210-8

AN

INQUIRY

INTO THE

REVENUE, CREDIT,

AND

COMMERCE

O F

FRANCE.

In a Letter to a MEMBER of this present PARLIAMENT.

THE SECOND EDITION.

L O N D O N:

Printed for J. ROBERTS, near the Oxford-Arms in Warwick-Lane. 1742.

[PRICE ONE SHILLING.]



SIR,

O be perfectly acquainted with the Condition of the neighbouring Powers, is certainly of Importance to those who consult the Safety and Honour of Great-Britain, in support of whose true and essential Interest, as well as the common Rights of Mankind, you are no less eminent for your unaffected Zeal, than you are for those Abilities and Parts which have already made you an Ornament to the Great Council of the Nation, and which in you have the peculiar Grace of being the early distinction of your Youth. Of all our Neighbours there is none whose Power is more to be dreaded, and whose Faith less to be trusted than France. The first is universally allow'd; and as a Proof of the latter, whoever looks into History will find this invariably true, that her Friendship, even under the most solemn Sanctions;

(4)

Sanctions, is eternally made use of as a Snare, in order to ruin those by secret Practice and Fraud, whom her Arms cannot conquer. France then is always to be consider'd as an Enemy, and the Conduct of Great-Britain ought to be regulated accordingly. Some occasional Resections of this nature put me upon an Inquiry into her Revenue, Credit, and Commerce; all which are highly overrated by the generality of People, particularly her publick Revenue, which I have heard some roundly affirm to be above ten Millions Sterl. per Annum, clear of all Deductions. How far this is true will appear by the following * Account.

An Account of the Revenues of France, in the Years 1730, 1, 2, 3, & 4.

Livres.

The general Farms 84,000,000
The general Receipts 43,500,000
Receipts of the?

Pais D'Etats 5

Gratuitous Donations 2,530,136
Cafual Revenues - 3,000,000

138,778,473

Carried forward.

Royal

* N. B. This Account is collected chiefly from a Book intitled Reflexions Politiques sur les Finances & le Commerce de la France, publish'd at Paris in 1738.

(5)

Brought forward 138,778,473

Royal Forests - - 1,500,000

The Capitation Tax 22,000,000

The Register of 10,000,000

Increase of the Farm of To- 3,000,000

bacco - - -

Livres.

The Total of the Gross Receipt 175,278,473

To be deducted,
An Allowance to
the Forty Farmers
General for Clerks,
Travelling Charges,
&c. of — I,216,000
The Expence of
collecting and managing the feveral
Branches of the Revenue (La Regie,) including the
Cinquantième sup-

25,658,569

B 2

The

The Neat Produce 7 from the other Side - 5

Further Deductions. The Annual Interest of the Publick Debts, or in their Phrase, the Annuities upon the Hôtel de Ville, (exclusive of the Tontines or Survivorship Annuities) according to the Declaration of the 5th of June 1725 - - 51,000,000

Saiaries to the Pay-Masters of those Annuities and their Clerks - - -

1,500,000

52,500,000

The Total remaining to anfwer all the Exigencies of the Government - - -97,119,904 Which at Tenpence a Livre make

Carried forward.

(7)

The ordinary Revenue brought forward -

97,119,904

Livres.

France is now posfess'd of Lorraine. and supposing it to be equally tax'd with the rest of the Kingdom, it will yield a proportional Revenue of Five Millions, Five hundred thousand Livres, if you confider its Extent of Territory only; but being a new Acquisition, and without Manufactures. it is perhaps more gently treated; however I will allow it to be

5,500,000

Upon extraordinary Occasions, the King raises the Dime Royale, which, according to Monfieur Defmaretz, in his Memorial, never produced above 24 Millions of Livres: I will suppose them to

(8)

be thirty - - 30,000,000

132,619,904. Livres.

Which at 10 d. a Livre make - - l. Sterl. 5,525,829:6:8

This, Sir, is the utmost France can raise within the Year, and that only when her Ports are open, and her Navigation unmolested. But in time of War, especially with the Maritime Powers, there are great Deficiencies in all the Branches of the Revenue; and, at the same time, almost every Article of the publick Expence is increased. You will find a remarkable Instance of this in Mons. Desmaretz's Memorial, p. 17. There he tells you, that the general Estimate of the current Services in 1709, amounted to 11 Millions, and near five hundred thousand Pounds, Sterling; and the ordinary Revenue, that same Year, to no more than, 1,979,696 %. 13 s. o d. Sterling; tho' before the Commencement of the War in 1688 it produced, clear of all Deductions, Millions, and near two hundred thoufand

(9)

fand Pounds Sterling, and at that time the Capitation Tax and Register of Controle were no part of it: Nor was the Farm of Tobacco so high as it is at present, by several Millions of Livres.

Thus in about twenty Years time, the publick Revenues fell above Five Millions Sterling, short of what they were before the War, and above Nine Millions short of the annual Expence.

THE fame Cause will always produce the fame Effect, and therefore if ever it is the ill Fate of France to fee the united Forces of another Grand Alliance upon her Frontiers, she will soon find her self under the same Difficulties and Diffress, but with this Difference, that she will have sewer Ressources to depend upon for her Support. For instance; The Vanity of that Nation was a Fund from which the Government drew immense Sums in the last Reign, by the Sale of Patents of Nobility and new created Offices. But those Offices, being the Source of intolerable Oppression to the People, were for the most part abolished, and the Unworthiness of those to whom the State in her Necessity prosti-

profituted Titles of Honour, brought the new Noblesse under a general Contempt. This is remember'd still; and probably always will be fo. The Experience therefore of what happened to the Purchasers of those Commodities in the late Reign, would certainly discourage, if not destroy the Sale of them in the prefent, and confequently prevent the Success of any Scheme for raising Money that way. Tho' the Crown should have no Effects to purchase Money, yet Money may be procured upon Pledges; and they are either real or imaginary. According to this Distinction, I make Jewels, &c. a real Pledge, because they are a real or actual Security for Money in the Hands of the Lender. These Pledges however upon any reasonable Supposition, must bear an infinitely small Proportion to the Wants of the State. Imaginary Pledges I call fuch in France, all Affignments upon any Branch of the publick Revenue, or any other publick Security for Payment of Principal and Interest at a future Day. These Affignments, &c. being revocable at the King's Pleafure, as depending folely upon his Faith, are therefore only an imaginary Secu(11)

rity. Such Securities constitute publick Credit, and as their Value rises or falls at Market, so publick Credit is said to be high or low. But the notorious Violence and Injustice, with which the Proprietors of State-Securities were treated during the Regency of the Duke of *Orleans*, has so branded the Publick Faith of that Kingdom, that it is impossible there can be any such thing there existing as publick Credit.

