. Thip,

## [ 189 ]

Mip, which entered the Piraum, came freighted with his property from a fortunate voyage; it is reafonable on the other hand to reject, except on the compulfion of clear and firm proofs, any politions tending to depreciate the fuppofed ftrength of our country, and of the fprings which move it.
Sir William Petty's mixed education, and courfe of life, did not difpofe him to involvé plain fenfe in refined expreffion; but his natural wifdom, and chearfulnefs, led him to doubt and to controvert the gloomy fecculations, current among his cotemporaries, relative to "the finking ic of rents, the decay of trade and commerce, the "، poverry and depopulation of the kingdom, and " the rifing omnipotence of France." "Thefe, " with other difmal fuggeftions, fays he, I had " rather ftifle than repeat :" "They affect the " minds of fome to the prejudice of all."-"An ill
"c opinion of their ownconcernments reriders men
" languid and ineffectual in their endeavcors."
" Upon this confideration, as a member of the
"commonwealth, next to knowing the precife
"6 truth, in what condition the common intereft

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\text { B b }_{3} \text { " ftands; }
$$

## [190]

is Atands, I would in all doubtful cafes think " the beft, and confequently not defpair, withour " Atrong and manifeft reafons; carefully examin" ing whatever tends to leffen my hopes of the " public welfare."
" That fome are poorer than others ever was
" 6 and ever will be, and that many are naturally
" querulous and envious, is an evil as old as
" the world.
"Thefe gencral obfervations, and that men "cat, and drink, and laugh, as they ufed to
"do, have encouraged me to try, if I could
" alfo comfort others; being fatisfied myfelf,
"that the intereft and affairs of England are in
" no deplorable condition."
§ In defcribing the general circumftances of our revenue and refources, I never propofed either to argue, or to infinuate, that a fufpenfion of commerce has not taken place to a confiderable extent in this, as in every othes commercial country, which has the inisfortune to find itfelf in a flate of war. It is evident, and indifputable, that the wars, in which we are engaged, have diverted many of the principal
channels

## 10)

Ill doubtful cafes think ntily not defpair, without fons ; carefully examinleffen my hopes of the
er than others ever was that many are naturaily us, is an evil as old as
rvations, and that men laugh, as they ufed to me to try, if I could being fatisfied myfelf, affairs of England are in on."
general circumitances of fources, I never proor to infinuate, that a : has not taken place to 1 this, as in every othes hich has the imisfortune f war. It is evident, and wars, in which we are many of the principal
channels

## [ 191]

channels for the interchange of our merchandize and the extenfion of our trade. At the fame time, it is matter both of remark and confolation, that the exertions of our countrymen, under all their difadvantages, have already opened various ftreans for a prodigious influx of wealth from the fources of our enemies. To which may be added, that lefs brilliant, indeed, but more regular profits are daily refulting from new, revived, and extended intercourfes in Eu-rope.-Now though our anxiety for the Cuftomhoufe returns, if they were even fuffering a confiderable diminution, cannot fand in any competition with the effential interefts of the war: yet it furely is a moft heartening fympton to find, that thofe returns continue nearly unimpaired and flourifhing. The average annual neat payments of the Cuftoms into the Exchequer were for four years, ending in $1775,2,503,353 \%$. -for the year, ending in $1779,2,502,273 \%$ (o)
(e) The average annual neat payments of ithe Cuftoins in'o the Exclequer for five jears, elling in 2760, during the laft war, were $1,855,334$ /.-for five years eydi.:s in $1765,2,076,735 \mathrm{l}$; but allowance nult be made for the produce of additional du ies laid fince.
$*$
To

## [ 192 ]

To this great produce for the year 1779, the ner luty of 5 per cent., which commenced on the gth of April laft, contributed $89,280 \%$. Exclufive therefore of the new duty, the neat payments of the year 1779 were $2,412,993$ l.And though the captures, derived principally. from our fipirited and excellent fyttem of pri; vateering, have alfo contributed much to the jaft mentioned fum, and are at beft 2 fpecies of forced and unnatural commerce; it mutt be allowed, that the balance of captures has ope-: rated, not only as depriving the enemy of refources, but as an increafe of the national capital, and a fubject of reproduction to the State.This comparifon of the Cuftom-houre returns, if taken on the two periods leaft favourable to it, will fall little fhort of what I have juft fitted.For example, the average annual neat payments of the Cuftoms into the Exchequer, for eight years ending in 1775 , were $2,535,723$. For four years ending in 1779 they were $2,313,42+\%$. -the 5 per cent. new duty is deducted from the latter period; nor is any allowance taken for the drawbacks on tobacco paid in 1776 , which were above $200,000 \%$. higher than the duties received that year on that commodity.
for the year 1779, the , which commenced on contributed $89,280 /$. he new duty, the neat 79 were $2,412,993$ l. es, derived principally :xcellent fyftem of printributed much to the 1 are at beft a fpecies of commerce; it muft be e of captures has opeving the enemy of reife of the national capioduction to the State.-Cuftom-houfe returns, iods leaft favourable to what I have juft ftpted.se annual neat payments e Exchequer, for eight were $2,535,723$ l. For 9 they were $2,313,42+1$. aty is deducted from the ny allowance taken for :o paid in 1776, which higher than the duties It commodity.

## [ 193 ]

If that frange anxiety of difpofition, which leads fome of us to turn with impatience from every glimmering of funthine, 'thould here fuggeff, that neverthelefs the grofs receipts of the Cuftoms have, fince 1775, fallen above a million and a lalf fterling per annum, the obfervation ought not to pafs without no-tice:-
When the unhappy interruption of our trade with the Colonies took place, it was eafy to forefee, that the Cuftoms would, during that interruption, lofe the whole amount of the duties, which had been ufually received on American produce, and would alfo fuffer by a reduced importation of fuch European goods as merely paffed through this country in their way to North America.-But as the greateft part of the American tobacco was always exported from Great Britain with a drawback of the whole duties, and as the foreign goods fent from our ports to the Colonies alfo received a drawback, it would argue either a want of knowledge, or an inadvertence, or an intentional fallacy, if we hould eftimate the lofs to the public from the grofs receipt, and not from
C c

## [194]

the real or neat produce after deducting the drawbacks.

1. The annual average grofs receipt on tobacco, for ten years, from 1766 to 1775 , was $1,231,051$. The fame, for three years, from 1776 to 1778 , was $176,825 l$.; therefore the diminution of the annual imports on the article of tobacco, for the three years ending in 1778 , compared with the ten years ending in 1775, was, $1,054,2361$. ; or nearly the amount of the fum annually repaid on drawbacks of tobacco exported previous to thefe unfortunate troubles.
2. The neat annual average remains, to the Exchequer, of duties on tobacco, for the firft period, was $186,6791$. ; but there were not any remains to the Exchequer of duties on tobacco for the fecond period; for, in confequence of the drawbacks paid in 1776, the drawbacks and duties for the three years were nearly balanced. The diminution, therefore, of the neat produce of tobacco, for thefe periods, was about 186,000 l. a year.
3. The annual average grofs receipt, exclufive of tobacco, for the firft period, was $3,586,2791$.; that for the fecond period was, $3,335,418 \mathrm{l}$;
uce after deducting the ze grofs receipt on tobacm 1766 to 1775, was e, for three years, from 76,8251 .; therefore the al imports on the article ree years ending in $\mathbf{1 7 7 8}$, a years ending in 1775, nearly the amount of the on drawbacks of tobacco efe unfortunate troubles. average remains, to the on tobacco, for the firft ; but there were not any fuer of duties on tobacco ; for, in confequence of n 1776, the drawbacks ee years were nearly ba: on, therefore, of the neat $r$ thefe periods, was about
age grofs receipt, exclüfive $t$ period, was $3,586,2791$; seriod was, $3,335,418 \%$; and

## [ 195 ]

thd therefore the diminution of grefs receipts of the Cuftoms on the general imports, exclufive of tobacco, has, for thefe periods, been only 250,861 l.; which may in fome meafure be accounted for by the non-importation of foreign goods for the American market. And, as thefe allo would have been exported with a drawback; the neat remains to the Exchequer would have been little improved by them.
The apparent lofs thus reduced, fo far as thefe realonings are admitted, is alfo counterbalanced to the Revenue by the non-payment of bounties on feveral articles of American produce, fuch as indigo, hemp, naval fores, timber, Goc.
It is not meant however by this to intimate that the tobacco trade was not attended with many collateral and great advantages to our merchants, to Mipping, and to the country; but when it is flated that the annual grofs receipt of the Cuftoms for three years ending in 1775 was about 5 millions ferling, and that of the fame period ending in $177^{8}$ little more than 3 millions and $\frac{1}{2}$, it is material to underfand that the annual grofs receipt on tobacco for the former three years was $1,458,003 \%$-that of the latter three years only

C c $2 \quad 176,825 \%$

## [ 196 ]

176,825 . And that the public Revenue, when this trade was at the higheft, was in truth only benefited about 200,000 l. per anṇ. being all the Duties that remained on the tobacco ufed for home confumption.- Thefe too will probably. continue to be received on prize tobacco, irmported for the fame purpofe; fo that the Exchequer will fearcely feel the interruption of this trade e:
§ That our general Export trade has fuffered a great diminution, is beyond a doubt ; it would indeed be abfurd not to expect it, in the prefent ftate of our American, African, and Mediterranean trade, and under the interruption of all inter Sourfe with France and Spain.

The annual average value for ten years, end-
ing in 1775, was, $\quad$.
On Imports, - $12,390,524$
Exports, - 14,989,485
The value for the year 1776 was,
On Imports, - $11,696,754$
Exports, - 13,729,731
For 1777,
On Imports, - 11,841,577
Exports, - 12,653,363
public Revenue, when $t$ was in truth only beper ann.. being all the. the tobacco ufed for tefe too will probably. on prize tobacco, im; fo that the Exchequer uption of this trade.
ort trade has fuffered a ond a doubt ; it would xpect $i$, in the prefent frican, and Mediterrathe interruption of all d Spain. ue for ten years, endf.

- $12,390,524$
- 14,989,485

776 was,

- 11,696,754
- 13,729,731
- 11,841,577
- $\quad 12,653,363$

The

## [ 197 ]

The accounts of Imports and Exports for $177^{8}$ and 1779 are not yet adjufted; but $I$ have good reafon to believe that we may fafely eftimate their average by the account for 1777 ;-and a great part of the diminution, as well in the value of Exports as in that of the Imports, is already explained by what has been faid in regard to the interruption of the carrying-trade of tobacco; that, as well as rice, indigo, and other articles of American produce, being valued inwards and outwards as part of our Imports and Exports.

It farther deferves remark, that the latter part of the period ending in 1775 was diftinguibed above all others by the fpeculations of many and the foreknowledge of fome on each fide of the Atlantic, who fwept the fields and magazines in both countries of every exportable commodity. In the latter period too it may be doubred, whether the dexterity of exporters, which in times of regular trade occafions oftentatious and exaggerated entries, may not, in many inflances, have operated to undervaluations and concealments.

I cannot

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I cannot difmifs this fubjet, without adding a few remarks refpecting the lift of goods proShibited to be imported into, or exported from; Great Britain. It is enormous to a degree which cannot be conceived or credited by any perfon who has not examined it ; and it increafes from time to time, upon the reprefentations of interefted manufacturers, or the occafional complaints of a want of work. It has made this progrefs, notwithflanding that wife and experienced mes, converrant in trade, cuftoms, and the policy of nations, have long thought that prohibitions in general partake of the monopolizing fpirit, and are prejudicial to the community.
Prohibitions on Imports either drive, perfons, not otherwife ill difpofed, into obtaining goods by fuch clandeftine means as, when once invented and pracifed with fuccefs, are employed to the introduction of goods liable to cuftoms; or they become a fubject of general connivance: and accordingly, at this hour, many prohibited aricles are bought every where, in the courfe of
trade,

## 8 〕

ubject, without adding g the lift of goods prointo, or exported from, enormous to a degree ived or credited by any nined it ; and it increafes on the reprefentations of , or the occafional comK. It has made this probat wife and experienced ade, cuftoms, and the ive long thought that partake of the monoporejudicial to the commu-
orts either drive. perfons, red, into obtaining goods reans as, when once invith fuccefs, are employed goods liable to cuffoms; \& of general connivance : is hour, many prohibited ry where, in the courfe of
trade,

## [ 199 ]

trade," and even by perfons frictly confcientious, who do nut know that they are concerned in an illegal tranfaction. In either care, the public treafury fuffers; nor can any revenue arife from prohibitions, except by forfeiture in comfequence of their violation.
: With refpect to trade, it is not found that prohibitions contribute, cither to the improvement of the particular fabrics which they are meant to favour, or to the induftry of a people; for the want of competition and comparifon tends only to produce indolence, and to damp the exertions of ingenuity. On the contrary, it is thought, that the liberty of importing all articles now prohibited, fubject to fuch a duty as might give a moderate, but decifive advantage to our manufactures, would encourage emulation, produce improvements, extend trade, interchange, and employment, and be allo beneficial to the revenue.-Under this idea, a reafonable tax fhould in like manner be fublituted in the place of exorbitant duties, which operate as prohibitions, and produce a very jut retaliation in foreign fates, highly mifchievous to our commerce.