And yet I am inform'd, the Government, not many Months ago, had Money advanc'd both by Foreigners and Subjects. If it's true, it must be entirely owing to the Cardinal's personal Credit with the Bankers and Financiers, whose Considence he has gain'd by his punctuality hitherto in pecuniary Transactions; and that possibly would in some measure support the Government if his Eminence was a little younger: But considering his great Age, the Instruence of his Administration upon Affairs at this time, must be weak in proportion to the apparent Shortness of its Duration. The Absolute Power of the Crown is a Resource that still

c-

remains; and indeed where the Government is Arbitrary, and the Glory of the King is the principal Object, there is but little Attention to the Misery of the People any otherwise than to proportion the Efforts of the State to their utmost Ability of Suffering: But so compute what Sums of Money that will produce, is as difficult as it is to estimate the Patience of an enslaved Nation.

FROM what has been faid, I draw this general Conclusion, that the Power of France, in the present Situation of her Finances and Credit, is far from being formidable; and, whatfoever they may boaft, is incredibly less than it was threescore Years ago, as I shall make more fully appear, when I come to examine into the past and present State of her Commerce. But then Power is to be estimated by comparison, and whatever her own Circumstances may be, the Folly and Weakness of her Neighbours, give her both Strength and Wisdom. Witness the present Desolation of the Empire, far less owing to the Arms of France, than to the fatal Obstinacy, and hereditary Pride of some of its Princes; (13)

Princes; and to the fenfeless Ambition and Treachery of others, who have been duped by their common Enemy to act in open Violation of all those solemn Engagements, and antient Compacts, by which they were bound to one another for their common Safety.

But to resume the Subject: Since this Account of the Revenues of France falls so far short of the common Opinion, and as it may serve to dissipate the Terrors raised by those who are perpetually magnifying her Power; I think it necessary to say something of the Book from whence the Account is collected, in order to procure it that Credit, which is due to its Authority.

Monsieur Du Tot, the Author, meeting with a Treatise, intitled, Essai Politique sur le Commerce, published at Paris in the Year 1734, in which he found some very pernicious Notions relating to the Coin, wrote his Book chiefly to inculcate this plain Maxim, That the current Coin of a State once well established, should never be alter'd.

C 2 With

With this honest Intention, he endeavours to confute the Principles of that Treatife by Arguments drawn from Experience, and therefore is extremely careful to quote only fuch Authorities as are univerfally allowed. He had access to all the Offices of the Finances, he himself being a Commissioner in one of them; and, by that Means, had an Opportunity of verifying whatever relates to the publick Revenue. When he had finished his Book, he presented it in Manuscript to the Cardinal for his Approbation, and Leave to print it, which was granted him. This I think fufficient to establish the Credit of the Book in opposition to those who magnify the Revenues beyond all bounds of Probability. For is it to be imagined, that a Commissioner of the Finances would write, or the Minister suffer to be published, a Book which made France appear to be either weaker or poorer than she really is? Is not the Minister esteem'd wise, and is not the Author a Frenchman? Why must he be supposed then to run against the natural Biass of all Frenchmen, so notorioully partial in every thing that affects the Glory Glory and Reputation of France? His genuine Character is to be found in his Writings; there he appears to be a Man of Inquiry and Candour, equally zealous for Truth and for the Prosperity of his Country.

As to the Opinion that the Revenues of France are above 10 Millions Sterling per Ann. clear of all Deductions, it may be asked, how it came to prevail so generally among us? For my own part I cannot help looking upon it to be originally of foreign Growth, and imported by our Fine Gentlemen when they returned from their Travels. Pardon me, Sir, I mean only fuch of them as are above the trouble of Inquiry and Obfervation, or carry abroad with them only a stolid artless Curiosity at best; and so content themselves with the first Account of Things they meet with on the Road, or pick up in a Coffee-House, perhaps from fome ignorant Frenchman; and you know how extravagantly they magnify to Strangers the Riches and Power of their Country. For Instance, if you ask them how

much the King's Revenue amounts to-They readily answer - a Deux cens cinquante Millions de Livres - pour le moins 250 Millions of Livres at least. This being afferted roundly, at once aftonishes and fatisfies our Traveller, who believes it to be true, because he was told it in French; and as it is perhaps the most extraordinary Thing he heard abroad, he is perpetually talking of it after he gets home, by which means France appears formidable to the whole Circle of his Acquaintance who believe him, because he has been at Paris. Those likewise who judge of the present Times by the past, and suppose, as they do, that the Power of France is the same now that it was formerly, are very much inclined to be of the same Opinion: For otherwise they think it impossible to account for the mighty Efforts of Lewis the XIVth, who maintain'd two long Wars fingly against the principal Powers of Europe united. I will Suppose all this to be true, and that there must be a Cause adequate to the Effect: And yet, unless they can show that his Revenues were always equal to his Expence, it (17)

does by no means conclude in favour of that Opinion: But that they were not equal; on the contrary, that there was a very great annual Deficiency during both Wars, is evident from the Instance mentioned before. and from the prodigious Debt he left at his death. This Debt being stated at the proper Offices foon afterwards, amounted to no less than 176 Millions Sterl. and upwards. The Interest of which at 5 per Cent. comes to above 8 Millions 8 Hundred Thousand Pounds a Year, which is betwixt 16 and 17 Hundred Thousand Pounds more than the Ordinary Revenue ever produced when it was highest. By this it appears how far He was from regulating his Expence by his Revenue, when, to speak in the Language of Westminster-Hall, he spent the Fee-Simple of his Kingdom, and in this Particular out-did even Cæsar: For Lewis wanted above thirty Millions to be worth nothing.

THERE are others, who taking it for granted, that during the Regency of the Duke of *Orleans*, the publick Debts were fome

UPON the whole, I submit it to you, whether the Notions of such People, and the Accounts our fine Gentlemen bring home from their Travels, are more to be relied on than the Account I have given you from Monsieur Du Tot.

I COME now to enquire into the past and present State of the Commerce of France, in order to show that her Power is far from being so formidable as it was threescore Years ago. To do this with greater Perspicuity, I shall take a View of her under three different Periods of Time.

I. From

(19)

I. FROM the Treaty of Vervins to the Treaty of Nimeguen, and so on to the Commencement of the War in 1668, growing in Power by her Arms, her Policy and her Trade.

II. FROM 1668 to 1714 exhausting her Strength, and ruining her Commerce thro' the Course of two bloody and consuming Wars with King William and Queen Anne, and their Allies.

III. In the last place, recovering from the Wounds she received in these two Wars to her present State.

To enter into a Detail of the several Acquisitions of France by Negotiation and Conquest during the first Period, is no part of my Design, nor is it necessary in this Inquiry. I shall therefore consine my self to her Progress in Manusactures, the genuine Source of her Power.

BEFORE the Reign of Henry IV.

France substited chiefly by Agriculture, and produced little for a Foreign Market before.

D

fides Wine, Fruits, and Salt. Henry having put an end to the Distractions of the League, and foon after to the War with Philip by the Treaty of Vervins, consider'd how he might improve that State of Tranquillity to the Advantage of his Subjects. With this View he introduced and established the Manufacture of Silk, which in less than half a Century was brought to fuch Perfection, that France besides her own Consumption was able to supply England, Holland, and the Northern Nations of Europe, with all those Silks they formerly had from Italy. And fuch is the Nature of Manufactures where they once flourish, one begets and promotes another. The French encouraged and enabled by their Success in the Manufacture of Silk, set up a great many more, as Linnen, Canvas, Paper, Glass, Iron, Hats, and even Woollen Stuffs, with an infinite number of Toys in Ivory, Silver, and Gold. But as there is a received Opinion, that the Manufacture of Wool is of a late Date in France, I must be a little more particular upon it.

(21)

In 1650 the French Ministry began to encourage the Manufacture of Wool, and as their People succeeded in it, they increased the Duty on English Woollen Goods imported into France. In 1654 the Customs on an English Cloth were raised to 30 Livres, on a Serge to 5 l. In 1664, when the first general Tariff was made, the Customs were again raised, on a Cloth to 40 Livres, on a Serge to 6 l. and in 1667, on a Cloth to 80 Livres, on a Serge to 121. From this Increase in the Duties on English Cloths and Serges, I infer a proportional Progress in the same Manufactures in France. And undoubtedly, it was very confiderable even fo long ago as the Year 1663; fince Mr. Fortry, an eminent Merchant, in a Book he published at that Time, and Dedicated it to King Charles II. makes the Value of French Woollen Stuffs imported into England alone, from Chalons (whence our Shalloons have their Name) Chartres, Estamines (whence our Stuffs called Tamins or Stamins) Rheims in Champaigne, and from Amiens, Blicourt, and other Towns in D 2 Picardy,

Picardy, amount to no less than 150,000 l.

Sterl. per Annum; a strong Proof that this Manusacture is no new Acquisition to France. Mr. Fortry in the same Book, makes the Value of all the Goods imported from France into England. amount to 2,600,000 l. per Annum*. About the same Time the general Exports from France were computed at 6 Millions, 750 Thousand Pounds Sterl. per Annum, and upwards; and the general Ballance of Trade in her savour at 5 Millions Sterl. per Annum; so prodigious was the Consumption of French Commodities in Foreign Countries at that time

WHAT is very remarkable, France was all this while without Merchants and withour Shipping. The French were only Factors

* Mr. Fortry took the feveral Articles of this Account from a Memorial prefented a little before that to the French Ministry, by the Companies of Merchants at Paris, in which there was a particular State of all the Manufactures of the Kingdom, their Quantities and Species, and to what Value they were annually exported to foreign Countries, distinguishing each Country, so that nothing could be more authentick.

(23)

tors to the Dutch, who carried on, not only the Foreign, but even the Coasting Trade of France in Dutch Bottoms. The Dutch, contented with the great Gains they made by this Traffick, never turned their Thoughts to Manufactures, and the French fatisfied with the immense Riches brought into their Country by Foreigners to purchase their Commodities, intirely neglected Navigation. But when Colbert came to have the Superintendancy of the Finances and the Marine, and found it impoffible to execute the ambitious Plan of Conquest and Dominion his Master had form'd without a Naval Force, he foon gave the Genius and Activity of his Countrymen a new direction, and applied himself to the Business of the Marine, with a Dexterity and Success that amaz'd all Europe: For in less than twenty Years he rais'd or rather created a Naval Power capable of disputing the Empire of the Sea against the English and Dutch united. All his Abilities were equally eminent in both his Provinces, he fo improved and regulated the Finances, that the ordinary Revenue produced

produced clear of all Deductions 7 Millions and near Two Hundred Thousand Pounds Sterling per Annum. A Revenue, considering the great Alteration in the Prices of Ammunition, Provisions, and other things fince that time, equivalent to Eight Millions Sterling per Annum now. By this he enabled his Master to support the great Charge of this new Establishment, without retrenching any one Article of his other Expence. These Things naturally give one a high Opinion of the Talent of that able Minister. Yet so limited are the Views and Speculations, even of the greatest Statesmen in Regulations of Commerce, the Meafures he took to extend the Trade and Navigation with France, were attended with Consequences fatal in the end to her Manufactures.

THE high Duties on Foreign Merchandize and Foreign Shipping laid on by the Tariff of 1664, and increased by the Tariff of 1667, provoked Foreign Nations to do the same, and of course to attempt the Manufacture of such Commodities as they had

(25)

had hitherto been intirely supplied with from France. The Dutch set up Silk and Woollen, Linnen and Paper, Canvas and Sailcloth. The English did the same, tho' somewhat later; and to them added, Iron-Ware, Watches, Clocks, Glass, and Hats. Tho' these Attempts to rival France in her principal Manusactures were made during the first Period, her Power continued nevertheless to increase all the time, as I have before laid down. For notwithstanding their Operation was immediate, yet it was for some time imperceptible, and it did not sensibly affect the Manusactures of France till many Years afterwards.