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\text { C c }_{4} \quad \text { Prohibitions }
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## [ 200 ]

Prohibitions on Exports are alfo believed, though from different and obvious reafonings, both to cramp trade, and to affect the revenue; and fome are hardy enough to think, that it would be expedient even to repeal the prohibition of exporting wool, and to fubftitute a confiderable duty in the place of it.-The average price of wool, fay they, is much lower at prefent than it was in the time of Edward III. becaufe it is now confined to the market of Great Britain ; whereas then ( $\varepsilon$ ) the market of the world was open to it; and the duty upon its exportation was the moft important branch of the Cuftoms. The downefs of the price, according to thefe reafoners,
(c) There is a table of the prices of Wool at different periods from the year 1198 to $17+3$. in Mr. Young's Political Arithmetic, p. 15t, 152.-The average price during the $5^{\circ}$ years reign of. Edward III. was, in prefent coinage, abcut tl. g 9.6 .1 . per Tod; and though the value of money has funk fo nucil during the 400 fubfequent years, the aveıage price of wool during the prefent century has I believe been under 19 s.-There are many excelient remarks on the true interefts of the woollen trade, and on the general effect of prolibitions, in the twenty latt Chapters of M!. John Smith's Memoirs of Wool.
rts are alfo believed, ad obvious reafonings, 1 to affect the revenue; jugh to think, that it o repeal the prohibition to fubftitute a confider-it.-The average price ch lower at prefent than lward III. becaufe it is arket of Great Britain ; ret of the world was open its exportation was the of the Cuftoms. The rding to thefe reafoners,
he prices of Wool at difear 1198 to $17+3$. in Mr . , p. i5i, is2.-The average cign of. Edward III. was, in 6.. per Tod; and though $k$ fo mucn during the 400 ge price of wool during the e been under 19 s.-There on the true interefts of the eneral effect of prolibitions, ers of M:. John Smith's

## [201]

rends to debafe the value of the commodity, and may thus, in its confequences, rather hurt the manufacture than promote it ; in the mean time the intereft of the grower is evidently facrificed to that of the manufacturer, and a real difadvantage is laid upon the one for the fuppofed benefit of the other.-In confidering this fubject, it is difficult to difcover any good objection to the free export of raw wool from Great Britain to Ireland, under the fame regulations as Irifh wool may be imported here, and fubject to fuch certificates as may effectually prevent fmuggling.
§A right comprehenfion of the expediency, or inexpediency, of prohibitions would perhaps throw fome light on the oppofite fyffem of bounties. Upon looking farther into this fubjeet than I had been able to do when I wrote the preceding Letters, I find, that the bounties on exportation in Engiand and Scotland, amount to above 200,000 I. a year exclufive of the bounty upon corn: This bounty in 176 r . amounted to $159,305 \mathrm{l}$; ; and its anrual average for 19 years ending in 1765 was $138,000 l$. from which period:
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the high price put a fop to it till within the laft four years.-For the three years ending $\mathbf{1 7 7 8}$, it had amounted to 44,759 l. a year. -That the bounties in general, then, are a great expence to the kingdom is certain, but how far they are an unavailing expence, open to many frauds, and calculated in modern days to give only an ill-applied fupport to feeble and languifhing branches of commerce, is a queftion which might perhaps deferve a full inveftigation.- It would be prefumptous to fpeak haftily on what has fo long been a favourite, though perhaps a miftaken, branch of commercial policy; more efpecially with regard to the corn bounty, which has many refpectable prejucices in its fupport. "It is " erroneous (fay thofe who defend this bounty)
" to fuppofe, that the Revenue fuffers by it a
"d diminution of 150,000 l. a year, for the Cuf-
cs tom-houfe recovers at leaft fome proportion
" of that fum by the increafed interchange of
" other taxable commodities, which the corn-
" exportations occafion; fo that the encourage-
" ment given to agriculture turns to the profit
" of the Cuftoms."
§ Having
to it till within the laft ee years ending 1778 , it 91. a year.-That the 1, are a great expence to but how far they are an on to many frauds, and ys to give oniy an ill-apad languifhing branches on which might perhaps on.- It would be prely on what has fo long th perhaps a miftaken, policy; more efpecially ounty, which has many 1 its fupport. "It is vho defend this bounty) Revenue fuffers by it a ol. a year, for the Cufit leaft fome proportion ncreafed interchange of dities, which the corn; fo that the encourageIture turns to the profit
§ Having

## [203]

§ Having in the preceding Letters alluded to the frauds, fuppofed to be practifed in regard to drawbacks, I am fince informed, that, according to the beft opinions, they amount to about io per cent. on the whole fum repaid. This muft be near 200,000 l. a year, whenever our Export trade is at its ufual level. The truth is, that the requiring high Import duties to be repaid in the fhape of drawbacks is, in its prefent fyftem, unfriendly to the commercial interefts, and tends not only to reftrict all the ineftimable advantages of the carrying trade, double freight, commiffion, \&c. but to make it impolible for this country to become the repofitory for the goods of trading nations, as the United Frovinces are in fo many inftarces, and in fome even for the goods of our merchants. -In order to illuftrate this, we will fuppofe the grofs receipt of the Cuftoms, upon any particular fpecies of goods, to be $50,000 \mathrm{l}$., and the drawbacks to be $20,000 \mathrm{l}$.; the real gain to the Revenue will be only 30,000 . The merchant however is obliged to pay down the whole $50,000 \%$ and though afterwards, on exporting

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## [204]

a certain proportion of the goods, he receives back 80,000 l., he muft, in the mean time, eftimate the intereft of the grofs fum; and the intereft of the 20,0001 . muft cither be charged in the forcign markets, to which he will confequently go with a difadvantage; or it will be charged on the proportion fold for home-confumption, whereby the public is fruitlefsly burthened, and the temptations to clandetine trade are increafed.
Some well-informed men have thought that thefe difadvantages might be remedied, by repealing all drawbacks, and reducing the duties on all goods entitled to drawback, in proportion to the actual export of each fpecies, upon an average of a certain period of years.-Others think, that it- would be fafer and more advantageous, both for revenue and commerce, to adopt a plan for warehoufing all foreign goods, upon the fame principle as we now warehoufe India goods, rums, and tobacco, abolifhing the import duty, and collecting the revenue upon confumable commodities, on their actual delivery for home- confumption,
$f$ the goods, he receives aft, in the mean time, the grofs fum ; and the - muft either be charged , to which he will confeadvantage; or it will be tion fold for home-conhe public is fruitefsly mptations to clandeftine
men have thought that night be remedied, by , and reducing the duties drawback, in proportion of each fpecies, upon an period of years.-Others oe fafer and more advanenue and commerce, to houfing all foreign goods, ple as we now warehoufe ad tobacco, abolifhing the lecting the revenue upon ies, on their actual deliption,

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## [ 205 ]

How far cither of thefe ideas, when reduced to detail, with all the requifite qualifications and limitations, would be either praclicable or expedient, I ain unable to pronounce.-In the mean time, it certainly is matter of ferious regret, that thefe Illands, though aided by the greateft local advantages, poffers fo little of what is peculiarly called the carrying trade of Europe; which confifts in fupplying the North with the goods of the South, and the South with the goods of the North. The annual amount in the United Provinces of the value of all the foreign commodities imported and exported under this fecies of commerce has been eftimated at 18 millions fterling, and in Hamburgh at 2 millions. Thefe however are wide confidera-tions.-I refumed the fubject only to remark, that the lofs to the public Revenue by fuppofed loffes and frauds in drawbacks being computed at to per cent. would in times of regular trade amount to $200,000 \mathrm{l}$. the annual average amount of drawbacks for five years ending in 1775 having been 2,076,522l.
§ Having

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§ Having naied in the foregoing Letters, that the income of the flate and the interefts of commerce might be mutually promoted, by confolidating the branches of the Cufloms, ty teforming the book of rates, and bog inpro: conents in the prefent mode of collecting, thofe confiderations may deferve forice farther expianation. The fubfidy of ton:age and poundage, granted in the reign of Charles II. was formed on eafy and plain principles; the gradual and multiplied' deviations from that plan now leave the officers under inuch perplexity, as well in computing the duties, where the fame goods are chargeable partly on the value, and partly on the quantity, as in proportioning the particular difcounts and allowances.-For example, a dozen hammers imported are rated or valued at 4 s , and are to pay 9 d. and $z_{3}$ of a penny and $\frac{4}{3}$ of a 2oth of a penny neat duty; befides, for every cwt. of iron contained in the hammers the importer is to pay $4 \mathrm{s}$.8 d . and zs $_{5}$ of a penny.- Here then feveral different computations muft be made from the fuppofed value or rate, the number and fpecies of the goods, and the weight of the materials,

## ${ }^{6}$ ]

foregoing Letters, that nd the interefts of compromoted, by confolie Cullons, by reformnd log imp:o ements in lecting, thofe confidernec farther expianation. and poundage, granted II. was formed on ealy : gradual and multiplied n now leave the officers is well in computing the : goods are chargeable partly on the quantity, particular difcounts and le, a dozen hammers alued at 4 s., and are to ny and $\frac{4}{3}$ of a 20th of a s, for every ewt. of iron is the importer is to pay ny. -Here then feveral nuft be made from the the number and fpecies veight of the materials,

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$i_{n}$ order to difcover the Cufloms; and, in the refult, the fracions will probably be fuch as can neither be paid nor carried to account.-After this, the amount is again to be fubdivided into fix branches, and entercd in as many columns, under the titles of "Subfidy inwards or oid Subfidy," " new S."- " $\frac{1}{}$ S."- " S S." ——"Subf. 1747", and "Impoft iGgo."Added to theie, there are forty-nine other particular appropriations of the Revenue of Cuftoms exclufive of the new duty of 5 per ceat. making in ail 56 branches as they are called, acerving upon goods and merchandizes innported, exported, and brouglt or carried coalways; all of which, according to the goods and merchandizes which they may happen jointly or feparately to affect, are to be accounted for under their refpective denominations.-

I have attempted to fhew, in my third Letter, how much the trading interefts fuffer by thefe embarraffiments. It feems indeed too obvious a truth to be repeated, that the encouragements to which merchants are intitled, the duties to which they are fubject, and the
penalties

## [208.]

penalties to which they are expofed, ought not to be involved in this cloud of complicated materials and abitrufe fcience.
Books of rates, and neat duties, have been prepared, at different times, with great accuracy and ability, and particularly by Mr. Burrcw in 1774; but I apprehend that they muft now be entirely new computed, in confequence of the additional duty of 5 per cent.-Such books, when complete, are undoubtedly: very ufeful, as well in pointing out the total charge on particular goods, as in enabling the merchants, and the officers, to check each other's computations and demands: But many complex operations ftill remain; and, whatever may be the totality, the officer muft till divide it to the minuteft fraction, and enter it into as many feparate columns, as there are different branches payable on the goods in queftion. The expence, occupation, delays, miftakes, and frauds, which refult from this management of the duties, extend themfelves to the whole bufinets of difcounts and drawbacks. -It feems highly expedient, then, to attempt a reform, fo

## 8.]

are expofed, ought not cloud of complicated ence.
neat duties, have been les, with great accuracy arly by Mr. Burrcw in that they muft now be in confequence of the er cent.-Such books, adoubtedly very ufeful, it the total charge on nabling the merchants, ck each other's compu-
But many complex and, whatever may be muft ftill divide it to the enter it into as many ere are different branches Is in queftion, ..The delays, miftakes, and om this management of emfelves to the whole d drawbacks. -It feems to attempt a reform, fo

## [ 209 ]

far at leaft as to fimplify and confolidate the branches of Cuftoms, affeeting each article, or fpecific quantity of merchandife; and it would be ufeful alfo to difcontinue, as far as may be practicable, all fractional parts and decimal calculations; and to convert them into whole numbers, either by increaling or diminithing the refpective duties, as may be found mutually moft expedient for trade and revenue.