In 1678 France made the Treaty of Nimeguen, with a Superiority as mortifying to her Enemies as it was glorious to her felf. To the Glory of her Arms she now added the Advantages of an extensive Trade, and by that means to the Enlargement of her Dominions, she continued to add a daily Encrease of Riches and Power. Such was the happy State of France in 1683, when I find her publick Revenues at

.

he

the highest; and I believe they might continue with little variation to the beginning of the War a sew Years after. Here then I six the Meridian of the French Greatness and Lewis's Glory, to which the Domestick Administration of Colbert contributed more than all the Victories of Condé and Turenne.

But it seems Prosperity has in it self the Principles of its own Destruction. Lewis, intoxicated with good Fortune, began a most barbarous Persecution against fuch of his own People as happened not to be of his Religion, contrary to all the Rules of good Policy; and as for his Neighbours, he ravaged their Dominions, and violated the most solemn and sacred Engagements de gayeté de Cœur. Above half a Million of his most valuable Subjects fled from his unnatural Cruelty, and together with their Effects, carried with them their Industry and Arts wherever they went, to the irreparable Loss of their Native Country. Thus the bigotted Tyrant tore up the Roots of his own Power. To precipitate (27)

his People's Ruin, he began a War upon the Empire towards the latter end of the Year 1688, and carried it on with fuch a shocking Inhumanity, that he drew upon himfelf and Kingdom the Vengeance of the principal Powers in Europe, who were blest with the good Fortune to humble that Pride, which had made him almost forget he was a Man. This War was scarce ended before he engaged in another, more bloody and more fatal to him than the first. The long Interruption of Trade occasion'd by these Wars, and the Superiority of the Maritime Powers at Sea, almost intirely ruin'd the Manufactures of his Kingdom.

BESIDES Loss of Trade and an increadible Expence of Treasure, these and his former Wars must have cost him infinite Numbers of Men. I never saw any Calculation of that Loss, nor do I pretend to make an exact one; I will however attempt it from 1688 to 1714, during which time the Land Forces of France were the most numerous. There was, it's true, a Peace

made

(28)

made in 1697, but it lasted a short time, and was wholly imployed in making Preparations for the War that follow'd; confequently, the Army was kept up to the highest Establishment all the while. The Establishment for Land Service was 300,000 Foot and 100,000 Horse and Dragoons. Out of this Number I will deduct 50,000, because they could never have the Corps compleat, and 30,000 for the Swiss, German and Irish Regiments recruited from their respective Countries; and then there will remain 320,000 effective Men constantly recruited in France. I have heard from Gentlemen of the Trade, that at the end of a Campaign they generally computed their Loss at one fifth part by the Sword, Sickness and Desertion. But because all the Troops never take the Field at a time, I will suppose 70,000 to be in Garrison, and then the Loss of one fifth will extend only to 250,000 Men. As to those who remain in Garrison, I will suppose one tenth Part to die; and confidering in the time of War how ill they are accommodated, how ill they are cloathed and fed, that Proportion, I fancy, (29)

will be thought pretty moderate. The annual Loss then of the Armies in the Field is 50,000, and of the Troops in Garrison 7000, together 57,000; which multiplied by 25, the Number of Years from 1688 to 1714 exclusive, will make the Total Loss 1,425,000 Men. I might have included the Years 1688 and 1714: But I set the Loss of those two Years together with the general Loss by Sea in both Wars, to ballance the Difference betwixt the Field and Garrison Duty of 250,000 Men, during the short Interval from the Treaty of Ryfwick, to the Commencement of the War.

THO' by this Calculation the Total Loss amounts to near a Million and a half, yet I am perfuaded it is within the Truth: For it is notorious that before the end of the War they were forced to fill up their Corps with Boys for want of better Recruits, notwithstanding the fifty Thousand Parishes they boast of. So great a Number of Men the most vigorous and robust being cut off from the Stock of the People, without replacing themselves to their Country by an honest Propaga-

Propagation, is in my humble Opinion a Loss scarce ever to be repair'd.

Now at the end of this last War behold the miserable Condition of France, her Manusactures decay'd, her Navy gone to ruin, her best Blood spilt, her People difficited, her Credit gone, and her Treasure exhausted. With these sad Effects of Ambition, Tyranny, and Pride, I close the last Scene of this Period and Lewis's Reign.

Such were the Evils under which France labour'd, when the Duke of Orleans enter'd upon the Regency. As the Case was desperate, so the Remedy applied was violent.

FINDING the National Debt of a Size too enormous to be managed with ease to the State or Justice to the publick Creditor, all publick Payments in Arrear, the King's Revenue extremely reduced by the Calamities of the War, and the Poverty of the People; he form'd a Design to fill the King's Coffers without Taxes, and discharge the publick

(31)

publick Debt without Money. Whatever Opinion he had himself of the Facility or Danger of executing such a Design, it must certainly appear chimerical to every body else, and to be sure nothing could be more surprising than the Attempt, except the Success of it; both bespeak that Superiority of Genius, that distinguish'd almost every Action of his Life,

On the first of January 1716, he published an Edict for reforming the Coin. By this Edict it was ordain'd, that a Lewidor should be raised from 14 Lives to 16, and a Crown from 3 Livres 10 Sols to 4 Livres, and so received at the Mint. It was likewise ordain'd, that after a certain Day the old, or unreform'd Lewidor, should pass for no more than 14 Livres, and the Crown for three Livres 10 Sols, as before, that the Apprehension of so considerable a Loss might induce People in the mean time to bring all their Money to the Mint to be reformed, i. e. to receive a new Stroke of a Hammer; after which the new Lewidor, of the same Weight and Standard as the

old one, was to be current for 20 Livres; and the Crown in the same Manner for 5 %. Thus he proposed to get one fifth part of all the Specie that was brought to the Mint, and yet, according to his Scheme, the People were not one fingle Livre out of pocket. That they had the same Number of Livres again from the Mint, is very true; but then they had only four Ounces in weight instead of five, and for that Reason great Quantities of the old Specie were hoarded up, and probably would have long remain'd fo, to the great Obstruction of Circulation and Commerce, if it had not been for another happy Expedient, which was managed with fuch Dexterity, that it brought into the Hands of the Regent almost the * whole Stock of ready Money in the Kingdom: By this Expedient, I mean the famous Scheme of a general Bank, established by Patent the 20th of May 1716: This Bank was endowed with great Privileges to gain it Reputation, and the Ease it introduced into Bufiness soon gave its Bills an extensive Currency; and to make them still more aca The indicated livery regard to the ceptable

* N. B. The Quantity of Specie then circulating in France was computed at near 400 millions of Livres.

(33)

ceptable to the Publick, they bore an Interest of 5 per Cent. per Annum. The Punctuality and Dispatch observed by order of the Director in all Transactions, and in giving Money for Bills the Moment they were prefented, raifed and established its Credit. The Bank paid only in new Specie, but received both new and old. In a little time, the Quantity of Cash there was incredible; for Specie, by the frequent Variations in its numerical Value, was become a fluctuating and uncertain Kind of Property in the Hands of the Possessor; but the Value of Bank Bills being fix'd and invariable, People for that Reason preserred them to Specie, and so carried all their Money to the Bank. What was the Event? Why the Allurements of fo vast a Treasure prevailed in the Mind of the Regent against the Sentiments of Justice and Honour; the Bank stopt Payment, and in one instant these favourite Bills were found to be worth no more than so much waste Paper. Such were the Expedients by which this Great Man fill'd the King's Coffers, perhaps his own, and plunder'd a bubbled Nation.

As to the publick Debts, they were in deed stated at the proper Offices, as I mention'd before, and the publick Creditors had Securities given them. So far there feem'd to be an Intention to do Justice; but afterwards the Form of the Security was varied, the Capital retrench'd, and the Interest reduced by arbitrary Edicts, without any Compensation to the Creditors, and without their Consent. This violent Method of Proceeding fo funk the Price of all publick Securities, that some fell 50, some 80, and some even 90 per Cent. so great was the Diffidence of the Publick Faith. The Consequences were terrible. The Trader being posses'd of these Publick Securities. which had either loft their Value or their Credit, of necessity became a Bankrupt. As the Case was general, Bankruptcies were fo too. All manner of Bufiness was at a stand, except Proceedings at Law, and exceffive Usury. The Merchant and Manufacturer were either undone, or at least inactive, in expectation of better Times; which of Consequence obliged the Artist and Labourer (35)

bourer to feek Bread and Imployment in a foreign Country.

A HISTORY of the Regency being no part of my Design, I content myself with mentioning some of its Essects, to show, that instead of proving a Relief from the Pressures of a burthensome and consuming War, it was rather productive of greater Misery. It must then be under a more gentle Regimen that France began to recover her former Vigour.

The publick Debts being converted into Annuities upon the Hotel de Ville, those Annuities were fix'd at Fifty-one Millions of Livres per Ann. by a Declaration dated the 5th of June 1725. The Year * after, the Coin too was fix'd; the Mark of fine Gold, at 740 Livres, 9 Sols, 1 Denier; Standard, at 720 Livres; and the Mark of fine Silver at 51 Livres, 3 Sols, 3 Deniers; Standard, at 49 Livres, 16 Sols. These two important Points being thus settled, Cardinal Fleury, taught by Experience how pernicious the Instability and Fluctuation of

* 18 June 1726.

the Coin, and the public Securities had been to the Kingdom, has invariably adhered to this Regulation, and thereby left the People at liberty to reap and enjoy the natural Fruits of Peace. This fix'd and uniform State of their Money in time brought the Course of Exchange with their Neighbours to be in their favour, by reviving Circulation and Commerce, which in some Articles they have confiderably improv'd, particularly woollen Stuffs and superfine Cloths, of which they export much greater Quantities to Turky, than they did formerly. But that Branch of their Trade is got to its highest Pitch, and would foon be reduced again, was the British Parliament to make a Law for laying the Turky Trade open. Their Trade to the East-Indies is within these few Years very much increased, their Sugar Plantations greatly enlarged, and by necessary Consequence so is their Trade to the Coast of Guinea for Slaves, Ivory, and Gold Dust; which indeed very much deserves the Attention of Great Britain. The Spaniards and Portuguese are grown fonder of French Fashions, and so take more of their Manufactures.

(37)

factures. It is disputed whether the Confumption of their Wine and and Brandy in Russia, Sweden, and the Baltick, be encreased or not. Their Fisheries are not much improv'd beyond what they were fifty Years ago; however they are confiderable, owing to the Cession of Cape Breton, and other Indulgencies at the Treaty of Utrecht, without which, they had by this time been totally destroyed. As they are more addicted to Commerce, the Number of Merchants among them is encreased, and they are become more industrious in searching out new Channels of Trade than they were in former Times.

Such are the Acquisitions and Improvements in the Trade of France. Here follows an Account of what she has lost.

I. England took formerly from France to the Value of 600,000 l. Sterl. per Ann. in Silks of all Sorts. But fince the Manufacture of Silk was eftablish'd here, and high Duties laid

upon

(38)

upon all French Silks, the whole is now lost to France, except a few Waistcoats and other Trifles not worth taking Notice of

Pounds. 600,000

II. In Linnen, Canvas, and Sail-cloth, to the Amount of 700,000 l. Sterl. per Ann. and upwards. But fince high Duties were laid on all French Goods, these are either manufactured in Britain and Ireland, or imported from Holland, Germany, and Russia, where our woollen Goods are taken in return. This Article, as well as the other, is taken from the British Merchant; and whether Cambricks be included in it or not, does not appear. However, I will allow for Cambricks still imported, 200,000 l. per Ann. which to be sure is as much as the prime Cost of them comes to, then the Difference to the Loss of France is -

500,000

III. In Beaver, Demicastor, and Felt Hats, Glass Watches and Clocks, 220,000 l. per Ann.

7, 100,000 But (39)

IV. England took formerly from France 400,000 Reams of Paper annually, at 5 s. per Ream prime Cost, 100,000 l. But now it is made chiefly at home, or imported from Holland and Genoa. The Quantity of Paper from France, now enter'd at the Custom-House yearly, is a meer Trifle. However, I will allow 10,000 l. Sterl. for it; and then the annual Loss upon this Article will be

V. FORMERLY there was imported from Auvergne, to the Value of 40,000 l. per Ann. in Iron Ware, now made both cheaper and better at Birming-ham, Hallifax, &c. and so intirely lost to France

40,000

90,000

1,450,000 VI

VI. *In Shalloons, Tamins, and other woollen Stuffs from Champagne and Picardy, as mentioned before, to the Value of 150,000 l. Sterl. per Ann. but now prohibited -

150,000

VII.BEFORE the high Duties were laid on French Wines, there were imported annually into England, 16,000 Tun and upwards, worth at an Average, 17 l. 10 s. per Tun, prime Cost, the whole amounting to 280,000 l. But now it appears by the Custom-House Books, that the Quantity enter'd there, comes to no more than 614 Tun per Ann. at a Medium of seven Years last past: But as by some Management, there is an indirect Importation by way of Scotland, and as there are some low Wines run in upon the South and

1,600,000

(41)

Brought forwards -Western Coast from Guernsey and other Places, I will allow the Quantity confumed here, to be 2000 Tun per Ann. and because the best Growths are now bought up for this Market, I will allow the prime Cost to be 401. per Tunatan Average. The Value then of the present Importation, is 80,000 l. which being deducted from the former, leaves a Difference of 200,000 l. Sterl. lost annually to France.