Believing, as I do, that an improved arrangement of the exifting taxes would afford a permanent refource to the public, with many beneficial confequences to commerce and manufactures; I am tempted to extend thefe oblervations to other circumftances, connelled both with the Cuftoms and Excife.-But I ought rather to apologize for having already faid too much, when there are at each of thofe Boards individuals of known experience in bufinefs, of activity, difcretion, and public fpirit ; and when they too have many able affiftants. Commercial reforms never can be taken up with greater advantage than at a period when the leading merchants and principal trading companies fhew a liberality of

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## [210]

fentiment unknown in former ages. I reff then in confidence that thefe confiderations will, in due time, be brought inte diccuffion, with that cordial alacrity which aims at a general benefix, and alfo with all that caution and tendernefs which are requifite in a meafure tending towards the derangement of a great, eftablifped, and praductive fyftem of commerce and revenue. s?
§ 1 incline upon fuller information to believe, that if the quantity of finuggled and adulterated tea, confumed within Great Britain, Mould be thought to fall finort of 8 millions of pounds (b), as fome have computed; it is perhaps as far beyond the general eftimate of others who have not made it a fubject of their enquiry.
The average annual delivery of tea from the Eant-India Company's warehoufes for homeconfumption, in a period of fifteen years, from 1762 to 1777, was; - $\quad \mathrm{lb}$. On the Company's account $\quad 5,496,192$ By avowed pivate trade allowed to their officers
(b) P. 13 .

## $210]$

Iformer ages. I reft then efe confiderations will, in $t$ into difcuffion, with that I aims at a general benefix, tt caution and tendernels a meafure tending towards a great, eftablifped, and commerce and revenue.
ller information to believe, f fmuggled and adulterated Great Britain, mould be f 8 millions of pounds $(b)$, juted; it is perhaps as ral eftimate of others who bject of their enquiry. 1 delivery of tea from the 's warehoufes for homeriod of fifteen years, from account $5,496,192$ trade allowed $\} \quad 84,801$
P. 831 .

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!b.
To which may be added the annual average of the tea feiz(6) ed in the fame pertiod by the Cuftoms and Excife


Hence it appears that the legal annual confumption, including feizures, has for 15 years ainounted to near fix millions of pounds.

If, however, we divide this period into three, the annual average on each will ftand thus:

## lb.

From 1762 to 1767 - $4,623.775$
1767 to 1772 - 7,194,249
1772 to 1777 - 5,557,744
The middle period comprelends the five years lowered duty (which perhaps was a falutary, operation and right to be continued) ; the average annual diminution in the firt and third periods amounted to $2,153,475 \mathrm{lb}$ : and is peculiarly eftimated to be fupplied by fmuggling, exclufive of tea otherwife fmuggled and adulterated; for it is not to be fuppofed, and indeed would be contradicted by the feizures, that the lowering of the duties had, hy any means, an-
Eei nihilated

## [212]

nihilated the clandeftine trade, though it greatly checked it.
The Abbé Raynal ( $k$ ), after ftating particularly the quantity of tea brought into Europe in 1766, and the fuppofed diftribution of it, eftimates the confumption of Great Britain at 12 millions of pounds; and he fpecifically adds, that one half of that quantity muft be fmuggled. "Ce feroit (dit il) ignorance ox maiu"vaife foi, que d'oppofer à cette fupputation l'aus"torité des Douanes:-la contrebande, quife fait en "Angleterre, de cötte marchandife, ef generalement "connue."-It is a demonfrable and well-known fack, that the importation of teas into Europe by the foreign companies on the continent has increafed fince 1766, though the confumption within the continent has decreafed from the preference given to coffe.- The quantity annually imported at prefent, according to publihed returns, by the Portuguefe, French, Dutch, Danifh and Swedifh companies, is 15 millions of pounds. The confumption in the continent
(k) Hift. Philof. \& Polit. tom. i. p. $3^{84}$

## in ]

trade, though it greatly
$k$ ), after ftating particuea brought into Europe pofed diftribution of it, tion of Great Britain at ds; and he fpecifically $f$ that quantity muft be - (dit il) ignorance ox maiurà cette fupputation Pausla contrebande, quife fait en archandife, of generalement onftrable and well-known tion of teas into Europe nies on the continent has though the confumption as decreafed from the pre--The quantity annually ccording to publifhed reuguefe, French, Dutch; companies, is 15 millions fumption in the continent

Polit. tom, i. p. $3^{84}$

## [213]

of Europe, and the trade to the Atlantic Inands, including the contraband exports to North America and the Wef-Indies, is not computed at more than 7 millions; the Abbe Raynal, after $a$ long refearch, did not eftimate it at more than 5 millions and $\frac{1}{2}$ : This then leaves a balance of 8 millions ( $l$ ), exclufive of which, great allowances are alfo to be made for private trade, both in foreign and Britifh Mhips, and alfo for the Dutch weight, which exceeds the Englifh about 8 per cent.
Thefe reafonings and circumftances, if well founded, would prove, that the fale of tea by our Eaft-India company under all their advantages has leffened; whilft that of the foreign
(1) It is faid to have been ftated fome years ago to the Houfe of Commons ly Sir Stephen Theodore Janflen, as the opinion of a committee after examination, that we pay a million fterling per armum for finuggled tea, This wras probably over-rated; but if true, it might be eftimated to give nearly the following reflt :

of

## [214]

companies has hicreafed.-Bur, without giving way to fo unpleaing a fpeculation, if the furmife of the quantity of tea finuggled Mould be admitted to a third part only of the extent ftated, it will amount to near one half of the prefent confumption; and the produce of that confumption in the neat duties of Excife and Cuftoms is about 700,000\%. per ann.
§ The low price of bullion, and the favourable courfe of exchange ( $m$ ), continue nearly. as deferibed to sour Lordhip in my third Letter ( $n$ ); fince which I have feen fome very good; opinions, that confirm me ( 0 ) in eftimating the current coin of the kingdom at 20 millions fterling. At the fame time both the fcarcity, fo far as it prevails among individuals in their private tranfactions, and the rife of intereft may be fet down to the account of the war, and the high demand for public loans within the capi-tal.-In ftating this matter it feemed fufficient to eflimate, that fixteen millions of guineas had

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\begin{aligned}
& \text { (in) See Appendix, No. VII. } \\
& \begin{array}{ll}
\text { (i) })^{4} .95,96 . & \text { (o) P. } 114 .
\end{array}
\end{aligned}
$$

actually

## $4]$

-Bur, without giva fececulation, if the furtea finuggled fiould be only of the extent fatnear one halif of the ad the produce of that it duties of Excife and ol. per ann.
ullion, and the fayoure $(m)$, continue nearly dhip in my third Letave feen fome very good: ne (o) in eftimating the ngdom at 20 millions. ime both the fcarcity, ong individuals in their I the rife of intereft may int of the war, and the $=$ loans within the capither it feemed fufficient milliois of guineas had
P. VII.
P. 114.

50x. $6=1$
actually

## [215]

actually appeared upon the falutary operation of reforming the gold coin. I was indeed anxious in this, as in other pofitions, to avoid the imputation of over-ftating any point of evidence: but, I believe, that the following is a true account of the quantity of light money which appeared on the late recoinage.
The total brought to account under the thres proclamations was $15,563,593!$, 10 s .8 d .
Exclufive of which, the eftimate of the dif $\rightarrow$ ference between weight and tale, which difference fell upon the holders of the clipped gold coin; purchafed under the firt proclamation, amounted to 380,643 l. And exclufive alfo of bars melted from guineas purchafed by the Bank, which have been computed at two millions fterling.
Tota!, 17,944, 236 l. 10 S. 8 6.
§ When I Rated ( $n$ ) a poffible extremity of national embarraffments, in which, under a choise of neceffiry evils, it might become the beft alternative to raife fupplies upon the ordinary
(n) P. 187.
revenue,

## [216]

revenue, or upon the produce of the Sinking Fund, which together (amounting to near fout millions and a half per ann.) would afford an intereft equal to about one hundred and thirty millions ferling ; I exprefsly added, and proceeded to fhew, that the times were very fat from wanting fuch affiftance; ftill lefs could I mean to infinuate, that $4,400,000 /$. would pay the intereft of 130 millions, as money is now borrowed.Under a fimilar reafoning, it is faid, in a fubfequent paflage ( 0 ), that the faving of 150,0001 . in bounties, would be equal to the intereft of a loan of 5 millions.-Again it is faid ( $p$ ), that the Gavings to accrue by the falling of 19 millions in 1781 from 4 to 3 per cent. ; and of $4 \frac{1}{2}$ millions in 1782, from $3 \frac{1}{3}$ to 3 per cent., will furnifh 2 fund (viz. $212,363 \%$ per arn.) fo ${ }^{r}$ paying the intereft of feven millions.-It was evidently not intended, in any of thefe inftances, to deferibe the fums, which would be actually received by the Exchequer; for it had already been obferved ( $q$ ), that we in truth borrow at a
(0) P. 136. (p) P. 334 (q) P 98.
produce of the Sinking amounting to near fout ann.) would afford ant one hundred and thirty refsly added, and protimes were very fat from ftill lefs could I mean to l. would pay the intereft ney it now borrowed.g , it is faid, in a fubfethe faving of $1 \mathrm{go}, 0 c \mathrm{l}$. equal to the intereft of a in it is faid $(p)$, that the e falling of 19 millions cent. ; and of $4 \frac{1}{2}$ mil$\frac{1}{3}$ to 3 per cent., will $212,363 \%$. per añ.) fo ${ }^{\text {r }}$ feven millions.-It was in any of thefe inftances, which would be actually puer ; for it had already : we in truth borrow at a
P. 134. (q) P 98.
rate

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rate fully equal to 5 per cent. and perhaps at a higher rate than in any period of the two laft wars. I had in view the practifed mode of borrowing at an invariable interef; this being lower than the current intereft, is made good by advantages, producing either no charge to the Public, as in the inftance of lotteries, or a temporary charge, as in the inftances of long and of fhort annuities (which latter, though a favourite and perhaps unavoidable feccies of douceur to the lenders, are generally the mot expenfive premium that the Public pays).-I ufed then the fame fcale by which the national debt is meafured, and thought it more confonant to fate the nominal fum, for which the nation would be pledged to its creditors, at the determined intereft of 3 per cent., than to hazard conjectures upon the uncertain fum which the exchequer would receive.

S In ftating ( $n$ ) that the grofs produce of the Excife for the year 1779, ending the ${ }^{5}$ th of July,
(n) P. ine.

Ff amounted

## [ 218.$]$

amounted to, fo large a fum, as 5,86 ,,081 $\%$, I ought perhaps to have added, that no part thereof was to be afcribed to the 5 per cent. new duty, which had indeed commenced on the quarter day preceding, but had not yet been brought to account. On the other hand, however, the hop duty had contributed largely to that account, having amounted to 160,095 l.The produce of that duty may naturally be expesied to vary much; and the late annual variation has been alternately high and low.For the year ending July 5 th, 1780 , it will not produce more than 53,000 , -For the 5 years ending July 5 th, 1779 , its annual neat average was about 95,000 \%.
It is eafy, and has not been unufual even among wife and refpectable men, to affert, that nothing can be inferred from a large produce of Excife duties to counterbalance the evils which give it birth. It is an evidence, fay they, that an inordinate, and fatal confumption, has taken place among all ranks of people; that a profur fion, fed by paper credit, prevails through the kingdom,

## 18.]

a fum, as $5,86,081$, ve added, that no part ed to the $s$ per cent. new ed commenced on the but had not yet been in the other hand, howd contributed largely to mounted to 160,095 \% duty may naturally be $h$; and the late annual rnately high and low.ly sth, 1780 , it will not 1,000 1.-For the 5 years , its annual neat average
not been unufual even table men, to affert, that from a large produce of erbalance the evils which evidence, fay they, that 1 confumption, has taken of people ; that a profur jit, prevails through the
[219]
Eit Luxur populator opum, querm fompera alkerns Infrixix bumili brefu cominatur Egshas.

1 feel difpofed to meet every well meaning and moral remark, with all poffible deference and refpect; I feel too, that the mifchief here defcribed is, if it exifts, as much a thefis for political, as for moral cenfure; but it muft be remembered that no term is fo vague as luxury; It is a fpedre, which was feen by many in the very infancy of Rome, and in the hardy fchool of Lycurgus. Before we admit then, that the is ftalking over our land, with all her debafing and devouring attributes; it is furely fair to look round, and to examine, whether in truth there exift fufficient appearances to furnih fuch a picture. We are not to draw political conclufions from individual inftances, nor to infer a national depravity from the confequences of a partial influx of wealth, or the limited and temporary prevalence of fome fahhionable folly and profufion. We fhould mildly afk ourfelves, whether the general methods of living have gone beyond that point of commodious elegance, which

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the improvements of an active age reafonably furnith; whecher the refinements of fome ranks, and the magnificence of others, exceed what ought to accompany the neceffary inequalities of property; and whether the focial intercourfe of men is of that corrupt, impove. rifhing, and defolating kind which tends to popular diftrefs, and to the annihilation of private and public virtue.-Do we then fee any fymptoms of general effeminacy ? Is there any want of martial ardour ? are not the young men of the firt ranks and property in the kingdom among the firft to facrifice the indulgences which their fituations would fupply, and to offer themfolves to every inconvenience that military difcipline, military fervice, long fea voyages, and unwholefome climates can threateni In ohort, are there not various examples, among the difforent claffes of our cotemporaries, of as much high-fpirited fentiment, as much genuine feience, and as much true relifh of moral and intellectual beauty, as can be traced in any period of hiftory.?