200,000

VIII. THE Quantity of Brandy imported formerly, amounted to 4000 Tun per Ann. at 401. per Tun, prime Cost, which comes to 160,000 l. and now the Quantity of Foreign Spirits of all Kinds enter'd at the Cuftom-House, ata Medium of four Years last past, amounts only to 2625 Tun, owing to the great Improvement of English Spirits and the prevailing Tafte for Rum. But as this Quantity compre-

1,800,000 hends

Pounds. 1,600,000

^{*} Quære, Whether this Article alone does not balance the whole Increase of their Exports to Turky? Western

(42)

Pounds.

Brought forwards ---1,800,000 hends Spirits of all Sorts, it is to be supposed there is not above one half of it French Brandy: However, as there is some smuggled upon the Coast, I will allow the Quantity confumed here, to be 2000 Tun annually at the same Price, and then the Difference to France is

1,880,000

I SAID before, that the Dutch had few and inconsiderable Manufactures of their own, but traded largely in the Manufactures of France to all Parts of Europe. Here follows an Account of fuch as the Dutch now make themselves, or have from England: But as they still import considerable Quantities of all Sorts of Goods from France, only the Difference to her Loss in each Article is brought to Account.

I. THE

(43)

I. THE Dutch took formerly from France, in Brocades, Velvets. Sattins, and Silk Manufactures of all Sorts, according to De Witt's Account, to the Value of 1,200, 180 l. Sterl. per Ann. But now they manufacture themselves a great many Species of Silks, tho' not so fine, yet cheaper than in France; and take only of French Silks what is necessary to make up an Assortment; infomuch, that according to Burrish, the Value of Silks imported annually, is diminish'd above one half; the Difference then to France is

Pounds. 600,090

II. In Hats of all Sorts, to the Value of 217,000 l. per Ann. but now they have them chiefly from England, at least all fine Hats, the rest they make themfelves; so this whole Article is lost to France

217,000

III. In Glass, Watches, Clocks, and Houshold Furniture to the

> 817,090 Value

(44)	y			
Brought forward	l. \$17,090			
Value of 210,000 l. per Ann. But now being chiefly supplied from England, their Importation of these Articles from France, is reduced to 50,000 l. per Ann. The Difference per Ann. to France is -	160,000			
IV. In Fringes and Gloves of all Sorts 120,000 l. per Ann. now half that Value. Difference to France	60,000			
V. In all Sorts of Paper 250,000 l. per Ann. but fince it was manufactured in England, Holland, and Germany, their Importation of Paper is reduced to one fifth of that Quantity; the Difference to France	200,000			
VI. In Linnen, Canvas, and Sail-cloth 250,000 l. per Ann. but now they do not take much above a fourth Part of that Va-	200,000			
	1,237,090 lue			

Brough forward	l. 1,237,090
lue; the Difference to France is	165,000
VII. In Saffron, Soap, Woad, Honey, and great Quantities of Woollen Yarn from <i>Picardy</i> , to the Value of 450,000 <i>l. per Ann</i> . now they do not import above one third Part of that Value; the Difference to <i>France</i>	300,000
The Total of the English Account brought forward	1,702,090
1.	3,582,090
	C man 4

(45)

How much the general Ballance of Trade is more or less in favour of France, I cannot possibly determine with exactness, because I have not been able to procure any Account of the Value of her present Exports and Imports: Be that as it will, the Variation in her Trade with England and Holland is so very much to her disad-G 2 vantage,

vantage, that I think it almost impossible for her to repair that Loss by any new Acquisitions of Trade with other Countries. That she has not yet repair'd it, the following Account will prove to a Demonstration:

An Account of the Produce of the feveral Branches of the Publick Revenue in 1683, compared with their Produce in 1733.

84,000,000 140,278,473 Anno 1733. 215,566,633: 10 119,772,688 69,919,650 7,790,016 10,340,907 5,140,282 2,603,088 Receipts of the Pais d'Etats The General Farms -The General Receipts

(47/)

(48) Livres. s.

The general Deficiency - - - } 1.75,288,160:10: 0

or at 10 pence a Livre 3,137,006:13: 4

As the Revenues are collected now with at least as much Rigour and Care as they were in 1683, then so great a Desiciency can have but one Cause, and that is a great Decrease of Consumption and Circulation, proceeding from Loss of People, of Manufactures and Trade. Consumption Revenue (which is a Tax upon Consumption,) Circulation, Quantity of Labour, and Numbers of People, have all an inseparable Connection, and a necessary Dependance on

(49)

one another; and therefore, whatever affects one affects all. You have already feen. that by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantz in 1685, and the Persecution that ensued upon it, France lost above half a Million of industrious, manufacturing Protestants; and during the two Wars from 1688 to 1714 near a Million and a half of her best Men; that she has lost three Millions and a half Sterling per Annum in her Trade with England and Holland, and there is a Deficiency of above three Millions Sterl. in the old Funds or Branches of the publick Revenue; then, according to what is laid down above, and in my humble Opinion incontestably, these Facts prove and confirm one another, and all of them together demonstrate, that France, at this time, is neither so flourishing, so rich, nor so powerful as she was threescore Years ago.

Some time fince I was told a particular Fact, which I could not give credit to; but as this Deduction makes it extremely probable, I will mention it in this place. The Fact is, that a few Years ago, upon

(50)

an Inquiry into the State of Manufactures in the District of Lyons, particularly the Silk, there appear'd to be only 3500 Looms employ'd then, instead of 30,000 employ'd formerly. In fine, to show how exact a Correspondence there is in all her Affairs, I will here add an Account of the Establishment of the Navy, as it was at Colbert's Death, to be compared with the present State of it.

Rate.