51 hall now bring this enquiry towards a conclufion; nor can I' forefee any probable circum-
of an active age reauether the refinements of e magnificence of others, , accompany the neceffary $y$; and whether the focial of that corrupt, impove. ig kind which tends to to the annihilation of pri-1e.-Do we then fee any effeminacy i Is there any r) are not the young men property in the kingdom fice the indulgences which fupply, and to offer themenience that military difse, long fea voyages, and can threaten i In Mhort, :xamples, among the diftemporaries, of as much , as much genuine ficience, of moral and intellectual 1 in any period of hiftory ? is enquiry towards a consfee any probable circum-
flance,

## [221]

fance, which will ever induce me to refume it. In fuch a varicty of reafonings and calculations as I have taken occafion to fate, fome inaccuracies may naturally be expected; but they certainly are not intentional, and I truft that they are neither frequent, nor confiderable enough, to affect the general purport of what I have faid. The anxiety " to fee things as they are," has never quitted me. I have never been confcious of a difpofition either to exaggerate our own refources, or to depreciate thofe of our enemies; it would be a mort-lighted folly to do either the one or the other.-I lament indeed, that more is not known with regard to foreign finance, and fhould have gladly gone into fome farther detail on that fubject ; but I am not afhamed to confers, that I continue unable to attempt it.-It is fufficient to obferve on the French Edicts which have lately been publifhed with fo much induftry through Europe, that they are tertaiply as little calculated to infire terror, as they are to give information. They may poffibly leffen in fome degree the diffidence of money-lenders, and affift a frained credit;

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but time only can thew, whether more is to be expected from them. When we fee gracious communications from Marly, and edict after ediA, defcribing grofs abufes in refined language, and untricd remedies in plaufible felhemes of reform ; we in trith fee nothing more, than has been feen under every minifter of finance that France has had in our memory : and thofe who collect the ftrength of France from the circulation of fuch papers, give fome countenance to Heliogabalus, who formed his eftimate of the extent of Rome from 10,000 pounds weight of cobwebs, which had been found within the city. -At the fame time, it muft be admitted, that a paft want of credit may have proved favourable to prefent refources; and it is beyond a doubt, thiat the kingdom of France can furnifh materials which will be found very productive in the hands of fo able a minifter as Mr. Neckar. We know that, whatever interruption this war may have given to his original plans of reform, he muft in any event find great prefent aides in the eftablifhed power of the crown to borrow on refcriptions and anticipations, new affeffments of the fecond-
vingtieme
, whether more is to be When we fee gracious Marly, and edict after jufes in refined language, in plaufible fchemes of nothing more, than has minifter of finance that remory : and thofe who France from the circulave fome countenance to ned his effimate of the 10,000 pounds weight of en found within the city. nuft be admitted, that a lave proved favourable to : is beyond a doubt, that n furnifh materials which detive in the hands of fo Jeckar. We know that, his war may have given eform, he mult in any : aides in the eftablifhed , borrow on refcriptions affefments of the fecondvingtieme

## [223]

vingtiome and capitation, the flock of corporations, contributions, free-gifts,-together with other expedients practifed in the laft war, fome of which the edicts prove to be alrcady under trial, fuch as the markets of Sceaux and Poiify, \&c.; -exclufive of a longer train of unfeen expedients, undermining, indeed, thofe which are oftenfible, and impairing all the finances of the flate, but furnifhing an effective and immediate fupply.
We are not to put a mafk over our fituation; we are to look it fairly in the face; ftrong truths prove offenfive only to weak eyes. The object of good citizens, in a moment like the prefent, fhould be not to footh the nation into the fecurity of an infant, but to encourage that manly confidence, which has thus far fupported the national frength and exertions. We are engaged in a war which we did not provoke : The path which we have to purfue, is indeed a path of toil and embarraffinents, but it is direet and unavoidable. We may wifh for peace; but, in order to force the war to a fpeedy and juft conclufion, great national expences are neceflary. Under thefe circumftances, I have had the $\therefore \quad 5 \quad$ fatisfaction

## [224]

fatisfaction to convince myfelf at leaf, that we poffefs ample refources, and without any preffure, either on the occupations of the induftrious, or on the maintenance of the lower claffes in general. But if any man will point out new objects of refource, which have not occurred to me, he will not only prove (what I will chearfully admit), that he is better informed, but will add to the fatisfaction which I feel; and I fhall honour him for making the beft ufe of fuperior talents.
1 have gone into a detail of many fpeculative reforms, in the hope of fhewing, that an improved collection of fubfifting taxes, and a better arrangement of commercial duties, would alone furnifh a confiderable and permanent fupply.-I have mentioned too (a), that the delay in fettling public accounts has always been very great, and that the manner, in which fome of confiderable magnitude are ufually managed, has never been fatisfactory; but I have not prefumed to fay more upon what is the moft obvious duty of the reprefentative body. I

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\text { (a) P. } 73
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have
myfelf at leaft, that we and without any preffure, ns of the induftrious, or te lower claffes in general. it out new objects of reoccurred to me, he will I will chearfully admit), red, but will add to the ; and I fhall honour him of fuperior talents.
letail of many fpeculative of thewing, that an imfubfifting taxes, and a :ommercial duties, would iderable and permanent tioned too (a), that the accounts has always been e manner, in which fome ude are ufually managed, Ctory; but I have not upon what is the moft reprefentative body. I
[225]
have farther ftated (a) "s the great affiftance " derivable from the appropriations of public "claims, poffeffions, and contingencies :" and fo far as this expreffion may include the views of fome refpectable men towards the fale of fuch demefnes, and other royal rights, as afford little benefit to revenue, and no circumftance of fplendour or convenience to the crown; it feems right to add, that, though fuch a meafuie would give little immediate aid to the Public, it would prove a folid benefit to the general cultivation and future produce of thefe kingdoms.
Laftly, I have faid (b), " that oeconomy in the "conduct of war is often a moft thort-fighted "virtue :" when Cicero exclaimed, "O Dii immortales! non intelligunt bomines quam magnum veCiigal fit parfimonia;" he was fumming up his fixth paradox to prove, that for an individual, poverty is preferable to riches; that virtue is a more folid poffeffion than houfes and land; and that the fewer defires a man feels, the fewer gratifications he will want. Bus if, inftead of
(a) P. 133
(b) P. 73 .
foical

## [i 226.]

fioical morality, he : Irai been engaged in a dif. fertation on the practical policy of a great kingdom involved in a fruggle with furrounding empires, he would have furnifhed me with better words, than I ufed ( $\sigma$ ), to exprefs, that ${ }^{6}$ © parfimeny in war, when it tends to a defal-- cation of ufeful fervices, becomes a wretched " management, for which the nation in the event. "pays twenty-fold."-I neither meant however, nor do I now mean, to differ from thofe, who look for refources in the profecution of any meafures, which, without clogging the executive power; may inforce a ftrict and efficient management of the public money.-I think fuch meafures highly laudable; I know them to be difficult; yet I believe them not to be impracticable.

But when thefe ideas are carried to a branch of public revenue, diftinct from that which bears the bational expences, the propofition is very different, and fo novel, that, withour propofing to difcufs it in an adverfe line, it may be

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\text { (c) P. } 73
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reafonable

## 2261

di been engaged in a dif. Nical polisy of a great a fruggle with furround1 have furnifhed me with ufed ( $\sigma$ ), to exprefs, that when it tends to a defalices, becomes a wretched aich the nation in the event. -I neither meant however, to differ from thofe, who the profecution of any out clogging the executive. trict and efficient manage-money.-I think fuch ble; I know, them to be them not to be impracti-
as are carried to a branch fiftinct from that which. oences, the propofition is novel, that, withour proan adverfe line, it maj be
P. $73 \times$ it $\quad$ reafonable

## [227]

reafonable so waiufor full information with regard to it.-We know that the ordinary revenue of our kings has either fubffited time out of mind, or elfe has been granted in Parliament by way of purchafe, or exchange, for fuch inherent hereditary revenues and prerogatives, as were objeEis either of jealoufy, poffible oppreffion, or experienced inconvenlence to the people.Wo all concur in feeling, that the kings of thefe iflands, though ftrietly circumficribed in their powers, reign unlimited in the affections of their people. It has ever been the pride of their people, and perhaps the policys to indulge their fovereigns, not merely in the expences of ictual fervice, but in thofe of magnificence, pleafure, and beneficence. How far fuch a fyftem has hitherto tended to break the balance effential between the different powers of the conftitution; -whether, in the nature of a free monarchical government, there ought to fubfift any, and: what degree of that influence, which refulis from the diftribution of honours, offices, emoluments, and perfonal gratifications;-whether, if that diftribution were greatly nariowed, men of
$\mathbf{G g}_{\mathbf{g}}$ talents,

## [228]

talents, however impelled by a juft and proper fenfe of public virtue, would engage in the career and competition of public duties; or, quod contra plerigue ad bonores adipifcendos at ad rempublicam gerendam, nudi venirent atque inermes; nulld cognatione rerum, nulla fcientid ornati;-and lafly, what precautions are neceffary in thefe wide propofals of innovation, to fatisfy ferious men, that the conflitutional fyftem, under which they poffers every thing dear to them, will not in confequence be either fatally maken, or refted on fome more dangerous principles:-All thefe confiderations, and the various fubordinate queftions both of fact and abftract seafoning which they involve, muft be argued and afcertained, if ever the expedient alluded is fould be brought forwards as an eligible mode of raifing money.

To thefe remarks it may not unfairly be replied, that the meafure is not fated as eligible at all times and in all national circumftances; but that at prefent it is reafonable to doubt the practicability of raifing the neceflary fupplies, without public diftrefs; and therefore

## 228 ]

iled by a juft and proper $e$, would engage in the on of public duties; or, bonores adipifcendos at ad nudi venirent atque inermes; nulla fcientia ornati ;-and sare neceffary in thefe wide n , to fatisfy ferious men, fyftem, under which they sar to them, will not in - fatally maken, or refted ous principles :-All thefe c various fubordinate querI' abftract reafoning which argued and afcertained, if uded is Thould be brought e move of raifing money. it may not unfairly be rere is not ftated as eligible ll national circumftances; it is reafonable to doubt raifing the neceffary, lic diftrefs ; and therefore that

## [ 229 ]

that it will be right to adopt an expedient tending both to relieve the burdens of the country, and to evince the integrity of thofe who lay them. But here alfo it muft be thewn, what may well be queftioned, that a doubt fo difheartening to the nation, fo injurious to public credit, and fo encouraging to the public enemies, has its foundation in truth.-And after all, if this dreadful ftate of penury were admitted to exift, it might ftill be found impracticable to draw any extenfive fupply from the fource alluded to.- In a country where nearly all the leading and opulent families derive 2 part, and fome the whole of their hereditary incomes from the crown; where various royal grants are enjoyed, of different dates, and founded in very different pretenfions; where the juftice and fubftantial merits of a pretenfion of ten years ftanding, may be as folid, or at leaft be thought fo, as that of a century; it will be difficult to draw any line : nor is much volunteering alacrity to be expected among mankind in fo harh an undertaking.-We happily were not born in the days of Lyfias, whe fates in

## [ 230 ]

one of his Orations, not as a fubject of cenfure, but as the ordinary ways and means of raifing a fupply; that when the Athenians wanted money for public emergencies, it was not unufual with them to put fome rich citizen to death for the fake of his forfeiture.
If, laitly, it is faid, that all refources muft be grod which tend to cut up public corruption by the roots, it is impoffible not to admit fo juft and obvious a pofition; and if it is founded in the actual circumftances of any exifting fyftem, the people of this country may reafonably be expected to deftine their approaching fuffrages and future confidence to thofe who thew moft alacrity towards the reform which is found fo effential.-No man will difpute that public corruption is a crying evil) ; the mere sumour merits a frict and fatisfactory examination, to what extent it exiffs, and if it exifts, by what mode it may beft be reaiified. Hercules would have gained little eredit by his fixth labour, if h. had not afcertained the condition of the Augean Stables, before he turned the courle of the river Alpheus to purify them, and to wafh away all the accumulations of a century.

30 ]
cas a fubject of cenfure, 's and means of raifing : Athenians wanted mo ies, it was not unufual rich citizen to death for
that all refources mun cut up public corruption soffible not to admit fo on; and if it is founded nces of any exifting fyrcountry may reafonably their approaching fuflence to thofe who thew e reform which is found will difpute that public evil; the mere sumour sfactory examination, to nd if it exifts, by what zified. Hercules would by his fixth labour, if hi. zondition of the Augean d the courle of the river a, and to walh away all century.

I thall

## [231]

1 flatl difmifs this fubject in the words of a modern writer, who unites the eloquence of fpeech to that of the pen, and the moft pleafing virtues of private life to the difplay of public ability: "Nothing wouid be more unworthy " of this nation, than, with a mean and mecha" nical rule to mete out the fiplendour of the "crown."-." A vigilant and jealous eye over "executory and judicial magitracy ; an anxious "care of public money; an opennefs, approach" ${ }^{6}$ ing towards facility, to public complaint: " thefe feem the true characteriftics of the "Houfe of Commons."-But, " whenever " parliament is perfuaded to affume the offices " of executive government, it will lofe all the "confidence, love, and veneration, which it has " ever borne, whilf it was fuppofed the corrective "c and controul. This would be the event, though " its conduct in fuch a perverfion of its func"c ticins thould be tolerably juft artic moderate; "\% but if it fhould be iniquitous, violent, full "c of paffion, and full of faction, it would be "confidered as the moft intolerable of all " modes of tyranny."
§ I have

## [232]

5 . I have nothing to add to my Fourth Letter. -The principles which produced that Letter, and the reafonings conveyed by $i t$, were equally and cordially applied to confolidate the manufacturing and trading interefts of Great Britain and Irelond. I rejoice to fee this new, and I truft, immortal, plizenomenon of a complete commercial union between the two nations, founded on the bafis of equity, juftice, and acknowledged wifdom. In removing the reAtricions which paft ages had impofed on the ingenuity and induftry of our fifter kingdom, I reft convinced that we are promoting our own opulence and greatnefs, at the fame time that we convey employment and profperity wa loyal, brave, gencrous, grateful, and atiectionate people.

I am, my dear Lord, refpectuully and affeetionately, \&c.

WILLIAM EDEN. L2,

## :32 ]

Idd to my Fourth Letter. th produced that Leter, veyed by it, were equally to confolidate the manunterefts of Great Britain e to fee this new, and I nomenon of a complete tween the two nations, of equity, juftice, and In removing the reiges had impofed on the of our fiffer kingdom, I $e$ are promoting our own i, at the fame time that $t$ and profperity wa loyal, ateful, and atiectionate

Lord,
and affectionately, \&cc.
NILLIAM EDEN.

A $\mathbf{P} \quad \mathrm{P} \quad \mathrm{E} N \mathrm{~N}$ I X.

No. I.
ACTS made in England, reftraining Trade to and from Irzland.

> Sberp, Wool, sec.

PR OHIBITS the exportation of ramis, 8 Elize. 3 . Heep, or lambs alive, from England or Ireland.
Prohibit the exportation of fheep or wool, is Car. II. e. 32.
 made of wool, wool-flocks, fullers-earth, and fulling-clay, from England or Ireland.
Prohibits alfo the exportation of tobacco. see. 8. pipe clay:
 exported from Great Britain into Ireland. c. 40. fee, a. Prohibit the exportation of wool, wool- 10. $\mathrm{N}^{\prime \prime} \mathrm{W}$ W. III.
 yarn, eloth, ferge, bays, kerfey, fays, taf.ai frizes, drugetts, cloth-ferges, fhalloons, 5 Ceo. IIt c. 21 . or other drapery ftuffs, or woollen-manu-

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[A]
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factures

## [ ii ]

factures from Ireland, except to Great Britain, as by Lift No. II.
"A Geo. 11, c.21. Extends the prohibition to coverlids, wad tect. 9. dings, or other manufaciures made of wool, nlightly fitched or worked together, fo as to be reduced to wool again, and to matraffes and beds, fuffed with cumbed wool, or wool fit for combing.
sua. 11. The above articles are not to be laden on board any thip bound to foreign parts, or be laden or carried coaftwife from one part of Great Britain or Ireland to another, without a lieenfe from the commiffioners or officers of the cuftoms, and fecurity given to land accordingly.

## Navigation and P'antations.

${ }_{2} 2$ Car. II.c. 18 . By thefe acts, the following articles being fect. 18.
$22 \& 23$ Car. II c. 26 . (eCl. 10 \& 11.
${ }_{7}$ \& 8 W. 111
C. 22. fed. 1
\& 151
${ }_{3} 8{ }^{2} 5^{\prime}$ Ann. c. 9
fet. 12.
$3^{\text {\& }} 4$ Aun. c. 10
3 Geo. l. c. 1 g
8
reft, 24.
8 Geo. I. c. 18
frate 22.
4 Geo. II. c. 15
4 Geo. II. c. 15 .
6 Geo. It. c. 13. the growth, product, or manufacture of any Britih Plantation in Africa, Afia, or America, cannot be imported into or landed in Ireland, except they are firk landed in Grea: Britain, viz. fugar, too bacco, cotton-wool, indico, ginger, fur. tic, or other dying wood, Specle or Jamaica wood, rice, melaffes, tar, pitch, turpentine, mafts, yards and bowlpric, beaver-
[ ii ]
reiand, except to Great BriNo. II. sibition to coverlids, wad er manufactures made of flitched or worked togebe reduced to wool again, ffes and beds, fluffed with or wool fit for combing. les are not to be laden on bound to foreign parts, or arried coaftwife from one Britain or Ireland to anoa licenfe from the commifers of the cuftoms, and fel land accordingly.
ion and P'antations.
the following articles being roduct, or manufacture of antation in Africa, Afia, or not be imported into or eland, except they are firt ea: Britain, viz. fugar, to. 1-wool, indico, ginger, fulf. dying wood, Specle or Jarice, melaffes, tar, pirch, nafts, yards and bowloric, beaver-

## [iii]

beaver-fkins and other furs, copper ore, 4 Geo. 111 . c. 15 coffee, pimento, cocoa-nuts, whale-fins, ${ }_{51}$,ef. 27. raw filk, hides and keins, pot and pearl- iedr. 4 . athes, and gum fenega.
But all other goods (except hops) of the 4 Geo. It. c.is. growth, product, or manufacture of the ${ }^{7 \text { Geo. III. c. }{ }^{2} \text {. }}$ Plantations, may be imported from thence into Ireland, in Britifh Mipping, whereof the mafter, and three-fourths of the mariners, are Britifh.
Goods the product of Europe, cannot be 13 car. II. c. 7 . imported into any Britifh Plantation, un. fred. 6 . lefs Thipped in Great Britain, and carried c. 22. fec.. 2. directly from thence in Britifh-built Mipping.
Except falt for the filheries. Horfes and victual and linen cloth from Ireland, by 3 \& 4 Ann, c. 8. and 3 Geo. I. c. 21 . Provifions, and implements for the fifheries, by $i_{5}$ Geo. III. c. 31. fect. 5 . Clothing and accoutrements for the army, by 15 Geo. III. c. 45 . and other articles of Irifh manufacture permitted to be exported directly from thence into the Britith Plantations, by 18 Geo. 11I. c. 55. Vide No. II.

## [iv]

Salt.
$2 \& 3$ Ann. c. 34 . Salt, of or from Ireland, not to be imported into Great Britain, except neceflary provifions for the thip, or for curing fifh. See Burrow's Book of Rates, p. 835.

Hops.
feat. 27. ${ }^{\text {Ann. }}$. 32. Hops not to be imported into Ireland, ex${ }_{5}$ Gro. ii. c. g. cept from Great Britain only, and of Bris 7 Geo. 11. c. 19. tifh growth,
${ }_{6}$ Geo. I. c. 11. Hops of Britifh growth, exported to Irefea. 39. land, not to drawback the duty.

Eafi India Goods.
5 Geo. I. c. II. Wrought filks, bengals and ftuffs mixed ${ }_{22}{ }^{2}$ Geo.II. c.22. with filk, and herba mullins and other f\&e. z. $\quad$ callicoess of the manufacture of Perfia, China, or Eaft India, are not to be imported into Ireland, except from Great Britain.
7 Geo. I. c. 27. Na commodity of the growth, product, or lect. 9. manufacture of the Eaft Indies, and other places beyond the Cape of Good Hope, is to be-imported into Ireland, except from Great Britain, in thips navigated according to law.

Rum,

## [iv]

Salt.
Ireland, not to be imported tain, except neceffary pro: hhip, or for curing filh. Book of Rates, p. 825.

## Hops.

imported into Ireland, exat Britain only, and of Bri,
growth, exported to Irerawback the duty.
$q$ India Goods.
bengals and fuffs mixed herba mulins and other te manufacture of Perfia, India, are not to be imeland, except from Great
of the growth, product, or of the Eaft Indies, and reyond the Cape of Good be -imported into Ireland, reat Britain, in Chips navig to law.

Rum,

## [ v ]

Rum, Spirits, and Sugar, Erc.
Sugars, panelles, fyrups, or melaffes, of 6 Gea. II. c. 13. the growth, product, or manufacture of feet. 4 . any colonies in America, and rum or fipirits of America (except of the growth or manufacture of the Britith fugar colonies there), are not to be imported into Ireland, unlefs fhipped in Great Britain, in Thips navigated according to law.

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

Brandy, rum, or other firits, not to be ${ }_{5}$ Geo.iII.c.,43. exported from Ireland in frips under $100{ }^{\text {lect. } 300}$ tons burthen.
Rum, fugar, coffee, or any goods which is Geo. III. are by law prohibited to be imported from ${ }^{\text {c. }} 55$. fee. i, Ireland into Great Britain, are not to be exported, or entered for exportation, from Ireland to Great Britain.
Rum or fpirits of the Britifh Colonies or Sea 5 . Plantations in America, are not to be imported into Ireland in any hip under 70 tons burthen, either from the Colonies or from Great Britain; and foreign Brandy, or other fpirits, from any other place whatfoever, are not to be imported in ! hips under 100 tons.

## [vi]

32 Geo. III. No part of the old fubfidy to be drawn c. 60. set. 6. back for any fugars of the growth, produce, or manufacture of any foreign Colony or Plantation not under the dominion of his Majetty, which thall be exported from Great Britain to Ireland.

Glafs.
13 Geo. 11. c. 22. No glafs of any kind or denomination, other than the manufacture of Great Britain, may be imported into Ireland.
Sea. 24. No glafs of any kind may be exported from Ireland, or laden on any hoife, carriage or veffel, with intent to be il wited

## Sail-cloth.

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

## [ vi ]

old fubfidy to be drawn gars of the growth, profacture of any foreign Coion not under the domiajefty, which thall be exeat Britain to Ireland.

## Glafs.

nd or denomination, other facture of Great Britain, d into Ireland. ind may be exported from en on any hoife, carriage ntent to be il "irted.

Sail-cloth.
y was laid upon all canvas e manufacture of Ireland, Great Britain during the a bounty granted in Ire19 Geo. II. upon the ex--cloth from that kingdom, th of the value of 14 d . pwards, 4 d. per yard.
er $14 d . p$ :r yard, $2 d$. per

Corn.

## [. vii ]

Corn.
Corn exported from Great Britain or Ire- 5 Geo. III . land, to the Ifle of Man, not to be al- c. 30. feet. ns. lowed any bounty.

## Cambricks or Lazuns.

No cambrick or lawn whatfoever to be im- 7 Geo. III. ported from Ireland into any part of ${ }^{\mathrm{C} .43 . \mathrm{fec} .5} \mathrm{~s}$. Great Britain, until the importation of cambricks and French lawns into Ireland Mall be prohibited by law.

## Tobacto.

Tobacco, the growth, product, or manu- ig Geo. III. facture of Ireland, not to be exported c. 35 . fect. 2 . from thence to any place except Great Britain.

## Duties.

By the book of rates and fubfequent acts, ${ }^{22}$ Car, II. c. 4 . all goods imported into Great Britain from Ireland, unlefs in particular cafes where Ireland is exprefsly excepted (Vids No. II.), are liable to the fame duties as the like goods are chargeable with if imported from other foreign parts.

## [ viii ]

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

The duty.
Woollen cloths, 1. $128_{2}^{1} \frac{1}{6}$ per yard.
ftuffs, 049 per yard. Tallow candles, $4 \mathrm{I}_{12}^{\frac{3}{6}}$ per cwt. Sope, - - 13 9 ${ }^{\frac{1}{2}} \mathrm{p}$ per cwt.

## No. II.

ACTS made in England. in favour of Trade to and from Ireland.

Wool, Woollen, and other Manufaciures.
ERMITS the importation of woollen cloths, woollen caps, andirons, and a great variety of enumerated manufactures in leather, iron, fteel, \&c. to h: fold in this kingdom, if made and wrought in Ireland; which are prohibited to be fo imported from other parts.
28 Geo, II, c, 22. Permits the importation of woollen and sea. ı.
bay-yarn into Great Britain from Ireland, duty-free.

## viii ]

ticles may be imported but are fubject to duties to a prohibition, viz.
The duty.

1. $12.8: 4$ per yard.

- 49 per yard.
$14 \mathrm{t}_{3 \mathrm{~b}}^{3} \mathrm{per} \mathrm{cwt}$.
13 9zo per cwt.