(51)

Total of Guards, Sailors & Soldiers,	7850	88.40	11500	5450	2790	36440	1880	240	280	637	39477	3010	42487	•
Soldiers.	2486	2661	3008	1570	682	10407	497				10904	3010	13914	
Sailors.	4132	4470	6142	2713	1427	18884	937	091	190	447	20618			
Marine Guards.	1232	1719	2350	1911	189	7149	446	80	90	190	7955			
Officers.	180	189	251	156	119	823	125	91	20	44	1028	*		
Guns.	1080	1518	1928	1088	809	6222	400	74	43	341	7080			
No. of Ships.		21	36	26	20		S		ູແ			30	•	
Rate.	m	7	3	4	**		Small Frigat	Fire-Ships	Barca-Lon	Pinks a		Galleys		

H

ACCORD-

(52)

Accors to the best Information I can procure, the present Navy consists of 28 Ships of the Line old and new, one 90 Gun Ship upon the Stocks at Toulon, half built; and there are about 12 East-India Ships belonging to the Company, which are either converted or convertible into Men of War. In all, forty Ships and a half.

THIS great Reduction in the Navy is by no means the effect of Frugality; but at once a Proof and a necessary Consequence of the declining State of the Kingdom.

And now, Sir, if after all we should see the Ballance of Power in Europe, that Perpetuum Mobile in Politicks, to fix, and establish which our Statesmen plann'd, and our Armies sought with such glorious Success against all the Efforts of France in her Vigour, animated too by an enterprizing Monarch; I say, if we are to see this Ballance totally over-turn'd at last by France in her Decline, with a Minister in his Dotage, and an unaspiring King, how capricious is Fortune,

Fortune, and how unaccountable must our Fate be? I confess the Prospect is dark and gloomy, tho' at the same time I am convinced the present Condition of France is such that the very Phantom of the old Grand-Alliance would strike her with Terror; and undoubtedly could it be revived, if the old Members of that renown'd Confederacy would but dare to act, the common Enemy must immediately submit, and suffer the Independancy of the feveral Powers of Europe to be placed on a folid and permanent Foundation — But that is a Bleffing to be wish'd, not hoped for. When I consider the general Infatuation in Germany, the untowardly Disposition of its Neighbours, especially the flegmatick Measures and timorous Circumspection of the present Dutch, whose Ancestors were wont to be active in the common Cause, I am afraid the honest Zeal of Englishmen is vain. There has been for some Years past, and I have reason to believe that notwithstanding Appearances there is at this time a strange Vis inertiæ in that State, with a most unnatural Gravitation towards France, which it is impossible

H 2

to

to account for, unless the Cartesian System, so long exploded in Philosophy, should be allow'd to hold good in Politicks, and then the Activity of the French Tourbillon makes the matter plain. I beg your pardon for this Jargon. The Subject is serious, and the Conduct of that State in the present Crisis, too important to be treated with Levity.

I Could indulge my Melancholy a little longer in contemplating the troubled Scene, both at Home and Abroad; but the Inquiry into the Revenue, Credit, and Commerce of France being finish'd, my Task of writing is at an end. I only beg leave to assure you, that Truth and Exactness have been my principal Care, and they are the only Merit of a Performance of this nature. If it meets with your Approbation, it is all I aim at; for without Flattery there is no Man I desire more to please.

I am,

Inver-Temple, April the 9th, 1742. ೮c.

POST-

POSTSCRIPT.

English and Dutch began to rival France in her Manufactures, her annual Exports to England and Holland are diminished above three Millions and a half Sterling. Now lest People should be surprised at the Greatness of the Sum, I think it necessary in this Place, to observe that those very Acts of Parliament, which were the principal Cause of that great Alteration in the Trade of France, produced a much greater Alteration in the Trade of England. To make this plain, I must beg your Indulgence for the following Deduction.

NOTWITHSTANDING the English Woollen Goods imported into France, were loaded with intolerable Duties by the Tariffs of 1664 and 1667, the Duties on French Goods imported into England, were by the unpardonable Supineness of King Charles the Second's Ministers, suffer'd to be extremely easy. This Partiality in savour of a Foreign,

reign, and the worst of all, a French Interest, almost intirely ruin'd our old Manufactures, and render'd all Attempts to set up any new, vain and fruitless. Trade in general languish'd, Rents sell, and all Ranks of People were sensible of the Evil, but for some time imputed it to a wrong Cause, and so petitioned the Parliament against the Levant and the East-India Companies.

AT last, they discovered the true one, and made fresh Application to Parliament, upon which that very House of Commons, once fo remarkably obsequious to the Court, now voted the Trade with France detrimental to the Kingdom, and pass'd that Memorable Bill (29 & 30 Car. II.) for prohibiting French Commodities; but as they expected it would be strongly opposed in the House of Lords by the Court, then notoriously under a French Influence, they tack'd it to the Capitation Bill, and so it pass'd. By this it was enacted that no French Wine, Vinegar, Brandy, Linnen, Cloth, Silks, Salt, Paper, or any Manufactures made of or mix'd with Silk, Thread, Wool, Hair,

(57)

Hair, Gold, Silver, or Leather, being of the Growth, Product, and Manufacture of any the Dominions of the French King, should be imported into any Port or Place within the Kingdom of England, &c.

THE Effects of this Act were immediate and happy. The raw Wool of England, which before was a Drug, in a little time rose 50 per Cent. Spanish Wool from 20 to 28 Pence per Pound Weight; Colchester Bays from 16 Pence to 2 Shillings the Ell; and in a few Years the general Exportation of Woollen Goods rose from 900,000 1. Sterl. then, to double that Value; and in 1699, to no less than 2,932,292 l. 17 s. 6 d. Sterl. Dying Wares, whose Consumption depends upon the Demand for our Manufactures abroad, rose also upon this Prohibition; Cochineal from 15 to 28 Shillings per Pound; Indigo-Lahor from 3 s. to 4 s. 9 d. and Logwood from 13 to 19 Shillings the Hundred Weight.

During this flourishing State of our Commerce, Murmurs, and Complaints ceas'd,

(58)

ceas'd, Rents advanced, and Industry meeting with its Reward, new Manufactures were daily set up, and Business in general carried on with vivacity. The Poor sound Imployment, the Gentleman, the Farmer, the Merchant and Manufacturer all shar'd the common Benefit.