No. II.
n England. in favour and from Ireland.
and otber Manufaciures.
ie importation of woolien : caps, andirons, and a :numerated manufacturcs feel, \&cc. to hy: fold in f made and wrought in are prohibited to be fo ther parts. rration of woollen and Great Britain from Ite-

## [ ix ]

And feveral fubfequent acts permitted the I w. \& M.c. $\mathrm{z}^{2}$. exportation of raw and manufactured fert. 6. wool from particular ports in Ireland to c. 28, feet. 5 particular ports in England, enumerated $108 \approx$ w.iin. in the acts upon the fecurity to land it accordingly, and other regulations prefcribed by the 10 \&t 11 W. III. c. 10.but,
Permits wool, woollen, or bay-yarn, wool- 26 Geo. II.c. it fells, Mhartlings, mortings, wool-flocks, and wortted-yarn, to be exported from any port in Ireland to any port in Great Britain, under the fecurity and regulations preferibed by $10 \&$ it W. III. c. 10. for the former articles.
Clothing and accoutrements, the produce ${ }_{5} \mathrm{Geo}_{\mathrm{ill}}^{\mathrm{IIf}}$. - of Great Britain or Ireland, for the ufe ${ }^{\text {c. }} 45$. of his Majefty's forces abroad, paid in part out of the Irifh revenue, may be exported from Ircland.

## Navigation and Plantations.

Ships built in Ireland, navigated with the 12 Car. II. c. 18 . people thereof, are deemed Britith, and ${ }_{\text {C. 22. }} 8.8 \mathrm{~W} . \mathrm{IIL}$ qualified to trade to and from the Britioh ${ }^{\text {c. } 22 .}$ Plantations.
Ships built in Ireland, and ravigated with in.er. il c. is. his Mäjefty's fubject -f Ireland, are in- feet. 7 .


## [x]

titled to the fame abatement and privileges to which importers or exporters of goods in Britih-built Chips are intitled by the book of rates.
i8 Geo. III. Ships built in Ireland, and owned by his c. 55 . feet 9. Majefty's fubjects refiding in any part of the Britifh dominions in Europe, to be deemed Britifh built, and intitled to the like privileges and advantages in all refpects, as thips built in Great Britain; and
Ships belunging to any of his Majefty's fubjects refiding in Ireland, and not Britioh built, are to be intitled to the fame privileges and advantages in all parts of his Majefty's dominions, as thips belonging to his Majefty's fubjects refiding in Great Britain, and not Britifh or Irifh built, are intitled to.
${ }^{15}$ Car. II. c. 7. Permits the exportation of fervants, horfes, fec. $7 . \quad$ and victual from Ireland to the Britifh Plantations.
3 . 4 Ann. e. 8. Permit the importation of linen cloth of
 tations.
18 Ceo. III. Makes it lawful to export, under certain rec. 55. fea. 2. gulations, directly from Ireland, into the Britith
ame abatement and priviimporters or exporters of h -built Chips are intitled by ies.
reland, and owned by his eets refiding in any part of ninions in Europe, to be - built, and intitled to the and advantages in all ress built in Great Rritain ;
to any of his Majefty's fubn Ireland, and not Britifh $x$ intitled to the fame privantages in all parts of his
 sfubjects refiding in Great tr Britih or ltifh built, are
rtation of fervants, horres, om Ireland to the Britifh ortation of linen cloth of ind, into the Britifh Plan-
o export, under certain rectly from Ireland, into the Britith

## [ xi ]

Britifh Plantations in America or the Weft I:dies, or any Britifh fettlement on the coaft of Africa,
Any goods the produce or manufacture of Ireland, except wool and woollen-manufactures, cotton-manufactures;
Hats, glafs, hops, gunpowder and coals; And all goods of the growth, product, or manufacture of Great Britain, legally imported from thence into Ireland, except woollen-manufactures and glafs;
And all foreign certificate goods, legally imported from Great Britain into Ireland; But not to extend to foreign linen painted, sec. in Ireland,
Nor to bar-iron, iron flit or rolled, plated or tinned, nor any manufactured ironwares, till a duty is impofed thereon in Ireland;
Nor to any fuch articles, if a bounty or premium is allowed thereon:
And not to take place with refpect to goods the manufacture of Ireland, except and until they are chargeable with duties to as great an amount as the like goods are charged with on expo totion from Great Britain.
[B] 2
Permit

4 Geo. II. c. ry. Permit the importation of all non-enume${ }_{7}{ }_{7}$ Geo. III. c. c. 9. Gat ated goods (except hops) of the growth, product, or manufacture of the Britifh Plantations, dircaly from thence into Ireland.

Hemp, Fiax, Linen, and Cotton.
9. 48 W. III. Hemp and flax, and any manufacture made 26. 3ceo. Il. c. 26. thereof in Ireland, may be imported into sect. 6. Great britain from thence, free of all duties, upon certificate verifying the manufacture, \&c.
${ }^{3}$ Geo. I. c. 21. All linen made in Ireland, and imported into Great Britain, may be again exported to any Britifh Plantation in America, without payment of any duty whatfoever.
18 Geo. III. Cotton yarn, the manufacture of Ireland,
c. 56. may be imported into Great Britain dutyfree.

Other Articles which are permitted so be imparted into Great Britain from Ireland, or exported duty-free, viz.
6 Geo.III. e.46. Gum fenega, or gum arabic; 30 tons may seat. $5 \cdot$ be exported annually from Great Britain to Ireland duty-free, by licence from the Treafury, to be ufed in the linen manufactures of that kingdom.

## xii ]

tation of all non-enuine ecept hops) of the growth, tanufacture of the Britifh ircaly from thence into
, Linen, and Cotton. ind any manufacture made nd, may be imported into from thence, free of all ertificate verifying the ma-
in Ireland, and imported tain, may be again exportfh Plantation in America, nt of any duty whatfoever. e manufacture of Ireland, d into Great Britain duty-
ich are permitted io be imat Britain from Ireland, or ef, viz.
gum arabic; 30 tons may nually from Great Britain -free, by licence from the e ufed in the linen manukingdom.

Raw

## [ xiii]

Raw hides of fteers, cows, or any other 9 Geo.III.c. 39. cattle (except horfes, mares, or geldings), ${ }^{24} .86 . \mathrm{Geo}$. and calve fkins, or goat fkins, raw or undreffed, may be imported into Great Britain from Ireland, duty-free.
Rape feed and rape cakes inay be imported is Geo. III. into Great Britain from Ireland, duty- c. 34 free.
Salted beef, pork, bacon, and butter, and 16 Geo . mI . cattle, the laws permitting the importa- - ${ }^{\text {c. } 8 .}$ tion from Ireland into Great Britain duty-free, are made perpetual.
Permit the importation of tallow, hog's 7 Geo.III.e. r2. lard, and greafe, duty-free, till the 25 th $\begin{aligned} & \text { continued by } \\ & \text { Gea III. }\end{aligned}$ March 1782, from any place. c. 22. feel. 4

Tea.
Tea exported to Ireland as merchandize, to ${ }_{17} \mathrm{Geo}$ III. drawback the whole cuftoms, fubject to ${ }^{\text {c. } 27}$. the regulations preferibed hy 12 Geo . III. c. 60 and 16 Geo. III. c. ${ }^{5}$.

Bounties granted and payable in Great Britain, for encouraging the Linen Manufactures.
Grant the fame bounty on Irim linen made 29 Geo.II.e.ss of hemp or flax, exported from Great ${ }^{29}$ Geo. III.

Britain,

## [ xiv ]

Britain, as is allowed on Britifh linen exported, viz.
For every yard 25 inches broad, and under the value fo. s. d. of 5 d. per yard,
Of the value of 5 d . and under 6 d. per yard,
Of the value of 6 d . and not exceeding 1 s .6 d . per yard, $\circ \circ$,

Is Geo. 111. c. 45. fed. 3 . c. 41.

19 Geo. III. C. 37.

Grant an additional bounty of 5 s. per hogfhead upon flax feed imported into Ireland, for which a bounty is allowed in that kingdom, by Acts made there in the third and fixteenth years of his Majefty. Grants the following bounties on hemp, the growth of Ireland, imported from thence into Great Britain.




Buunties, Evc. for the Encouragement of the $^{\text {f }}$ Fifberies.
${ }^{5} \mathrm{Geo}$.III. Britifh-built fhips, owned by his Majefty's c. 31. feet 1.
fubjects refiding in Great Britain or Ireland, \&ce. catching a certain number of fifh on the Banks of Newfoundland, and arriving with the fame at Newfoundland,

## xiv $]$

lowed on Britifh linen exrd 25 inches inder the value f. s. $d$. urd, $\quad 0 \quad 0 \quad 0$ 5 d. and under of 6 d . and not 1. 6 d . per yard, $0 \quad 0 \quad 1 \frac{1}{5}$ nal bounty of 5 s . per hogf$x$ feed imported into Irech a bounty is allowed in by Acts made there in the enth years of his Majefty. owing bounties on hemp, f Ireland, imported from reat Britain.

ir the Encouragement of the Fiberies.
ps, owned by his Majefty's ing in Great Britain or Ire. tching a certain number of anks of Newfoundland, and the fame at Newfoundland,

## [ xv ]

under the regulations prefrribed in the AA, are to be allowed,
Tothe 25 veffela finf antiving, 401 . each $\}$ annually, for 100 neas ariving - 201 . asch $\}$ annually, foo sco next artiving - 101. each $\$ 1$ yerro.
Britihh-built thips owned by his Majeft's Sea. 3. fubjects, refiding in Great Britain or Ireland, proceeding from ther.ce and killing one whale, at leaft, in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, or on the coaft of Labrador, Newfoundland, or in any feas to the fouthward of the Greenland feas and Davis Streights, and returning within the fame year to fome port in England with the oil of fuch whales fo taken, are to be allowed for five thips, viz.
For the hip arriving
$\left.\begin{array}{l}\text { with the grentef quantity } 6.500 \\ \text { with the next Do. } \\ 400\end{array}\right]$ in each with the next Do. $\quad 400$
with the nert - $\quad 300$ year, fur $\left.\begin{array}{l}\text { with the neat - } \quad 300 \\ \text { with the next } \quad . \quad 100\end{array}\right\} \begin{aligned} & 11 \text { jears. }\end{aligned}$ with the next
And the oil to be landed free of duty.
Grants the fame bounties to whales fo 16 Geo . IIf. taken in the feas to the fouthward of the ${ }^{\text {c. } 47 .}$ latitude of forty-four degrees North.
Ships fitted out from Ireland in the whale 15 Geo. HII. fifhery, to the Greenland feas, Davis ${ }^{\text {c. } 31 . \text { feet 21. }}$ Streights, and the adjacent feas, under the regulations prefcribed, are to be al-

5 lowed,
[xvi]
lowed, on their return to fome port in Great Britain,


38 Geo. Itt. c. 5s. fon.e,

15 Gen. IIf. c. 31 . fed. g .

The above-mentioned bountics for Mips employed in the whale fifheries are to be allowed, although the whole and entire property of the fhip doth not belong to foine of his Majefty's fubjects refiding in that part of his Majefty's dominions from whence the thip is fitted and eleared out.

His Majefty's fubjects refiding in Ireland may tranfport, direcily from thence to Newfoundland, or to any part of America where the fifhery is carried on, provifions, hooks, lines, netting, or other tools or implements neceffary for the fifhery, being the product and manufaclure of Great Britain or Ireland.
Oil, blubber, or whale fins, raken in any part of the ocean by, and imported in any flhip (belonging to, his Majefty's. fubjects of Great Britain or Ireland, to be imported duty-free.
Seal kins, raw and undreffed, caught by the crew of any veffel belonging to, and fitted

## xvi ]

; return to fome port in
$\left\{\begin{array}{l}29 \text { Dec. } 1776,401 . \\ 29 \text { Dee }, ~\end{array}\right.$ $j^{\text {to }}\left\{\begin{array}{l}2\} \text { Dec. } 1781,30 . \\ 25 \text { Dec. } 1986,301 .\end{array}\right\} \begin{aligned} & \text { pec } \\ & \text { Tun. }\end{aligned}$ ioned bountics for Mhips : whale fifheries are to be gh the whole and entire : Ship doth not belong to ijefty's fubjects refiding in Majefty's dominions from is fitted and cleared out. bjects refiding in Ireland direilly from thence to , or to any part of America $y$ is carried on, provifions, tetting, or other tools or :ceffary for the fifhery, luct and manufaclure of or Ireland.
whale fins, taken in any in by, and imported in any to, his Majefty's, fubjects in or Ireland, to be ime
and undreffed, caught by y veffel belonging to, and

## [ xvii]

fitted out from, Great Britain or Ireland, may be imported duty-free.

## Tobacco.

Tobacco exported to Ireland, if lefs appears 6 Ceo. 1. e. 280 to be landed than fhipped in Great Bri- fett. 48. tain, an allowance not exceeding Two per cent. may be made for wafte during the voyage.
Repeals the Acts 12 and ${ }_{15}$ Cir. II. and 19 Geo. 115 . any other Act which prohibits or reftrains c . $3 j$. the fetting, planting, or improving, to grow, making, or curing tobac:, either in feed, plant, or otherwife, in Ireland.

There are otber AEts affeciing Ireland, whin cannot properly be fated under eitber of $i$ :s foregoing defrriptions; fuch as, the ACt for the Encouragement of Seamen belonging to the Royal Navy, 14 Geo. II. 6. $3^{8 ;}$ the Aats refpecting the Light Houfe Duties; thofe refpecting the Ile of Man; the Aits sfablifing and regulating the Pof Offict, \&c. \&c.

## [ xviii]

## No. III.

## Courfe of Exchange.

$T^{H E}$ par between London and Dublin is $18 \frac{1}{3}$ per cent.-100 . Britifh being worth 108 l. 6 s. 8 d. Irih.
During the years 1778 and 1779 , the Exchange of Dublin on London has varied from $5 \frac{1}{4}$ to $9 \frac{2}{8}-$ October 27, 1779, it was at $6 \frac{1}{4}$ :

This is remarkably low; and the following caufes are affigned for its being fo much in favour of Ireland:

1. A large importation of feccie, by the loans negociated with monied people, \&rc. in England, and by the late remittance to Ireland for public fervice.
2. The non-payment of rents, which has kept within Ireland much money, that would otherwife have been remitted to abfentees.
3. The non-importation agreements, and the large exports in the provifion trade, and in the linens.

## $f$ Exchange.

a London and Dublin is 201. Britifh being worth

778 and 1779, the ExLondon has varied from 1779, it was at $6 \frac{1}{4}$ : low; and the following its being fo much in fa-
on of fpecie, by the loans 1 people, \&c. in England, nce to Ireland for public
$t$ of rents, which has kept noney, that would otherto abrentees.
tion agreements, and the ovifion trade, and in the

Pricos

## [xix]

Prices of Bullion.
Gold, in October 1779, was at $4 \%$. per ounce in Dublin. The ufual price had been from 4l. s . to $4 \% .2 \mathrm{~s}$. The fall is imputed to the exchange, which fufficiently accounts for it.
Silver, in © tober 1779, was at 5 s .6 d . per ounce. The medium price had been 5 s . 10 d . This is imputed to the felling more old plate, and to the manufacturing lefs new plate, than ufual.

No. IV.
A Ccording to an abftract of a lift of the eftates of abfentees, publifhed in January 1769,
The eftates of thofe who live conftantly abroad, and are feldom or never in Ireland, amount to 37, $9,00 \%$.
And the eftates of thofe who live generally abroad, and vifit Ireland occafionally, amount to 117,800 .
The debt of Ireland, at Lady-day 1779, amounted to ', 141,591 $l$, 7 S. 11 $\frac{\pi}{4} d$. exclufive of which, Ireland has raifed $740,000 \mathrm{l}$. by fale of annuities, with benefit of furvivorhip, viz. $440,000 \mathrm{l}$. at 6 per cent. and $300,000 \mathrm{l}$. at $7^{\frac{1}{2}}$ per cent.

$$
[\mathrm{C}] 2
$$

## $[\mathbf{x x}]$

No. V.
A Two years average eftimate of the revenue, and expence of the Irifh Government, according to late experience.

Hereditary Revenue, grofsm about - -

1,200,000
Old additional Duties-about $\quad 380,000$
New additional Duties-about 140,000
Stamp Duties-about
Vice-Treafurers, and Pells, ancient
Fees anll Salaries-about: $\quad 40,000$
Deduct . $3,800,000$
Expence of Management-about 483,000 Drawbacks, \&c.-about

3,000
Expence attending Stamp Duties-
about
14,000

Expences.
Civil Lift-about
Praduce f. $^{1,3,300,000}$
330,000
Military Eftablifhment-about 330,000

Extraordinary Expences-about
938,000
Total Expence $6.8,7,700,000$

## $\mathbf{x}$ ]

V.
e eftimate of the revenue, e Irih Government, acce.
£.
off
$1,200,000$
380,000 out 140,000 ancient

$\xrightarrow{40,000}$ \{. 1,800,000
-about 483,000
Duties.
3,000
Duties-
14,000
500,000
Nett Produce $£ \cdot \mathbf{x}, 300,000$

## 330,000 <br> 938,000 432,000

bout -about

## [ xxi ]

No. VI.
Pandere res alta terra et caligine merfas.-
$T H E$ Obfervations on the Population of England and Wales thew ( $a$ ), that according to the returns of the furveyors of the houfe and window duties the number of houfes were,

$$
\begin{aligned}
\text { In } 1759 & -986,482 \\
1765 & -980,692 \\
1777 & -952,734 ;-
\end{aligned}
$$

They next proceed to ftate, upon the authority of Davenant, that the total of houfes in 1690 was, $\mathbf{1 , 3 1 9 , 2 1 5 : - f r o m ~ t h e f e ~ p r e m i f e s ~ i t ~ i s ~ i n - ~}$ ferred ( $b$ ), that " our people have decreafed fince 1690 near a quarter;" and that the depopulation in the laft twenty years has been progreffive.It fhould perhaps have been added, that Dr. Halley, whofe authority is at leaft as good as Davenant's, eftimates the number of houfes in 1691 at $1,175,95$. They both argued from the Hearth Books, over which oblivion has fomewhere contrived to fpread her cobwebs; for I cannot learn, after a ftrict fearch by gentlemen

## [ xxii ]

peculiarly aule to make it, that there is now any trace of thofe books either in the Tax-office or $\mathbf{E x c h e q u e r . ~ W e ~ w a n t ~ t h e ~ l i g h t s ~ t h e r e f o r e ~ w h i c h ~}$ might be collected from the original materials of information ; we know however from the Statutes, that the tax was impofed not upon houles, but upon every fire-hearth, r.: flove, in every houfe, to be paid by the owners or nccupiers. Two entries then were required, one of the owners or occupiers charged, and the other of the hearths rated.—Davenant accordingly (c) prints two columns, the one intitled, "Number of Houfes " in each County according to the Hearth Books "' of Lady-day $\mathbf{1 6 9 0}$-Total $1,319,215$ :" The wher, is Number of Hearths in each County "according to the Books of Lady-day $1690-$ "Total 2,563,527." It is believed, but. we cannot decide, that there numbers, whatever they ray import, were founded on conjectural eftimates, and not on actual enumerations. But under Dr. Price's conftruction of th : firft column when compared with the fecond, it would follow that there were lefs than two fire-hearths or ftoves upon an average to every houfe in the kiagdom. The firt then feems to be atis account not of houfes but of families. It is plain that Davenant
(c) Efxy upon Ways and Means, edit. 1695, p. 96. underftands

## ii ]

that there is now any er in the Tax-office or e lights therefore which the original materials of wever from the Statutes, 1 not upon houfes, but $\because$ fooce, in every houfe, ers or nccupiers. Two ed, one of the owners the other of the hearths rdingly (c) prints two 1, " Number of Houfes ing to the Hearth Books otal $1,319,215$ :" The earths in each County 3 of Lady ciay $1690-$ t is believed, but. we numbers, whatever they ed on conjeçural eftiral enumerations. But etion of th: firt column fecond, it would follow wo fire-hearths or fteves - houre in the ki:ggdom. be asi account not of $t$ is plain that Davenant

Keans, edit. 1695, p. 96. underftands

## [ xxiii ]

underfands it in this fenfe, and that by the word bouffes in the title of his Aecount referred to by Dr.Price, he means bouffebolds not tenements; for ief fays ( $d$ ) in the fame publication, "And though "it appears from the Books of Hearth-money, " that there are not above $\mathrm{I}, 300,000$ families " in England; and allowing fix perfons to a " boufe one with another, which is the common " way of computing, not quite eight millions of "people ; and though (as likewife appears by the "Hearth Booki;) there are soo,coo poor families " in the nation, living in eottages, who contribute " litele to the common fupport; yet the 800,000 " remaining families would be able to carry on " the prefent bufinefs a great while longer, and " perhaps till France is weary of it."-Davenant is countenanced in this plain explanation of his own fenfe, by the account of the produce of the tax fo far as it can be relied on : The aizount of the tax, on an average, as it was deliversed to the Houfe of Commons on the day of prefenting the King's meflige which confented to the repeal, vas 200,000 l. which at 25 . per hearth gives $2,000,000$; there remains therefore 963,527 hearths for the " 500,000 families living in cottages, whom " Davenant repeatedly ftates to have contributed " little towards the common fupport." Dr. Price
(d) Obfervations, p. 34 .
feems

## [ xxiv]

Cowns to have inftipated this objection, by attempting to mew the the number of perfons in 2 lami'y are equas upon an average taken in particular places to the number in a houfe. But in the eftimates which fupport that pofition, and which at beft muft be uncertain, due attention has not bee: paid to the numbers in feliools; colleges, bofpitals, prifons, barracks, thipping;' dock-y:rds, and other public buildings.
Accurding io. Dr. Price's conftruction of Da venant's Paper, the number of houfes in London, Weftminfter, and Middlefex, in 1690, was 111,215 ; and the houfes in the fame places, with the addition of Southwark, are fuppofed, by the lateft accounts, not to exceed 91,000: a difference totally difoountenanced by every account, and every map of London and the environs! We might indeed try it by the ufual criterion of the Bills of Mortality ;-thus, the number of houles, in 1690 , in London, Weftminfter, and Middlefex, according to the expreffion ufed in Davenant, was 111,215; the number of houfes for the fame diftrict, with the addition of Southwark, in 1757, according to an actual furvey, was only 87,614 : yet for fifteen years, ending in (e) 1690 , the annual average
(e) The annual average burials for the fifteen years fublequent to $\mathbf{1 6 9 0}$ were only $\mathbf{2 0 , 8 7 7}$.

## xiv $]$

ed this objection, by at-1 the number of perfons in son an average taken in number in a houfe. But fupport that pofition, and uncertain, due attention the numbers in fchools; fons, barracks, thipping, public buildings. rice's conftruction of Damber of houfes in Lonad Middlefex, in 1690, he houfes in the fame tion of Southwark, are accounts, not to exceed otally difcountenanced by ery map of London and night indeed try it by the ills of Mortality ;-thus, ;, in 1690 , in London, Idlefex, according to the enant, was 111,215 ; the he fame diftrict, with the in 1757, according to an ly 87,614 : yet for fifteen 690 , the annual average
re burials for the fifteen years nly 20,877
burials

## [ xxv]

burials: within the Bills of Mortality, were 21,657 ; and for fifteen years, ending in 1757 , they were 22,$762 ;$ exclufive of the great increafe in Marybone and Pancras, if the number of diaths in thofe two parithes could be learmed, and added refpectively to the two periods here com-pared.-It is alra beyond a doubt, that London was become much healthier in the latter period than in the former- It is true, indeed, that, in the former period, there were only 134 parihes within the Bills, and, in the latter, 147 , but this objection would not furnih any adequate explanation, even if it were not known that the extenfion of the Bills of Mortality has arifem only from the fpreading out of buildings, crouded formerly within the walls $(f)$, but now. upon a larger fpace. The dilemma then is. that, during a confiderable period; when we are
( $f$ ) The medium of annual burials in the 97 parifles within the walla; was from
1650 to $1660-3123$
1680 to $1690-3139$.
1730 to $1740-2386$

But the medium of annual burials within the whal Bills of Mortality was, for the


6
[D]

## [xxvi]

tofuppofe the inhabitants $\frac{1}{7}$ th more in number, we are to admit that the annual burials were $\frac{1}{2}$ th lefs, and yet that the condition of the people was more unhealthy.
As a farther proof of the modern depopulation of London, it is mentioned ( g ), that the annual average of burials in London from 1774 to $177^{8}$ inclufive, was 20,835 ; but that the average for five years before 1690 was 22,742 . -Here we find a colourable evidence; but it is furnifhed by the ufe of a particular period. The average of twenty years ending in 1690 , was 20,733 . The average of ten years ending 1700, was 20,770 .The average of feventeen years ending in 1690 , was $21,37 \mathrm{I}$.-Now in comparing the leaft favourable of thofe periods with the prefent times, we fhall find that the average of 17 years ending in 1778, happens to have been 22,765 . The average of eleven years ending in 1772, was ${ }_{2} 3,743$-and for five years ending in 1766, it was 24,562 ;-and, though Dr. Price fuppofes our depopulation to have made a great progrefs during the laft twenty years, it will be found, that, for five years, ending in 1761, this average was only 19,877 .-London feems indeed to have been moft crouded during the period from 1720
(g). Obfervations, p. 28 r.

## cxvi]

its $\uparrow$ th more in number, we nual burials were $\frac{1}{20}$ th 1 lfs , dition of the people was
$f$ the modern depopulation ioned $(g)$, that the annual -ondon from 1774 to $177^{8}$ ; but that the average for vas 22,742.-Here we find ; but it is furnifhed by ir period. The average of 11690 , was 20,733 . The nding 1700 , was 20,770 . teen years ending in 1690 , n comparing the leaft faods with the prefent times, average of 17 years ending have been 22,765 .-The ears ending in 1772, was years ending in 1766 , it hough Dr. Price fuppofes have made a great progrefs ty years, it will be found, nding in 1761 , this average ondon feems indeed to have aring the period from 1720 rrations, p. 28 .