Tho' this Act was the Source of so many Bleffings to the Nation, it was nevertheless in the first Year of the Reign of James II. repeal'd, and then French Goods of all sorts and in prodigious Quantities were pour'd into the Kingdom, even to the Value of Millions Sterl. in less than three Years, as appear'd by the Entries at the Custom-House, besides what was run, which perhaps was much more. This Inundation of French Commodities renew'd all the Evils sormerly complain'd of, and threatned the Total Ruin of the Trade and Manusactures of the Kingdom.

HAPPILY for England (happily indeed on many accounts) the Revolution took place in 1688, and Commerce with France

was again prohibited by the 1 W. and M. cap. 34. J. 1. This Act was made more effectual by the 2 W. and M. cap. 14. J. 2. and continued by the 4th and 5th of W. and M. cap. 25. to the end of the War.

(59)

BESIDES those prohibitory Acts which were only temporary, there were others that had a very happy Influence upon our Trade, and were perpetual. Such as the several Acts for preventing the running of Wool, and for the greater Encouragement of the Woollen Manusacture; but especially the 7 and 8 of W. 3. cap. 20. for laying an additional Duty on all French Goods, viz. 25 l. per Tun on Wine, 15 l. per Tun on Vinegar, and 25 per Cent. ad valorem upon all other Goods and Manusactures.

THERE were pass'd in the same Reign other Acts of a more limited View, that likewise produced very good Effects. The 5 of W. and M. cap. 3. for encouraging the Importation of fine Italian, Sicilian, and Naples thrown Silk; and the 8 of W: 3. cap. 36. for encouraging the Silk Manufacture within the Realm, and for the better preventing the Importation of the same. In the Preamble to this Act, it is said that

the Alamodes and Lustrings (the Silks then in fashion) consumed by his Majesty's Subjects, till of late Years were imported from Foreign Parts, but are now manufactured at home to as great Perfection as in any other Country. This is a fudden Progress indeed, and a noble Testimony of the Wisdom of fuch Laws.

By the 9 and 10 of W. 3. cap. 30. the Pound Weight (16 oz.) of Foreign wrought Silks imported, instead of 40 Shillings, was for the future to be valued at 4 l. by which the Subsidies, &c. payable on those Commodities were doubled.

BESIDES the many good Laws pass'd in this Reign, we obtain'd in the beginning of the next (anno 1703) by the Management and Address of Mr. Methuen, at the Court of Lisbon, that most beneficial Treaty of Commerce with Portugal, which has been a Mine of Gold to this Kingdom ever fince.

To these Laws, to this Treaty we owe the Preservation and Increase of our Manufactures, Shipping, and Trade; in Proof of which I will here add an * Account of our general

(61)

general Trade at two different Periods of time: One, when England had an open Trade with France, and consum'd such incredible Quantities of the Goods and Merchandize of that Country. The other, when the Goods of France were prohibited or loaded with such Duties as amounted to a Prohibition.

First Period.

Anno 1662, the ge-7 neral Imports amount->4,016,019 08 00 The general Exports to 2,022,812 04 00

The Ballance against us 1,993,207 04 00

Anno 1668, the general Imports amount-\$4,196,139 17 00 The general Exports to 2,063,274 19 00

The Ballance against us 2, 132, 864 18 00

^{*} This Account is taken from the first and second Report of Dr. Davenant, the Inspector General. Vid.

(62)

Second Period.

Anno 1699, the ge-) neral Exports amount->6,788,166 17 064 The general imports 5,640,506 06 $09\frac{1}{4}$

Ballance in our Favour 1,147,660 10 09

Anno 1703, the ge-7 neral Exports amount-\$6,644,103 00 00 The general Imports 4,526,579 II 014

Ballance in our Favour 2,117,523 08 011

By this Account it appears that the annual Exports in the fecond Period, exceed the annual Exports of the first by 4,673,091 7 s. 3 d. at a medium.

THAT the general Ballance of Trade, instead of being 2,063,036 l. 1 s. against us at a Medium each Year of the first Period is no less than 1,632,591 l. 19 s. 9 d. $\frac{3}{4}$ in our Favour each Year of the second. These two Ballances show that our general Trade was 3,695,528 l. o s. 9 $d_{\frac{3}{4}}$ per Annum, more to our Advantage in the second Period ral Principles of Religion and Government. than in the first. Now if it is confider'd that whatever England has got, France has

lost, then the great Variation in the Trade of France with England and Holland ceases to be furprifing.

FROM these Facts and Numbers this Conclusion may be fairly drawn—Upon a Probibition of Trade with France, or such high Duties as shall effectually exclude her Manufactures, depend the very Being and Prosperity of our own. If I am mistaken in this, I am ready upon Conviction to retract: In the mean time it becomes me to be modest; for to be fure the Point was not fo clear about thirty Years ago, when the Merits of the celebrated Treaty of Commerce with France were debated in that Assembly, of which you are now a Member. Then, as I have heard, Opinions were pretty equally divided about it. If that Treaty was exploded as Destructive and Pernicious, and violently opposed for that reason by some untoward People on one hand, the great Advantages flipulated by it to Britain, were much infifted upon, and no less gloried in on the other, by some eminent Patriots (thank God) still living, and as much distinguish'd as ever they were by their enlarged and libe-

Those

(64)

Those Gentlemen with their usual freedom of Thought reason'd thus, and certainly reason'd well—All Exclusions are against natural Right, and Probibitions in Commerce only narrow its Channel; therefore the Trade of Great Britain ought to be put upon a Broad Bottom.

N. B. In reducing French Money to Sterling, I have all along had regard to the Value of the Livre at the time, which is different at different times according to the Number of Livres the Mark of Gold and Silver is coin'd into. At present the French Lewidor (of 30 in the Mark Standard) passes for 24 Livres, weighs 126 Grains (Troy) and is intrinsically worth no more than 20 Shillings and 6 Pence Sterl.

THE French Crown (Ecu) of fix Livres weighs 417.4699 Grains Troy of Standard Silver, and its intrinsick Value in English Money 4 Shillings and 10 Pence Farthing.

THE Livre then consider d as $\frac{1}{24}$ of a Lewidor, is equivalent to 10 Pence Farthing, and as $\frac{1}{6}$ of a Crown to 9 Pence Half penny and $\frac{1}{6}$ of a Farthing; at a medium it is worth ten Pence.

FINIS.

6:00:2