## [ xxvii ]

to $17+5$, when the annual average of burials was above 25,000 ; but this too is in a great meafure accounted for, when we recollect agai:1, how nuch the town has, within the laft thirry-five ycars, expanded itfelf into the parihes of Ma rybone and Pancras, which are not within the Bills.-The prefent queftion, however, is, whe-' ther London appears to be now !efs populous than it was in 1690 ; and, if we ufe the oldfaftioned mode of calculation, to which we might be entitled in comparing the two periods, we thould, as authorized by Sir William Petty, multiply 22,765 (the average burials of the laft 17 years) by 30 (a fuppofed proportion of lives to burials) which would give 582,950 people. But I ame convinced, by another work ( $b$ ) of Dr. Price's, that this mode of computation is extremely erroneous; and it feems but ion probable that the annual number of deaths in London is much greater than in the proportion of ito 30 .-I mean, however, only to compare our very imperfect data, in fuppofed facts, fo far as they are known ; I do not wifh to propofe any conclufion without much better premifes than any which the very wretched flate of this branch of national police can furnih." In the
(b) On Reverfionary Payments, p. 1982 \&c.
[D] 2 "6 year

## [ xxviii]

" year 1603 , fays Mr. Anderfon (i), the weekly "Bills of Mortality, at London, began to be " regularly kept, as in our days; yct many of "thofe Bills, in earlicr times, have been loft; " and even the Bills in their modern condition " afford us but an imperfe? conje? " magnitude of London, as comprehending only, " or moflly, the chriftenings and burials of thofe " of the eftablifhed church; though the Diffenters " of all denominations form a numerous body " of people. Thofe alfo who are buried in St. " Paul's cathedral, in the abbey church at Weft" minfter, in the Temple church, the Rolls clapel,
"Lineoln's Inn chapel, the Chapter Houfe, the
"Tower of London church, and fome other parts,
"c are faid to be entirely omitted." Exclufive of thefe, and other defects, which arc anxiounly defcribed in Maitland, all who are carried into the country to be buried are alfo omitted, and the very populous parifhes of Marybone and Páncras are not yet included in the Bills. - In thort, if I could bring myfelf to that difpofition, which fometimes leads us, firt to frame a conclufion, and then to look for premifes, I could fuggeft many reafons to imply an increafed population; but, wifhing merely to refift the negative, and
(i) Deduction of Commerce, ii. p. 463 .
having

## viii ]

Inderfon (i), the weekly it London, began to be our days; yct many of $r$ times, have been lof; their modern condition perfea conjesture of the , as comprehending only, nings and burials of thofe ch ; though the Diffenters form a numerous body Ifo who are buried in St. se abbey church at Weftechurch, the Rolls chapel, , the Chapter Houfe, the arch, and fome other parts, omitted." Exclufive of i, which are anxiounly deI who are carried into the alfo omitted, and the very Iarybone and Páncras are c Bills.-In thort, if I , that difpofition, which rit to frame a conclufion, premifes, I could fuggeft an increafed population ; o refift the negative, and

Commerce, ii. p. 463.
having

## [ xxix ]

having no wifh with fuch materials to attempt the affirmative propofition, I thall only add a floort remak on the fuggetlion of a late apparent decreafe.
The number of houfes in England and Wales by the Survesors returns was,

$$
\text { In } \begin{array}{r}
1759-986,482 \\
1765-980,692 \\
1777-952,734:
\end{array}
$$

But I find on enquiry that the total of houfes returned as charged and chargeable were,

$$
\begin{array}{r}
\text { In } 1759-704,053 \\
1765-704,544 \\
1777-708,833:
\end{array}
$$

And though of the laft mentioned number 7,350 were afterwards difeharged on appeal, it appears clearly that the houfes brought into charge were more in 1777 than in 8759 . The apparent diminution of the total number is in the cottages not liable on account of poverty, with refpect to which, it is notorious and avowed, that the Surveyors returns are conjectural and very defective. Nor indeed is there much regularity in their returns of houfes liable to duty;-for example, the houfes returned as charged and chargeable in 1750 were 729,048 ; and in 1756 only 690,702 ; but in 17 ;9 they were again 804,544.-The Surveyors have lately received

## [ xxx ]

an oriler to make frict returns of all houfes every third year; it will however be difficult to enturse it to any purpofe of the kind now in quertion.

Here then I hall difinifs a fubject which, though it contains matters of curiufity and relative impurtance, is involved in endlefs conjecture and uncertainty. I expect to thew that it is equally unavailabie to have recourfe to the Excife.
It is scrtainly true, as expreffed in the Obfervations, that "the grofs annual produce of the " hereditary and temporary Excife for three
" years ending in 1680 was, as appears from the
"Excife books, $740,147 \%$; and its grofs annual
"produce, for four years, ending in 1768
" only 527,991 . It had decreafed, therefore,
" 212,156l. per ann.; deducting, however,
" 112,1561 . for the duties on low wines and
" fpirits (which duties, about $70,0<0 l$. per ann.,
" were in 1736 carried to the aggregate fund)
" and for the ufe of the fipri: uous liquors and
" wine, which may have affected the confump-
"t tion of beer, there will ftill remain a diminu-
" tion unaccounted for, and amounting to
" 100,000 l. a year."
This inftance, if unexplaincl, would warrant the inierence meant to be conveyed by

## x $\quad]$

returns of all houfes however be difficult to fe of the kind now in finifs a fubject which, ters of curiofity and volved in endlefs conI expect to thew that to have recourfe to the
exprefed in the Obferannual produce of the rary Excife for three as, as appears from the l. ; and its grofs annu;pl ars, ending in 1768, d decreafed, therefore, deducting, however, ies on low wines and bout $70,0=0 \mathrm{l}$. per ann., o the aggregate fund) fpir:tuous liquors and affected the confumpfill remain a diminuand amounting to -
kplained, would wart to be conveyed by

## [ xxxi ]

it. In the firt place, however, there is not any mention made of the large allowance given to brewers by the alteration of menfure which took place after the Revolution, and which made an immediate and perceptible difference in the grofs annual produce of the Excife. The coffee duty was alfo taken from the Excife in 1690 , and fubjected to the Cuftoms: But, without infifing on thefe points, or on the decreafed confumption which may have been occafioned by fubfequent additional duties, the very fame medium of proof, if different periods are felected, will afford ftronger prefumptions of a great increafed population. For example;-the grofs annual produce of the hereditary and temporary Excife for three years, ending in 1695 , was $48_{4}, 183 \%$., and its grofs annual produce for four years, ending July 5 th, 1774, was 520,623 l.-Again, the annual produce of the fame branch of Revenue, for three years, ending in 1693, was $464,142 \%$; and for four years, ending in $1_{77} 8$, it was 554,4601 .-I have not, in either of thefe inftances, deducted from the produce of the two early periods the 112,1561 . per ann. above mentioned: my argument, though entitled to thofe advantages, does not want them. It affords, prima facie, a prefumption of a regular, increafed population.

## [ xxxii ]

The Obfervations proceed in the following words: "In conformity to this fact, it appears " that there has been a propotionable diminu" tion in the quantily of beer brewed for fale " and in the number of victuallers;-for three. " ycars ending in 1689 the annual average of " frong barrels brewed for fale, was $5,055,870$. " The average of fimall barrels, was $2,582,248$. " -For three years ending in 1768 the former. " average was $3,925,131$; the latter, $1,886,760$. " - The average of common victuallers in the s" whole kingdom for the former three years, " was 47,343 ; for the latter three years, 34,867 . " -This laft fact feems of particular confe" quence," \&c.
Here again a reference to different periods will prove the inverfe of every propofition.-Thus, for three years ending 1700, the annual average of Arong barrels brewed for fale, was $3,074,256$; the average of fmall barrels, was $1,966,065$; but for three years ending 1762 , the former average was $4,244,7{ }^{8} 3$-the latter was, $2,073,197$; the average of common victuallers in the whole kingdom for the formor three years, was 37,170 ; for the latter three years, 39,803 . We differ only in the choice of infances, and any perfon who finds his leifure as unimportant as mine, 5
:d in the following , this fact, it appears oportionable diminubeer brewed for fale ictuallers ;-for three 2e annual average of fale, was $5,055,870$. rrels, was $\mathbf{z , 5 8 2 , 2 4 8}$. ng in 1768 the former the latter, $1,886,760$. aon victuallers in the former three years, $r$ three years, $34,867$. s of particular confe-
different periods will propofition.-Thus, , the annual average - fale, was 3,074,256; els, was $1,966,065$; 52, the former average was, $2,073,197$; the allers in the whole e years, was 37,170; 39,803. We differ nces, and any perfon important as mine, and

## [ xxxiii ]

and who will take the trouble of examining the Excife Books, will obferve, that the periods which I have adduced are not felected with any particular induftry and attention. The four years ending in 1768, are almoft the loweft period for Excife produce that can be found in modern times; and it cannot be forgotten, that during that period the fcarcity of grain and high price of provifions were fuch as to excite dangerous tumults, and occafion an exertion of prerogative, for which the Legiflature paffed an Act of Indemnity:-the three years ending in 689 , were as remarkable in the oppofite extreme, and indeed unparalleled in any inftance prior or fubfequent. If, however, we lengthen even that favourite period, the refult will be different: Thus, the average annual produce of the hereditary and temporary Excife for fifteen years, ending in 1702, and including the period ending in 1689, was $549,175 \%$. That of four unfavourable years in the prefent century, was $527,99 \mathrm{l}$., to which muft be added, the duty on fpirits and low wines, $70,000 \mathrm{l}$. Total, 597,991l.-The fame average produce for four years immediately preceding Dr. Price's publication, was $554 ; 460 \mathrm{l}$. to which, in like manner, mult be added, the duty on fpirits and low wines, 70,000 l.-Total $624,460 \%$.

## [ xxxiv ]

I do not mean to draw any conclufion; I have endeavoured only to fhew, that, with equal plaufibility, and by fimilar modes of proof, it is eafy, from fuch dark materials, to produce oppofite inferences; and it furely is neither unfair nor unreafonable to prefune that each inference is inconclufive and fallible :-

Inus obfcuri folâ fub nocte per umbram
Perque domos Ditis vacuas, et inania regna.
Quale per incertam lunam, fub luce malignă, Ef iter in fllvis : ubi calum condidit umbrâ fupiter, et rebus nox abfulit atra colorem.

## :iv ]

any conclufion; I have rew, that, with equal ar modes of proof, it is aterials, to produce opfurely is neither unfair une that each inference e:-
per umbram , et inania regna. , fub luce malignâ, um condidit umbrâ dit atra colorem.

## [ $x x x y]$

No. VII.

THE following Table (founded on one which was publinhed in 1771) (hews the current Rates of Exchange taken in London, at a medium for the firft half-year 1770;-and the Prices of Exchange on the 22d October 1779and on the 18 th January 1780 ; compared with the Rates which may be called the Pars, whilft the coinage price of filver continues to be 5s. $2 d$. per Ounce.

|  | Medium half-yea 17\% | $\begin{gathered} 22 \mathrm{~d} \text { O\&t } \\ 1779 \end{gathered}$ | Price the 18 th Jan. 1780 | Pri |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Venic |  | 49 | 48 |  |
| Genoa | 49 | 45 | 45 |  |
| Leghorn | - $50 \frac{17}{15}$ | $47 \frac{3}{4}$ | 47 |  |
| Lifon | 66 年 | 65 ? | 62 |  |
|  | 31 | 29 | 29 |  |
| Cadiz | 39 | $36 \frac{1}{2}$ | 36 | 43-2 |
| Amiterdam $343 \frac{1}{\frac{1}{7}}-358-359-36-59$ Hamburg $332 \frac{7}{8}-34 \quad 7-34 \quad 6-35-17$ |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |

Note. The two laft mentioned places chiefly govern the Ex changes in the Nurthern parts of Europe, and the fix other Cities chiefly thofe of the Southern parts, in refpect to London. And it thuuld be obferved, that Rints of Exchange being negociated between London, Amfierdiem. and hambure, by the num. ber of fchellings and pennings vaico fer pound ferling, the advantage in tavour of London, with thoie wo places, is in proportion of the prices above of Exchange heing rated in fierling money for the pieces of eight in Cadiz, the $c$ own pieces at paris, he milhea bun, the ducat in Venire, the pezzu in Genoa, and he to the at Leghorn, the adrantuges to London are in propurtion to prices below P'ar.
$[\mathrm{E}] 2$
1N-

## I $\mathbf{N} \quad \mathrm{D} \quad \mathrm{E}$.

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